

International Ph.D. School for Studies of Arctic Societies (IPSSAS)

Building Capacity in Arctic Societies: Dynamics and Shifting Perspectives

Proceedings of the Second IPSSAS seminar

Iqaluit, Nunavut, Canada
May 26 to June 6, 2003



Edited by: François Trudel

CIÉRA
Faculté des sciences sociales
Université Laval, Québec, Canada

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FOREWORD

The IPSSAS seminar is an intensive course about and in Arctic societies. It brings together Ph.D. candidates, senior M.A. students and faculty members from universities and research centres of the IPSSAS circumpolar network as well as other universities. It also involves local students and residents from the Arctic communities where the seminar is held.

The second IPSSAS seminar was:

- organized by François Trudel (CIÉRA - Centre interuniversitaire d'études et de recherches autochtones) (formerly GÉTIC) of Université Laval and the IPSSAS Steering Committee;
- hosted by Nunavut Arctic College (Nunatta Campus);
- held from May 26 to June 6, 2003 in Iqaluit, Nunavut, Canada, on the theme of *Building Capacity in Arctic Societies: Dynamics and Shifting Perspectives*.

Thirteen students from six different countries (Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Greenland, Russia) registered and participated in the seminar, which took place on the main campus of Nunavut Arctic College (Nunatta Campus). In addition, students from the Inuit Language and Culture Program and the Law Program, as well as a few instructors and administrators of Nunavut Arctic College, attended. Faculty members and guests came mainly from Canada, but also from Denmark, France, Greenland and the United States. A distinguished faculty member was anthropologist Jean Briggs, professor emeritus from Memorial University of Newfoundland in Canada. A distinguished guest was Peter Irniq, Commissioner of Nunavut. Other faculty members and guests included, among quite many others, Ludger Müller-Wille, professor of geography at McGill University, Sheila Watt-Cloutier, International President of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, and Lucien Ukaliannuk, Inuit elder from Igloodik.

The seminar, whose detailed program and photographs can be found on the IPSSAS website, focused on two major activities.

First, all registered Ph.D. and M.A. students presented papers describing their research projects. Each presentation was followed by comments from one faculty member and two students, as well as by a moderated discussion with the whole group. These discussions were useful for all students since each of them could get feedback and comments from faculty and students with very diverse backgrounds and Arctic experiences.

Second, faculty and other speakers from Canada, Denmark, France, Greenland and the U.S.A. presented twenty-four (24) lectures. The lectures all dealt with empirical, methodological and theoretical aspects of research in the Arctic and about the Inuit, on such topics as the history of research, history, ethnohistory, language, culture or worldviews. Lecturers from the community were also called upon to contribute and share their experiences and concerns on various topics

relating to Nunavut: ethics in research, education, language, place names, traditional law, social problems, policies, Inuit perspectives on globalization, etc.

With some delay, due to factors beyond our control, we are now publishing the Proceedings. They include most of the presentations made during the seminar, in the form of revised papers (from all participating students and some of the faculty and guests), edited transcriptions of some of the presentations and discussions¹ (most of which were tape-recorded during the seminar) or reprints of already published articles, in a revised and updated form² or not.³ For reasons too long to explain here, some contributors have in some cases⁴ chosen to publish articles on other topics than the ones they had chosen for the seminar.

After considering many options, the contents of the Proceedings were finally organized around the following themes: 1) Introduction; 2) History and ethics of research; 3) Knowledge and capacity building; 4) Inuit art; 5) Memory and *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (I.Q.); 6) Cultural and social issues; 7) Language, ethnohistory and youth. Such themes poorly reflect the wide variety of contributions and subjects fruitfully discussed during the seminar.

We sincerely thank: all contributors for their patience, assistance and good will in preparing these Proceedings; the IPSSAS Steering Committee, who supported the project of publication; and our various hosts in Iqaluit, for their help before the seminar and hospitality during the seminar. As editor, I finally express my deepest appreciation to Marco D. Michaud, a contractual professional researcher at CIÉRA of Université Laval, who assisted me in many ways to carefully prepare these Proceedings for publication.

We hope that the Proceedings will contribute to knowledge about and in Arctic societies, will reinforce the development of cooperation inside the IPSSAS network and will strengthen the relationships between this network and Arctic communities.

François Trudel
Department of Anthropology and CIÉRA
Université Laval
June 2005

¹ Arnakak, Briggs, Clendenning and Cowan, Irniq, Peplinski, Thomas and Shirley, Ukaliannuk and Peter, Wright.

² Müller-Wille.

³ Rygaard.

⁴ Lee, Rigby and Bainbridge, Trudel.

INTRODUCTION

Words of Welcome

Peter Irniq *

Welcome to Nunavut, welcome to Canada for those of you who are coming from outside Canada. At my investiture as Commissioner of Nunavut in April 2000, I said in my opening speech that I would become active in the promotion, preservation of culture and language through Inuit Traditional Knowledge (I.T.K.). Since then, that is what I have done, as much as possible, in order to pass on my culture to my fellow Inuit, to the young people and to the people of Canada as well as outside of Canada.

The duties of the Commissioner of Nunavut are symbolic and ceremonial. I am not elected and do not hold governmental powers. I am not the head of government, but rather guardian of responsible government. The Commissioner is appointed by the Cabinet of the Government of Canada to serve for a five year term. The Commissioner is given letters of instruction from the Minister of Northern Affairs and Northern Development to guide him in his function. The Office of the Commissioner is funded by the Federal and Territorial governments with the Federal government responsible for the salary of the Commissioner and the Territorial government responsible for housing, office and staff.

Some of the things that I do as Commissioner include: delivering Opening Addresses and Throne Speeches at the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut; signing laws that are passed by the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut (like the Lieutenant Governors do in the provinces of Canada); inaugurating and participating to community events in the Territory. I also promote Inuit culture in the Territory, in Canada and abroad. One of my functions is to deliver awards to individuals for their bravery, excellence and special skills. As an example, I am going to Naujat (Repulse Bay) in the Nunavut district of Kitikmeot today for a community visit and to deliver a Commissioner's Award.

Whenever I go to communities in Nunavut, I try to bring joy and happiness to the people. I say things about our past, our future, our spirituality, our culture and language. I say things that make people happy about themselves. And when I visit a community, I also say to the elders: "Pass on your wisdom, pass on your knowledge to the youth of Nunavut".

When I was invited to open this IPSSAS seminar and to welcome you, a request was made that I say a few words about Inuit Traditional Knowledge (I.T.K), also called nowadays *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit* (I.Q.).

First, I.Q. is something that has been passed on from 6000 years ago to us. And it's something that we will pass on to our children as well to our grandchildren. It is about

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Inuit way of life, Inuit culture, Inuktitut language. Whenever I speak about I.Q., I use three examples to show its importance:

- a) Kayak: made by Inuit for transportation. We used the kayak for hunting thousands of years ago and we still use it today in many parts of the world.
- b) Igloo: A round shelter made of snow. Because of its shape, it conserves heat and energy. It was used by Inuit thousands of years ago, and we still use it today as a shelter whenever we are out hunting.
- c) Kamik: The seal skin boots or the caribou skin boots (if you are from the inland) were made and are still made today by Inuit women, using techniques developed over thousands of years.

I was born in an igloo in 1947. My mother had a helper, an Inuk lady. I was born with the traditional way of birthing. During the pregnancy, if there was complication, the women had to be sent down south to have their baby. One of the things we have done in Nunavut was to establish a birthing centre in Rankin Inlet, about 10 years ago. And many pregnant women have their babies in Rankin Inlet, and I am so proud of this. So it is part of ITK way of midwifery and modern way of midwifery working together.

In my culture, one of the things I would say is the most important is the naming of our children. In 1973, when I was living in Yellowknife, my daughter was born and we named her Theresa Irene Katak, after my mother. The reason was that I wanted my mother to live forever in my family, among her friends and relatives in Nunavut. It is a 6000 years old custom to name the children after their relatives or friends so that the loved ones live on forever. My daughter died in 2000. In February of 2003, a new beautiful baby was born to my son and his wife. We named her again after my mother.

In celebrating the life of those we name in our culture, I am determined to help our youth in Nunavut to live long lives. I want to help preserve, protect and promote Inuit culture and language in the strongest terms, so that our youth will have a better understanding of where they come from, feel better about themselves and about their heritage. And therefore know better where they want to go in the future. We, the society, must help to make sure that our youth use their past as strength and vision for their future. When I have a chance to speak to Inuit, I tell them to learn about our culture from the elders, to learn about I.Q. To you ladies and gentlemen, pass on what you have learned to your fellows, promote Nunavut in Canada, and in the world.

Nunavut Arctic College: an overview

Mac Clendenning* and Cindy Cowan**

Nunavut Arctic College serves the vast and beautiful Nunavut Territory, which became Canada's third territory when it was officially divided from the Northwest Territories on April 1, 1999, as the final result of land claims negotiations that began some 25 years before. Nunavut includes about 20 per cent of the land mass of Canada—essentially everything above the tree line. About 25,000 people live in the new territory, more than 20,000 of whom are Inuit who have lived in harmony with the challenging Arctic environment for thousands of years. Today, many Inuit continue to live off the land as hunters and fishers, though this activity is usually combined with a role in the newer wage economy. The changing economy and the newly established public territorial government offer the residents of Nunavut enormous opportunities. It is Nunavut Arctic College's task to ensure that these individuals have the training and education they need to take full advantage of this situation. Our mission is to strengthen the people and communities of Nunavut by advancing the life-long learning of Northern adults through high-quality career programs appropriately delivered with our partners throughout the Arctic, and by making the benefits of traditional and southern science more available.

NAC is proud to be Nunavut's own college—the premiere provider of post-secondary education and training programs for the people of Nunavut for more than 20 years. It was officially created in 1995, when Arctic College was split into two colleges: Aurora College in the west and Nunavut Arctic College in the east. Its programs are currently offered at the major campuses in Iqaluit, Rankin Inlet and Cambridge Bay, or through Community Learning Centres that are located in 24 of the 26 communities in Nunavut. In 2003-2004, the College registered approximately 1,191 full time students. Approximately 263 students took credit courses on a part-time basis and 775 students participated in non-credit continuing education courses. Total course registrations were in the order of 6,910 and the volume of student enrolment, expressed as full time equivalent enrolment (FTE's), was 1,340. College Office and Management expenditures for 2003-2004 were approximately CAD\$26.3 million.

Nunavut is a unique part of Canada facing unique geographical, economic, social and cultural challenges and opportunities, so Nunavut Arctic College is different from other post-secondary institutions. Our wide-range of courses and programs are based on the traditional values of Nunavut's people, and are designed to help students pursue life-

* President, Nunavut Arctic College.

** Director, Academic Studies, Trades & Community Programs, Nunavut Arctic College, Nunatta Campus.

long learning and personal development in an increasingly modern society. The college currently offers adult basic education and literacy programming, as well as career-oriented certificate, diploma, job-readiness and pre-trades programs. The College also delivers a wide range of general interest, personal and professional development courses.

Life-long learning is a fundamental principle informing College programming decisions. Our Inuktitut name is not simply a transliteration of the English, but a translation which reflects our commitment to learning for life and the acquisition of knowledge through experience: *Silattuqsarvik*, a place to strive for worldliness or wisdom. Community Learning Centres (CLCs) are critically important to this task, and uphold the College values of accessibility, relevance and contribution to strong communities. Access to the main campuses may not be feasible for people in isolated communities, and each community is different with unique education needs. Nunavut Arctic College's oldest program, the Nunavut Teacher Education Programme, has a 25 year partnership with McGill University to provide students across Nunavut, in even the remotest communities with the opportunity to complete a Bachelor of Education Degree at home.

Nunatta Campus is also home to the internationally recognized Language and Culture Program, which provides postsecondary training in both Inuktitut language and culture. The Traditional Knowledge and Culture option emphasizes traditional aspects of language and culture that are being lost in the modern world and explores these in relation to the contemporary situation of the Inuit. The social, economic and political conditions of the Inuit are studied and leads to an increased awareness of unique and important aspects of Inuit Language and culture. The development of culturally relevant oral research methodologies has produced a collection of publications documenting traditional knowledge and culture. These documents become essential resources for other courses and programs. Nunavut Arctic College's extensive library at Nunatta Campus specializes in Inuit culture, northern studies and education. Of special interest to IPSSAS participants are the library's special non-circulating collections of rare and out-of-print books such as the Taylor and Pilot collections on archaeology and Arctic exploration.

To have the IPSSAS 2003 seminar held in Iqaluit, Nunavut provided a unique and stimulating opportunity to bring together students and faculty from the circumpolar research network and Nunavut Arctic College faculty to share and discuss current research in Arctic societies.

It was a great honour and pleasure for Nunavut Arctic College to host and support events such as the IPSSAS seminar that aims to strengthen communities of scholars while supporting the socio-political goals of Indigenous people throughout the circumpolar world.

HISTORY AND ETHICS OF RESEARCH

Some personal thoughts on a lifelong commitment to research on Inuit culture

followed by

Commentaries on the *Utkuhiksalingmiutitut* Dictionary

Jean L. Briggs*

Editor's Note: Jean Briggs is well known in Canada and internationally for her field research among the Inuit. Her publications include, among others, such classic studies as *Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family* (1970) and *Inuit Morality Play: the Emotional Education of a Three-Year-Old* (1998). She has also edited a more recent book on *Childrearing Practices* (2000) in the Interviewing Inuit Elders Series published by the Language and Culture Program of Nunavut Arctic College. With the IPSSAS seminar being held in Nunavut on issues mostly related to Inuit history, culture and language, Jean Briggs seemed to be an outstanding guest and a most valuable resource person to invite. We contacted her while she was doing research in the Alaska Native Language Center (ANLC) of the University of Alaska at Fairbanks. She readily—in fact, enthusiastically—agreed to involve herself in the seminar and simply asked what would be expected from her. In addition to informal individual discussion with seminar participants, we suggested two other types of contribution and interaction: 1) an open and straightforward question-and-answer exchange with students and faculty members participating in the seminar about her research on Inuit culture; and 2) a presentation of one of her recently published articles, “Language dead or alive: what’s in a dictionary?” (Briggs, 2002), about her forthcoming *Utkuhiksalingmiutitut* Dictionary, to be followed by discussion with seminar participants. The following texts are edited transcriptions of both discussion periods. We thank Jean Briggs for reviewing them for publication.

Some personal thoughts on a lifelong commitment to research on Inuit culture

Jean Briggs: Whatever personal thoughts I may have about my lifelong research activities will be engendered by your questions. So what would you like to know?

Participant: In social sciences we talk about needing to make research commitments of 10, 15, or even 20 years, in order to build close relationships with other human beings and to arrive at understanding them; a commitment not necessarily to one topic, but certainly to one geographical area, to certain people or communities. Based on your experience, how does one maintain such lifelong interest and commitment?

* Professor Emeritus, Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada. E-mail: jbriggs@mun.ca

Jean Briggs: I think it is nonsense to imagine that you can live with people for a month or two, or even three, and understand them. In such a short period of time, you can only scratch the surface. Since 1961, I have lived in the field for a total of 6 or 7 years, on and off, and I keep learning new things—astonishing new things.

The dramas that my second book is about, I didn't discover for the first 12 years. I think that might have been because the interactions looked playful. They *are*, in part, very playful; and I think in our culture we often consider play trivial. So I perceived these dramas as mere noise, and ignored them. But in 1971, after *Never in Anger* had been published, a psychiatrist wrote to ask me if people really behaved as pacifically as I had said; and if so, what did they do with their hostility? That was a new question for me.

Since I happened to be in the field when I received this letter, I looked around, and the first thing I saw was a young mother, sitting on a stony beach with her 1½- or 2-year-old son. She gave him a pebble and said: "Throw it at me! Harder, harder... ouch! Isn't that fun?" I was surprised, to say the least. I thought: "Is this teaching pacific behaviour?" But it went on and on like that. The next thing the mother did was to put her finger in the little boy's mouth and ask him to bite her, exclaiming: "Ouch, that hurts! Doesn't it taste good?" And it was reciprocal. She put *his* finger in *her* mouth and bit it; and that hurt. So, little by little, he learned that aggression may be fun, but it hurts. It may be fun, but there are negative consequences, too. And the more I looked around, the more I saw that all the important values were taught by apparently teaching the opposite—sometimes as temptation: "Look, there's a new puppy in that tent. They're not home, go and steal it". Or: "Look, here's the last candy, eat it up yourself and don't share it with your sister". The outcomes of these interactions eventually showed the child that this was the wrong thing to do. And because I didn't see this teaching at all for the first 12 years, I'm using the discovery as an example of how one can learn very fundamental things after a long period of time. The description I give of childrearing in *Never in Anger* is ok as far as it goes, but it only scratches the surface.

Then again, it was only a couple of years ago that I learned—quite by chance—some very important things about the way names are used. What happened was that when I went back, one year, to a community where I had been working on my dictionary, a 5-year-old girl, in greeting me, pulled me over to a new picture on the wall and said: "That's me!" It was a picture of an old man who lived in another part of the Arctic, whom she had never seen. And she was excited that this was her. So I began to listen to the way people used their names.

I knew already that names provide a double set of "kin", because you acquire all the kin relationships of the previous holder of the name and these relationships create all sorts of social obligations and privileges. But when I looked more closely, I found that people were also using their names to act out psychological problems. Here's one example. In some parts of the Arctic people can pass on their names while they're still alive. In one community I found that a man had given his name to five different grandchildren—that is, to one child of each of his five married daughters. And he told the mother of one of

these grandchildren (it happened to be a granddaughter, since Inuit names have no gender): "I want you to give your child everything she wants, because I never had anything I wanted". He had been a favourite child, but in the camp where he was living nobody had anything, so they couldn't give him whatever he wanted. Now, the mother of this favoured granddaughter had his mother's name. So in telling her to give her daughter everything the child wanted, he was both giving himself a new mother who could be more giving, and creating a new version of himself who could be fully gratified. He was doubly revising his life.

My point here is that I discovered all these fascinating things two years ago. So it makes sense to keep working with the same people for a very long time, and to develop deep relationships. Every time you visit the same people, you are in a different world, and have different relationships. So every version of reality that you "portray" or "paint" is just that, just a portrait, just a painting. There is no sort of eternal truth anywhere to be reported. Then, too, the more you look, the more you see that all these portraits are interrelated. Everything is related to everything else, at multiple levels, and contradictorily. Everything is overdetermined.

Participant: Do you think that a male anthropologist could have done the same?

Jean Briggs: I don't think any anthropologist could have done the same, because every anthropologist works in his or in her own way, sees different things, has different blindneses, different associates, different experiences. But I don't mean to evade your question. My being a woman did have an influence in some ways. Let me give you an example. The first time I went to Gjoa Haven to wait for transportation to go to Back River, the Inuit wife of the Anglican missionary (who was also an Inuk, and who spoke no English), asked me what I was going to do there. Because I knew that her father had once been host and adoptive father to a *Qaplunaaq*, I explained myself by saying: "I want to do what Doug Wilkinson did". Her response was: "I think you will have an easier time of it, because you're a woman, so they won't expect so much of you. You won't have to go out hunting in rigorous weather. You'll be able to sit home with the women and children". And that's what I did. As a man, I would not have been able to stay home with the women and children without making the men extremely anxious.

Participant: Was there any pressure on you, as a single woman, in that environment? I mean, did they want you to marry someone, to be their sort of woman?

Jean Briggs: It wasn't exactly pressure. I forgot to tell that aspect of the story of my arrival. The missionary's wife, trying to help me, was looking for a way to incorporate me into the group. When I said I wanted to do what Doug Wilkinson had done and learn about Inuit life by just living there with them, learning the language and skills, she said: "That will be easy, there are two men down there looking for wives". I said: "That wasn't exactly the role I had in mind for myself". So she said: "Then we'll have to find you a household in which there is already a wife, and you can be a daughter".

The *Utkuhiksalingmiut* had very definite ideas about how a daughter should behave, and they just assumed that, being defined as a daughter, I would be an Inuit daughter and would do what Inutsiaq wanted without question. But they did make allowances; they said very specifically: "Because you're a *Qaplunaaq*, you don't have to go to bed when we do; you can stay up to write your notes. And you don't have to do this, and you don't have to do that". But they hadn't realized the personality angle, the role-behaviour angle, and that created conflict. I had to learn how to be a daughter; and I didn't really learn about being a daughter until I had been ostracized, because that provided a powerful motivation. I realized later, after I began learning about the dramas, that if I had been brought up with these dramas, I would never have had to be ostracized. I would have understood the subtle messages that they had been giving me for a year already, which I was blind to, because I didn't know how to read subtle behaviour. Looking at their behaviour is like looking through the wrong end of a telescope. The significant signs are so tiny. If you read the screenplay of *Atanarjuat*, you will see some of these signs pointed out—like the movement of the eye that means an urgent 'no'. I didn't see the movement of the eye that meant an urgent 'no'.

Participant: From your point of view, what are the advantages and disadvantages of the insider's and outsider's look?

Jean Briggs: First of all, I reject the dichotomy between 'insider' and 'outsider'. There are all degrees of inside and outside. It's a continuum. More than that, it's a mosaic. You can be more inside at a certain moment, in a certain context, and more outside in another context, at another moment. But every position that you take or are given provides certain insights and certain blindness's. For example, if you are standing on a balcony in the departure hall of an airport and are looking down at all the to-ing and fro-ing below you, certain patterns will be obvious to you, but a lot of other things you won't be able to see. Or if you are standing down below, in the midst of people, you will see other things, but not what you saw when you were on the balcony. And if you are actually departing and interacting with a group of friends, you will see still other things. Every position gives you some things and blocks off other things. And I think that the ideal is to collect as many of these perspectives as you can.

I had a student once, who, unfortunately, dropped out because she had such a painful field experience. But if she had been able to *use* the rejections that she got in the field, she could have written a marvellous thesis. She was living with Innu in Labrador, who were very ambivalent about her presence. If she could have documented the roles they gave her of outsider and insider on different occasions, and tried to analyse the circumstances that produced those different behaviours, she could have had a wonderful thesis. But she just thought: "I failed".

Participant: I would like to know if there was a time during your long field trip when you felt more comfortable with the family you were staying with. Do you remember when it was? And did they feel more comfortable at about the same time—so you felt comfortable with each other?

Jean Briggs: That's not an easy question to answer, because my feelings of comfort and discomfort came and went sometimes several times a day. And my feelings of comfort were sometimes unjustified, because I didn't see their discomfort—for instance, after I had done something antisocial or irritable. One day, I remember, when I was tired, a teenaged girl, about 18 years old, came up to me and playfully poked me and said "*laah!*", which was a way of starting a game of tag around the tent. I wasn't feeling like playing tag, so I didn't respond. I didn't realize what a sin that was, and how negative her reaction was, because she just smiled. Or sometimes I would be unhappy about something and withdrawn, and they would offer me tea, as they would do to a sulky 2- or 3-year-old, and then I would think everything was all right, because I was cheerful again and they seemed cheerful; but it wasn't all right. I didn't realize any of this before the breaking point that was the ostracism. I was reinstated as a daughter before I left, but even so, my family's feelings were ambivalent. When I left, Allaq wrote me a letter—I think I was still in Gjoa Haven—in which she said: "I didn't think we would miss you, but the iglu is very big without you". If you read *Never in Anger* you'll see the sequence of events: My Inuit helper, the missionary's wife, explained away my bad behaviour and helped them to understand that I was trying to be helpful in a situation where they thought I was not. So I felt ok again, and I asked Inutsiaq if I could come back sometime. You should have seen his face! Allaq said immediately: "She doesn't mean right away. She means after going back to her country". So then he said: "Well, I guess that would be all right. You could stay either with us—or with somebody else. Maybe you're the only *Qaplunaaq* who would be acceptable, because you're a woman and weak, and therefore, if you misbehave, we can kill you". He was given to fantasies of this sort, and I knew he didn't quite mean it, but I took it seriously, anyway, as a metaphorical expression of the difficulties we had gotten into. Then after I went away, I got that letter from Allaq.

So, when I went back three years later, I didn't know quite what to expect. I went as far as Gjoa Haven, where my family had been living during the winter. They greeted me warmly and began to ask if I was planning to come back with them to Back River for the summer. Wanting, in my Western way, some firm invitation, I said: "I don't know". And I made this response many times to the same question. Finally, the missionary's wife said to me: "They think you don't want to go". Then I realised that the question was the invitation; I should have realised that already. So the next time Inutsiaq asked, I said: "yes, if it's all right with you, I'd like that". "Ohh, fine!" he said. So we went; and after we'd been there for a couple of weeks, he said to me, "Are you happier this time?" I said, "Yes". And he said: "We are too".

Participant: How difficult was your return from the field to the south?

Jean Briggs: Terribly hard. I had to hide in my sister's basement in Seattle for a week. Life seemed so aggressive and intrusive: road signs, how-to-wean-the-baby articles in newspapers; have-you-had-your-Papp-test posters in pharmacy windows; directions, orders, rules of all sorts; commotion, noise...

Participant: In our Ph.D. programs, we get a very strong preparation for our fieldwork. But then when we get back from the field, we are left alone to struggle with the issues of data analysis and interpretation. How did you tackle this dilemma?

Jean Briggs: It wasn't actually a dilemma for me. That's because I had marvellous luck, marvellous helpers who always came out and said the right thing at the right time. But first I must say that I got almost no professional advice before I went to the field. I did get glimpses of what was ahead from returning students, who would say: "Expect this", "Don't expect that"...whatever. But Cora DuBois¹, who was my supervisor, said: "If they are living as close to starvation as some of the information you have received would indicate, then you have no right to go, because you have no right to be a burden". I took that point, but we agreed that I would go and I would look, and if I thought I'd be a burden, I would leave immediately. But it was ok, because I took a lot of useful stuff, like tea, flour, kerosene, ammunition, & so on, and they were not as close to starvation as rumours had had it. DuBois did give me one useful piece of advice. She said: "Everybody who goes to live in another culture undergoes three anxieties, always in the following order. The first is: *will I survive, physically?* The second is: *will I be able to relate to people?* The very last one is: *will I be able to do what I came to do?*" She was right about the three anxieties. But they didn't happen sequentially; they happened all at once. And then there was Asen Balikci². I met him shortly before I left for the field, and he told me: "The cold is wicious, and the dark is wicious, and if you survive, you will be the woman I admire most in the whole world". So, that was my preparation for the field.

In the field, I was cut off from communication most of the time, because we were living 150 miles away from Gjoa Haven, across open water. So, from May to December, there was no contact. And then once a month or so, someone would go in to Gjoa Haven to trade and maybe bring back letters (although, once they left my mail on some remote point out on the land because the sled was too heavy). Somehow, through this non-communication, a letter from me reached Cora DuBois—a letter saying: "I don't know what I'm doing here. There are no shamans (I had gone to study the social relationships of shamans); I just write down everything that happens, and it's all confusing and chaotic". And six months later, I got a *perfect* reply: "The fact that you are confused shows that you are a good anthropologist. You can oversimplify when you come home, if necessary". Graduate students should realise that their confusion and the mistakes they make are the most constructive sources of information, the very best source of information.

Well then, I started home, and I got appendicitis in San Francisco on the way. In San Francisco, at Stanford, was living the man who had gotten me into graduate school in the

¹ Cora Alice DuBois (1903-1991) received a Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of California, Berkeley, in 1932. She worked with Alfred Kroeber from 1932 to 1935, did fieldwork in Southeast Asia and India and was Zemurray Professor of Anthropology at Harvard University from 1954 to 1970. She is the author of *People of Alor*, a seminal study in Psychological Anthropology (then called Culture & Personality), which established her well deserved reputation as a leader in that field.

² Asen Balikci taught anthropology at the Université de Montréal. He is well-known for his publications on the Netsilik Inuit of the Central Arctic and for his interest in visual anthropology.

first place—a wonderful anthropologist named Ben Paul³, who was a perfect administrator as well as a very good anthropologist. He and his wife took me in to recover. And they asked me all about my field experiences, so I told them about all the dramatic events that had happened to me. And I said: "I have no idea what I'm going to write my thesis on; I don't know anything about anything". Ben said in his quiet way: "I think your thesis will be about social control". And I latched on to that, as a drowning man clings to a twig. And when I reached home, DuBois magically transformed Ben's advice into *Never in Anger* by suggesting that I just "tell five anecdotes and string them together somehow". Again marvellous advice, without which my life would have been entirely different.

Participant: Our lives as young researchers can be confusing because professional researchers often do not mention the difficulties they encountered during their fieldwork. I think we must break the silence about the difficulties of fieldwork. We come back and we think: "I must be a failure because this awful thing happened to me". We feel like giving up because we don't know that things like that happen to everybody. Did you ever experience this confusion?

Jean Briggs: I think there are two very important lessons that anthropologists—and others— should learn, which are very hard to learn because of the nature of our school system: *Mistakes are a good thing* and *not knowing is not scary, it's productive*, because then you begin to explore "how" to know. Mistakes show you clearer than anything else what the rules are, what the proper behaviour is. And you try to figure out what you did wrong. I would say the same thing to teachers. I know so many bad teachers who are bad teachers because they are afraid that their students will find out that they don't know something. I think it would be good for students to know that their teachers don't know things, because then they wouldn't be so afraid of not knowing. They would know that we are all in this situation together and can look for answers together.

Participant: When we read, when we go to conferences, there is a big silence around all those things.

Jean Briggs: I know. People are afraid that it will ruin their careers if they let the holes in their knowledge show.

End of 'Personal Thoughts'

Commentaries on the *Utkuhiksalingmiutitut* Dictionary

Participant: I like your talk because I'm not sure I've heard anyone use linguistic data the way you have, to make holistic extra-linguistic points about interaction between the researcher and Inuit, and language-learning and so forth. Usually, when people do

³ Benjamin D. Paul is Professor of Anthropology, Emeritus, at Stanford University. His ethnographic focus was on the Maya of Guatemala. He edited *Health, Culture, and Community*, a well-regarded book of case studies of public reactions to health programs around the world.

linguistic analysis, they put words on the board, you write them up and that's all you get. That's what linguists do.

Jean: I'm not a linguist.

Participant: Exactly. The subject of bringing the language to life is certainly an important one. The dictionary is just the beginning; you have to take a word out, and use it, and add information in from your own life experience of that word. That's what makes it a language, and makes *you* a speaker of the language—experiencing it.

Jean: I'd like to say one more thing corroborating this perspective. I had supper with some friends the other night. One was an Inuit man who showed me the new *Tununiq* dictionary⁴, which is entirely in syllabics. He said: "Of course, a lot more work needs to be done on this". I asked, "What kind of work?" He said: "Lots more clarification". I wondered what he meant by 'clarification'. He could have meant something like this.

Participant: That's the way I've always felt about the dictionaries I worked on. They are so poor in the sense that there is so much more that should be put in there.

Inuit participant: The attitude of Neakok and the elders from Gjoa Haven towards language and knowledge seems very much like the way Buber⁵ uses language and faith, in the sense that he wants to bring it into the immediate; he wants the written word to be experienced the way it was spoken. I think that documenting this treasure trove of concepts is absolutely important, and I don't see it as the dying of a language. It's using the available technology to preserve the language. If I look at the Lord's Prayer in Old English, it's totally incomprehensible to me, but if I put it side-by-side with the more modern English, you can see how the language evolved.

Participant: Your talk reminded me of Ludger [Müller-Wille] talking about his mapping project. When you put definitions onto a map, you're creating a finite representation for an infinite experience, just as you do with a dictionary. Research always has that element somewhere where things come together. It's really exciting. And I couldn't help thinking about myself learning *Natsilingmiutut* as a child; there were similar things going on there. So, thank you for describing that, because this is how I see language learning happening; and there are a lot of questions in Nunavut right now about how people are going to learn language.

Participant: The word dictionary comes from "dictum", which means: "spoken". Dictionaries, as we understand them in the western world, have evolved. Once, people like you worked with people who spoke, and the spoken speech was written down. You quoted Webster; that's one type of dictionary that exists today. But 17th and 18th century dictionaries used approaches more like yours; they contained quotes from oral traditions.

⁴ Titled: *Inuktitut Dictionary. Tununiq Dialect* (the new Pond Inlet dictionary), compiled by Elisapie Ootava, 2001.

⁵ Martin Buber (1878-1965) is a Jewish philosopher, theologian, Bible translator, editor and author of, among other numerous publications, *I and Thou* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970).

Jean: You know, the most lively dictionary I know is a recent dictionary, the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*. That one also has quotations in it from various texts, from the first occurrence of the word up through the present. It brings Newfoundland life to life.

Participant: I think that in the future, we should work on bringing together language and culture. They are not separated in life, and we artificially separate them. We should try to keep them close to each other.

Participant: I was wondering if the idea of the "Living Dictionary" (the dictionary on the internet) is something like that, putting the words into cultural context. It's still a work in progress, I guess.

Jean: I'm not sure how they're going to construct their definitions. I think they're going to take their definitions from already published dictionaries.

Participant: But isn't there an active part in it?

Jean: Yes, what's 'living' in it is that they are going to keep adding words as they are invented.

Participant: Only words? Or also comments, which can give life to the words?

Participant: Yes, comments from the readers.

Participant: Trying to understand words in this way is not too different from trying to understand an object. Like a grass basket. In order to understand what it is, I have to ask people what it means to them, in what contexts it's meaningful to them. I can't remember who wrote about things evoking memories: "a thing is not a thing, it's a starting point of a process of mind".

Jean: I think we find it easier to think that way about objects than about words. And I'm suggesting that we should use the same process for understanding words. People don't often treat words that way. They take a denotation, and they think they have understood the word. The point is that they have not; they've only scratched the surface.

Participant: Maybe the question to ask about the dictionary is not 'is it dead or alive, but 'do people *think* it's dead or alive?' Maybe some researchers or dictionary-users will be satisfied with short definitions, and others will want to go further.

Jean: That's what I was trying to suggest: that it's important how you use a dictionary.

Participant: I would like to add that the Living Dictionary project is supported by the Nunavut Government, and there are links to other sites, as well. It has been an ongoing

project for many years. Jaypeetee [Arnakak] must remember Jack Cain⁶, who came to make a presentation in a workshop a couple of years ago. From what I understand, the project seems to be full of promise, but there are many obstacles to be surmounted: technological, economic, cultural, and regional; problems of orthography, problems of copyright, and problems of making up an evolving database for the long term. I remember Jack Cain saying that you can even look forward to a day when you will be able to hear the pronunciation of each word through the internet. And maybe other things can be added, like video. Nevertheless, I consider that what you're doing right now could integrate the human dimension into a dictionary.

Jean: Jack Cain and I have agreed that he can have my material for his Living Dictionary. But that is not what is going to make it live. I mean, my printed dictionary isn't going to have in it the life that I've been describing, which evolves out of the making of it. The livingness of it, if there is livingness, will come when people discuss the words with other people who have experienced the events, the objects or whatever. It will have to come to life interactively.

Participant: Right now, from my point of view, this goal is sought by the project of the Living Dictionary.

Jean: Well, it will be interesting to see how they manage it.

Participant: I think the use of this dictionary could help students learn to speak Inuktitut. If we could form little groups and talk about the language and bring it alive with the help of the dictionary, I think that would be a really good thing to do. And it should be put on a CD so that it is not left in a library. It's too bad to go into the field and not be able to talk.

Jean: Yes, I think it's important to learn the language.

Participant: Thank you so much for your beautiful stories about the process of creating this dictionary. I never thought before about how a dictionary was put together.

Participant: My question is about the changes confronted by Inuit people, and particularly your own observations about any changes in the contexts in which the Inuit language is being used, especially by young people.

Jean: Well, my observations are similar to what Kenn [Harper] said this morning. The language is disappearing in the west. It's seriously troubled in the Central area where I work. There are only half a dozen elders who speak the dialect as I learned it in the '60s. And my ability to learn more, and collect more words, has come to an end. We will just have to make do with the information we have. Among *Utkuhiksalingmiut* in Gjoa Haven, only people over 60 or 65 speak anything like the language I recorded. The

⁶ **Editor's Note:** Jack Cain is no longer involved in the development of the Living Dictionary, but the project retains the support of the Government of Nunavut (see <http://www.livingdictionary.com/>).

younger ones, and even the older ones, are amalgamating *Utkuhiksalingmiut* words with *Natsilingmiut* words. Two different informants will tell me two different things about whether a particular word is *Utkuhiksalingmiutit* or *Natsilingmiutit*. Even sisters will disagree. Often when I present a word I'm told: "We didn't learn that word until we moved to Gjoa Haven; we picked it up from the *Natsilingmiut*". But I had recorded it 30 years earlier when we were at Back River. Children play in English. Young people, 30-40, are able to talk to their parents, but their parents tell me: "She doesn't speak well". So I really don't know how this dictionary will be used. I think that when I started it, there were two kinds of interest in it in Nunavut. The interpreter/translator program was interested; Susan Sammons has been a big supporter of the dictionary and has helped me a lot in all sorts of ways. And the *Utkuhiksalingmiut* themselves, the elders, have expressed gratitude on local radio for my recording of these words. But how will they be used in everyday life? I doubt if they will be, unless there is a resurgence of language. The context is being lost; and that raises the question for me: why do they want to record this?

Inuit participant: How is the Inuit language doing here, in comparison to Greenland?

Jean: I think it may be stronger in Greenland because there is a Greenlandic literature, radio—and doesn't Ilisimatusarfik (the University of Greenland) use the language?

Inuit participant: I'm interested in the comparison also because my mother tongue is Greenlandic, and I use my language in language-learning, as well. When you translate a word into your own language you understand it better than if you use a Danish translation. I want to compare my own dialect with the closest dialect of (Canadian) Inuktitut.

Jean: The Pangnirtung people told me they could understand Greenlanders pretty well.

Participant: Young people *now* say they can't understand Greenlanders. I think the difference is that some people are interested in language and some people are not. As people who are interested in language, we assume that people *should* be interested in language, but the average person on the street is just living his life, he's not interested.

Participant: Now there's a big project to create a PanArctic TV network. Maybe that will provide an occasion to promote language.

Participant: Do you relate the loss of contexts for using the language to the decreasing interest of young people in traditional occupations, like hunting, whaling?

Jean: Well, that's possibly one element in it. Weren't you telling me a few hours ago that people herd reindeer in the Even language? And in Sireniki they hunt sea mammals in Yupik.

End of 'Commentaries'

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Ethics of research: views from within

Mary Ellen Thomas* and Jamal Shirley**

Editor's Note: The Nunavut Research Institute (NRI) has the basic role of coordinating and supporting research and technology development for the well-being of the population of this Territory. It provides information, advice and even assistance on research programs and projects in a wide variety of areas. NRI also: assists researchers in identifying community-relevant research themes and questions and in applying for (and securing) mandatory research licences; verifies the compliance of their projects with ethical principles and community needs; and delivers research licences for the social and natural sciences (under the authority of the Nunavut Scientists Act).

Because our Ph.D. seminar is taking place in Nunavut and involves discussion of research topics relating to many Arctic communities in Nunavut and elsewhere, we felt it appropriate to learn more about the NRI's mandate. We thus contacted Mary Ellen Thomas who, with Jamal Shirley, agreed to: 1) provide an overview of the NRI's activities (Mary Ellen); 2) present the principles and practice of research ethics in Nunavut (Jamal); and 3) have a discussion with the seminar participants. This turned out to be the first-ever such meeting and discussion between NRI representatives and a group of social scientists, an interesting experience reproduced here in an edited form.

An overview of the NRI's activities

Mary Ellen: I am the Acting Executive Director of the Nunavut Research Institute. In my usual functions, I work with licensing and research design. So when someone comes to me and says: "I have a good idea and I want to turn it into a research project," this is where the discussion begins about what that project will look like. The Institute has a few employees. Rick Armstrong provides support services for researchers. If you need for example accommodation, food, etc., he can arrange that for you. Jamal Shirley has the responsibility of environmental monitoring, which is his area of expertise. We also have a manager of technology services, who works with small businesses needing expertise from researchers across Canada to solve problems of innovative design and new technology. For example, one entrepreneur may inquire: "How do I find a paint that doesn't fall off the building after 3 years?" We try to connect him to a chemical researcher across Canada to develop a paint that is more functional. A contractor could come to us and say: "We need a type of oil that would work better under cold climate." So that is part of what we

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do, connecting people in Nunavut communities with practical business applications that need a research function.

At the NRI, we also try to maintain a research library. One of the most familiar questions you will hear from the people in our community is the following: "What ever happened to the researchers that came 4 or 5 years ago and left?" So part of the function of the licensing process is to make sure that an annual progress report is filled and that it is located somewhere in Nunavut. We have those kinds of questions all the time. Someone comes and says: "I don't know what he was doing but he was studying birds." At the Institute, I can sort the database by geographic location, bird species, and community, to identify the project of this researcher and to find out the nature of his research.

We try also to build at the NRI a collection of repatriated materials. Many northern researchers across Canada are retiring and sometimes told by their universities: "You have 21 days to leave your office," leaving them not much time to decide where to store their materials or what to do with them. We are thus trying to bring these materials back to Nunavut, so that people can have access to them. We already have two collections. One is Milton Freeman's¹ collection. This scholar coordinated all the research that was used for writing up the report on the *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project*. He generously donated all of his material, letters, and documents to us. This was a wonderful project another researcher could soon build on, perhaps to look at Freeman's work in its significance to the land claims. The second collection we have is the George Hobson² one. He has also donated his library to us. We hope to be able to continue that over the years as we bring back materials about Nunavut, so that we eventually build a functional research library. Those are the kinds of functions that you may never realize are being done by the NRI, because most of you only see its licensing function.

Jamal will now make his presentation on ethical research in Nunavut.

Principles and practice of ethical research in Nunavut

Jamal: My presentation will focus on three main topics: a) the factors leading to the establishment of ethical guidelines for Northern research; b) the identification of these existing ethical guidelines; and c) some issues deriving from their application.

a) The factors leading to the development of Northern research ethical guidelines were certainly numerous and quite varied. As I see it, they could be brought down to two main ones: local frustrations over the way the research process was being implemented and the political mobilization of Northerners.

Up to the 1970s at least and even sometimes later, there used to be a long research tradition in all fields of enquiry, relating to Aboriginal people and particularly the

¹ Former Professor of Anthropology at the University of Alberta and Senior Scholar with the Canadian Circumpolar Institute.

² Served as Director of the Polar Continental Shelf Project from 1972 to 1988. In 1991, he received the Northern Science Award for this outstanding contribution to Arctic research.

northern regions of Canada. Academic researchers—just as public servants with their policies—used to plan and conduct their research with little or no preliminary consultation with the populations being the object of study, without much effort to meaningfully engage local communities in the scientific process, and without any genuine concern to locally transmit their research findings.

Local frustrations over this type of research process developed rapidly. Over the years, communities grew quite wary of the numerous medical surveys and experiments being made in the North, sometimes without apparent respect for the real needs and for the privacy and dignity of individuals and communities. As industrial activity expanded in the North and as the policy of comprehensive land claims agreements was being implemented, local concern over the end use of research results increased in many regions of the Arctic. If biologists working for the government collected detailed data on a species in a region, how would the data eventually be used, by whom and for what purposes? Could it not serve to justify harvest restrictions by some government department or agency, against the economic and cultural interests of the local communities? If some prospectors collected mineral samples over a particular territory, would the results of laboratory analysis of these samples be used to promote only the interests of large oil and gas development in the Canadian North, without any consideration for the economic benefits at the local level? If an archaeologist found artefacts and brought them to the South for analysis, did this mean that those artefacts would be forever lost to the North? How could scientific research, e.g., studies on traditional land use and occupancy, be used to further the political aspirations of Aboriginal peoples to secure greater land rights and self-determination?

The Northern residents thus began questioning themselves on many other aspects of the research process. In the kind of work they were doing in the North, were not researchers—particularly academic researchers and their students—enhancing their careers at the Northerner's expense, by paying no attention to the social and cultural contexts of their research? How accurately did the researchers portray and represent the social and cultural dimensions of the North in the rest of Canada and the world?

Thus, concerns over unethical research, the finalities of research results, intellectual and material property, representation and misrepresentations of the North by Southern researchers, led Northerners to aspire to gain more control over research and more sharing of the benefits that accrue from research. In the course of the 1970s and 1980s, with the political mobilization of Northerners around land claims and the negotiations on the possible creation of Nunavut, research, control of research and conduct in research became definitively "politicized" and largely debated issues.

b) For those reasons, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), apparently motivated by the goal of improving living standards in the North through research, published its first "Guidelines for Scientific Activities in Northern Canada" (1976) and called for consultation and agreement with Northern communities in research. A few years later, in 1982, the *Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies* (ACUNS) published its own "Ethical Principles for the Conduct of

Research in the North"³ and promoted cooperation and mutual respect between researchers and Northern communities.

Those guidelines were soon followed by others, among which the following:

- Participatory research process for Dene/Métis communities (1993);
- Inuit Tapirisat Kanatami (ITN)'s background paper on negotiating research relationships (1994);
- James Bay Cree Board of Housing and Social Security code of research ethics (2001).

As a rule, all of those guidelines spell out objective and subjective ethical principles of research conduct, which are more or less measurable and enforceable. The objective rules are: obtainment of advance consent, in the form of full disclosure of possible benefits and risks in participating in the research; identification of purposes of research and uses of research results; identification of sponsors; insurance of anonymity when required; appropriate consultation at all stages of the research (including design and practice); individual and community right to withdraw at any point of the study; giving appropriate credit to local participants in all project publications; storing of data in the local communities; and distribution of research summaries and reports to participating communities in the local language. The subjective rules forbid undue pressure and are aimed at respect for the local culture and language, for privacy and dignity, for TK (traditional knowledge) and IQ (*Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit*) in all stages of research, and for enhancing local benefits resulting from the project.

Ethical principles should be interpreted more as guidelines than as rules. They are surely not intended to strictly regulate research. They rather guide the conduct of research in general ways, to encourage fair, honest and open consultation and rapport with the local communities and to obtain their formal consent and cooperation. We add that not all ethical principles necessarily apply to all types of research. Research affecting directly the well-being of local people and their local activities is most prone to a strict application.

Here in Nunavut, the research guidelines are governed by the Northwest Territories Scientists Act of 1985, which established a framework for overseeing and licensing research in the Territories. It reads: The Science Advisor shall issue licence unless, for reasons stated in writing, "the research proposed to be carried out might be injurious to or unduly interfere with the natural and social environment of the territories or any part of the environment" (NWT Statutes, 1985: Chap. S-4, Sec. 2). This Act applies to all scientific research in the NWT, except for research on terrestrial wildlife (as defined in the NWT Wildlife Act) and archaeological research. It is the NRI that administers the Scientists Act in Nunavut.

Nowadays, in its licensing process, the NRI requires proof of independent ethics review by the researcher's university ethics committee. The consent form must include a

³ Updated in 2003 in an English, French, Inuktitut and Russian version, all available on the ACUNS/AUCEN website.

statement of the informant's rights, phrased in the following manner: "I have been fully informed of the objectives of the project being conducted. I understand these objectives and consent to be interviewed for the project. I understand that steps will be taken 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." The NRI requires bilingual (Inuktitut and English) summaries of the proposed research and its results. It also suggests to proponents to consult ACUNS ethical principles and the NRI/ITK Research Relationships Guide, which explains the rights of community members as participants in research and offers guidelines for community researcher partnerships, which we view as the ideal form of real collaboration between researchers and communities.

c) In the third part of my presentation, I would like to outline three basic issues deriving from the application of the ethical guidelines in the North, issues dealt with in a recent article published by Korsmo and Graham (2002).

One first basic issue is the time and resources involved in negotiating research agreements, which often appear as lacking and are seen by some as obstacles to the development of research. I would personally say that this was a real problem when the ethical guidelines were first put in place, a couple of decades ago. Nowadays, researchers are accustomed to the application of ethical guidelines and are even obliged to follow them by all Canadian and American research councils. The negotiation of research agreements is increasingly common and no longer seen as an obstacle to research.

A second issue touches upon the consultation process in negotiating research agreements. A series of questions are here often asked and debated: how is a researcher to determine the proper local authority to consult? What happens when local authorities in the same community disagree (e.g., Hamlet Council vs. Hunters and Trappers Organization) on whether they support a research project? What does constitute an adequate consultation, what are the respective obligations of community and researcher in the consultation process, and when are these obligations met? Those issues would evidently merit long discussions and debates. Let us simply mention here that the NRI has an expertise on those matters and could provide useful information and insight as they arise on a case-by-case basis.

A third issue has to do with local control over the research process and is related to more substantive questions, like: what types of local concerns can warrant withholding a research licence? Can/should a project proceed without local involvement where a community does not see the value or relevance of a proposed research project? Since research agreements are not legal contracts, what recourse do community members or researchers have when the other party breaches some of the terms of the guidelines? Even more generally, if a community is to guide research, including the framing of scientific questions, can locally focused questions "trump" the quest for more generalized knowledge?

As a conclusion, I will suggest that negotiated and well-established research partnerships between researchers and local communities and their institutions are a truly innovative way of insuring productive and satisfactory research for everybody involved in the research process, even if such partnerships do not solve every problem involved in the research relationship.

Discussion with seminar participants

Mary Ellen: Within the areas of human relationships, there is always a potential for misunderstanding. And these kinds of problems about which Jamal spoke often occur. I will give you three historical ones. A medical research company called me one morning and said: "We have a new vaccine and we would like to test it on sexually active 13 and 14 year-old girls of your community." Is this an ethical question? Would this company want to test this on Aboriginal people here and why here? Why not sexually active 13 year-old or 14 year-old girls of Montreal? Why would they want to travel to the Arctic? Have they discussed with the parents, with the hospital, with the nursing stations, with anyone else before calling me for a research licence? I think that is an ethical issue. I will give you another example. A lady of 55 years called me one day and said: "When I was 8 years old, a dentist came, pulled out all my teeth and said he was doing research. How can I have compensation?" How do we get compensation? That is an ethical question. Here is a third example. A researcher flies into a small community. He makes arrangement to stay with a woman in that community. He starts taking pictures of this woman's home. She thinks those pictures will be part of some kind of research. "Maybe my house is not clean enough. What will you need it for?" They do not succeed in discussing the matter clearly enough. The problem gets on the community radio station and becomes a whole community war. Suddenly, the researcher has no place to stay and is asked to leave the house. Such a situation could have been avoided by simply explaining to the woman why those kinds of photographs were being taken. The lesson to be learned is that a simple matter of research becomes a matter of human relationships.

The NRI delivers between 100-125 research licences every year. We see many more in discussions and in the development stage, long before they get to the licensing stage. We see a lot more projects than we actually license. Some drop out, some are redesigned, some come back later with better funding, better preparation, etc. There is a lot of informal discussion and it helps to make better projects.

Participant: Of those 100-125 licences a year, how many are in the field of the social sciences and humanities?

Mary Ellen: Two thirds are in the physical, natural and medical sciences and one third in the social sciences.

Participant: There seems to be so many researchers in Nunavut. Aren't people bored with Southerners coming up north?

Mary Ellen: I think that you more overwhelm the local people than anything else. A common comment I get from the local people is the following: "This study has been done so many times before." I say back to them: "You have the ability to say no. If you don't want to participate, just hang up the phone." I do it all the time for surveys from Environment Canada that want to know what I think about their weather station or surveys of the RCMP. I say: "No, I do not want to participate." I do not think that a lot of people have yet the confidence to say to a white researcher: "No, I don't want to participate." But I see it coming, slowly.

Nevertheless, I do think that if you have a question, you want to find the answer. If a young mother wants to find out why her child has a birth defect, maybe she will want to participate in the study because she expects that its results will have a positive effect on her child's and the community's health. A basic question to be asked is: "How do you involve Inuit so that they become partners in answering the questions that they want to get answered?" The researchers have their questions that they want to get answered, but I think that they should also think about involving Inuit in discussing what the question will first be before it is answered. The best example I have for that is the Coral Harbour Human Development Office (HDO). They wanted to find out about contaminants. They owned the questions. They submitted for a licence and phoned a research university that was willing to work with them. They thus owned the results.

Participant: Does the NRI have a mandate to provide information about those issues of community participation and involvement to outside researchers?

Mary Ellen: We think that is one of our roles. We have a publication called: "Nunavut Research Agenda." We conducted 250 interviews across Nunavut, with people in organizations, with community members, with government agencies, asking: "What is the need for research in Nunavut?" We have a long list about what kind of research should be done in Nunavut. This "agenda" is published every five years and the new one is about to be released. Because it is so general, social scientists find it sometimes an "add it on" since the overwhelming amount of questions people have are in the fields of physical science, wildlife science and biological science. But with the new agenda that is about to be published, we "shifted" a little bit. This is what Jamal is working on, taking a topic and doing a smaller research agenda. For example, you can't turn on the news, any day of the week, without hearing the words "climate change" and "Arctic" linked together. So we are doing interviews in every community in Nunavut asking people: "What are the research issues you would like to see done relating to climate change?" And our hope is that a scientist will look up the agenda and say: "OK, my question is kind of related to this question. Let us design something together."

Participant: It can sometimes be difficult to work with a consent form, especially with elders who give more importance to the spoken word. I just want to know if the NRI would accept oral consent as long as it is recorded?

Mary Ellen: Yes, if recorded in front of a witness. The purpose of the consent form is to inform the participant and also to protect you as a researcher.

Participant: What do you think about a researcher making a first field trip without yet having obtained any permit, just to get a feeling of the planned project on the ground, like a preliminary observation period to check if the people are interested in the research?

Mary Ellen: We encourage that. We call it preliminary exploration. Come talk to people. Find out if your questions are the questions people want to get answered. Find out the relationship. When it is possible, we encourage the researchers to spend the greater part of their work in a preliminary exploration. When I was a teacher, I used to say to young teachers: "You should spend 3 hours planning for every 1 hour you will spend teaching." Because it is in the planning and in the preparation that a good proportion of the good work is done. The product is only a minor result. But we want to be informed that you are in a preliminary observation period.

Participant: What about someone who wants to do a research project and the people do not agree with it?

Mary Ellen: I call those: "the weird and the wonderful." There is always someone who comes up with a weird and wonderful idea and wants to explore it. I will give you an example, a real example. Someone came to me one day and said: "I want to canoe down the Kazan River." I told him: "Great adventure, have a good trip. I don't need to talk to you." Then he said: "I am really going because I want to study the parasites that live on black flies and mosquitoes." Then I said "Have a good time, but first put your research licence application in because if you publish this, if you're going to put this in a journal, if you're going to get a thesis out of your research, then I want to know what you're doing. And I want to have a copy of at least one page long of what discovery you made about those parasites that live on mosquitoes." No one in Nunavut cares, but it's a weird and wonderful project.

Participant: We, as social scientists, often use informal or non-formal information, the day-to-day observation, "participant observations." How should we ask to use this type of information?

Mary Ellen: Whenever in doubt, ask. We have seen too many pictures from the 1950s in books captioned: "Eskimo men and dogs." We have to move beyond that. People want to know more: "Where is this man from? What is his name? Did he know his picture was taken for this book?" When in doubt, ask, particularly for pictures.

Participant: In the U.S. and in Canada, every research university now has an ethical review committee. I am curious to know what kind of interactions you have with those committees.

Mary Ellen: That is true in Canada and the U.S.A., but not in most of Europe, Japan, etc. We do see many of those European researchers who do not have ethical human subject review committees. For the most part, they have been excellent. But sometimes they got a little overboard by asking us to become a partner in the project or asking us to sign a

letter stating that someone in the community was involved in their project. They sometimes go a little too far, but that's better than not far enough in my opinion.

Another thing that impresses me is the American National Science Foundation allowing a researcher to keep his data for three years. You have exclusive rights to your data, but if the NSF funded you, you have to post all your data on the Internet. I think that is very innovative and very creative. I think it allows a lot of people to have access to those data and be critical after your period of exclusive rights. I really hope Canadian universities will move in this direction.

Participant: Is this a recent policy?

Mary Ellen: It was put in place maybe 4 or 5 years ago.

Participant: You are obliged to give away all your notes and data?

Mary Ellen: Yes, I believe so. It's as if you were doing a research project under a national museum contract. After a certain time, you have to deposit all your notes at the national museum and that is basically what the NSF is doing.

Participant: In that way, the information I collected and used becomes available for another research project.

Mary Ellen: That is a new research project, a secondary one, and it becomes an ethical question again. We are familiar with the secondary use of blood samples, blood that has been collected for a purpose and which is used for another research project after the identifiers have been taken off. What is the role of secondary research? That is a question that is defended in court right now.

Participant: You said that you want the Canadian research policies going in the same direction as the NSF by making the data the researcher collected available to the public. Why do you support that?

Mary Ellen: Because the Internet gives access to everybody and you do not have to live in Iqaluit to go down to the research centre library. If it is on the Web, everybody can have access to it through the Internet.

Participant: But these data are encounters between people who built up a context for a dialogue in a social environment over a long time. Would you publish that and consider it to be data? I personally feel very uncomfortable about the transformation of a conversation into data. How are you going to establish a partnership between native and researcher?

Mary Ellen: This is a discussion going on right now in the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC). They have now published new guidelines, called: "Dialogue on Research and Aboriginal Peoples." How do we define

research with and for Aboriginal people? This is a huge question and I do not think that we have found the answer yet.

Participant: Ph.D. students doing research in Nunavut and completing their degree have to submit a summary report on the actual outcome of their research. Are you actually reading this summary report?

Jamal: We ask for a copy of the original Ph.D. thesis and do our best to track and review the findings in order to forward them to local institutions that might be interested in them.

Mary Ellen: There is a fundamental "disconnection" between the findings of the researcher and the policy of the government, and that is kind of where the role of the science advisor is. The science advisor is a cabinet appointee who advises the government on scientific issues. Now some people think: "Does that mean that if something falls from the sky tomorrow morning, Mary Ellen is going to be the person running over there advising the government about what they should do?" That is a good question. I do not think the role of the science advisor should be only reactive (reacting to something) but also being proactive in recommending government policy.

Participant: I just came back from the area where we are going to conduct our research in Siberia and it is a very different reality. In fact, if I have a research activity that is inconsistent with the political agenda of the local government, I would have problems.

Mary Ellen: It happens quite often. We are aware of scientific information that might have influence on government policy and no one is listening to us, even our own government.

Participant: I would like to have a quick overlook of what is going on in Alaska and in Greenland. I was wondering if you were invited to meet your colleagues in Alaska and Greenland?

Mary Ellen: Certainly, we are in close contact with Yukon and the NWT. We participate in the Arctic Science Summit, an annual event. It is a great opportunity to exchange with researchers on the physical science side, where most of our projects are. A new trend is also starting to emerge: *interdisciplinary collaborative research*, involving for example research on climate change combining traditional knowledge, social sciences and health. I underline here that this IPSSAS seminar is our first opportunity to meet with international social scientists in any kind of forum.

Participant: I know that the *International Arctic Social Sciences Association* (IASSA) has adopted some *Guiding Principles for the Conduct of Research* in 1998, but ethical principles developed nationally, within the Arctic states, have more strength and more chances of being followed.

Participant: I think that the setting up of these ethical guidelines is excellent and you are addressing very serious issues. But I worry about research that does not fit, that is not

competitive enough and that cannot be planned far enough ahead to be treated this way. The first time it was brought to my attention, it was by someone who was studying events that occur suddenly. She does not know where the earthquake is going to happen or where there is going to be a SARS epidemic, and so on.

Mary Ellen: The process of licensing does not stop the creativity, spontaneity and intellectual pursuit of questions. It is simply a guide to know who is doing what and where.

Participant: I can inform you that the *Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies* (ACUNS) has re-edited its "Ethical Principles" in English, French, Inuktitut and Russian. The use and application of ethical principles are spreading, and it is maybe what the IASSA was trying to do.

Participant: I wonder about the fact that some people are misunderstanding our work as researchers (local population, leaders), invoking the fact that we are making money out of the research and/or that we are stealing knowledge. They also sometimes are unfamiliar with the intricacies of the research process we are working in.

Mary Ellen: I think that we should tell the local people that we are learning, rather than doing research. I think that when you are telling someone you are learning about Inuit culture and learning about geographical place names, that is a very different word. When two people meet, there is always fear. This is a most usual situation. If local people think that you are there to steal or use that knowledge for a company, your motive will be read in your body language. Be honest with them and tell what you are really doing with the data of your research.

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The Fifth Thule Expedition recollected: its anthropological material as seen from a history of science perspective

Kennet Pedersen *

Abstract: This paper deals with the Fifth Thule expedition. It tries to pinpoint the when (1921-24) and the how (the collecting by travelling through a presumed cultural area by native means) of this expedition, its aim (documenting an overarching Eskimo Culture as manifested in its temporal and spatial variations), the purpose (establishing the Ethnographic Department of the National Museum in Copenhagen as the centre of Eskimology studies) of this expedition, as well as to place this endeavour in its political, colonial, national(istic), and ideological contexts.

Keywords: Fifth Thule Expedition, Greenland, cultural history.

Introduction

This presentation¹ really has the format of a discussion paper—in that I hope to raise some theoretical, methodological, and interpretive questions that transcend the somewhat closed trifles of my unfinished (Danish) doctoral dissertation. And we're talking about this:

The Fifth Thule expedition (1921-24) was a deliberate attempt to close the "Inuit circle" by supplementing Greenlandic cultural history with an investigation of Inuit groups in Northern Canada, Alaska, and Siberia. In this endeavour, the anthropological responsibilities were assigned to the Arctic explorer, and then famous writer, Knud Rasmussen and to Kaj Birket-Smith, the later-to-be curator of the Ethnographical Department at The National Museum in Copenhagen. The whole set-up might be, crudely, described as conducted in a pre-field-work style (the method was travelling) and "German" in theoretical orientation. The collections gathered both in material and – as it was called – "spiritual" culture were immense: 20 000 ethnographic objects (which called for an expansion of the Museum buildings in Copenhagen), and a series of reports, counting some 5 500 pages.

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The actual scientific results of the expedition have, not surprisingly, been differently assessed over the past 75 years: theoretically abandoned as antiquarian, even ridiculous, by the following generations of anthropologists—who were themselves adhering to the credo of participant observational field work—as it has been ideologically dismissed as heroically nationalistic in form and ill-founded exoticising and nostalgic in content (a concise example would be Rasmussen's account of the history of Polar research, see note 10).

So why reconsider it?

For one thing, not only for anthropology, but for science in general, we have been through what has been called the "contextual turn". According to this conception, scientific disciplines are at the same time relatively autonomous—and deeply co-reproduced as and in other social systems, be they ideological, financial, nationalistic, colonial, political, educational, professional, popular and so forth. Following Latour or Luhmann (1992, 1997), you could say that the Fifth Thule expedition could be put in at least five different contexts, or that the protagonists had to mobilize different circuits of agents: 1) the subject itself, The Inuit culture, established by investigation of the different Inuit cultures, a field requiring a host of techniques, instruments, collections, museums, institutions, and of course native groups; 2) the colleagues, the professional communities, learned societies, periodicals, alliances and "hostile" adversaries; 3) capital in the literal sense, governments, foundations, protectors, apparently themselves looking for other, i.e. cultural, capitals like national pride, or simply fame and honour; 4) public interest and appreciation, convincing the "masses" of the value and utility of these costly endeavours, working with and manipulating folk models of science; 5) knowledge, the cognitive project, the science of science, and the rhetoric of scientific acknowledgement, and how produce truth, "and nothing else but the truth".

In the case of the Fifth Thule Expedition, this simply remains to be de- and reconstructed.

How to go about it?

Accepting our period as one of post-post almost anything, nearly any subject, any discipline, any theory, any method have shown themselves to be fragile, dangerously difficult to ground, contested from any possible angle—how then avoid the facile argument that everything is "only constructions", being differently distributed investment potentials in different fields and games of "power". I'll argue that one way out is to strictly describe and represent how scientific objects are produced and reproduced in observable contexts. Of course, this too will lead straight to the main difficulty in every interpretative business: how exactly do text and context, theme and background, practice and environment—clutch? What are the mechanics, cooperation or communication between, say a conception of the Raven as The mythological trickster and its cultural and social circumstances, and not the least, of claiming this as an ethnographical fact? Here, no other methods seem to work than the modest claims of different kinds of

hermeneutics, be it addressed at historical records or for that matter field "inscriptions". But an interpretive practice of and on culture remains always already circumscribed by social coordinates. And as everyone knows, interpretation is just working with and walking in circles – part to whole, whole to part; past to present, present to past; local to global, global to local etc. There is in principle no difference between historical sources and field notes – other than the last is "co-produced" by the interpreter.

In both cases, the informant steps, wisely, a step to the side.

Then what to be gained from this

Clearly, in some way not very much – besides the scholarly work of no real "human interest". On the other hand, there are occasions where in order build and gain "the capacity to build", you have to "clear the ground". And to the best of my knowledge, one major field for some of my "informants" (colleagues and friends and what so politely is designated "common natives") is a battleground of re-appropriating a better understanding of how "Inuit culture" was made up. In order to get that understanding, you must – very much like a child splitting a clock work and putting it together again – know exactly how the images are made, and the destiny of their invention, use, abandonment, recapture: to deepen your dog-like nose in their traces, following their criss-crossing in social and cultural time-spaces.

Background

My own work is to be situated in different circles of interest. As a member of the research group The Northern Space and the Nordic Nations – The International Research Network in the History of Polar Science²; as a member of the editor group of "Copenhagen, City of Science"³; as teacher at the University of Greenland where we try, among other things, to cope with the complex historiography of how "Greenland" was constructed, contested, deconstructed, and reconstructed.

Thule

In a very self confident way, Knud Rasmussen ended a long and legendary history of the mysterious far North by baptizing the area of the Upper North West Greenland "Thule", inhabited by "Polar Eskimos" (to be confirmed by the archaeological complex "Thule Culture" as the most recent – from 1200 A.C. – layer in the excavational sequence).

There's more to it than simply naming: the almost hysterical quest of putting names on different samples of Terras Incognitas, like fingerprints of (Western) discovery, cartographical annexation, and potentially political ownership. In this case, it was for Rasmussen and his associates a deliberate attempt to gain control over the entire island of

² See Northern Space 1999 and Bravo, Michael & Sverker Sörlin 2002.

³ See Pedersen, Kennet 1998.

Greenland, against any potential American claims on this immense area. An attempt which might have been backed up by the presence of Peary and his several pursuits to reach the North Pole from this location and assisted by knowledgeable Polar Eskimos.

Although the Danish government behaved very hesitatingly and reluctantly (not to offend USA – with whom it had made an agreement—and gained control over Greenland as a compensation for the sale of the Caribbean Virgin Islands), this linking of Thule to the rest of Greenland was appreciated by the new Greenlandic elites. In fact, it established an "indigenous" Greenlandic map much akin to many other triangulations of "civilization". The old colony in Midwest Greenland as the civilized Greenlanders, contrasted by the noble, but pagan savages of Thule, and the ignoble and heathen savages of East Greenland⁴. The first step to take was accordingly collecting (in the very ecclesial sense) money in West Greenland for a Polar mission.

This fits into the church reorganization where West Greenland no longer was a "mission" but an independent "parish" (in the paternal, or better: maternal, parlance of the time: no longer a "daughter" but a "sister congregation"). But this charity project in spiritual terms had to be accompanied by a more secular aid as well. The Polar Eskimos had become dependent on Western goods (Peary obtained much of his assistance by procuring his collaborators with guns, coffee and tobacco) which the "little tribe" after the North Pole expeditions now was wanting. Rasmussen (and a couple of other private investors) stepped in and established a trading post at Dundas (the location of the US military base now⁵). It was, in fact, a privately run and – so it seems—very profitable business where Inuit furs were exchanged for European goods. And part of the surplus was to be invested in expeditions: the scientific conquest of these "remote" tracks which explains that they were all called "Thule Expeditions"⁶.

The Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24

This was far the most pretentious, and expensive, of the Thule expeditions. The set up was to complete an archaeological and anthropological survey of the "rest" of the extinct and existing Inuit cultures, presupposing that the Greenlandic part was known. So to speak, to finish the Eskimo Circle by investigating the non-Greenlandic Inuit. In its aspiration, it was even more pretentious. Not only should it "conquer" the whole Inuit culture area, but, hopefully, shed light on a long history of human adaptation to the Polar region (including the periods of the Ice Age populations in the Old World, i.e. "Scandinavians").

⁴ See Langgaard 1999. A quasi-universal model which probably owes a lot to the Danish parallel of the positively valued "good and authentic" peasant and his "ignoble" counterpart, the rural proletariat and/or the "deterritoralised" industrial worker in the urban semi-slum.

⁵ The juridical case – compensation for the forceful "relocation" of the group who lived there – was partly lost for the Thule inhabitants at the High Court in Denmark, December 2003.

⁶ In fact, there were seven Thule Expeditions, all of them more minor in scope than the Fifth. The profits were made in the well known fashion where sellers and buyers don't enter a transparent market – buy cheap and sell expensive – facilitated by the fact that Polar fox collars were en vogue in the beginning of the 20th century.

In order to understand such an endeavour, today, we have to put ourselves back to this period and some of its scientific premises. Firstly, we have to remember that projects like this got their format before the Malinowskian canon of field-work, based on participant observation. The goal of (German inspired) Danish anthropology in this period was – to put it crudely – museological in orientation and culture historical in theory. And nothing can be more apart than the method of being in a place than the method of following any human artefact in its trace. On the other hand, there is a certain logic to this expedition style. The way of collecting data was a mimesis of the presumed ways of diffusion, albeit in a condensed time span. Tracking the patterns of diffusion down was, so to speak, another way of re-enacting the distributional patterns of the Circumpolar hunters' cultural repertoire, even by using their own kind of technology, dog sledging. And the aim was not, in the first place, to document singular and individual cultures but to gather "data" from the different but related cultures in order to reconstruct their common origin and range of variation and by this comparison establish The Eskimo culture. And in this way make a culture history for people without a (written) history, and – this is the political part – rescuing these people from an aboriginal and timeless position as primitives, way down at the lowest steps of "social evolution" by giving them a genuine history, not just a prehistory – of course, not built on their own myths and traditions but reconstructed by scholarly equipped anthropologists.

And in order to accomplish this, the method is to gather, sample, categorize, and order a host of "objects" – be they material (the complete collection is the ideal, the total repertoire of all man made artefacts from one location) or spiritual – in a space allowing for an overview and analysis of connections, and there was only one such space: the museum. To reconstruct a "culture" at its place is – misplaced. Transparency and real knowledge are only to be obtained dislocated: in the museum laboratory. From this scientifically principled foundation follows a range of side effects. Firstly, the peoples investigated do not possess adequate knowledge of their own things and doings (do Inuit scientifically know that their existence is all about adaptation? Do they know that their myth of the incestuous moon is Pan-American?). Secondly, by exhibiting their "objects" in an informed way in the museums, the (Western) public might be pedagogically taught about their position in the Global scheme and their deep relatedness to other (not so fortunately situated) members of the Human Kind. But, alas, this conception of culture can be positioned in all too many ideological fits.

Contexts

I deliberately use the rather vague term "fits", because that it might, on the one hand, be quite simple to situate this kind of anthropology in a specific economical, political, and cultural landscape, but, on the other hand, it seems premature to prove the exact mechanisms of non material causation between different social systems (the core example being the Weberian hypothesis of the interdependence between Calvinism and capitalism). This issue is not made easier to cope with by applying the conventional metaphor of "context". Not the least because this linguistic simile cannot, in real and historical matters, make use of "commutation" as a methodological procedure (you can't

put Stalin in Napoleon's place in order to see what difference that would make, but you can change the "p" in Polar with "s" and get "solar"). Nonetheless, we might be allowed to suggest connections (admitting the problematic of establishing "hard causation", even bidirectional) between a particular scientific project and its social and semantic environment (Umwelt). This reservation made, the following themes for further investigation could be pertinent.

Scandinavians, selected for the Cold

Polar research in the pre-W2-decades make up what was considered a (God) given field for Nordic scientists (from Linnaeus on, to Nordenskiöld, Nansen, Amundsen, Sverdrup – and Rasmussen). The Northern (and most Southern⁷) cold regions of the Globe could, and were, seen as a natural prolongation of ecological zones already present in Scandinavia, and even more, zones which reduplicated the prehistory and to some extent presence of these regions: the Ice Age. Add to this, the history of Norse expansion – so easily interpreted as an inherited explorative drive – to the Atlantic islands and beyond (Orkney, the Faeroe Islands, Iceland, Greenland, and Labrador). The English might "rule the waves", but it took an Amundsen to reach the North West Passage and get first to the South Pole; Russia was neighbouring the Polar Sea, but it took a Dane to get the geography straight (Bering), and who else but a Swede, Nordenskiöld, to show that a North East Passage existed (and was of no economical utility whatsoever). Surely, Scandinavians were naturally selected for exploring this (last) unknown space. You will find this theme over and over again in the literature of the time (around 1900). But this is simultaneously a period of Scandinavian fragmentation (Denmark "looses" Norway; Sweden loses Finland), and all the resulting, now more or less independent new national states, are craving for an homogenous identity in this era of nationalism. And in the somewhat heated rush for "scientific empires", you will watch the fighting over Svalbard (between Norway and Sweden – and there was economical spoils to it—coal), over East Greenland (between Norway and Denmark – here seals and presumably minerals). So even though there might be a Nordic selection for the Cold, there certainly, too, was a concrete material clash of economic interests between the Scandinavian nations – all of them reduced to the European periphery as small nations of resentment. In a Danish perspective, this was turned into a comforting stance: here we can acknowledge the Norwegian superiority in exploring the uninhabited parts of the North, as long as they acknowledge our superiority of the inhabited parts, i.e. Greenland⁸.

"What is lost outwards has to be regained inwards"

With the loss of Norway and the Southern parts of Jutland, the reduced Danish state, and nation, from 1864 lost any former aspirations of being a great power, geopolitically. It resigned, but attempted to, in a kind of sublimation, to reach "power and glory" in other realms of excellence than cool politics. Literarily, digging up a history of

⁷ It might be that Amundsen didn't behave in a (British) "fair" way, but the whole idea of ponies instead of dog sledges revealed a blatant amateurism.

⁸ Iceland, formally belonging to the Danish "realm", enjoyed at this time a de facto self-government, extended into scientific pursuits.

the left soil (establishing a scientific prehistoric archaeology) and concentrating, ethnologically, on the Eskimo cultural history, as Greenland still was a Danish colony. And (West) Greenland had at this time been "Danish" for almost 200 years, it had been missionised (the population there was even literate before the lower "estates" in Denmark proper), it had gained a level of "progress" where there was no way back into sentimental primordiality or any supposed original state. And the most articulated adherents of modernization were Greenlanders who themselves were eager to expand the inevitable wave of progress to their less fortunate compatriots in the North and in the East.

In this conjuncture of separate internal histories inside Greenland, the documentation of the still pagan groups took on a very strong strain of urgency⁹. That is, ethnographers were obliged to describe these last representatives of a waning mode of existence, before it became too late to rescue the heritage of the not yet civilised groups that might bear the key to the past, considered as a contact free social and cultural way of living and experiencing. Get to Thule in time!

The step from Thule to their, supposedly, likewise not "advanced relatives" in North America could be seen as a last chance possibility. The result of this urgency was the "necessary" rescuing of as much as possible of material and spiritual "things" or objects from the disappearing Eskimo cultures (as indices of the Eskimo culture as a delineated space-time continuum). The anthropologist had to act as a very hungry meta-hunter and gatherer. But quite consistent with this paradigm where the idea that in-depth understanding only was to be obtained when you have all the "material" collected and laid out in front of you in the laboratory of comparison, as in the National Museum in Copenhagen. "The capital of Eskimo research", as Rasmussen called it. And, indeed, the collections of the Fifth Thule Expedition – more than 15 000 objects – did call for an expansion of the museum buildings that was, eventually, funded by a national charity committee among the chairmen of which, not surprisingly, we find Rasmussen himself!

It is impossible to underestimate the nationalistic profits made by this physical enlargements of the museum buildings – it was in a very manifest way a metaphor for a humanitarian imperialism, that of science, and a metonym of the Danish nation, that of unselfish and heroic research – at the end of the world. In tune with this "ideological formation", the last book Rasmussen wrote was not titled the "History of Polar Research", but tellingly *The Saga of Polar Research*, connoting both the Nordic heritage and that this was bigger than plain history, it was a history that is also a "fairy tale"¹⁰.

Towards a balanced appreciation

Putting the case as I have done – crudely and leaving out many details – we could dismiss this obsolete, dated, and all too "ideological" endeavour as just another example of colonial, Eurocentric, nationalistic, masculinely eschewed, and nostalgic discourse.

⁹ A lamentation with a long ancestry from Bastian, to Malinowski and onwards.

¹⁰ It was – one is tempted to say: naturally – translated into German in 1933 as "Heldenbuch der Arktis" [The Book of Arctic Heroes].

But in this case (and I guess in many other cases) there is more to it. I shall only point to a few facets of this material.

Premodern/postmodern

One of the most striking aspects of Rasmussen's and Birket-Smith's writings is that for every "scientific" report there were "popular" books. These popular books are written in a quite different style which, perhaps, will be read as the prose of yesteryear (many archaisms, loaded with Norse alliterations, long periods in a slow, but melodic rhythm). Significant is the allusion to an – and what else? – imagined saga-like *ductus*. No doubt, this remains a literary trick which finds its counterpart in much of the fictional prose of the time¹¹, but it so to speak moulds Inuit characters as comparable and equivalent to the highly profiled individuals of the sagas and, explicitly, Homeric heroes. You will not find "generic" Eskimos here, only – in any sense of the word – outstanding individuals, portrayed by name, located in time and place. And newer a facile reduction of these persons to structural puppets, dancing to the schemes of an overarching and orchestrating culture, only allowing for a general behavioural average. They are placed in their physical, social, and cultural environment, but this not just as an encapsulating scene of submerging forces, but much more as a dramaturgical background against which they live out their unique existences.

Here it might be of interest to compare the two ethnographers in the Fifth Thule Expedition. Rasmussen was, in terms of formal education, an amateur, while Birket-Smith had all professional credentials needed. One interpretation of their contributions to the total output (reports and "books") is a peculiar cross-over: the younger Birket-Smith was able to discipline Rasmussen into a kind of (boring) documentary prose writer (and don't forget that the long verbatim transcriptions are due to the lack of a really efficient tape-recorder!), while Rasmussen coined the standards of a much more free floating, "narrating" style of his academic apprentice (in fact, all the members of the expedition became – best selling –writers). But the strange thing to observe today is that, in significant ways, the scientific reports seem somewhat obsolete ("premodern"), while the popular books represent almost every demand called for by a very "postmodern" generation of style conscious anthropologists. To stress the point, the Danish eskimologists never reached the scientific refinements of Boas and his pupils, but the portraying qualities of, say, Paul Radin.

The documents are simply there

This undisputable fact you could consider as an argument in itself! But as such the (in particular, the "spiritual" – with an excuse for the oxymoron -) material is of course open for criticisms of all kinds, in the light of an, internal, scrutinizing (why exorcize Inuit myths as if they were told like sagas or fairy tales the Hans Christian Andersen way?), and, externally, by a much more advantaged philological interpretation. But, not

¹¹ Just one example, the novel cycle by Johannes V. Jensen "The Long Journey", which clearly was inspired by the Polar experiences – the author being a personal friend of Rasmussen – and which made Jensen a Nobel laureate in literature in 1944.

the least, there is now a long "history of reception" among Inuit groups of, in particular, the mythological tales. This reception would not have been possible without the ethnographical recording, and an "inspiration" that has proliferated in all kinds of unexpected directions¹². The fact that even "truthful" recordings of native narratives are intertwined with strange, but ponderable intertextualities in the ear of the beholder, will hardly be surprising today. And nothing seems to be gained by a censorship that put "originality" above presently adaptation of this "treasure". And while there might be a historical "proof reading" of the actual and practical use of the past (it wasn't really so), people who identify with a certain rendering of their past could claim a legitimate respect for a presence of this past of their own making (so it need to have been), or to a dialogue between these different optics of history (to which any professional historian would admit). Wouldn't it be difficult to imagine a foundation of a Pan-Inuit solidarity and collaboration without this Fifth Thule Expedition "proof" of the close relatedness, established by the very way of conducting it?¹³

Conclusion: Nation building and nation "Bildung"

Given that this very short interpretation of the Fifth Thule Expedition will show to be factually defensible, "we" are left with a double task. It could be put in this way: On the one hand, a non-reductivist, reconstruction of the aims, the scientific premises, the methodology, and the findings of this expedition – and the different contexts clutched to it. (To recapitulate: the mere existence of Inuit groups in the Arctic, the scientific institutions like the National Museum in Copenhagen, the possibility of ethnographical research by using Inuit technology (dog sledge and hunting), the standards of documenting by a kind of dictating procedures and observations; a wider scholarly audience, circumscribed by interested paradigm expectations; funding, in this case from own (exploitative) resources and clearly nationalistic sponsors, protectors like the crown prince, most of them engaged in the business of getting spill-off cultural capital; a successful "seduction" of the common people as to the national value and enlightening assets of this project, fitting into folk models of science as fascinating and attributing to national glory; relatively indisputable renderings of empirical facts). This much could be seen as making up the Danish side of it all.

But on the other hand, this endeavour was consubstantial with the objective of producing a new, indeed, a reliable history for the Modern Greenland¹⁴ and thereby

¹² When the Greenlandic prime minister inaugurated the "Culture House", Katuaq, in Nuuk a few years ago, he cited the opening of chapter of "Festens Gave" [The Eagles's Gift], stating that "we know our culture and know how to feast". A very sophisticated interpretation—as this book (see Rasmussen 1929) is a collection of Alaska Eskimo tales.

¹³ And this crossing the Inuit lands has been reinacted several times by "native explores".

¹⁴ The future was for Rasmussen, and the Greenlandic intellectual elite, predestined to move in one way: "There is no choice. The life of any primitive people ["Naturfolk", literally "people of Nature"] in the future is only dependent on it's possibilities of development under new conditions. The path ahead must lead over the corpses of their race. What matters, is to give natural men – in their mind and character – as lenient and peaceful a death as possible. Only then they have matured to confront the world-levelling of individuals. We must take from them – their for the Civilization so impractical originality – and try to make them similar to us" (Rasmussen 1920, my translation, KP).

facilitating this "young" nation's way to a civilised education (Bildung), rooted in its own history, as a step to be a really, and genuine, civilised nation – following the "natural" scheme of its mother-land and the rest of the hegemonic West.

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NUNAVUT - Place names and self-determination: Some reflections¹

Ludger Müller-Wille *

Abstract: This essay reflects on the position of aboriginal place name systems within the context of multilingual and multicultural nation-states of colonial heritage. The situation of Inuit toponymies in northern Canada is presented and the history of systematic toponymic surveys is outlined by focusing on the regions of Nunavik and Nunavut. Cultural, linguistic, political, and legal aspects of Inuit toponymy are discussed. The issue of official recognition and representation of aboriginal, i.e. Inuit toponymies is raised to highlight their importance for self-determination and governance for the maintenance of cultural heritage and sovereignty.

Keywords: Inuit place names, toponymies, oral tradition, geographical knowledge.

Humankind's attributes are expressed through language, gestures, behaviour, attitudes and other defining characteristics. Among these elements proper names, a specific body of vocabulary, are an essential part of the human mind's capability and capacity to sort, organize and assess the mental, social and physical environments that need to be understood to make sense of life and its vagaries. Like names for people and animals, names for geographical places and spaces are an essential means to situate oneself and others in the physical environment in which human communities function. Thus, geographical names are an expression of the intricate relationship between humans and the environment. Geographical names, i.e. toponyms, or more commonly known in English as place names, represent a complex body of knowledge people have accumulated over long periods of being part of specific environments and ecosystems; that is culture and nature function as one system and are not separate.

These bodies of names, originally solely contained in oral traditions and transmitted from generation to generation, are mental maps that record the spatial dimensions. They provide the interactions between humans and nature a structure maintaining and developing the essential information to know the environment's contents as well as the

¹ This article is a revised and updated version of a contribution with the same title published in Dahl, Jens, Jack Hicks and Peter Jull (eds.): *Nunavut: Inuit Regain Control of Their Land and Their Lives*. (IWGIA Document No. 112). Copenhagen: International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs 2000, p. 146-151, and is reprinted here with the kind permission by IWGIA (International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs, Copenhagen) in a letter by Jens Dahl (July 2003). I am grateful to François Trudel for inviting me to join and lecture at the *IPSSAS seminar* in Iqaluit (Nunavut) in May 2003.

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physical and human processes related to them. Furthermore, place names, as crucial components of language, always conclude also the territorial extension indicating range and limits of different cultures and their spoken languages through their relationship with space.

On the one hand, place names as proper names have grown out of the intensive links between people and their environment, thus they are part and parcel of the human heritage and oral tradition - cultural indicators. On the other hand, strongly supported by written traditions and visual maps, place names are also a very effective political indicator of territoriality and sovereignty, for example, for both aboriginal peoples and for the interests of expansionist nations. In historic and modern times, moreover, place names have served political image building in the name of self-determination either by fledgling nations, movements of independence, or governance for aboriginal peoples in centralized state systems. Place names have become a political as well as a cultural banner and symbol to prove sovereignty to oneself and to the Other.

These processes have taken on different forms in various cultural and political settings. It is often rather difficult to compare such situations since they represent different premises and goals. However, a common element seems to be the expected recognition of one's cultural and political rights to self-determination in order to create a system of balanced equality among peoples, cultures and languages that would level the disadvantages given by imbalances in numbers, size of territory, and weight in power relations. In fact, the imagined challenge is to grant equal rights to any culture, language and, for that matter, their place names. The problem is how can this goal be achieved in modern times with all the knowledge and technological advantages available? A brief look at the Canadian North and, in particular, the Inuit situation in *Nunavut* might reveal some insight into these processes leading to self-determination and cultural and political sovereignty. Peoples make their own decisions over their own lives that, in this case, also include the acceptance and use of their very own place names in their own language - supported by the extensive usage and application and through the publication in gazetteers, maps, glossaries, and homepages on the internet.

As in other cultures and languages Inuit place names have been passed on from generation to generation through oral tradition for time immemorial. This temporal process receives its changes and adaptations from its own dynamics which is bound to the interchange between the people and their environment. In their varying characteristics and content place names represent the intimate expression of the close relationship between Inuit and the specific elements of the arctic landscape on a very locally and regionally defined level. Thus, these evolved place names have been part of the highly specific cultural heritage maintained by local communities. In fact, these place names are interconnected and can be identified as functional systems serving the needs of Inuit populations through the circumpolar North. Today, the foundations of these cohesive place name systems are threatened by many influences related to external links and communications that are global in dimension.

Historically, some Inuit place names have been documented in written form sporadically and but not systematically since the beginning of contacts between Inuit and Europeans. Some of these names have entered the "official" arctic toponymy on maps produced in Europe and later on in North America, however, these place names never represented the complete Inuit place name systems in their cultural and linguistic varieties. In fact, these records of Inuit toponymy were fragmented and selective at best. Only since the 1880s have Inuit place names been collected and recorded systematically throughout specific geographical regions by "outsiders", i.e. geographers, anthropologists, historians, and natural scientists who did understand the paramount importance of aboriginal place name systems to the geographical knowledge of specific natural environments such as the arctic landscape including water and ice. Such surveys resulted in an appropriate, attentive and representative picture of Inuit toponymy and its socio-economic and spatial functioning. It is due to the foresight and tenacity of Franz Boas (1858-1942), who, in 1883-1884, conducted one of the first systematic toponymic surveys with Inuit. Inuit cooperated by providing the names and also documenting their own knowledge by drawing maps upon Boas' request. Today, this and other historic collections of place names serve the Inuit of southern Qikirtaaluk [Baffin Island] as a historical base upon which to build the modern Inuit toponymy of *Nunavut* as stipulated in the land claims agreement.

Such toponymic surveys carried out by external interests had as their goal to record and document aboriginal knowledge as a cultural indicator stressing the connection between people, culture and land. They were not seen as a tool to strengthen cultural self-determination since, parallel to these anthropological efforts, Inuit lands were swamped by the application of foreign place names given to their places and spaces by explorers, scientists, prospectors, missionaries, and administrators. This toponymic encroachment in the Arctic, for purposes of integration and sovereignty by the Canadian state, was enhanced and solidified by its inclusion on official governmental maps and the "officialization" of those foreign place names as singular names for a specific place - in fact, in Canada, names are "officialized" by law and thus become a legal entity. Aboriginal geographical names in their entirety as a system never received "official recognition" as such, rather aboriginal place names were accepted individually and selectively. However, that has remained the exception and not the rule until the creation of the Territory of Nunavut in 1999. Times have changed!

These circumstances were clearly altered by the modern native land claims process in Canada beginning in the late 1960s and still continuing. With aboriginal territorial claims being put forward to the Canadian federal state and the provinces, place names obtained a high value and exposure as cultural proof and political symbols in the negotiations providing evidence for the aboriginality of these claims. Thus place names were projected into the national and international political fora. *Denendeh* and *Nunavut*, names for Dene and Inuit lands respectively, were promoted in the 1970s and are early examples of this process. The cultural, linguistic, and political dimensions of place names became clearly apparent as an important component of self-reliance and self-determination leading, in fact, to a more independent position for aboriginal peoples within Canada.

In this political arena, however, only some aboriginal place names received this exposure at the early stages. This meant that complete and functional aboriginal place name systems were not recognized in their holistic context by the "other", i.e. the "official toponymy". Further, Canada and its political entities adhere to the internationally accepted principle of one place, "one name", an untenable position in multicultural and multilingual situations where multiple, thus parallel, naming of one place in one or several languages occurs frequently as part and parcel of culture contact.

In the Canadian Arctic, externally driven systematic documentation and surveys of Inuit place names were conducted sporadically in different and limited geographical areas with Inuit experts between the 1920s and 1960s. Such surveys were carried out by Knud Rasmussen, Therkel Mathiasen, Kaj Birket-Smith, Frans van de Velde, Guy Mary-Rousselière, E. P. Wheeler, Bernard Saladin d'Anglure, and Louis-Jacques Dorais just to name some of the active researchers. In the 1970s the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Projects in the Northwest Territories under Milton M. R. Freeman and in Labrador under Carole Brice-Bennett produced maps on land use and occupancy which included, if not systemically but by circumstance, Inuit place names. Some of these collections were submitted to governmental toponymy authorities for "officialization", however, acceptance was slow and often reluctant and did not result in the full representation of all names collected as a toponymic entity representing Inuit culture, languages and naming practices.

In 1981, a few years after the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement was signed, the *Inuit Elders Conference of Northern Québec* with the newly founded *Avataq Cultural Institute* passed a resolution requesting the systematic recording of Inuit place names. This call for action was supported by the *Commission de toponymie du Québec*, established under Québec's language law of 1977, which resulted in a program to record aboriginal toponymies throughout the province. For the Inuit and other aboriginal nations such enterprise was to enhance their culture, language, and general education, but also the geographical knowledge of the land, sea and ice to safeguard Inuit presence throughout their cultural and political territory. The results of these research efforts by the Inuit, funded mainly from federal coffers, culminated in the publication of the *Gazetteer of Inuit Place Names in Nunavik, Québec, Canada* with close to 8000 place names (edited by Ludger Müller-Wille in conjunction with the Inuit Elders of Nunavik and Avataq Cultural Institute in 1987) followed by the *Inuit Place Names Map Series of Nunavik* as of 1991 (by 1998, 27 maps were published) and the "officialization" in April 1988 of *Nunavik*, selected by public referendum in Inuit communities, as the name and uniting symbol for the Inuit region in the northern parts of the Québec-Labrador peninsula. Although, by 2005, a larger number of Inuit toponyms have now been "integrated" into the official toponymy of the Province of Québec under its language law of 1977, these Inuit toponymic projects have confirmed, in fact, the validity of aboriginal Inuit place name systems parallel to the introduced "official" toponymy. The focus and goal were on the cultural integrity of the Inuit place name system which was collated from all Inuit regions of *Nunavik*. The gazetteer and maps have definitely led to a powerful representation of Inuit knowledge both in cultural and political terms. Thus Inuit place names have become an integral part of the political concept of *Nunavik* as a means to

support and enhance Inuit cultural and geographical identity as well as self-determination.

In other Inuit lands and seas of arctic Canada the recording and documentation of Inuit place names has taken on different forms and avenues. Besides the existing historic collections mentioned above, organizations such as the now defunct *Inuit Cultural Institute* and individuals, either Inuit or non-Inuit, had taken on the task to conduct surveys throughout regions which became the modern territory of *Nunavut* in 1999 such as in *Kivalliq* and in the western, central, and eastern Canadian Arctic. However, these surveys have not yet resulted in the creation of a complete historical and contemporary record of Inuit toponymy throughout *Nunavut*, although, as in *Nunavik*, large numbers of Inuit place names have been "officialized" since the late 1980s by the toponymy authority of the former Northwest Territories. This "officialization" included name changes for settlements to the original Inuit version, i.e. Frobisher Bay = *Iqaluit*, Eskimo Point = *Arviat* and many others. Although considerable progress can be noted, it still seems that there is a lingering reluctance by the authorities to react to popular demands by Inuit communities and their experts to aim at the complete representation, confirmation, and affirmation of Inuit place names throughout the Inuit territories. This has changed under the new political constructs and constellations since 1999.

The political and legal creation of *Nunavut* on April 1, 1999 has provided the opportunity to consolidate the representation of Inuit toponymy, albeit based only on a rather short and quite general paragraph in the existing native land claim agreement that grants aboriginal, i.e. Inuit, toponymy full recognition and permanence. It is now clearly in the hands of the newly created public authorities and representative Inuit organizations to progress in this issue to serve the interests of securing and developing Inuit culture and languages. Still at this time, many collections such as the *Kivalliq (Keewatin) Nuna-Top Survey* with 5000 names (collected with the *Inuit Culture Institute* by Inuit experts, Linna Weber Müller-Wille and the author between 1989-91) lie idle in map cabinets and electronic data bases. These data and other more recent surveys conducted by Béatrice Collignon, Darren Keith, Lynn Peplinski, Claudio Aporta, Anne Henshaw, and others are ready to be used to maintain and develop Inuit cultural heritage, geographical knowledge and languages within the context of the pervasive and expanding use and application of English or French as the dominant languages. In the global linguistic context, the various Inuit languages are referred to as "lesser used languages", to apply a term used in the European Union. These languages are under continuous pressures by majority or link languages such as "global English". Safeguarding linguistic continuation requires policies and their implementation directed at the enhancement and strengthening of these languages" application and use among their speakers if that language should remain an element of cultural identity and distinctness.

This socio-linguistic process includes place names. Thus *Nunavut*, its residents and institutions have an opportunity to confirm the value of geographical names to Inuit culture and languages by setting standards in the use and application of all known Inuit names within their territory. By doing so, the responsible individuals and the society at large will contribute to the appropriate and proper representation of culture and to the

identity of *Nunavut's* Inuit and other residents, thus supporting symbols that strengthen cultural and political self-determination.

Since Spring 2000 when most of the above paragraphs were written, toponymic matters have progressed. The Government of Nunavut has established the Toponymy Section in the territorial Ministry of Culture, Language, Youth and Elders (CLEY). A policy on place names modelled after existing Canadian federal policies has been developed and is currently in its final stages of being approved and implemented. Some early results have been the changes to the designations of settlements, so-called high profile names (!), reverting to their original Inuit names for practically all municipalities in Nunavut. *Inuit Heritage Trust Inc.* (IHTI, Iqaluit), mandated to enhance Inuit cultural heritage, has made considerable efforts to initiate strictly community-based surveys of regional Inuit toponymies. Its dedicated staff and consultants such as Luke Suluk, Lynn Peplinski, Darren Keith and Claudio Aporta and others have worked with Inuit communities and trained local Inuit researchers to conduct systematic place name surveys by employing sophisticated technology for recording place names and producing maps. In 2003, the Government of Nunavut established a specific funding program under which each community in Nunavut can apply to engage in toponymic work in order to capture the geographical knowledge which still mainly rests with Inuit elders. The settlement of Pannirtuuq is an example where IHTI under the guidance of Lynn Peplinski carried out a survey in 2003 using as the basis earlier surveys which were conducted in the same region by Franz Boas in 1883-84 and by Linna Weber Müller-Wille and the author in 1984. In this way a historical depth of Inuit knowledge was attained that is not always available. A similar survey was conducted under the same arrangements in Naujaat in 2004.

As outlined in this essay the continuation of aboriginal toponymies is closely tied to the continued use of aboriginal languages maintaining its place and position versus the majority language(s). Thus any success in the continued vitality of aboriginal toponymies is connected with public usage and discourse and a constructive and solid language policy supported by a legal framework that takes into consideration a holistic approach to culture, language, and knowledge. Since the establishment of the Territory of Nunavut and its public government the challenges for Inuit to maintain their cultural integrity have increased and the process of recognition has not yet fully resulted in a situation in which their language, culture, and, for that matter, toponymy are secure and stable.

Trends in Nunavut place names research

Lynn Peplinski*

Editor's Note: Lynn Peplinski has been a northern resident since 1991 and lives in Iqaluit. She has undertaken and coordinated many place-name research projects in Nunavut. Her expertise in this field is outstanding. We invited her to give us an insider's look at some of the recent trends in place-name research in Nunavut. The edited transcript of her presentation follows, with many comments and questions from seminar participants.

When working for the Science Institute of the Northwest Territories Iqaluit Research Centre (which later became the Nunavut Research Institute (NRI)) in the 1990s, we decided we needed to become involved in some community-based research and thus began place names research in South Baffin. Our original idea was to involve high school students who had strong Inuktitut skills. At this time, high school students came to Iqaluit from all over Baffin to attend the High School. Some of the students from North Baffin communities had particularly strong Inuktitut language skills. These students would come to the Research Centre, interview elders and work with their teacher to review their transcriptions from the interviews with the Elders. It was a great idea, but it proved unpractical. Student motivation, and other logistical problems as well, made the method unworkable—and so we changed our methods.

There has been quite an evolution in the way of doing this type of research. In the early days, we only used paper maps in interviews. The question remained as to how we were to return this information back to communities. The Elders want their place names knowledge be known. We knew that for this information to be really useful, we had to find a way to produce maps for people to use. We eventually came to learn about Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and began to digitize our place names data, getting it onto maps.

Geographic Information Systems (GIS) is an information system used to input, store, retrieve, manipulate, and analyze geographically referenced data. Base data, say for a 1:250K scale topographic map, may be purchased from the federal government. This information comes in layers. For example, the contours, the coastline, lakes, rivers, and English toponyms are separate layers. The GIS allows for layers to be turned on or off. Using GIS to produce our maps, we include the topographic features but omit the English toponyms adding in, instead, the Inuktitut names in syllabics. In addition, the legends of the maps we produce contain explanations of the names.

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The Nunavut Planning Commission, created under the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) offered their GIS expertise in the mid 1990s and it was then we began to add our place names data to maps. With their help, and eventually the help of an outside contractor and the Qikiqtalluk Corporation, we published and distributed our first map (25N of the National Topographic Series) in 1997. Prior to printing this map, the names information had been digitized and several drafts printed and reviewed by knowledgeable Elders. The maps were printed both on plain and on a waterproof/tearproof "paper".

There are presently four GIS maps of South Baffin (25N, 25-0, 25K and 25L). In South Baffin, approximately 25 Inuit Elders were interviewed for their knowledge about place names on 17 1:250,000 scale maps. The unpublished maps are at various stages; drafts need to be printed up and reviewed with knowledgeable Elders for correct locations, complete information, and orthography. Interesting to note is that, for the most part, there are only 2 to 3 Elders in each community who hold bulk of this knowledge. This is true for communities throughout Nunavut. There is a great urgency in capturing their knowledge of the land before they are gone.

I continued to coordinate place names research projects after I left NRI and was working as an independent contractor. I began working with the Inuit Heritage Trust (IHT) in 2001. IHT has a mandate in the NLCA that deals with place names and we have expanded on our land claim obligations by taking on the following goals:

1. To support the production of maps with traditional names in order that all may benefit from the Elders' place names knowledge;
2. To assist communities engage in a comprehensive program that will result in traditional place names being made official.

Today's user-friendly Global Positioning Systems (GPS)-based software (such as Fugawi, Oziexplorer and Memory-Map) has greatly assisted the process of recording place names information and providing it back to communities. Maps may be scanned and information added directly to them, using a laptop computer, in interviews. For example, during an interview, the Elders' information can be added directly to the digital map, and printed up. Theoretically, the Elders can walk away with a first draft of the map at the end of the interview. This addresses a concern often expressed in communities about researchers "taking" but rarely "giving back". Maps with the Inuktitut names are so important for many reasons. One of IHT's objectives has been to provide individuals in communities with the basic skills to record the names information using this electronic media to allow them to start their own place names projects – as a first step.

The place names information that is recorded from the Elders goes beyond the provision of labels for places on the land. Information about places is also collected. The information may just be a translation of the name or a more full explanation about the significance of the place. For Inuit, the value of these "place names maps" appears to be for communication and navigation. Travelers on the land frequently communicate by use of a high frequency radio in Inuktitut, using the Inuktitut names for places. However,

since this place names knowledge is eroding, and, for the most part, is not written down, there is often confusion about names attributed to places. The maps help to address this issue.

On a broader scale, the names represent an inventory of what Elders know about the land – where to hunt ringed seals, where to find the pregnant female seals, where the hazards are (currents, thin ice), archaeology sites, and so on. The names represent valuable and coordinated baseline information for a land that comprises 23% of Canada's land mass.

In 2002, IHT held a Place Names Workshop in Iqaluit and invited organizations all around Nunavut to discuss the topic. We discussed the history of place names research in the north, the status of current place names research in Nunavut, made a long list of recommendations for changes to the Government of Nunavut's (GN) Toponymy Policy, and reviewed examples of approaches to place names research in Greenland and Nunavik.

The GN's Toponymy Policy was inherited from the Government of the Northwest Territories Policy, written in the mid 1980s. This policy is in the process of being changed. Some issues that need to be addressed are the use of generics, for example:

Qikiqtarjuaq Island, translates to "Big Island Island".
"Qikiqtarjuaq" should exist on its own, without the redundant English generic. Tasiujarjuaq Lake (Big Lake, Lake), similarly, should just be Tasiujarjuaq.

In addition, given the advances in mapping technology, we feel that it will be practical to submit whole maps to the GN, rather than submitting just individual names. Thousands of names will need to be changed and added to official maps over time. What we would like to see is a process that will allow for maps that have been reviewed and verified extensively at the community level, to be submitted to the GN – for the names to become official. IHT is advocating for this.

Discussion with the participants

Participant: Can you give us a quick view of the impact of the GPS on Inuit navigation?

Lynn: This issue was raised at our 2002 Workshop. Peter Irniq reported that younger people were telling Elders that place names were not important because they had a GPS. However, GPS are fallible and there is much that the numbers (of marks, or places listed in the GPS) cannot tell you. The Inuktitut names are descriptive; for the Inuktitut speaker, the names provide information about the place (where to find eider eggs, a good place to hunt caribou, where the fish of a certain size are, and so on). GPS is a great thing and appears to be fairly widely used. GPS, though, is best used in addition to knowledge of place names.

Participant: But I think GPS can be very dangerous too, because it can freeze.

Lynn: Yes, the batteries can freeze and make the GPS quite useless. But, for the most part, GPS is a useful tool. It will also allow the download of information from the land to a digital map. GPS definitely has its place.

Participant: GPS and GIS have been criticized as a new form of imperialism, because they introduce a predefined grid defined by Western scientists. What is your reaction to such outcome?

Lynn: Information about the land is very precious to people. Knowledge about the land is not transmitted the way it used to be. Before life in settlements, Inuit didn't ask the questions we ask today, they just lived and traveled with their families, and thus learned about the land. Today, Elders recognize that the questions need to be posed and the answers written down. Elders, in my experience have no problem translating their knowledge of the land (in this context) to a map. In one session, one Elder was able to name one hundred places in the space of an hour on one 1:250K map. The Elders appear to feel quite passionately about recording this information; for them the key issue is to ensure that their knowledge does not vanish when they leave this earth. So, the question of new technology representing a form of imperialism does not seem to be an important issue.

Participant: Could you talk about your personal experience while working on this project of place names?

Lynn: The work is very gratifying because people love the maps and use them for travel and hunting and even just to post on their walls. The work is important to link the Elders and the younger generations to ensure the continuity of the Elders' knowledge. I remember hearing about Nunavut Planning Commission posting one of "our" place names maps with the Inuktitut (syllabics) names on a wall at a meeting. While other maps were also posted, the place names map drew an appreciative crowd. It's exciting to be able to have a part in providing maps with Elders' knowledge to people. Also, maps with Inuktitut place names are critically important for any kind of research that has to do with the land. Many Inuit tend not to use the English names on maps; they, of course, use the Inuktitut names. I feel that I can make a good contribution to the community with this work.

Participant: Do you pay for the information?

Lynn: Yes, we usually pay an honorarium of about \$25/hour, and about the same for the language expert. I usually try to pay cash right after the interview is complete. We do use cheques as well.

Participant: Do you think the Elders are actually more financially motivated?

Lynn: The reality is that many Elders do not have much money. Yet, I haven't found that the honorarium we provide for the interviews is a big issue. Mostly, I would say that the Elders are motivated by their desire to provide good information, to have it properly recorded and preserved for others. They want people to know about these named places. This desire is the prime motivation for the Elders' participation. As I've said before, they are often quite passionate about recording this information. The money, for them, is an added bonus I think. Also, why shouldn't they be paid? Consultants are paid; and the Elders are consultants.

Participant: How many people need to talk to you about a name before it get on the map? Does it need to be confirmed or if only one person mentioned it, would the name be added to the map anyway? Were there contradictions in some interviews?

Lynn: I have found it very interesting that there are so few conflicts. Much depends on who provides the information. Certain Elders are acknowledged experts in their communities. When we record a name, in an interview, we also note the name of the expert who provided the name. If a question arises about a name, the response is usually "If this Elder gave the name, it must be OK". In one case, a series of names were being reviewed that were difficult for the experts in the room to pronounce. When they learned which Elder (who incidentally had just passed away) had provided the names, they insisted that he was an expert and the names were accurate and must remain as originally recorded. The names information must be reviewed many times with many Elders to ensure that it's recorded accurately. When questions arise in the interviews often other Elders are consulted by telephone (or they zoom over to the meeting on their snowmachines). There is a strong desire by all who participate in those interviews to record the information as accurately as possible. I'd say it's a kind of organic thing and gut feelings also play a part!

Participant: It is true that a person provides a name, and trust is part of the process. The person is given the trust that he/she knows it, and that's accepted. The person that provides the name will only give a name they're sure of.

Participant: Now that there are maps with place names on them, have you noticed a change in the people's attitudes towards certain places?

Lynn: I haven't noticed anything negative about people having access to maps with these Inuktitut place names (over time we hope to have a series of Inuktitut place names maps for all of Nunavut). However, there are certain places, like archaeological sites that are identifiable because of the place names and we have to be careful how these are described.

Participant: I would like to know if there is anyone who knows about the place names before they moved, or changed over time? Now with the maps, it's fixed... they can't be moved or changed anymore.

Participant: It will still move in the oral tradition. This is the "snap shot" of the situation NOW. And clearly, the way people use names will change, but this is for a next project to capture.

Participant: It's the Inuit way of life to keep the words in movement of the time, keep them changing... it's natural...

Participant: So you're suggesting that the elders that participate in this project are sort of "not natural"?

Lynn: In our research, we have occasionally come across places whose names have changed over time. We try to record both the old names and the new names. With GIS, maps can be produced with changes as they occur over time. Maps are printed on demand as opposed to in bulk.

Also, there are two levels of maps and names we are speaking of here. While the ultimate goal is to have place names made official, this is a very long term process. We hope to make big changes to the official maps of Nunavut but this will take years. In the meantime, we want people to have access to the Inuktitut names. Thus we are striving to create this Inuktitut place names map series. Changes of names over time, additions, etc. can take place very easily with this "level" of map. Again, existing technology makes this possible and straightforward.

Participant: Can you attach sound files, pictures, etc. with the software you are using?

Lynn: Yes, and that's the beauty of this technology. There are many options for creating maps and representing the land on paper or in a digital medium such as on the internet or on CD.

Participant: Since the knowledge is not passed on to the younger generation as it used to be, is there something done, in parallel to this project and place names mapping, to keep the knowledge as an experience?

Lynn: When people travel on the land using the maps with the Inuktitut place names, they can really gain an appreciation about what the Elders know about the land. The maps just facilitate the experience; they help to trigger some of that memory and pride and sense of belonging to Inuit culture. The most common reaction we have towards these maps – from Inuit—is "great"- the maps can communicate information for navigation. This is a very practical response. People live and travel on the land as much as possible. The land is still such an integral part of peoples' lives.

Participant: Even though putting names on a map is decontextualizing, it gives a potential of new experiences ... it is opening a new landscape for a new exploration. But I was wondering if you could pick one Elder's name, type it in and see only his place names and then picture his movement on the land, and the map could reflect his/her use of the land.

Lynn: We have not done this. However, this kind of work has been done in the Kitikmeot. GIS is ideally suited for this kind of application. Again, since the land is such an integral part of people's lives, all of their experiences relate to places (i.e. georeferenced). GIS allows the recording and depiction of this type of information.

KNOWLEDGE AND CAPACITY BUILDING

The anatomy of an Arctic knowledge debate: Lessons for capacity building

Frank Sejersen^{*}

Abstract: Within the last decades, the Arctic research community and the Inuit communities have focused on the question of knowledge to such an extent that we may in fact speak of a knowledge cult. The intention of this paper is to flesh out the anatomy of the knowledge debate in Arctic North America and Greenland. The paper dissects the knowledge debate into two positions: the first is called the "The omniscient position" and the second, the "The contextualist position". Finally, the paper relates the knowledge debate to the debate on capacity building in order to illuminate potential lessons.

Keywords: knowledge production, use and conflicts, capacity building, anthropological perspectives.

The omniscient position

One of the central aspects of the knowledge debate is the matter of the correspondence between knowledge and reality. In the words of Thomas Aquinas, "A judgment is said to be true when it conforms to the external reality" (Aquinas 1883 [1256-1259]: Q.1, A.1). Put very simply:

x is true if x corresponds to some fact;
 x is false if x does not correspond to any fact;

Historically, science has been preoccupied with building theories, methods and standards to make this correspondence possible. The Cartesian dichotomy between nature and culture has fostered a scientific tradition built on objectivism, detachment and universalism. This allows for an authoritative and unambiguous position outside the events themselves from which omniscient knowledge is attainable.

Since the Second World War, Arctic communities have increasingly encountered researchers subscribing to this epistemic. Very often, local communities have considered these researchers as arrogant, dominant, authoritarian and unappreciative of Arctic and Inuit realities. Additionally, the scientific arrogance and authority have been experienced by indigenous peoples as part of a colonizing project of the expanding states trying to realize omniscient presence, control and standards.

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This match of science and colonialism to some extent is made apparent in native communities as they are often put in a marginal, dominated position, where they have little or no say in their own futures. Since the 1960s, Arctic indigenous peoples have purposively challenged this dominant position of science and the state, and the period can rightfully be termed the post-colonial period of *blame and claim*. The processes of blame and claim take different forms in Alaska, Canada and Greenland and this actually results in different ways of talking about knowledge, tradition, land, community, self-governance etc. It is not my intention to elaborate on this here (Sejersen 2004a). However, it is a general tendency that Arctic indigenous communities have tried to re-think their relationship with science and to carve out a position for Inuit perspectives and control.

Often, science has from its position looked at local people's knowledge as a result of ignorance, superstition, narrow self-interests, pseudo-science—well, pure nonsense. The message is: "Science is not local knowledge, and local knowledge can never be science". In a critical comment on Western self-perception, Collin Scott writes:

... the evolutionary opposition of science for "the West" to myth and magic for "the rest" is far from dissolved; Western self-conception remains profoundly involved with images of rational "self" versus mystical "other" (Scott 1996: 70).

There are several contemporary examples of the promotion of a strong position for science:

During a lunch break at the Greenlandic Institute of Natural Resources, a Danish biologist loudly proclaimed to the shock of everybody that "...local knowledge is absolutely useless..." A less provoking statement was put forward by a Danish biologist stating that "the biologists should not be forced to use the knowledge of hunters; they should be forced to listen to it, but not to use it. The biologists ought to be in a free and independent position" (Heide-Jørgensen 1998: 134, translated by the author). In Canada, Howard and Widdowson (Howard and Widdowson 1996) shocked everyone when they, in the journal *Policy Options*, gave air to their frustration about the position of indigenous knowledge in Canadian assessment studies. Among other things, they stated that

The integration of traditional knowledge hinders rather than enhances the ability of governments to more fully understand ecological processes since there is no mechanism, or will, by which spirituality based knowledge claims can be challenged or verified. In fact, pressure from aboriginal groups and their consultants has made TK a sacred cow for which only uncritical support is appropriate. Traditional knowledge is thus granted a sanctity which could lead to the acceptance of incorrect conclusions (*ibid.* 35).

The eagerness of scientists to produce and protect their integrity can indeed at times appear provoking—to such an extent that it may foster "deep suspicions about the relevance of science...and there is a legacy of doubt about the ability of science to work in the interest of anybody other than scientists and southern institutions" (Kemp and Brooke 1983: 1).

In Greenland, where the knowledge debate is not as elaborate as in Arctic North America, hunters use much energy to position themselves and their knowledge over and above the knowledge of scientists. The latter are accused of misinterpretation, bad research designs and an unawareness of Greenlandic conditions. As one debater put it: "We were raised here and we know the facts of our land. We are the only ones who are capable to draw a map which corresponds exactly to the landscape" (Berthelsen 2000, translated by the author). Another debater also questions the scientists' ability to know the land: "...no matter how much confidence we have in the work of biologists, only 20 to 50 percent of their reports are correct. Consequently, the major part of their work remains projections. But the hunters' statements are true accounts, which always are rooted in reality" (Heinrich 2001, translated by the author).

Indigenous peoples possess a comprehensive amount of knowledge about the environment based upon own experiences and oral history. This includes knowledge of weather, ice, coastal waters, currents, animal behaviour and traveling conditions to mention but a few examples (Usher 2000: 186). Furthermore, it is often strongly argued that this body of knowledge is interpreted within a cultural framework which is quite different from Western ideological underpinnings (Berkes 1993; Bielawski 1992; Freeman 1992; Johnson 1992; Stevenson 1996). To stress this difference, a number of concepts have been introduced: Indigenous Knowledge (IK), Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), Aboriginal Knowledge, *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit* or simply local knowledge. By invoking another form of knowledge paradigm, the Western paradigms are challenged. Furthermore, these indigenous paradigms are considered fruitful alternatives to the Western ways of understanding the natural world, our relation to it and our relations to each other (Kawagley 1995). The urge to produce viable alternative and to distance indigenous worldviews from Western ones often result in simple and rigid dichotomies where the indigenous world view is defined as the *exact* opposite as the Western one (Kawagley 1995; Stevenson 1996).

Numerous anthropologists have advocated the importance of integrating indigenous interests, perspectives and knowledge in research (Bielawski 1984) and they have tried to create methodologies to help researchers and managers to bridge the gap between researcher and local people (e.g. Huntington 2000; Sejersen 2003; Stevenson 1996; Usher 2000) and put forward examples of the potentials in local knowledge studies (e.g. Freeman and Carbyn 1988). The endeavour seems to be based on the assumption that the development of good will and new research and assessment methodologies will lead to fruitful communication, improved science and a place for indigenous peoples at the forefront of research. On a broader level, the objective is to introduce a locally informed perspective into politics and development, and to promote an appreciation of indigenous power structures and know-how (Sillitoe 1998: 204).

To help improving the position of indigenous people and their knowledge, some have argued that there are in fact similarities between science and local knowledge. In the words of Hopson, "Traditional knowledge *is* science" (Hopson 1992). Bielawski (1992) also observes many similarities between Inuit knowledge and formal science with respect to its discovery process and formation while also noting the many differences. Paul Feyerabend would argue that TEK is science because it functions (Feyerabend 1975). For some theorists who believe in the concept of a single science, TEK may probably be understood as scientific in the light of some of the common features associated with the enterprise. Thus one perspective suggests that TEK should be integrated into the mainstream whilst another implies that TEK is science—separate from the mainstream but equal.

The incorporation of indigenous peoples' knowledge in research and policy is seductive and in many cases, it has improved the image of research projects. However, in the cases where scientists have had an interest in local knowledge, they have often only used bits and pieces of what they thought was interesting and relevant seen from their standards. They have, so to speak, been forced to clean local statements of unnecessary cultural noise and context. The result is a digested and water-down version of local people's knowledge. Fairhead warns us of the dangers of decontextualisation and from his experiences in the Third World, he notes that

The focus on "technical knowledge" helps isolate agriculture from the social context, or put another way, the farmer from the person. Researchers who are permitted to examine agriculture in terms of agricultural knowledge can maintain themselves in ignorance of the multitude of non-agricultural influences which inform farming practices... [The concept Indigenous Traditional Knowledge (ITK)] helps farming researchers, who are poorly placed to engage with these influences anyway, by providing the easy option of conflating practice directly with knowledge or ignorance (Fairhead 1993: 199).

Nadasty (and much in line with Agrawal 1995) also relates the power structure with the issue of decontextualisation and concludes the following from his research among Kluane First Nation in the Yukon:

The idea of integration, however, takes for granted existing power relations between aboriginal people and the state by assuming that traditional knowledge is simply a new form of "data" to be incorporated into already existing management bureaucracies and acted upon by scientists and resource managers. As a result, aboriginal people have been forced to express themselves in ways that conform to the institutions and practices of state management rather than to their own beliefs, values, and practices. And, since it is scientists and resource managers, rather than aboriginal

hunters and trappers, who will be using this new "integrated" knowledge, the project of integration actually serves to concentrate power in administrative centers, rather than in the hands of aboriginal people (Nadasdy 2002: 1; see also Nadasdy 1999).

The contention that local knowledge is "almost always taken out of context, misinterpreted or given meaning different than in the first place" as put forward by Marc Stevenson (1996 cited in Wenzel 1999) is contested by George Wenzel (1999) if it carries an implication that these outcomes are general and deliberate on the part of the researcher. He asks for a discussion about what precisely may constitute appropriate or correct contextualization as it is a product of interpretation (*ibid.*: 119). Due to the social diversity in communities, a complete contextualization may be impossible according to Wenzel (*ibid.*: 119). He further argues that in fact a contextual completeness is not always essential or even desirable, in examining and interpreting a particular situation or condition (*ibid.*: 119).

The general strive of Arctic indigenous peoples to re-claim their inherited rights to land, life, culture and self-determination, is necessarily also a fight against the authoritarian non-native researchers working as advisers, assessors and consultants for state policy and development makers and the whole institutional setting as such. To invoke the integration of indigenous knowledge and the rethinking of research paradigms is not necessarily enough—it takes more to change the political structures. Indigenous peoples in the Arctic have worked hard to get an actual seat at the table where decisions are made about research permits, research design, interpretation, policy-making etc. Co-management regimes as we see them in Alaska and Canada are the results of such endeavours. The establishment of Home Rule in Greenland as well as land claims and self-government structures in Canada and Alaska are also remarkable results of this process.

What I have done here is to present one position in the knowledge debate in the Arctic. I have called it the authoritarian and omniscient position within the knowledge discourse. The authoritarian position of the non-native Western researchers and the political system have been perceived as oppressive in many facets and have been met with critique from indigenous peoples and parts of the social science community. Put simply, their strategies have been twofold:

1. Indigenous peoples have tried to position themselves at the authoritative position in order to be granted equal consideration and influence.
2. They have tried to take over the authoritarian position themselves and take over the control.

The latter approach has normally meant substituting non-native experts with native experts (often elders). Paradoxically, they are actually running the danger of maintaining

a structure (but in a new shape) with an authoritative position where omniscient knowledge is attainable. The arrogance, fundamentalism, and the unusual degree of autonomy of Western science as experienced and criticized by indigenous peoples may thus be reproduced by indigenous peoples themselves by channelling perceptions into forms compatible with the relations they authorize (Douglas 1986: 92). The danger of this position is that it may foster polarization and discourage discussion. If the position is bitterly defended against outside critiques, indigenous peoples can only encourage a public image of themselves as arrogant and answerable to no-one. And by making vociferous claims to absolute authority, indigenous peoples behave much like fundamentalists or the scientist they criticized in the first place (Nelkin 1996).

This is indeed a predicament!

The contextualist position

This turns us to another position within the knowledge debate which I want to call the contextualist position. The argument here is that an omniscient authoritarian position is not possible. The position emphasizes that accounts (be they indigenous or scientific) are constitutive of reality and thereby challenge the correspondence theory. Knowledge is not reified in the same sense as in the authoritarian position but looked at as being produced within and contributing to the cultural context with political ramifications. The knowledge debate is thus not primarily about conflicts between different paradigms or truth claims but rather a conflict between social groups where knowledge is used to demarcate and maintain boundaries between groups. Knowledge becomes an aspect of social organization. Paraphrasing Fredrik Barth, social organization gives meaning to knowledge rather than the reverse (Barth 1969). Discussions of epistemological definitions and differences between knowledge paradigms are not undertaken. Rather, the contextualist position would examine how and why these paradigm boundaries are elaborated and maintained between groups. Cruikshank (1998: 49) for example points out that researchers need to concern ourselves with the social conditions under which knowledge becomes defined, produced, reproduced, and distributed in struggles for legitimacy.

A contextual position does not make an assessment of the validity of various representations an issue. Rather, it is in the words of Li (cited from Nuttall 1998: 27) "the political-economic contexts in which particular representations are deployed, and the effects that they bring about" which assume significance and are worthy of attention.

Following such a view, indigenous knowledge may be understood as a signifier of the politicization of indigenous peoples' practical knowledge. Seen from this instrumentalist point of view, indigenous knowledge is an appreciated political crowbar used by indigenous peoples to get their knowledge, perspectives and aspirations heard in political forum. The increasing focus on knowledge and global environmental concern has made claims on the possession of such knowledge a valuable political instrument—claims that have been widely accepted and stimulated by the fact that it is framed as traditional, environmental and indigenous (Nuttall 1998; Sejersen 1998). Often, indigenous peoples claim a traditional,

harmonious and sustainable relationship with the environment because it is an effective and seductive argument invoking promise in a world struggling with environmental problems.

Claiming traditional knowledge in a highly politicized context is a rhetorical tool to emphasize, represent, reinforce and enact an intimate relation between people, culture, land, territory and history. And by this advocate in a legitimating vocabulary for community-based rights, development and control. Political involvement and success made possible on the basis of knowledge claims does however pose an unforeseen problem for indigenous representatives. They may be reduced to providers of knowledge and local insights while the important job of drawing up political visions for the Arctic is taken away from them and put in the hands of non-native people (Sejersen 2002; 2004b). Consequently, the relations of asymmetrical power between states and indigenous peoples are not confronted even though indigenous knowledge is integrated (Agrawal 1995).

In a highly politicized context, local knowledge or local attachment to the landscape can be said to be turned into *localism* (Appadurai 1995). As part of this localism, traditions, activities and perceptions are explicitly revisited by the local people in creative ways in order to respond to new challenges and to put forward claims. This politicization of local people's knowledge, their attachment to the landscape and the importance of land to the general well-being of indigenous peoples become visible in many spheres e.g. where management and development are on the agenda (Cruikshank 1998: 66).

To demarcate a knowledge claim and to make it weighty and in accordance with the expectations and rhetoric of the state, there is a danger that local knowledge is reified, idealized, decontextualized and presented in a way which cover up the diversity of knowledge distributed within a community. This process of decontextualization shares similarities with the one we faced from the authoritarian position, but where the latter was based in processes between paradigms, the problem of decontextualization is now based in processes at the local level – in the diversity within communities.

This diversity implies that we actually face a number of conflicting views, interests and perspectives when we study local knowledge. How do we, as researchers, deal with and respect this diversity? Ironically, the researcher may be encouraged by parts of the community to pursue a research project while at the same time being blocked by other groups within the same community. Participation of local people in research or development projects obviously gives privilege to certain types of knowledge and representation and suppresses others (Mosse 1993: 18). Researchers in the Arctic have, in sharp contrast to studies in the Third World countries, been remarkably preoccupied with the world of men and marginalized the interests and knowledge of women. The gender perspective is indeed an example of how an important perspective within the community has been neglected. If one is unaware or unaffected by the diversity of interests within Arctic communities, one can easily become the target of the wealthier and more powerful members of communities dominating and directing research to their benefit (Silitoe 1998: 211). The interpretation that people put on shared knowledge may differ,

depending on how it affects their interests (Mosse 1993). As researchers, it is important to examine the invoking of shared culture, knowledge and interests, and not blindly take it for granted.

The contextualist position also implies that knowledge is acquired, nurtured and shaped within particular social situations and socio-cultural contexts (Nuttall 1998: 21). This applies to science as well as local knowledge. According to Nuttall, local knowledge can only make sense within local contexts of social relationships and productive activities (*ibid.*). This interconnectedness is actually expressed by many indigenous peoples when they air discomfort with the separation of knowledge, culture and their way of life.

Due to the contextual, changing and modifiable quality of knowledge, it does not exist as something which can be immediately identified, gathered or collected. It has to be edited, contextualized and interpreted. The problem is evident when local people's knowledge is represented by and filtered through the intellectual tradition of a non-native researcher (Nuttall 1998: 22). However, does this fundamental problem disappear if the representation and interpretation is pursued by a native person? I think not! Researchers doing fieldwork at home face the same problem and face criticism as well as demands of accountability (Hastrup 1993).

Like local knowledge is to be understood in its socio-cultural context, science has to be understood in its socio-cultural context as well. We have to look at how knowledge is *produced* and *exchanged* in the scientific community in order to understand it. Presently, there is too much focus on how to collect, control and organize knowledge. We have to look thoroughly into different cultural traditions of which knowledge systems are a part and which inform knowledge practices and traditions.

Roepstorff argues that we have to follow the fact, the people, the metaphor, the concept, the conflict and the project (Roepstorff 2002). As researchers we have to look closely at the production of scientific knowledge as a social and cultural practice and investigate how knowledge is produced, used, and exchanged (Latour 1987). Colin Scott (1996) has for example looked at the root metaphors of science, Sejersen at the personal aspects of scientific knowledge production (1998, 2002), Roepstorff at the scientific modeling practice and how these reflect cultural embedded perceptions (Roepstorff 2002) and Freeman (1985) at the interests of science. When we look at science as culture, the dichotomization of nature and culture—the hallmark of modernity and the trademark of science—is challenged. Knowledge production within the scientific community is also about maintaining, and legitimizing the position and integrity of science and the regime of truth which runs from this position.

Science is in this respect local knowledge. Scientists invest interests and emotions (one can fall in love with a hypothesis). Members of the scientific community follow a set of shared cultural norms which Merton (Merton 1942) has called CUDOS: These norms include:

C—communalism
U—universalism
D—disinterestedness
O—originality
OS—organized scepticism

Brown (Brown 1986) offers the following insightful interpretations:

Communalism requires that scientific knowledge should be public knowledge; that the results of research should be published; that there should be freedom of exchange of scientific information between scientists everywhere, and that scientist should be responsible to the scientific community for the trustworthiness of their published work.

Universalism requires that science be independent of race, colour, or creed and that it should be essentially international.

Disinterestedness requires that the results of *bona fide* scientific research should not be manipulated to serve considerations such as personal profit, ideology, or expediency. In other words they should be honest and objective; it does not mean that research should not be competitive.

Organized scepticism requires that statements should not be accepted on the word of authority, but that scientists should be free to question them and that the truth of any statement should finally rest on a comparison with observed fact.

Ziman (Ziman 1984) has suggested that *originality* should be considered as a primary norm as well. Even though originality is an essential characteristic of science, it was not included by Merton in his initial listing. Originality requires that scientific research be novel. Ziman explains that an investigation that adds nothing new to what is already well known and understood makes no contribution to science.

To distinguish between different knowledge traditions does not however imply that it is necessary to privilege one over the other, leading to a marginalization of one or more knowledge systems. The relativism of this position confronts us with a problem however. If we do not privilege one knowledge system at the expense of other systems, how are we to take informed decisions. The privileging of one cultural tradition over another have effects on the way conflicts are approached and it points to certain solutions. The predominance of Western knowledge systems in the North is reflected in the concepts such as "knowledge", "sustainability", "management" and "risk" which are at the core of many discussions in the Arctic. These are actually highly negotiable and are used to control and institutionalize the dialogue by the dominant culture in question (Morrow and Hensel 1992). The accepted claim to have indigenous knowledge integrated challenges the privilege of science but it also results in problems. Let me give you an example of this predicament.

In Greenland, scientific reports indicate that some important bird species like guillemot have considerably decreased within the last 60 years with 35-50%. About half of the breeding sites have been exterminated (Sejersen 2003: 15-17). A long and elaborate political process was initiated to implement a sustainable management system and a campaign was also developed to put focus on the problems of sustainability and bird hunting. After a long hearing process, the government adopted a regulation in 2001 which aimed at reducing the hunting pressure on the birds during the breeding season. The hunters criticized the regulation and argued that the reports of biologists were not in correspondence with reality and that such a regulation would harm their hunting activities and household economies. The law on hunting adopted in 1999, stipulates that local knowledge has to be integrated. In the spring of 2003, the Home Rule government decided not to give privilege to scientific knowledge and re-opened hunting during the breeding season leading to protest from many parts of the country. There is a danger that the relativist point of view will lead to doubts about the validity of data and suggestions for action, resulting in uninformed and unsubstantiated political decisions. No matter how important local participation and empowerment are, they must not be considered as ends in themselves. I do not know if this is a paradox to solve or to live with!

Is there a point where we need to "truth" TEK as to its actual sources as argued by Krupnik and Vakhtin (1997) and its correspondence with the state of affair. If the hunters in Greenland on the basis of their local knowledge maintain that the bird population is not affected by hunting during the breeding season, should this form the cornerstone of the management regimes? We all agree that there are limits to science but have we looked into the limits of local knowledge and found ways to verify it when this is actually needed.

The way knowledge is produced, framed, valued, distributed and expressed—be it scientific or local knowledge—is also a way to produce and maintain communities, social orders and viable self-images. Local knowledge is a means to create and make sense of locality and local communities (Appadurai 1995). To be part of a community, one has to know the practice and speak the language of that community (Hensel 1996: 86). Knowledge not only represents or corresponds to the natural and social reality but brings it into being and reconstructs it as well as the relationship people have with it and each other (Nuttall 1998: 21).

Lessons for capacity building

"Capacity building" is going to be a new buzz word in the Arctic and perhaps is it to become as popular as concepts like "traditional ecological knowledge" or "sustainable development". Just like these concepts, "capacity building" proves difficult to define. It strikes me that the lack of a clear definition is a strength and it may stimulate our understanding of capacity building as a processual concept which has to be negotiated and revisited continuously. Eade (1997 cited from Nuttall 2002: 197) also warns against regarding capacity-building as a set of discrete or pre-packaged technical interventions intended to bring about a pre-defined and desired outcome. I think the attention and

reflection on reification and contextualization are lessons we have learned from the knowledge debate.

The Arctic Council has launched several initiatives related to capacity building and in the paper "A capacity building focus" (Arctic Council 2000), a list of possible paths to pursue is lined up. The paper defines capacity building in the following way:

The term "capacity building" is intended to capture the need to meet challenges by increasing the ability of individuals, communities, businesses, industries, institutions, governments, and other organizations, to access, understand, and apply information and knowledge in a way that allows them to solve their own problems in ways that contribute to sustainable development including environmental integrity.

The Council lines out some goals and objectives of capacity building—allow me to mention a few:

- building a knowledge base and awareness which facilitates better decision-making.
- integrating laws, policies and strategies which encourage sustainable development, including environmental integrity

Furthermore, the paper includes a number of principles for a capacity building focus—here is one of them:

- to foster capacity building, information should be available in forms and languages understandable to Arctic residents, to the extent possible

To implement a capacity building focus the paper suggests several approaches—networking is one of them:

Networking with today's technology allows multi-dimensional dialogue and consultation. Networks can be employed for engaging empowering and increasing the efficiency of individuals, communities, governments, and the private sector, as well as for facilitating needs identification, issue identification, local knowledge dissemination, coordination, implementation, and more.

This is indeed smooth talk and the mentioning of devolution, empowerment and institution building are appealing. The World Bank looks at capacity building in the following optimistic way: "...capacity-building is an investment in people, institutions, and practices that will, together, enable countries, regions, and communities to achieve their objectives for sustainability (World Bank 1997 cited in Nuttall 2002: 195). Mark Nuttall also sees great potentials in capacity building and argues for the integration of a strong gender perspective: "Capacity-building for sustainable livelihoods means

developing the capacity and skills of members of a community in such a way that they are more able to and confident to identify and meet their needs, to participate more fully in society..." (Nuttall 2002: 197). Taking into the account that the use of resources in the Arctic is a contested activity, one is tempted to add that capacity building also should enable members of a community to handle conflicts, the distribution of resources within and between communities as well as to deal with the problems of matching wants, needs and resources. Capacity-building should enable local people to pursue constructive and informed dialogues as well as to make tough and realistic decisions. This requires knowledge production and we are suddenly back in the problems encountered in the knowledge debate.

Central to any people-centered capacity building project is social equity, social justice and participatory structures (Nuttall 2002). In order to approach these goals, capacity building will require that people and institutions are far more explicit about perspectives, interests, visions, and knowledge – a requirement that needs capacity building itself. And a step in this direction implies the opening of discussions of local social, economic, political and cultural diversity. So who exactly is it that should be considered within a community? The need for capacity building of up-to-date democratic institutions which can develop a clear vision of priorities is thus needed. In the same way as states cannot work in isolation to find solutions (Nuttall 2002: 194), these democratic institutions have to be able to work in a globalized world. An important part of capacity building is thus to generate awareness on how the Arctic is affected by and effects the social, political, cultural and economic events happening in other countries (Nuttall 2002). But where does that leave the local perspective and local knowledge – does it imply that local people have to relate their knowledge production to spheres far away from the local in a qualified, critical and comparative way? What are the implications for local knowledge and capacity building in this global scenario? And where are the proper contexts to judge local knowledge and how do local communities deal with critiques of local knowledge production?

The institutionalization and bureaucratization of the capacity building discourse may in fact constitute a straightjacket for local actors because they may end up in well-meaning project strategies dominated by alienating concepts. The question is whether or not capacity building programs will duplicate the top-down directed projects which have been criticized severely by indigenous peoples since the 1960s, where the demand for increased political involvement and the integration of local perspectives and knowledge started to be put forward.

The discussion about capacity building also fosters discussions about the role of science. What role can the researchers play in this process? Can we contribute to the process of capacity building while at the same time pursue critical examination of the pitfalls of the capacity building strategies, concepts and its political ramifications. How can we be critical and at the same time avoid the frustrated post-intervention critique? Nuttall argues (2002: 201) that a capacity building implementation strategy should aim to promote and advance discussion about how research informs policy and practice, and how local communities, researchers and other organizations are best able to turn

knowledge into action. But how can we study capacity building while at the same time partake in the projects which aim at building the researchers capacity to interact in a meaningful and constructive way with indigenous communities? Knowledge is an important part of any capacity building project and this leaves a trail of unanswered questions. While there may be a consensus on the importance of including traditional ecological knowledge appropriately within research and capacity building projects, far less agreement seems to exist as to why this is not being accomplished now or on how the evolving particulars of including traditional ecological knowledge materials within the scope of Inuit research may affect methodological and theoretical approaches to northern science (Wenzel 1999).

Wenzel points out that we have to look at the role that interpretation plays in the activity of research, whether formulated through participatory approaches or from the non-native "outside" (Wenzel 1999: 119). A critical examination of the role of interpretation as well as a critical examination of what constitutes an appropriate and correct contextualization is to my understanding a way to bridge the two positions in the knowledge debate. It implies that interpretation and contextualization exist and are needed but that this authoritarian position is embedded in negotiated and diversified communities – be they scientific, indigenous or local.

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Building capacity in Arctic societies: Two trends in a theme

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Abstract: This paper provides an overview of two trends in capacity building, a theme chosen to be a point of reference for the IPSSAS seminar in Iqaluit in 2003. It shows: 1) that this framework is quite recent and often used in international development circles, with strong linkage to the sustainable development concept; 2) that Canada, through its membership in the Arctic Council, has seemingly played a key role in incorporating its use into discussions and debates about the present and future of Arctic societies. It remains to be seen what the future use of this concept will be, particularly for social scientists interested in Arctic societies.

Keywords: building capacity, capacity building, Arctic societies, Arctic Council

Introduction

"Capacity building" has become quite trendy in recent years among scholars interested in Arctic societies and was adopted as the guiding theme for the Second IPSSAS Seminar in Iqaluit, Nunavut, together with the sub-theme of *Dynamics and Shifting Perspectives*. But as quite often happens at international and national meetings placed under thought-provoking titles, this theme did not really become a source of inspiration or an object of debate for the presentations and discussions during the seminar. It is explicitly mentioned in only few of the articles submitted for its proceedings.¹ Various factors might explain such a situation, which I will not bring up here, except to say that both time and resources to succeed in such an endeavour were severely lacking, at least before the seminar. But as the main proponent of this theme, as the main organizer of the seminar and as the editor of its proceedings, I do regret, in retrospective, that we failed to spend any time individually and collectively exploring with some depth the origin, development and content of this theme *before* the seminar and evaluating its potentially heuristic value for social scientists working in Arctic societies *during* and *after* the seminar. The following article tries to fill at least partially this void. Exploratory in focus and mainly using "grey" documentation easily available only on the Internet, it is a rapid survey of two trends in the use of the capacity-building theme, in international development circles such as the United Nations and at more regional forums such as the Arctic Council. The intention is to provide the IPSSAS seminar participants of 2003 with a basic understanding of some aspects of a theme that

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¹ See mainly Frank Sejersen's article titled: *The Anatomy of an Arctic Knowledge Debate: Lessons for Capacity Building* in these Proceedings.

they had no chance to discuss—perhaps luckily—as well as to offer the readers of the Seminar Proceedings a glimpse of this theme and some of its applications.

Capacity building in international development circles

First, "capacity building" is a not-so-new theme. One soon discovers, upon doing a bit of documentary research, that it seems to have become a common focus in the recent undertakings of many international organizations such as the World Bank, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), many United Nations departments and programs [Social and Economic Affairs, the Development Program (UNDP), the Environment Program (UNEP), the Children's Fund (UNICEF)] and numerous NGOs, as well as within the departments and agencies of many governments, be it in the developed countries or in the Third World. The "capacity" theme nowadays has: a website (capacity.org)², "dedicated to advancing the policy and practice of capacity development in international cooperation," as well as a series of related websites;³ a quarterly electronic newsletter, bearing the same name, published since 1999 and already at its 25th issue; an extended network of relevant international and national partners in many regions of the world; various forums for discussion and debate, such as workshops, conferences and e-discussions; and even development tools, such as handbooks, research projects and a capacity database listing numerous recent publications on a wide variety of related sub-topics. Under the sponsorship of the UNDP, capacity-building has just turned into a new program for international and national implementation, named *Capacity 2015* and designed to increase active partnerships, networking and exchange of ideas related to capacity development and projects.

If such realities and trends do already exist, when, where and for what reasons did the concept of "capacity building"⁴ take root in public and scientific discourses? Evidence shows that the concept took root among social scientists (mainly sociologists, political scientists, and economists) and policy makers in the field of international cooperation and development, mainly as a way of criticizing approaches, strategies and policies overly influenced by purely technical and economic solutions. It started to be explicitly mentioned in the early 1990s, in the preparatory process leading to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (also called "Earth Summit") held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, which gave its credentials to the now well known and widely used concept of "sustainable development". Links between sustainable development and capacity building were established in some of the plans discussed and agreements adopted during this conference, particularly an action plan named Agenda 21. Chapter 37 ("National Mechanisms and International Cooperation for Capacity-Building in Developing Countries) of Section IV ("Means of Implementation") provides one of the earliest definitions of the concept:

² Developed and maintained by the European Centre for Development Policy Management.

³ The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) has created a Capacity Development Network.

⁴ Sometimes written with a hyphen in the English language. For sake of uniformity, we have decided to eliminate this hyphen throughout this article. Capacity building is translated into French as "renforcement des capacités" ou "développement des capacités".

37.1. The ability of a country to follow sustainable development paths is determined to a large extent by the capacity of its people and its institutions as well as by its ecological and geographical conditions. Specifically, capacity-building encompasses the country's human, scientific, technological, organizational, institutional and resource capabilities. A fundamental goal of capacity-building is to enhance the ability to evaluate and address the crucial questions related to policy choices and modes of implementation among development options, based on an understanding of environmental potentials and limits and of needs as perceived by the people of the country concerned. As a result, the need to strengthen national capacities is shared by all countries.⁵

As a way of developing *Agenda 21*, the UNDP launched, soon after the Earth Summit, *Capacity 21*, "a plan to promote capacity-building for sustainable development", which provided a somewhat shorter definition of capacity-building:

The ability of a country to follow a path of sustainable development is determined by the capabilities of its peoples and institutions. Capacity-building is the sum of efforts needed to nurture, enhance and utilize the skills of people and institutions to progress towards sustainable development.⁶

Capacity 21 also identified three main objectives for its plan: a) multisectoral approaches nationally developed and executed; b) an involvement of all members of society; and c) the creation of a body of experience and expertise in capacity building and sustainable development.

From this point on, there seems to have been a series of academic and international development meetings, studies, projects and publications related to capacity building, which gave rise to more refined definitions of the concept, revealed some distinctive approaches to its possible implementation and showed possible applications in numerous fields of activity.

Most conceptual refinements more or less restate aspects of the two above definitions and are not textually provided here, as they would be quite repetitive.⁷ In general, they stress that capacity building: is a process or an approach; involves all levels of societal activity (individuals, groups, organizations, institutions, societies); is designed to enable each of the levels to improve or increase its "intellectual, organizational, social,

⁵ Source: www.un.org/esa/sustdev/documents/agenda21/

⁶ Source: www.undp.org/seed/cap21/whatis.html#what

⁷ Most of the definitions can be found on the Capacity.org website.

political, cultural, material, practical, or financial"⁸ abilities to define objectives and solve problems; is aimed at or closely linked to development, sustainable development and/or even social justice.

The various approaches inspiring the capacity-building frame of reference have been best identified by Lusthaus et al. (1999) as being organizational, institutional, systemic and participatory. They appear to correspond in many ways to the general interpretative frameworks developed in the social sciences and are potentially overlapping in many ways. In its organizational mode, closely tied to the theory of organizations developed by sociologists, capacity building is basically seen as taking place within an organization or a set of organizations whose components have to be identified and mobilized in order to effect change or to reach a new level of societal development. The institutional approach goes a step further and is more inclusive of other aspects of society to generate capacity building. It not only involves organizations, but also "norms, cultural values, incentive systems and beliefs" that influence societies and have to be accounted for in any process of development. The third approach, the systemic one, is even more comprehensive. It envisions capacity building as a series of interrelated systems involving actors in power relationships, linkages and processes, at individual, organizational, network/sectoral and environmental levels. A final approach, the participatory process one, rather stresses the view that capacity building must be people-centred, gather impetus from the participation of people at the domestic and local levels, aim mainly at empowerment and involve learning processes.

As to implementation of capacity building in concrete plans and policies around the world since the early 1990s, it would be an almost impossible task to try to sum up the available data with any accuracy in a short space. The Capacity Database available in Capacity.org⁹ lists a series of close to thirty topics in recently published articles and books related to capacity development, beginning with agriculture and ending with AIDS (or health). A tentative classification of the topics into four major categories (Sectors, Management and Tools, Institutional Levels and Groups, Policies and Issues in Debate) reveals that environment (23) and economy (22) stand out as the most often mentioned topics in the Sectors section (alongside agriculture, forestry, health, urban, relief, water and sanitation); assessment and evaluation (41), information (36), planning and implementation (22) and policy analysis (22), in the Management and Tools section (alongside human resources, finance, leadership); NGOs (28), public sector (national, regional, local) (25) in the Institutional Levels and Groups (alongside civil society and private sector); policy debate (18) in the Policies and Issues in Debate (alongside donor policies, decentralization and democratization). Such numbers, as well as the variety of topics mentioned, surely reveal a genuine and wide-ranging interest in the concept of capacity building and some of its possible applications and uses in numerous fields of social activity. But in no way does it seem to reach the popularity and infatuation of its parent concept of sustainable development, almost a household word nowadays in the social sciences and in public discourse.

⁸ List taken from Eade, D., 1997, cited in Arctic Council, 2001, p. 2.

⁹ In the section Capacity Database, available at:
www.capacity.org/Web_Capacity/Web/UK_Content/Navigation.nsf/index2?ReadForm

Like all frames of reference, "capacity building" has not remained static. It has been undergoing a number of shifts, adaptations and revisions over quite a short time-span of not much more than a decade. One quite important conceptual refinement to underline is that "capacity development" seems to be progressively becoming a recognized substitute for "capacity building," at least in the English language, probably to further pinpoint the close linkages between capacity and the general field of development and/or to avoid multiplication of quite similar meanings. Some studies and publications have also progressively developed the notion of "endogenous capacity development," thus suggesting the idea that the dynamics of capacity development can be initiated externally or internally and that endogenous capacity development can surely be a most fruitful path for its study and application.

What is capacity development? Detailed definitions are available on the website Capacity.org:¹⁰ "Capacity" is "the ability of individuals, organizations and societies to perform functions, solve problems, and set and achieve goals." "Capacity Development" (CD) entails "the sustainable creation, utilization and retention of that capacity, in order to reduce poverty, enhance self-reliance, and improve people's lives." An even more detailed and "all-embrasive" definition of this "broad concept" is given:

Capacity development is generally understood to be an endogenous process through which a society changes its rules, institutions and standards of behaviour, increases its level of social capital and enhances its ability to respond, adapt and exert discipline on itself.

As can be seen by such definitions, discussions about and uses of the concepts of "capacity development" and "endogenous capacity development" now have come to include necessary complementary concepts such as the basic notion of "social capital." Thus, to understand or implement capacity development, an analyst or developer has now to go at length into the various types of capital involved in development and to pay special attention to social capital, i.e., the formal and informal relationships between people, surely not an easy task for anyone and surely not one to be undertaken in this short article. But not every definition goes this far. As an example, a progress report of the World Bank suggests that "capacity development" refers to "investment in people, institutions and practices...,"¹¹ thus drastically reducing the scope of the concept, particularly if only monetary investment is intended.

In the shifting content of the capacity-building framework, my attention was particularly drawn to a note on Capacity and Capacity Development (Morgan 1998), wherein the actual vogue for such concepts is underlined, as well as their "enormous generality and vagueness" and "lack of operational advice." To overcome such problems,

¹⁰ In the What is capacity development? section, available at:
www.capacity.org/Web_Capacity/Web/UK_Content/Navigation.nsf/index2?ReadForm

¹¹ Source: What is Capacity Development? in the Capacity.org website, at:
www.capacity.org/Web_Capacity/Web/UK_Content/Navigation.nsf/index2?ReadForm

this note (rather a short article) attempts to provide clearer definitions of the interrelated concepts of "capacity development," defined as approaches, strategies and methodologies, "capacity", defined as organizational and technical abilities, relationships and values, and "impact," defined as developmental benefits and results. It also establishes a useful distinction between capacity development as an indigenous process of change and evolution and capacity development as a donor-supported intervention in that process. It lists a series of concrete capacity development strategies, highlighting that capacity development must be, almost as a rule, owned locally and surely not imposed. In a conclusion titled "So What?", a number of important points are raised at both the strategic and tactical levels to show many practical aspects to take into account in the practice of "capacity development." In my view, this note is one of the best examples of useful guidelines for the theme, at least for social scientists.

In 1997, the General Assembly of the United Nations reviewed and adopted the Programme for the Further Implementation of Agenda 21.¹² The rather long annex following the adoption of the Programme contains many references to capacity, capacity building, capacity development, endogenous and local capacity building in numerous fields of activity such as trade, the environment and development. It also pleads for an increased focus on national capacity-building programs in developing countries and even includes three paragraphs (#98, 99, 100) under the specific rubric of capacity building, stressing respectively: renewed commitment and support to the international community for capacity building in developing countries and in economies in transition; priority to strategies based on participatory approaches in building capacity for the elaboration of sustainable development; special attention in capacity building to the needs of women and to the special needs, cultures, traditions and expertise of indigenous people, as well as to the role of the private sector and to South-South cooperation.

More recently, in 2002, the UNDP launched an action plan, *Capacity 2015*, in preparation for the World Summit for Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg.¹³ The program was designed to enable developing countries and countries in transition to address their own capacity development needs and to show a renewed UNDP commitment to capacity development. The Plan of Implementation of the same WSSD in Johannesburg¹⁴ again quite often makes reference to the needs for capacity building in developing countries, to assist enterprises, institutions and relevant authorities at the regional and national levels in their efforts to strengthen sustainable development in all fields of activity (technology, agriculture, forestry, fisheries, health, etc.). A later guide for stakeholders, governments and agencies (Hemmati and Winfield 2003) seems to reduce capacity building or capacity development to a simple methodology for enabling stakeholders to engage in partnerships for sustainable development.

¹² Source: www.un.org/documents/ga/res/spec/aress19-2.htm

¹³ Source: www.gm-unced.org/FIELD/Multi/UNDP/FR_2015.htm

¹⁴ Source: www.undp.org/dpa/pressrelease/releases/2002/june/06jun02.html

Capacity building in the Arctic

Much as in the international development circles described above, capacity-building has nowadays become a familiar theme in Canada and the Arctic where, as compared to other regions of the world, it has taken a bit of time before being really incorporated into governmental, public and academic discussions and discourses. In Canada at least, the theme nowadays inspires numerous academic publications, characterizes major areas of activity in research centres, serves as a theme for conferences and colloquiums and is mentioned in just about every field of activity. The Canadian government seems to have played a leading role in this trend, particularly on the Arctic Council.

As early as 1997, through the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Canada adopted an action plan, *Gathering Strength*,¹⁵ designed to renew the relationship with the Aboriginal people of Canada, as a follow-up to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. This plan specifically identifies a need to focus on capacity building in negotiating and implementing self-government, so as to enable Aboriginal groups and nations to assume the full range of responsibilities associated with governance. This focus was surely a relevant one, since Canada was then still in the final process of negotiating land claims in Nunavut, Nunavik and Northern Labrador (Nunatsiavut).

In June 2000, Canada, through the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, released the *Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy*,¹⁶ a document that often refers to the need for capacity building within Arctic communities, supports the capacity-building focus outlined above and pleads for increased institutional capacity through the strengthening of an Arctic policy research network linking Canadian and international experts.

Since the mid-1990s, the Canadian Department of Human Resources Development (HRDC), which provides core funding for quite a few social development programs in the Canadian North, has developed a Community Capacity Building (CCB) initiative,¹⁷ defined very simply "as a philosophy which states that people and communities, given the proper support, can manage their own affairs." In this initiative, supported by many instruments, including a large database of online documents on the participation.net website, this Department has tried to favour approaches enabling communities to break away from dependence and further their own inner capacities to meet their challenges.

CIDA, the Canadian International Development Agency, which has projects not only in the Third World, but also in other regions such as northern Russia, has adopted Capacity Development (CD) as a key concept in its programming of development cooperation and even developed a website on this topic. Since 1995, it has been

¹⁵ Source: www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/gs/index_e.html

¹⁶ Source: www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/circumpolar/sec06_ndfp_rpt-en.asp

¹⁷ Source: www.hrsdc.gc.ca/asp/gateway.asp?hr=en/epb/sid/cia/comm_deve/capacity.shtml&hs=cyd

promoting capacity building as a focus of Canada's foreign policy and has defined it as "helping women, men and children in developing countries, their communities and institutions, to acquire the skills and resources needed to sustain their own social and economic progress."

But to have a clearer view of the place of capacity building in the Arctic, one needs to examine the activities of the Arctic Council, where a particular dynamic centred on this theme and concept has developed. Founded in 1996, after a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Arctic States¹⁸ in Ottawa, the Arctic Council gave itself the mandate, in the Ottawa Declaration, to develop cooperation among its members. Its website contains quite a number of documents pertaining to this cooperation and capacity building, particularly its Sustainable Development Working Group (SDWG), Senior Arctic Officials (SAO) and Ministerial Meetings sections, from which we will try to extract relevant points.¹⁹

The Arctic Council held its First Ministerial Meeting in Iqaluit (then still N.W.T.) in 1998. During this meeting, it established an Arctic Council Sustainable Development Program and Arctic Council Sustainable Development Group, in addition to adopting the Terms of Reference for this program, most probably influenced and inspired in many ways by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development at Rio de Janeiro in 1992.

From 1998 on, numerous events are worthy of mention. During a SAO meeting in Alaska in 1999, Canada suggested the very general idea that future Arctic Council meetings include "something on capacity-building for northern and indigenous peoples." The topic was indeed put on the agenda and very briefly discussed at a SDWG meeting in Washington, D.C. in 1999. At a later SAO meeting in Fairbanks, Alaska, during the same year, Canada went further in requesting a roundtable discussion and guidelines on capacity building.

In April 2000, Canada distributed to Arctic Council members a paper, *A Capacity Building Focus*, which proposed that such a focus become an integral part of all activities of the Arctic Council, so as to "improve coordination and integration at many levels including individual, local, national, regional and international." The paper also defined capacity-building and made a series of recommendations centred on the development of capacity-building activities within the Arctic Council, such as a Round Table, Declaration, Workshop, Network, Survey and Database, to be developed in a very short time-span of two years (2000-2002), before the Second Ministerial Meeting to be held in Barrow, Alaska, in October 2002.

At this ministerial meeting, the participants approved a framework document for the Arctic Council Sustainable Development Program, which goes at length into defining and describing sustainable development, which includes "the opportunities to protect and

¹⁸ These being Canada, Denmark (including Greenland and the Faroe Islands), Finland, Iceland, Norway, the Russian Federation, Sweden and the United States.

¹⁹ Source: www.arctic-council.org/en/main/infopage/87/

enhance the environment and the economies, culture and health of indigenous communities and of other inhabitants of the Arctic." It also adds "capacity building" as one of its working principles, in the following wording:

Capacity Building is, similarly, a necessary element for achievement of Sustainable Development and must be taken into consideration in the projects developed under the Program. The Program should, therefore, aim to increase capacity at all levels of society.

Included in the plan are education and cultural heritage, seen as a "fundamental prerequisite" for sustainable development and capacity building. In addition, the Barrow Declaration adopted at the end of the meeting stated that Ministers:

18. Welcome the introduction of a capacity building focus to the work and activities of the Council, and further welcome Canada's offer to host a workshop on capacity building during the period 2000 to 2002 to explore practical ways to implement this focus.

The following SAO meeting in Rovaniemi, Finland, in May 2001, discussed and approved the plan to hold a workshop on capacity building, to be held with the principal aim to build a capacity-building strategy for the Arctic Council. Such an Arctic Council Capacity Building Workshop, organized by the Sustainable Development Working Group, was held a year later, in 2001, in Helsinki, Finland. Its participants received a few preparatory documents. One was *Preliminary Resource Search* and provided various documentary resources for capacity building, including numerous definitions of the concept, web references, bibliographical references, and definitions of related concepts, such as social capital. The document states that the workshop was expected to propose:

a capacity building strategy for the Arctic Council derived through discussion about what capacity building is, why it is important, the unique needs and priorities of different locations, and the relative or anticipated success of existing or proposed approaches.

Another document, *Workshop Overview and Suggested Recommendations*, was intended to serve as a background paper. It provided the dimensions of capacity building (natural, financial, human-made, human, social), very briefly summed up the evolving role of the Arctic Council regarding capacity building and made a number of general and specific recommendations, such as to make capacity building a cornerstone of Arctic council work and activities, to develop a human and social capital assessment tool, to elaborate guidelines for capacity building projects, to build the Arctic Council's own capacity building and even to link the Arctic Council capacity initiative with the Earth Summit of 2002. In the workshop itself, many themes directly centred on capacity building were discussed: definitions of the concept, needs and priorities in capacity building, role for the Arctic Council in its implementation, strategy of capacity building.

The *Executive Summary and Recommendations* soon released after the workshop summed it up by stating that there was a broad consensus that "capacity building is relevant to the Arctic where the rapid changes of globalisation, climate change, and transitional economies require the development and application of new approaches and new solutions." It also identified numerous capacities to achieve sustainable development in the Arctic and made recommendations for the short-term and medium-term. At the end of the workshop, Canada offered to prepare the workshop proceedings and to write a draft strategy and action plan for incorporating capacity building into all Arctic Council activities.

At a SAO meeting in Oulu in 2002, Canada submitted a draft document, *Arctic Council Capacity Building Strategy and Action Plan and Pilot Project*. The document reiterates the basic objective of introducing a capacity-building focus into the work and activities of the Arctic Council. It draws a number of principles and factors that should be taken into account in this process, such as education, skill development, and heritage. It goes on to identify capacity-building needs and actions to be taken, criteria for actions, and the scope of those actions. Finally, an action plan is provided, built on a pilot project to generate knowledge on Arctic Climate Change and Arctic Contaminants and the capacity of communities to use this knowledge.

At the next meeting in Inari in 2002, Canada submitted the *Proceedings of the Arctic Council Capacity Building Workshop*, held in Helsinki in 2001. The Overview of the Proceedings reveals a few quite interesting, if not puzzling facts from the workshop. Although reporting that most participants at the workshop agreed that capacity building could be important for Arctic Council activities, it seems that for many of them: 1) capacity remained hard to define; and 2) the relevance of capacity building to the Arctic council remained unclear. Providing a new definition of the concept and reaffirming its relevance, the Proceedings go on to give in more detail the strategies of capacity building and the detailed content of all of the presentations and discussions in its various workshops.

In the Overview of the Arctic Council Priorities and Activities of 2003, discussed in Reykjavik in 2003, mention is made, in Section 7.3, of capacity building, simply described as being an important part of circumpolar cooperation and encouraging all the subsidiaries of the Arctic Council to take capacity building into account in all activities.

At the following SAO meeting in Selfoss, Iceland, in 2004, Canada informed its partners on the Arctic Council that it had the intention to produce a publication with the proposed title of "Capacity Building Overview of the Arctic Council," to be made available at the Ministerial meeting in 2004, so as to give "a broad overview of programmes and policies of the various working groups in the context of capacity-building and best practices." Unfortunately, this publication is not yet available for consultation on either the Arctic Council website or the new website of the Arctic Council Sustainable Development Working Group. It is nevertheless evident that capacity building remains, among other issues and projects, a quite important theme for discussion

and planning by the Arctic Council, largely on the initiative of Canada, which remains the most active supporter for its implementation in the context of its own North and in the circumpolar North.

Conclusions

In this short article, we have attempted to provide an overview of the use of the capacity-building theme on the international development scene and in the Arctic context. Our findings lead us to observe that the theme and concept on those levels are surely present and have been actively discussed for more than a decade now, largely in conjunction and association with the concept of sustainable development. Like any other frame of reference in the social sciences, capacity building and its basic element of "capacity" has numerous and sometimes conflicting definitions, overlapping approaches inspired by different theories in the social sciences, and multiple applications in a large series of empirical contexts such as the Third World and, as a more regional example, the Arctic. In addition to resources such as websites and databases, capacity building has grown into a large body of academic literature, where there are discussions and debates on a wide range of issues, be they conceptual, methodological or theoretical. As evidenced by some of the facts mentioned above, the frame of reference has its own dynamics, influenced by a large number of factors. Conceptually, it has evolved from a focus on capacity building to one where the concept of capacity development is nowadays being more and more used, as well as to new notions such as social and human capital, endogenous capacity development and societal impact. Methodologically, it has evolved from being a simple parameter in international development to an approach wherein capacity building has steadily become small-scale, community-oriented and community-based. On a theoretical level, a growing contemporary trend is to mobilize participatory-process approaches to capacity building or capacity development studies. Most of the trends seem to indicate that the capacity-building or capacity development frame of reference is being mobilized to emphasize the need of local communities to have a direct involvement in their development with projects targeted to maximize their own benefit.

To further understand and review these trends, it would of course be necessary to make an in-depth analysis of the quite large body of academic literature available on the theme of capacity building and capacity development and to examine how this frame of reference has been more or less successfully applied to the study of societies and communities in the various regions of the world, including the Arctic. I was nevertheless struck, in the short overview provided above, by a few facts. The concept of capacity building has had much importance in institutions such as the United Nations and related organizations. It thus seems to belong to and fits mostly well into the field of international development, including its contributing national agencies, like the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). The concept is nevertheless being nowadays extended to more regional settings, such as the Arctic, where Canada has taken the lead in a movement to incorporate a building-capacity focus into Arctic Council activities, for reasons which are difficult to understand, but which may be attributable to national policies. Nonetheless, an important report, the *Arctic Human Development Report* (a

regional equivalent in many ways of the yearly UNDP Human Development Report), published recently under the auspices of the Arctic Council Sustainable Development Working Group, with the support of the Arctic Council, contains only one reference to capacity building and seems to favour the concept of resilience as a heuristic concept. As an anthropologist, I did not find much that was inspiring in the content of the building-capacity frame of reference. I nevertheless did see quite a few similarities between this frame and another one that has been used in my field for many decades now, centred on the concept of empowerment (Dacks and Coates 1988; Friedman 1992). It would be interesting and challenging to make a comparative study of the building capacity and empowerment frameworks, so as to discover if with their associated concepts of capacity and empowerment, we are—or are not—meaning the same thing and trying to achieve the same kind of changes.

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Inuit writing systems in Nunavut: Issues and challenges

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Abstract: The Inuit residents of Nunavut use two distinct orthographies to write the Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun dialects spoken there. The majority (95%) use a Syllabic orthography, while the remainder use the Inuinnaqtun Roman orthography. This paper analyses the historical factors which led to this situation, and considers its implications for the development of language policy in Nunavut.

Keywords: writing systems, Nunavut, Syllabic orthography, Roman orthography, Inuktitut, Inuinnaqtun.

Background

In Nunavut today, Inuit use two different writing systems, and issues of language and orthography are very much a part of the political landscape. Use of the Inuit language forms a part of the nebulously-defined concept of *Inuit Qaujimagjutuqangit*, and use of the language in government constitutes a part of the rhetoric surrounding this concept. Most Inuit leaders express a desire to see the Inuit language used more extensively, not only in government but in all areas of Inuit life. There is also periodic discussion of the two writing systems used by Nunavut Inuit. (This paper will not discuss the issue of a standardized circumpolar orthography for all Inuit, raised occasionally in international venues, most often by the Inuit Circumpolar Conference.)

Today, some Inuit leaders, both within and outside Nunavut, express a need for a change from the use of the Syllabic writing system to a system using the Roman alphabet, a change, if undertaken, that would profoundly affect the lives of most adult Inuit. In Nunavut, there is also some discussion of the need for using the standardized Roman orthography in place of the non-standard Roman orthography used in the Kitikmeot (i.e. western) Region.

To begin any such discussions, we need some understanding of Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun as used and written in Nunavut, and of the history and possibilities of orthographic reform.

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Dialects and writing systems

Linguists generally divide the Inuit language into four groupings of dialects (Alaskan Inupiaq, Western Canadian Inuktun, Eastern Canadian Inuktitut, and Greenlandic). Of these, three are spoken in Canada, and two in Nunavut. Those spoken in Nunavut are Eastern Canadian Inuktitut (North Baffin, South Baffin, Aivilik, Kivalliq, and Arctic Quebec dialects) and Western Canadian Inuktun (Inuinnaqtun and Natsilingmiut dialects). The problem – perhaps I should call it the challenge – arises when one considers that two orthographies are in use today to write the dialects spoken in Nunavut. Further, the dividing line separating the Syllabic orthography used in most of Nunavut and the Roman orthography used in western Nunavut is not the same line that separates Eastern Canadian Inuktitut from Western Canadian Inuktitut. Syllabics is used for all Eastern Canadian Inuktitut dialects and Natsilingmiut dialect; Roman orthography is used for only one dialect, Inuinnaqtun, spoken in only two Nunavut communities, Cambridge Bay and Kugluktuk, and a few unorganized communities.

An extrapolation from census records for 1986 shows that 13,500 community residents identified an Inuit dialect as their mother tongue. Of these, 12,840 or 95% were in communities which use the Syllabic orthography, and only 660 or 5% were in communities where Inuinnaqtun is spoken and a Roman orthography used.

Syllabic orthography

The Syllabic system was the invention of a missionary, James Evans, who developed it for use with Cree Indians in Manitoba. In the 1850s Reverends Horden and Watkins adapted the Cree syllabics to the writing of the Inuit language. Reverend Edmund Peck continued to use and promote the Inuit Syllabic orthography on the Quebec coast of Hudson Bay after 1876, taking the script with him to Cumberland Sound in 1894. His efforts resulted in Syllabics being used throughout the eastern Arctic.

The Roman Catholic church established its first mission in the eastern Arctic at Chesterfield Inlet in 1912, under the leadership of Father Turquetil. To counter the influence of the already-established Anglican Church, the Catholic missionaries also used a Syllabic orthography for Inuktitut, although it differed in some respects from that used by Anglicans. The main, although very significant, difference was in showing vocalic length.

The Inuit language is strongest in the Syllabic-using areas of Nunavut. Census statistics show that the farther west one goes, however, the less strong the language becomes. 1986 census statistics showed that 80% of the population of the Baffin Region had Inuktitut as its mother tongue, compared with 83% in the Kivalliq Region and 85% in the Natsilik communities of the Kitikmeot region. However, in the Baffin region, 96% of those identifying Inuktitut as their mother tongue also identified it as their home language, compared with 84% in the Kivalliq and only 64% in the Kitikmeot Natsilingmiut communities.

Non-standard Roman orthographies

The orthography used to write the Inuinnaqtun dialect is a non-standard Roman orthography, generally also called Inuinnaqtun. Inuinnaqtun, as a dialect and an orthography, is used in Nunavut's Kitikmeot administrative region in the communities of Cambridge Bay and Coppermine and some smaller unorganized communities. The Kitikmeot administrative region, however, includes three other communities, Pelly Bay, Taloyoak and Gjoa Haven, which use the Natsilingmiut dialect of Western Canadian Inuktun but the Syllabic writing system. Thus, in this small administrative district (2001 population 2,531), a native language is written using two distinct orthographies for two dialects.

The orthography historically used in Inuinnaqtun communities was an inconsistent Roman one devised by Anglican missionaries. Very little written material, other than church literature, was ever produced in it. This orthography under-differentiates certain consonant sounds and uses its five vowels inconsistently, making for an unpredictable orthography, although many of its users claim it is not confusing.

1986 census statistics showed that only 31% of the population of the Inuinnaqtun communities of Cambridge Bay and Coppermine identified themselves as having Inuinnaqtun as their mother tongue, and only 38% of those identified Inuinnaqtun as their home language.

Orthographic reform

Attempts by the federal government to create orthographic reform for Canadian Inuit dialects were led in the 1950s and 1960's by two linguists, Gilles Lefebvre and Raymond Gagné. Both rejected the Syllabic system and proposed that it be phased out and replaced with a new Roman alphabetic writing system. Gagné's goal was the establishment of "one system of writing for all Canadian Eskimos" (Gagné 1965: 1). He worked with Inuit such as Elijah Erkloo, Mary Panegoosho, Elijah Menarik, Abe Okpik and Joanasié Salamonie, and in 1961 published *Tentative Standard Orthography for Canadian Eskimos*. The suggested reforms were never implemented.

The I.C.I. Language Commission

By the 1970s Inuit and educators recognized the need, not for an abandonment of the syllabic writing system, but for a reform. Mark Kalluak and Armand Tagoona were among the first Inuit to promote reform. In 1974 the federal government funded Inuit Tapirisat of Canada to establish an Inuit Language Commission; one of its objectives was to study the present state of the written language and recommend changes for the future. The project was later transferred to the Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI), under the direction of Jose Kusugak.

The result was the development of a dual orthography. A Roman orthography was devised, built on an analysis of the language and the application of scientific principles. The Syllabic system was standardized - differences in style between Catholic and Anglican orthographies were abandoned - and made compatible with the Roman system. Because the Roman and Syllabic versions were both based on the same analysis of the language and its orthographic needs, it was in fact one system with two orthographic forms. The dual orthography was ratified by ICI in 1976, intended for use by all Canadian Inuit.

The main difference between Standardized Syllabic Orthography and "Old Syllabics" is that Standardized Syllabic Orthography is a 3-column system, the original first column of the old Syllabic chart having been replaced by a combination of two graphemes. Sound linguistic reasons were advanced for this major revision, a deletion of 25% of the main characters, but the real reason is more mundane. The Government of Canada had contracted IBM to develop a syllabic ball for the new IBM Selectric typewriter, and there was not room for everything on the ball; the original first column of the syllabary was sacrificed.

Each form of the dual orthography was given its own name - *Qaliujaaqpait* for Roman orthography, and *Qaniujaaqpait* for syllabics. Although seldom used, these are the official names.

Use of standardized Syllabic orthography

The standard Syllabic orthography was accepted by all Inuktitut speakers [not Inuinnaqtun-speakers] in the Northwest Territories. At a conference of Inuit elders from all regions of the then-NWT, held in Hall Beach in 1985, elders endorsed the use of the "new" writing system in both its Syllabic and Roman versions.

The Syllabic standard is used by government and Inuit organizations in official publications. Indeed it has even been generally adopted by the Anglican Church, long a critic.

Use of standardized Roman orthography

When ICI introduced its standard Roman orthography in 1976, it was meant to apply to the Inuinnaqtun speakers of the Kitikmeot region, as well as to the rest of Canadian Inuit, Syllabics-users who would develop proficiency in both systems. It was, however, generally rejected by most adults in the Kitikmeot Region; attempts by educators to use it in the schools there were often met with hostility. Non-standard and inconsistent versions of Roman orthography are still the norm among adult speakers of Inuinnaqtun, and even by translators employed by the Government of Nunavut.

Although the official Roman orthography - *Qaliujaaqpait* - was designed to be a mirror image of the ICI Syllabic standard, and therefore capable of easy transliteration, almost nothing for adults is ever published using it. It is used as a teaching device in

teaching Inuktitut as a second language, sporadically as an aid in teaching Inuktitut as a first language in senior grades, and more generally in teaching the Inuit language in schools. Recently the Kitikmeot Heritage Society and Nunavut Arctic College have published a major Inuinnaqtun-English Dictionary using the *Qaliujaaqpait* orthography.

Further orthographic reform

The situation is this: 95% of Inuit in Nunavut use the Syllabic orthography; 5% (Inuinnaqtun-speakers) use a non-standard Roman orthography.

Perceptions of the need for orthographic reform

Some Canadian Inuit leaders perceive that the Syllabic writing system, the system of the majority, is holding Canadian Inuit back, that it is preventing them from joining fully in the modern world. Some, like John Amagoalik, have recommended the abolition of Syllabics and the adoption of a standard Roman orthography, a standard that has already been created but seldom used.

In the Kitikmeot region, educators (and a few others) see the need for a greater public awareness of the deficiencies of the non-standard Roman orthography in use there, and the promotion of the ICI-ratified *Qaliujaaqpait* standard orthography.

It will be helpful to understand how orthographic reform has been handled elsewhere.

Spelling reform vs. script reform

Many languages have undergone orthographic reform. However, this is usually a matter of spelling reform, rather than of a change of script. The Greenlandic reform of 1973, although major, was not a change of script; it was a "radical spelling reform" motivated by "the wish to make it [Greenlandic] easier to spell - to get written and spoken language in greater accordance with each other..." (Jacobsen 1996: 119). Even so, at its outset it was controversial and aroused much opposition.

Within Nunavut, the spelling reform that resulted in a standardization of Syllabics in 1976 was accepted, although not without some quarrel, especially from the church. This spelling reform can be considered major in that it eliminated 25% of the syllabary, through the elimination of the former first column of symbols.

Much rarer are orthographic reforms in which the type of script, the writing system itself, is changed. Only one example exists in the Eskimo world; in the 1950s a Roman alphabet devised by Russian researchers and teachers in the 1930s for Siberian Yupik was replaced by the Cyrillic alphabet.

Elsewhere in the world, the best known example of script reform is in Turkey. In 1928, the nationalist Turkish leader and social reformer, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk,

abolished the Arabic script, which Turks had used for a thousand years, and replaced it with the Latin alphabet. In recent years, script reform has been initiated in the Turkic-speaking former Soviet republics, including Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan.

Thus it may be seen that Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun speakers would not be in a unique position if they were asked to contemplate major orthographic reform which, if it resulted in one orthography for all of Nunavut, would also constitute script reform for one of the groups.

Is further orthographic reform needed in Nunavut?

This is really three questions: 1) Should Syllabics be abandoned? 2) Should Inuinnaqtun orthography be standardized? 3) Should Inuinnaqtun orthography be abandoned in favour of Syllabics? The third question is almost never voiced. It has always been the unthinkable – certainly the unspeakable.

Before the advent of modern computer technology, Syllabics was a costly system to maintain. Today, however, there is probably little, if any, cost premium to publishing in Syllabics. No matter what orthography is used, translation costs will remain constant. An international effort has been made in the standardization of syllabic characters for computer use. Education authorities in Nunavut have published hundreds of texts for school children in Inuktitut syllabics. (Hundreds more have been published in Nunavik.)

Clearly, initiatives have been made to help Syllabics live and thrive. But has enough been done?

For adults, there is little other than government handouts and religious literature to read. The cultural periodical that was a mainstay of a previous generation of Inuktitut readers, *Inuktitut* magazine, has turned itself in recent years into a podium for expressing Inuit political aspirations. There is almost no culturally-relevant literature in book or magazine form for adult readers of Inuktitut or Inuinnaqtun.

One cannot underestimate the emotional attachment that Inuit have for syllabics. Consider the following statement by the educator and editor, Mark Kalluak, representative of many similar statements by other Inuit: "When I became fully familiar with the use of syllabics, I became, as it were, in love with them... Some Inuit do not want to give up syllabics simply because they're different and it makes them appear to be genuine Inuk; some perhaps even think that syllabics was invented by Inuit" (Mark Kalluak, in Harper 1983: 46-7).

Inuinnaqtun speakers also feel an emotional attachment to their non-standard Roman orthography, but it must be recognized that the *Qaliujaaqpait* orthography which many presently resist using is also a Roman orthography.

In the Kitikmeot Region, there is a need for a major public education campaign on the desirability of a standardized Roman orthography and the legitimacy of the *Qaliujaaqpait* orthography.

The forces that mitigate against the longterm survival of Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun are massive. Foremost among them is the ubiquitous television with its preponderance of English language stations. Aboriginal language programming must compete against big-budget television from the south. There is almost no secular literature of other than a government nature to read in Inuktitut (Syllabics) or Inuinnaqtun (Roman) above the primary school level. Government involvement is necessary to nurture the publication of literature in Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun, for the market is simply not large enough for publishing as a business venture to succeed without subsidies. In short, a major effort to promote adult reading is necessary. This is not the same as promoting literacy. Most adults are literate in that they have the ability to read in Inuktitut Syllabics or in Inuinnaqtun Roman orthography. But there is almost nothing to read!

Only after efforts are made, over a long period of time, to create interesting reading materials would one be able to decide whether or not Syllabics will be an appropriate orthography to maintain over the long term. It is premature to sound its death knell now. Although introduced to Inuit 150 years ago, it hasn't really been given a chance to thrive.

The Government of Nunavut publishes most of its material of general application in both Syllabics and Roman Orthography, the Roman orthography version being for the use of Inuinnaqtun-speakers and often written in non-standard Roman Orthography, reflecting the individual preferences of the translator assigned the work. At the very least, the Government of Nunavut should agree to be bound by the ICI-ratified *Qaliujaaqpait* orthography, to teach it to its employees involved in language issues, including all translators, and to demand its usage.

The harder question is whether the Government of Nunavut can afford to continue to support two writing systems for one language, remembering that one of those writing systems is used by only 5% of Inuit language speakers in Nunavut. When it is faced, as it eventually must be, the question should be: Will Syllabics – the orthography of the vast majority of Inuit in Nunavut – be abandoned by government for official purposes in favour of a standard Roman Orthography? Or will the orthography used in Cambridge Bay and Coppermine, the Inuinnaqtun orthography, be abandoned in favour of a Nunavut-wide Syllabic system? The first question is the one that has always been asked in the past. I suggest that the second may well be asked in the future.

A way forward

Inuit embraced Nunavut with the expectation and assumption that Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun would be working languages of the Nunavut Government, employed for official purposes to a greater extent than they were under the Government of the Northwest Territories. This is already a tarnished dream. To resurrect it and allow it to

become a reality, the government and its citizens will have to address issues of orthography.

In her most recent report, the Languages Commissioner of Nunavut has recommended the enactment of an Inuktitut Protection Act. Her report states: "The real struggle to make Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun a healthy and equal language will take place, not in the Legislative Assembly, but in the streets, homes, schools and workplaces of Nunavut's communities. The Languages Commissioner is calling on the Government of Nunavut to put in place legislation that will address the language issues people face on a daily basis" (Languages Commissioner of Nunavut 2002: 8).

The specific recommendations as to what this act should include do not deal with questions of orthography.

What follows as summation reads largely as a list of recommendations to government on issues of language and orthography. This is unavoidable, given the overwhelming dominance of government in the affairs of Nunavummiut. But other organizations and agencies, and ordinary citizens, should also make these issues their business.

The Government of Nunavut should make a major commitment to the production of culturally-relevant material for readers of all ages, in Inuktitut Syllabics and Inuinnaqtun Roman orthography, and establish a subsidy programme to support the private publication of Inuit literature. It should undertake a public education campaign to instill pride in the use of Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun. It should undertake, or encourage, the publication of a periodical in Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun which will avoid political themes and, instead, focus on culture, language, history, poetry and creative fiction.

It should conduct a major campaign of public education in the Kitikmeot Region to inform adults of the merits of the Standard Roman orthography, and should teach Inuinnaqtun consistently in the standard Roman orthography in schools in the region.

It should continue its admirable approach to the production of reading materials for the primary grades. It should develop appropriate curricula for all grades, produce reading and other support material for the teaching of these curricula, and train teachers of Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun for these grade levels to high levels of competency and professionalism. It should undertake studies on the speed and ease with which readers are able to acquire reading skills in both Syllabics and Roman orthography, and study the implications of the results for language teaching methodologies.

The Government of Nunavut and the Government of Canada should increase their funding to aboriginal organizations to produce high-quality television programming in Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun.

The official names for the Syllabic and Roman orthographies - *Qaniujaaqpait* and *Qaliujaaqpai* - should be used and promoted.

When Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun place names are officially adopted, their spelling should be that of the official orthography.

The Government of Nunavut should establish, within its Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth, a "Language Academy", in which the language bureaucracy will draw regularly on the expertise of language scholars to ensure that the promotion and use of Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun remain priorities of the Government of Nunavut, that the results of linguistic scholarship are known to bureaucrats and policy-makers, and that evolving language policies are linguistically and pedagogically sound.

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Critical issues in lifelong learning in Nunavut¹

Bruce Rigby^{*} and John Bainbridge^{**}

Editor's Note: In the *IPSSAS seminar* in Iqaluit, Bruce Rigby made a presentation titled: *Developing the Nunavut Adult Learning Strategy*. Asked quite a long time afterwards if he wanted to publish the written text of his presentation, he rather suggested the publication of a co-authored paper he had presented in 2004 to a 'National Aboriginal Roundtable of Lifelong Learning'. We agreed to the offer, since this more recent unpublished paper did fit very closely to the "Capacity-Building" theme of the Seminar.

Introduction

This paper is in response an invitation received from the Prime Minister of Canada in May, 2004 to participate in the follow-up processes associated with the Canada-Aboriginal Peoples Roundtable. Six sectoral planning committees have been established. One of these sectoral groups will focus on Lifelong Learning, from Early Childhood to Post-secondary/Adult Training.

The purpose of this paper is to briefly address some of the critical issues affecting Nunavut and the ability of Nunavummiut to participate actively in Canadian society through involvement in the work force. In particular this paper addresses the following areas:

- Addressing Issues of Jurisdiction Control
- Improving Access/Increasing Integration
- Sustainability/Capacity Building
- Curriculum & Research

Some Nunavut facts

Nunavut is Canada's newest territory, covering approximately 20% of Canada's land mass. There are 26 communities located as far north as Grise Fiord on Ellesmere Island, and as far south as Sanikiluaq in James Bay, as far west as Kugluktuk and Iqaluit

¹ This contribution, prepared by Bruce Rigby and John Bainbridge, was submitted as a Background Paper to *The National Aboriginal Roundtable on Lifelong Learning: Post-secondary Education and Labour Force Development* by The Government of Nunavut and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, on October 22, 2004.

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in the East. The population of Nunavut is approximately 29,000, spread amongst the 26 communities, with 85% of this population being Inuit, who speak Inuktitut as their first language. None of these communities are connected by road and, consequently, the mobility of labour and resources are limited.

The population is increasing rapidly and by 2020, it will be nearly 44,000. Unlike the rest of Canada, Nunavut's under 15 cohort makes up 40% of the population – more than double the under 15 cohort for the rest of Canada. The youth of the population will place significant pressure on education, daycare and alternative working arrangements.

Nunavut's per capita income is 27% lower than the national average. More than 55% of Inuit receive income, fuel and utility support at a cost in excess of \$23 million per year. Given the current level of population growth, demand for these support programs will grow.

There is an acute shortage of housing in Nunavut. The average number of occupants per dwelling in Nunavut is 3.27, while the Canadian average is 2.39. There are 14,225 Inuit in public housing and another 1,000 families on the waiting list, which is increasing by 250 annually. The Government of Nunavut (GN) estimates that 3,000 homes will be needed over the next five years, merely to arrest the growth of the shortage. The health of people is tied inextricably to the conditions in which they live and life expectancy in Nunavut is more than ten years below the national average.

Unemployment is severe among Inuit with a rate of 22%. Using a "no jobs available" criteria, the unemployment rate among Inuit is 29%. Unemployment is particularly high among youth, the 54 to 64 age group, and in the decentralized communities.

Addressing issues of jurisdiction control

The Nunavut Land Claim Agreement (NLCA) provides much of the framework within which the issues of Inuit in Nunavut are addressed, and structures and approaches to programs and services applied. This situation is unlike any other jurisdiction in Canada in which the requirements of a constitutionally protected land claim closely parallel the evolution and development of a public government and its services.

The NLCA was negotiated with the Government of Canada (GoC) and signed in May of 1993. From the outset of land claims negotiations in the 1970s, Inuit insisted that any settlement of land rights issues in Nunavut had to be accompanied, by the creation of a new Nunavut territory and the establishment of a Nunavut government created out of the eastern and central Arctic portions of the Northwest Territories. Inuit insisted that the machinery of government and associated programs should be fundamentally re-shaped to be more representative of the people of Nunavut and this was not confined to matters of who would sit in the Nunavut Legislative Assembly. Inuit understood that modern representative government must extend to the make-up of the administrative arm of

government as well as its legislative one. Inuit were equally aware of the importance of public sector employment and payrolls to any drive to enhance economic well-being.

Two Articles of the NLCA are, therefore, tightly linked. Article 4 requires the creation of a Nunavut territory and government. Article 23 requires the evolution of a predominantly Inuit public service. Together, these companion articles underscore that the goal of "representative government" is one of the founding principles of the NLCA.

The NLCA defines "representative level" as a level of Inuit employment within Government in every occupational group and at every grade level reflecting the proportion of Inuit within the total population in the Nunavut Settlement Area. Currently, the representative level is 85%. In addition to the achievement of a representative level it must also be "maintained".

Article 23 is intended to ensure that:

- i) Inuit have the power to develop and administer government policies in a manner consistent with Inuit values and culture, in direct proportion to the percentage of the population that they represent.
- ii) Inuit receive a sufficient share of government funding resources, as required to achieve a representative level in all occupational groups and at all grade levels.

To date, the representative level of Inuit within the Government of Nunavut (GN) has been static at 45% since 1999 when the GN was formed. Within the federal public service in the Nunavut region, Inuit representation has declined from a peak of approximately 61% in 1999 to the current 33%.

In addition to the failure to achieve any progress on the representative levels in absolute terms the concentration of Inuit in a narrow band of lower skilled occupational groups and at the lower grade levels has placed the average salary rate of Inuit at 78.5% of that of non-Inuit.

The NLCA is a two party agreement between the Inuit of Nunavut and the Crown in right of Canada. The Territorial Government signed as a member of the federal caucus. Accordingly, the Government of Canada has a comprehensive and ongoing responsibility to ensure that all governmental obligations under the NLCA are met. The inclusion of the Territorial Government in the subsequent Implementation Contract may mean that some of the Crown's implementation responsibilities are expected to be delivered through the GN, but the overall and backstopping responsibilities of the Government of Canada to Inuit are in no way diminished. This point is firmly anchored in both the Agreement (section 37.2.6) and the Implementation Contract (section 1.5). Further, recent case law indicates that the Government of Canada's broader fiduciary obligations owed to aboriginal peoples cannot be offloaded onto a second party.

The Government of Canada can, therefore, be properly said to have two sets of legal responsibilities for employment and training arising out of Article 23 of the NLCA:

- a direct set of responsibilities to implement Article 23 staffing levels in the federal public sector in Nunavut, and
- an indirect, but more significant, responsibility to ensure that the global obligations of the Crown are adequately discharged with respect to the staffing of the entire public sector in Nunavut (Government of Canada and Government of Nunavut, including municipal, work forces combined).

Factors affecting the Nunavut labour force

The static nature of Inuit participation in the work force, including government, can be attributed to a number of factors. These factors must be addressed to allow improved access and to encourage increased integration. Qualitative factors affecting the supply of Inuit labour in Nunavut include;

- training and education of the labour force;
- experience of the labour force;
- health of the labour force;
- productivity of labour;
- effects of social legislation and social transfers (eg. social assistance, EI, housing subsidies, etc.) on incentives to work.

There is no large reserve of skilled labour (e.g. only 231 Inuit occupy 1087 post-secondary level positions in GN largely because the labour market for Inuit with post secondary training and education is exhausted.) At least 51% of the available positions require, at least, three years of university.²

Many people, including Government officials and members of the public, have argued that formal education and training requirements have been unnecessary for the performance of jobs, and therefore have constituted an inappropriate barrier to employment. The GN has acknowledged this, and has taken steps to address the problem where possible. While this is reasonable, it is not a substitute for formal education and training. Nevertheless, the basic and specialized skills that education imparts, are vital for successful performance on most jobs and the prevalence of low levels of education among Inuit, and the lack of educational opportunities within Nunavut represent systemic barriers to employment. For example, today 75% of the Inuit labour force does not have a high school diploma. Many are functioning in the workplace based on experience, rather than educational credentials.

The shortage of educated and skilled workers in the territorial labour market makes it necessary for employers, particularly the federal government and GN, to hire from the South. Accordingly, because many of the new jobs that get created demand high levels of education, unemployment levels among Nunavummiut remain high even when the economy creates more jobs. Upgrading the education levels of the current Inuit labour force is central to achieving Article 23 obligations.

² Nunavut Economic Outlook: Conference Board of Canada, May 2001.

In addition to education, there are a number of other qualitative factors such as the lack of on-the-job training, lack of experience and the health of the labour force.³ Productivity factors also have an impact. For example, Nunavut's electronic infrastructure, i.e. Internet access, is below national standards. This has an impact on the ability of government to decentralize to communities of higher unemployment.

The most far-reaching qualitative factor is the self-perpetuating cycle of innovation and growth induced by increasing knowledge and skills. Increasing education, and removing barriers to education are therefore, key to laying the foundation for innovative capacity in Nunavut.

Quantitative factors, such as the highest population growth in Canada, low labour mobility, low participation rates due to the perception of few jobs available, and the trade off between work in the labour market and other traditional and non-traditional activities, further complicate the supply problem.

In as much as Inuit cannot be compelled to work in government or remain in government, the initiatives to implement Article 23 must be directed at the labour market as a whole. While Article 23, and this document, focus on the supply side factors it is recognized that these cannot be treated in isolation of the demand for labour. It will take action on both fronts, demand-side policies that encourage employers to hire more people and supply-side policies that encourage the growth of human capital and enable employers to find the skills they need in the Nunavut labour pool. Employers must hire more Inuit, and more Inuit must have access to the necessary education and training to do the work available.

Systemic barriers

As the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism established, language is a systemic barrier to recruitment, retention and advancement in government, and indeed the workforce as a whole.

While Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun are the languages spoken in homes and community meeting places across Nunavut, English is the language spoken most often in the workplace. According to 2002 data from Statistics Canada, at least 60% of Nunavummiut speak Inuktitut as a first language but most have poor second language skills in English.

A large number of employees are currently being hired from southern Canada. As English speakers, they are able to obtain employment with the GN and perform their duties with minimal training in the language spoken by the majority of Nunavummiut. Close to three-quarters of Inuit, meanwhile, are expected to acquire the skills needed for employment, *and* to acquire the second language skills needed to work effectively in an English speaking environment. This places Inuktitut-speaking Inuit at a disadvantage in opportunities both for employment and advancement within the public service.

³ *Ibid.*

Establishing Inuktitut as a working language of the GN and in other work places will go far to creating conditions that are conducive to the hiring and retention of a larger number of Inuit employees.

The GN is a new government confronted by some extraordinary demands on its limited resources. In areas of skill development and training, the funding available for pre-employment training is minimal at best. Nunavummiut interested in becoming involved in apprenticeship and trades must travel outside of the territory as there are no facilities, and few programs to promote the development of a Nunavut-based trades capacity. No other jurisdiction in Canada must contend with the same issue.

Another systemic barrier is a workforce culture that fails to recognize the cultural environment in which most Inuit employees are rooted and the domestic demands imposed on people who are part of a traditional extended family system. This is in contrast to the transient southern employee with little or no extended family in Nunavut.

NTI and the GN were pleased to note the Government of Canada's intention to invest in people, as expressed in the recent Speech from the Throne (October, 2004):

We must invest in helping workers to continuously enhance their skills to keep pace with constantly evolving workplace requirements. To that end, the Government will develop a new Workplace Skills Strategy, including steps to enhance apprenticeship systems, and to boost literacy and other essential job skills. This will be complemented by up-to-date training facilities and labour market agreements to be developed in collaboration with the provinces and territories, unions and sector councils.

NTI and the GN were also pleased to note in the same Speech that

... the Government is working together with Aboriginal Canadians and provincial and territorial governments to create the conditions for long-term development—learning, economic opportunity, and modern institutions of Aboriginal governance—while respecting historical rights and agreements. And that ... the Government and Aboriginal people will together develop specific quality-of-life indicators and a "Report Card" to hold all to account and to drive progress (Speech from the Throne, October, 2004).

Sustainability and capacity building

A key step in addressing issues of access and capacity building is the 20 year Adult Learning Strategy currently being developed by the Government of Nunavut. Much of the labour market information in Nunavut is suspect and fragmented. Accordingly, in partnership with other stakeholders, the Learning Strategy will promote mutually agreed areas of research based upon a common baseline, which will

use consistent measurement indicators to identify areas of need and priorities for strategic investment.

The Learning Strategy will be inclusive and represent the needs of Nunavummiut and Nunavut's industries and organizations. It will also provide a framework, and a range of strategic actions with which Nunavummiut can identify The strategy will direct funding priorities and program development. A critical objective of the strategy is to bring a high degree of coordination and coherence to the many varied agency roles, programs and services currently being offered by government and other organizations.

One of the over-riding aims of the predominantly Inuit population of Nunavut in negotiating the NLCA was that the new government would evolve along uniquely Inuit lines. This Inuit way of doing things is expressed in the philosophy of *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit* (IQ). IQ is, consequently, one of the great pillars on which Nunavut has been founded and which must inform all the government's initiatives. Nowhere is this more important than in the development and delivery of education and training. Cultural learning and knowledge transfer, self-reliance, and the informality of existing learning structures is something, therefore, which must be reflected in the development of an overarching, coordinating strategy for learning.

In addition to IQ, the development of Nunavut's Adult Learning Strategy must work around scarce of resources. While this is a problem faced by all jurisdictions, in Nunavut the scarcity of resources is especially acute. It follows that in Nunavut partnerships are vital and their formation is a hallmark of the Learning Strategy.

The current state of career development services in Nunavut reflects the nascent state of the development of the territory. Services are fragmented at best as federal, territorial and other agencies, staff and train new employees and define how to effectively deliver programs and services in Nunavut. Many of the federal programs to which Nunavut has access are merely reproductions of conditions seen in southern Canada in major metropolitan areas, or that reflect the needs of First Nations rather than the needs of the territory. Inuit are not First Nations and these programs do not necessarily cover them or, if they do, the restrictions are such that the program dollars are difficult to make use of. For example, the Labour Market Development Agreement (LMDA) between the federal government and all provinces and territories is designed for a population of workers and a labour market vastly different from Nunavut's. As a consequence, funding opportunities cannot be utilized and monies lapse. In many communities of 1500 to 2000 persons, only 12-15 residents are what are classed as LMDA eligible. The same is true for other programs.

Curriculum and research

The paucity of accurate information on labour needs, training and other factors on which to develop and plan programs clearly affects Nunavut's ability to make best use of available resources. Research, should, first and foremost be directed to dealing with these large gaps in order that needs can be effectively defined and communicated, and programs and services developed and delivered. In order that long term planning is

informed the following significant information and data gaps, at the very least must be filled.

- Completion and maintenance of Labour Force Analysis (Required under Article 23 but never implemented by the Federal Government)
- Research in Support of Prior Learning Needs Assessment
- Development of Community Skills Inventory
- Inuktitut Language Use Assessment

Recommended strategic actions:

As Nunavut develops, the territory must be supported by:

- An understanding that although Nunavut has many challenges, including geography, these have allowed for the development of many strengths at the community and territorial level.
- A willingness to develop national programs, policies and services which reflect the needs of the Canadian population resident outside of major centres, and in the North in particular.
- A willingness to develop funding programs which allow Inuit to participate as full partners and not in some diminished capacity due to restrictive rules or southern focus of programs developed.
- The development of a national centre for information which can provide an effective source of expertise.
- The need for demographic information used in national planning processes to be reflective of the existing realities, and not simply a presumption that all northern regions are the same.
- A less competitive environment between various agencies developing, funding and delivering programs.
- A move to integrate community-based adult education programs with career, labour market and skills development services.
- Programs that link lifelong learning, and workforce development to the social, economic, and political goals of the communities in Nunavut.
- Language training program for Inuktitut speakers directed at Inuktitut use in workplace
- Expanded training for interpreters/translators

Three priority areas for training investment have been identified:

- Investment in pre-employment training and support including literacy and adult upgrading and basic education.
- Investment in Trades and Apprenticeship Training with specific emphasis on the following areas: heavy equipment operators, electricians, heavy duty mechanics, carpenters, and welders.

- Training of professionals, particularly teachers, adult educators and healthcare, and in the areas of legal, policy, and finance.

Conclusions

Since May 2001, NTI and GN have been negotiating with the Government of Canada for renewed funding to continue the implementation of NLCA for the second ten year planning period from 2003 to 2013. The Government of Nunavut views these negotiations as an opportunity to address key areas in the implementation of the NLCA and the GN included in its proposals for the second planning period, a specific proposal to enhance the use of Inuktitut in the territorial public service to the point where it may be a working language of the government. The strategy is designed to eliminate language as a systemic barrier to Inuit employment.

The failure of the federal government to provide the resources to ensure that the obligation of Article 23 is implemented has created an absurd economic arrangement, which has government maintaining, at great expense and incalculable social costs, a large, untrained, unemployed pool of Inuit labour while recruiting and relocating a southern workforce. These primary costs alone, calculated by PricewaterhouseCoopers⁴ with precision and a high degree of confidence, amount to \$65 million annually. These costs, inherited by the new Nunavut government, will continue into the future and projected over the period since the Nunavut Territory was founded, they amount to in excess of \$325 million lost. If the representative level remains static over the next ten year planning period then, other things being equal, the cost to government will exceed \$650 million.

The evolution of Government implicit in the NLCA will require not only the intellectual courage and the capacity to think unconventionally on the part of senior management in the Government of Canada and the GN, it will also require the aid of significant resources. It is clear that the need for these resources is directly attributable to the existence of the NLCA.

There can be no doubt that measurable progress towards building a representative public sector in Nunavut will, in itself, be a crucial determinant of public confidence among the Inuit of Nunavut as to the success of the NLCA as whole and the new governmental institutions and arrangements that it created. In the event that Inuit in Nunavut come to the conclusion that an Inuit public stands to be served indefinitely by a largely "fly in" labour force, there will be predictable, and potentially heavy, costs to be paid in the form of citizen/voter frustration, cynicism, alienation, and intercultural disharmony.

⁴ *The Cost of Not Successfully Implementing Article 23: Representative Employment for Inuit within the Government* (2003) PricewaterhouseCoopers

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The Akitsiraq Law School Program

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Editor's Note: One outstanding development in the field of education in Nunavut is the creation of the Akitsiraq Law School, a collaborative undertaking that offers a unique opportunity to a limited number of Inuit students to study law, get a Bachelor of Law degree and eventually practise as lawyers after completing the Bar. We thus invited Professor Shelley Wright, Northern Director of this law school, to give us a presentation about this innovative experience. The text reproduced here is an updated and edited version of her presentation, followed by discussion with seminar participants, including Aaju Peter, one of the law school students, and Lucien Ukaliannuk, its Elder-in-Residence.

The Law School has been a dream of a number of people up here in the North. In 1999, when Nunavut became a territory, a non-profit corporate entity named the Akitsiraq Law School Society was formed to plan the establishment of a law school in the North. The object was to try to offer a full program towards an LL.B. degree (as we call it in Canada) which is normally 3 years in length.

The university that decided to participate in this program was the University of Victoria in British Columbia. Geographically it is at the other end of Canada very far from Iqaluit. But it has an excellent undergraduate teaching record, great teachers and a cooperative program in which students of the University go and work in different places as part of their education, including here in Iqaluit. There was thus already a connection between the University of Victoria and the North going back several years.

Akitsiraq also decided that in order for the program to be manageable by the students a sponsorship program should be introduced so that all students who are beneficiaries under the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement* would be entitled to be sponsored by various Inuit and government organizations.² This was considered essential in order to assist them in the financial side of getting through law school. Two students who are not beneficiaries are assisted by an Akitsiraq Bursary Fund. Prospective students would indeed be adult students, single parents or even have to quit good jobs (government, teaching) to actually come to the law school.

The Akitsiraq Law School Program has now become a unique legal educational opportunity being offered to Inuit students in the territory of Nunavut. Professors and

¹ Northern Director, Akitsiraq Law School based in Iqaluit, Nunavut, Canada.

² Beneficiaries are Inuit who are recognised as entitled to rights under the land claim agreement entered into between Nunavummiut and the Canadian government in 1993.

instructors from the University of Victoria and other law schools in the South come up to Nunavut each semester to teach a full complement of law subjects. The students are expected to graduate by June 2005 after completing four years of study. Most of them will then article with a member of the Nunavut Bar or another Canadian Bar while completing an appropriate Bar Admission program. It is expected that the majority will then become eligible to be admitted to the Nunavut Law Society and will do legal work for the benefit of Nunavut for a minimum of two years after their admission to the Bar.

Fifteen Inuit students began the Program in September 2001. There are now (as of February 2005) 11 students who are all expected to graduate on June 21, 2005 (Aboriginal Day). This represents a 74% retention rate – very high for a tertiary education program in the North and good even by southern law school standards.

The Program is taught at Nunavut Arctic College – Nunatta Campus (Iqaluit) - a key partner in this endeavour. The College offers classroom, office and administrative support. Their contribution to financial administration, infrastructure, housing and teaching assistance has been a major component in the success of the Program. The College also offers a Diploma in Legal Fundamentals to reward any student who successfully completes their first-year subjects. Thirteen students have successfully fulfilled requirements for the Diploma (including two students who did not continue with the Program).

Although LL.B. programs are normally three years in length it was felt by the planners from both Nunavut and the University of Victoria that this Program should teach the first-year "core curriculum" of Property Law, Torts, Criminal Law, Constitutional Law, Contracts, Legal Research and Writing, Legal Process, and Law, Legislation and Policy over two years rather than one.

The students are now in their final year of studies. They have completed almost all their "Upper Year" subjects including Family Law, Aboriginal Law, Remedies, Civil Procedure, Social Welfare Law, Advanced Real Property, an intensive one-week Workshop (open to other participants) and an advanced course on the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement*, three semesters of Inuit Traditional Law (with our Elder-in-Residence Mr. Lucien Ukaliannuk), Evidence, Advanced Criminal Law, Criminal Procedure, Administrative Law, Natural Resources Law, Employment Law and Intellectual Property. Most students have also completed a one-month intensive course at the University of Ottawa taking one of a variety of optional subjects including Forensic Science, Aboriginal Business Law, Critical Race Theory, Conflict of Laws and Privacy Law.

During their last semester of study (from January to May, 2005) some students will be finishing their degrees at the University of Victoria while others will remain in Iqaluit. Those remaining in the North may choose courses from Business Associations, Inuit Traditional Law, International Law and Human Rights as well as writing their compulsory Major Research Papers. Those students going down to Victoria for their last semester will choose from options available to all upper-year students at the Law Faculty as well as completing their Major Research Papers.

In addition to fulfilling all requirements of a law degree from the University of Victoria all students must also do compulsory Inuktitut language training, cultural awareness programs (*Inuit Qaujimagajatuqangit*) and work with elders. Students should receive credit from Nunavut Arctic College for the Inuktitut language courses they are taking. Cultural and linguistic work is enhanced by the position of Elder-in-Residence, a unique aspect of this Program, and an Inuit Cultural Facilitator who assists the students, instructors, elders and others in bridging the gap between Inuit and Canadian law. Our Elder and Inuit Cultural Facilitator teach Inuktitut at both the Advanced and Intermediate levels. Mr. Ukaliannuk has taught three semesters of Inuit Traditional Law to all the students since Fall 2003.

Skills and practical training are also an essential component of the Program including workshops and seminars on the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement*, Conflict Resolution, Professional Responsibility and Ethics, and Traditional Law. Full-time tutorial and other academic assistance has also helped to make this Program a success.

All but two students are sponsored by various organizations including Justice Canada, the Government of Nunavut, the RCMP and Inuit organizations in the Baffin region. In exchange for substantial sponsorship funding students do work placements during non-teaching times with various sponsoring and non-sponsoring organizations mainly in Iqaluit, but also in Ottawa and smaller communities in Nunavut. Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. (the umbrella Inuit organization administering the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement*) is also a key player. The Akitsiraq Law School Society continues to play a crucial role overseeing the delivery of the Program and planning for articles, Bar Admission and other issues for the future.

The day-to-day administration of the Program is carried out by the Northern Director, Professor Shelley Wright (based in Iqaluit) and the Southern Director, Ms. Kim Hart Wensley, who is based at the University of Victoria. Professor Wright has taught law for more than 20 years in Singapore, New Zealand, Australia and Canada with experience in International Law, Intellectual Property and Human Rights with a specific focus on Indigenous and women's issues. Ms. Hart Wensley is a former practitioner of law in British Columbia and an instructor at UVic specializing in Family Law, Children and the Law and Legal Research and Writing. Many other people contribute to the success of the Program not least of whom are the students themselves. Some of their achievements include:

- **Madeleine Redfern** has accepted a clerkship with the Supreme Court of Canada beginning in September 2005. She also shared the McCarthy Tetrault Property Prize for outstanding achievement in Property Law (from among more than 120 UVic first year students), and also the McCarthy Tetrault Prize for achievement in both Contracts and Property Law. She was named on the Nunavut Arctic College President's Honour Roll for her high academic achievement in her first-year core subjects for the Diploma in Legal Fundamentals;

- **Aaju Peter** shared the McCarthy Tetrault Prize for outstanding achievement in Contract Law (from among more than 120 UVic first year students) and the Ted Ostaffy Memorial (Iqaluit Rotary Club) Award for academic achievement and community contribution in April 2003. She also recently received the Lawson Lundell Scholarship in Legal Studies;
- **Qajaq Robinson** was the first Nunavummiut law student awarded a Lawson Lundell Scholarship in Legal Studies;
- **Sandra Omik** (former Chief Commissioner of the Nunavut Law Review Commission) was named an outstanding future leader among a small group of young Canadians by *MacLean's Magazine* in May 2002.

The Law School is proving to be a uniquely valuable experience in legal training for Aboriginal students that should be a model for other legal and professional training programs both in the North and elsewhere. The commitment of students, staff and faculty is evidenced through the high calibre of academic standing and the high retention rate. The continuing participation of 11 students is virtually unprecedented in Nunavut higher education. A strong focus on cultural and language training, "northernized" curriculum and teaching with a continuing commitment to standards as good as or higher than in the South means that Akitsiraq is an impressive example of what can be done in Aboriginal higher education where the will and support, including financial support, are present.

Discussion with seminar participants

Participant: It is surely a totally innovative program. I knew a little about it, but you completed the picture and I cannot think of another program of this kind, even in other fields.

Shelley: No, not even in the world, as far as I'm aware. I cannot think of anywhere that has something like this.

Participant: That puts such a load on your shoulders.

Shelley: Well, on a lot of people's shoulders, I'm part of a team. I don't feel like I have a big burden on my shoulders because I'm working with a whole bunch of people who want this to work, including the students.

Participant: I had a short talk with one of your students, Aaju Peter, about her own involvement and progress in the program. She is enthusiastic about it. She is driven to learn more and to get involved in the subject matter of law, and develop certain particular topics that are more interesting to her. And if the reaction is the same with the other students, the program is surely a success. Just the fact that you have kept almost all the students who started the program is, in its own way, a feat.

Shelley: We did lose a few students, but we gained a couple students midway. We still have a very high retention rate by Northern standards. All the students, as far as I can see, are really committed to doing this. It's a struggle. I won't lie to you. For many students,

for all of us, it's very difficult. But everybody wants this to work, everybody is committed, everybody is enthusiastic.

Participant: What's your perception of their motivation?

Shelley: My perception of the motivation is that they are a very diverse group of students. They are very different in their backgrounds and what they want. And I think that—Aaju can correct me if I'm wrong—they are all very committed to contributing to Nunavut and to the North by gaining legal skills to help Inuit, to work with Inuit, to try and fill the position and make the system work for Inuit. And that is a real challenge, but I think people are aware of that and are really working hard on how to make that work. There is no question that law itself has been a colonizing influence in the North. Canadian law and European law have played a major role in the colonization of the Inuit. So the legal system that the students are learning is a system that has been oppressive. All the students in the class have a personal experience of how that works in their own lives and in the lives of people they know, or in their families, their history, and their backgrounds. And I am very aware as a lawyer and as a law professor coming from a Euro-Canadian background that I am part of that system. And there has always been a lot of difficulties in trying to bridge the gap between Inuit and non-Inuit perceptions of life and reality, law, tradition, and culture. So we are all aware that it is actually a pioneering and sometimes a very difficult project. And there is maybe no answer, no solutions to some problems, but it seems to me that this is a very optimistic project that is working towards building some bridges.

Aaju: I think it is a wonderful program. It has given us so much knowledge. I want it so much to continue because not all the people are going to be lawyers. Some will be swallowed by other fields and organizations. It has an excellent standard and we have excellent professors coming up. And they are not lowering their standards even if this is the fourth language I am learning. It has been very difficult and challenging. I think this is why students want to stay. We gain new knowledge, such as where law originated, what is the *Qallunaat*'s side of thinking. It's amazing to go behind the scenes and get all those answers. Because when you don't know, you don't know how to deal with it. And it's hard for us to explain to our elders why our dogs were killed, for example. It is so much better to have an explanation as to why all these things are happening and it is only then that we'll be able to bridge those gaps that we are trying to do. When you're really mad and frustrated and don't know how to talk in a situation, it is so frustrating and so dehumanizing. Now we are learning to fight with the proper words and the proper tools, and it is absolutely wonderful. And I think that you are in a sense not only educating the students, but all Nunavut at once. Because we are seeing our relatives, our sisters-in-law, our parents, in any kind of situation and we're saying to them: "You have the right you know, they have no right to do this to you." Or: "There is a way to get out of this situation." We are very ignorant, in our everyday life, of what kind of rights and what kinds of rules are out there. So by educating these 13 [now 11] people, they are educating all Nunavut at once.

Shelley: The other thing that I see happening is that all but one of the lawyers in the North are *Qallunaat*, only Paul Okalik, the Premier, is an Inuit and a lawyer. And what I

see happening is the education of lawyers up here, by students who go on work placements, or go to work with justice, or get involved in discussions about IQ. They bring their perspectives to that discussion and that enriches the whole discussions for the *Qallunaat* up here. So it's a reciprocal learning process, which I am seeing happening and which is very positive.

Participant: Aaju, when you get your degree, what are you going to do?

Aaju: Well, like I told you, the first reason I got into Law School was because I wanted to get a divorce. [laughter] And I will get it. Having been interested in international law, I would love to see more cooperation between Greenland, Canada, Alaska and Russia. I always have this interest in answering the following question: "How come the Inuit are separated by these big barriers that countries enforce on us?" We, the circumpolar Inuit, are one people, one family, one language. And I want to see those people get together and get rid of these imaginary boundaries. We are not that many people, only 150 thousand Inuit. We could do so much. We could throw a big party on the top of the world!

Participant: Shelley, how did you get to be co-director of the School?

Shelley: I was born in Canada, but I have lived in Australia, New Zealand, Singapore and the U.K. for more than 20 years. I was involved in trying to establish a Master's program in Aboriginal legal studies in the Sydney area, and worked on Aboriginal culture issues in Australia. I do have experience working on Aboriginal issues, but I had no Northern experience before coming up here. This is a huge learning experience for me.

Participant: I have a question for Lucien. I would like to know whether he likes teaching?

Lucien: I can only help them by teaching them and through my teaching, I am helping. These kinds of topics have never been taught before.

Aaju: He is so incredible; this is my answer to the question. He has been working for two years on the same issue of writing Inuit traditional law. He will come always prepared, and give us a list of specific topics. Under each specific topic, there is a whole world that is not known to the rest of us. We can ask him to talk about something and he just elaborates on that. It is so wonderful to have an elder who can open that door, because it is only now that we are starting to understand our own culture.

Participant: How many women are in the program?

Shelley: There are 11 women and 2 men [now 10 women and 1 man], which is not as unusual as it used to be since law schools across the country have more women enrolled. The age is about 25-45, I guess. I think that all students, except maybe 2, have children. Many are single parents. And they come from different places. They come from Pond Inlet, Greenland, Igloodik, and Arviat. Most of them do not have a university degree, so it is unusual that they are coming in for a law degree, although all of them have either work experience or training. One of them was a principal of a grade school. One was the

executive officer of the Nunavut Tourist Commission. Others had work in the government.

KNOWLEDGE AND CAPACITY BUILDING

Vendors and venues: The contemporary market for Alaska native art

Molly Lee*

Abstract: This article describes the current situation of marketing Alaska Native art within the State of Alaska. Using the Yup'ik Eskimo area as a case study, it discusses rural vs. urban venues, buyer profiles, pricing, types of art and artists, and takes us the somewhat problematic role of the internet in marketing Alaska Native art.

Keywords: Eskimo/Inuit art, art marketing, tourist art.

Introduction

Contrary to widely held assumption, the market for Native American art is not simply a product of the empirical laws governing supply and demand. Rather, like all activities undertaken in cultural circumstances, it is founded upon a host of contributing factors. Paramount among them is the widespread nostalgia of an increasingly industrialized world for a simpler way of life and the objects that embody this nostalgia (Lee 2004). The public's appetite for Native American art forms is further whetted by the museums, galleries, auction houses, and other venues that put it on view and is reinforced through the agency of the exhibition catalogues, glossy-magazine advertisements, dramatically lit websites that support them (McChesney and Myers, in press).

One subset of this phenomenon meriting further study is the Alaska Native art market, for it is both representative of the whole and unconnected to it. My purpose here is to make sense of the increasingly complex processes by which Native art is commodified in Alaska today. The most useful way to do so is to divide its totality into five constituent elements: venues, vendors, consumers, object types, and pricing. Certainly, these divisions are more heuristic than absolute, but taken together they communicate a more or less accurate picture of the present-day market's structure. Because most¹ transactions involving Alaska Native art take place either in rural or urban settings with a small but increasing share changing hands over the internet, I will begin by looking at production and sale of Native art in bush Alaska then follow it into urban settings and, from there, to the somewhat problematic venue of the internet.

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¹ Internet sites will be discussed in the conclusion.

Alaska native art marketing in rural areas

Venues: Because I have carried out most of my recent field work among the Central Alaskan Yup'iks of the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta in southwest Alaska, I use this area to represent rural Alaska more generally, and take examples from my long-term research on Yup'ik grass basketry as illustrations. The Y-K Delta, as it is familiarly known, consists of some 50 villages scattered across the tundra, along the riverbanks of the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers, or dotting the shoreline of the Bering Sea. Yup'ik settlements range in size from 41 inhabitants in the community of Platinum to 1,000 or more in Hooper Bay. Travel between villages – by boat in summer and snow machine in winter - is routine, but almost none are reachable from the outside except by air. Indeed, it is remoteness, more than size, that characterizes rural Alaskan communities.

Artists: Most Y-K Delta settlements include some residents who make the grass baskets, sealskin mukluks, ivory carvings, and other objects we bring across the cultural divide and rechristen as art. In general, rural artists are not full-time practitioners but fit in art making around the many activities occupying the daily lives of those in a mixed cash-and-subsistence economy.

Consumers: Due to prohibitive cost, villagers travel to regional hubs infrequently and even then, only when the cost is to be borne by a state or federal agency as in the case of meetings or health care. Far more commonly, non-Natives travel out to the villages on business. In fact, it's an unusual day when the Era Aviation flight from Bethel, the regional hub of south western Alaska, skids to a stop on the gravel air strip outside town without disgorging at least one potential consumer of arts and crafts. Whether belonging to an itinerant construction crews, a public-health nurse, a school-district representative, or a TV repairman is of little consequence: all are potential prospects. The most dependable are the construction workers, who are usually paid – and paid handsomely -in cash. They are generally less selective than the other visitors.

Transactions: In a village, artist-consumer transactions are easily arranged. Word of a visitor's arrival spreads quickly. No sooner have travelers stowed their gear at the school⁵ than there is a knock on the door. An artist has come to sell ivory carvings, beaded earrings or colourful grass baskets. Failing the direct approach, seasoned outsiders in search of arts and crafts know to walk to the village store and make their wishes known over the CB (Citizen's Band) radio that serves and the principal means of communication in rural areas. For example, once, when Annie Don, my Yup'ik collaborator on a long-term study of Yupik basketry, and I arrived in Tununak, our first stop was at the store. There, Annie announced our presence and contact information over the CB, following it up with our location. Within 20 minutes, seven women were at the door, each with a basket to sell, neatly wrapped in a clean towel or dishcloth.

⁵ In Alaska, the village schools are the social hub of the community. Generally speaking they accommodate visiting personnel either in rooms set aside for that purpose; sometimes the visitors sleep on the floor of the gymnasium.

Object Types: As a rule artists in rural areas tend to stick to making the predictable objects that have proved popular in the past. Many replicate examples of exotic technology such as *ulus* (women's knives) or obsolete technology such as wooden food bowls or the masks associated with ceremonies that have fallen into disuse. As a rule, these objects share some common features such as reductions in scale (like model kayaks) and the use of exotic materials such as sea-mammal intestine (Graburn 1976).

Prices: Pricing Native art in rural Alaska is largely an individual concern tempered by a certain awareness of what the market will bear. The Yupiit, like most Eskimo/Inuit people are reticent about personal matters as a distancing device essential to maintaining social cohesion in a small, isolated community. Artists tend to determine by trial and error how much the market will bear for the goods, though they might discuss it with a close relative. Consequently, prices there vary substantially, though a reasonable estimate would be a figure 30% to 50% lower than the prevailing price in urban areas. To summarize, marketing in rural areas tends to be informal. Buyers are usually visiting *qassags* (non-Natives) whose ideas about indigenous art are relatively unsophisticated. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that artists who sell exclusively in rural areas tend to stick to more conventional object types and experiment uncommonly.

Native art in urban settings

I include under urban venues not only the metropolis of Anchorage (population 260,283), but also that of Fairbanks (30,224), and Juneau (30,711) and the smaller regional centres of Bethel (5,471), Nome (3,505), and Kotzebue (3,082), which more-or-less conform to the urban pattern. One important difference between Alaska and Canada is that in Alaska's cities are located right in the north, not 2,500 miles to the south as in the case of eastern Canada. Predictably, the market for Native art in such locales is far more diverse than in their rural counterparts. In general there are two categories of artists in cities, those who have relocated to an urban area as adults and those who have been brought up in an urban or semi-urban area and are more accustomed to mainstream ways. Often, these urbanites are linked into the world art system and have gone to art school outside Alaska, sell their work through high-end galleries, or make art on special order from collectors or museums or who compete for contracts to do special projects under the state-run percent for art program. I will focus on those who have moved into town recently first.

Venues, Art Types and Pricing: The artists who have recently arrived usually continue to make the same types of art as formerly, but instead of responding to a consumer base consisting mainly of outsiders, they are now also confronted with a bewildering array of options for selling their art. Those who can afford to channel their work into the craft fairs held annually in regional and urban centres such as the Camai Festival in Bethel or the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN) craft sale in Anchorage, the largest in the state. At AFN, an overwhelming array of goods such as grass baskets, beaded moccasins, beaver hats, sealskin dolls, and caribou-skin masks are offered for sale. Those who cannot afford the \$100-\$200 per table at AFN often elect to sell at the smaller, the less lucrative, craft fairs held occasionally in shopping malls. There, mall

management has discovered that scattering Native art tables in the traffic patterns between shops attracts more customers into the mall. For Native artists, the tradeoff is the price of a table, which usually amounts to a fraction of those at AFN or Camai but also catches the attention of fewer buyers. Some sell to gift shops, though many pay only slightly more than in rural areas or sell on consignment. Consignment sales are less desirable because artists must wait for their money until their work sells. In cities, pricing is more standardized because artists can compare their work to others' and arrive at a figure on this basis. At the big arts and crafts fairs, prices tend to be 50% to 100% higher than in the bush.

In Anchorage, one of the best established outlets for Alaska Native art is the Alaska Native Medical Center Gift Shop. Staffed by volunteers, the ANMC shop, as it is known, has only a 20% markup because it is staffed by volunteers, making it a true bargain for consumers. The ANMC gift shop has also worked with Native artists to maintain quality standards that had a positive effect on Alaska Native art generally. Recently, however they have come in for stinging criticism both from Native artists and gift shop owners for holding down prices artificially with their low overhead and operating without Alaska Native board members, and other practices.

Consumers: When artists move to the city, they learn to attract a more diversified consumer base, Most quickly identify a particular subset of consumers who buy their work. But whether they sell directly to the public or through gift shops or comparable outlets, buyers of Alaska Native art tend to be Alaska residents who know the market and are willing to pay the price. Tourists account for a far smaller market share than I would have anticipated. Unacquainted with the market, they are often looking for less expensive souvenirs and opt, out of ignorance, for the cheaper, mass-produced fakes churned out in countries like Indonesia or China where labour is cheap and sold in shops that trade mostly with tourists. By contrast, Native art requires exotic materials that are expensive to obtain in cities, for either the urban-based artist must buy an expensive plane ticket to the bush or must pay someone coming to town from their home community to bring in the needed material. Furthermore, few Native artists are connected to the services making up the infrastructure such as tour-bus companies and therefore have no dependable means of reaching travelers. Recently, though, this has begun to change. About 2,000 tour-ship companies began hiring Alaska Native artists to come on board their vessels to demonstrate for the tourists and talk to them. Such direct contact is especially meaningful to the tourists for whom this kind of interaction, however staged, lends authenticity to their Alaska experience.

High-End Native Artists: In urban settings, the more conventional Alaska Native artists I have been discussing are joined by a second category, of what I call here high-end Native artists that I mentioned earlier. They operate much in much the same way as mainstream artists. Many, attend art schools such as the Institute of Native American Art in Santa Fe. They usually, make art full time in their own dedicated studios, exhibit in museums and sell their through galleries or enter competitions for public-art commissions. High-end artists often work in mainstream media such as oil or acrylic

paintings or specialize in three-dimensional work such as sculpture. In many cases their work is only identifiable as Alaska Native by its subject matter.

Internet marketing of Alaska native art

Finally, a small but increasing amount of Alaska Native art is sold over the Internet. At first glance, Internet sales would seem to offer limitless possibilities to artists throughout a large and distant state like Alaska, especially for those in remote areas. In reality, though, though the Internet is often helpful to artists in town – indeed, many already have their own websites. Unfortunately, the reverse is true for the artists in rural areas, and they, unfortunately are the ones who need help the most. For them Internet access is problematic for several reasons.

First, mastery of computer technology is far from universal in bush Alaska, especially among the elderly, who are often the most dedicated artists. For the most part, computers are available in village schools, but when they break down, there is usually no one to fix them. In village after village both in the Yup'ik and Inupiaq areas, I have seen as many as twenty computers gathering dust either because they are in want of repair or are a model that is now obsolete.

A second factor limiting the success of Internet sales for artists in remote communities can be attributed to the subsistence way of life that is practiced in rural areas. They tend to make art, as they do everything else not on a steady, regular basis, but as the time becomes available, not out of laziness, as is commonly supposed, but because the hunting, fishing and gathering that define the subsistence lifestyle require a flexibility that is incompatible with producing the steady flow of art on which internet success depends. If you're in the middle of making a basket and a hunter takes a beluga whale, you're going to put down your work and start butchering. If you don't, the meat may spoil and there will be nothing on the table at suppertime.

Third, even if there were artists in the bush who produced art steadily, it is unlikely that they would have the time, equipment or technology to post it regularly on the web. It would require the assistance of someone whose job it was to circulate through the village several times a week to photograph then post images of the work. Given the downturn in the state wide economy this is unrealistic. Even if it were, poverty in most of Alaska's rural villages is so pervasive that if a visiting nurse happens by when the basket is finished, the artist is going to sell it for cash on the spot without a second thought for the perhaps-greater price it might bring on the net. In a state whose rural areas report some of the lowest per capita incomes anywhere in the US, it is difficult to image a solution to this drawback anytime soon.

Nonetheless, the absence of Internet access may not be as dire in rural areas as it appears. Although a rural artist may not make enough art to be successful on the net, thanks to the outsiders' ongoing demand for arts and crafts in the villages perhaps half or more of all produced there are sold before they leave the area so that the demand and the supply are not so disproportionate. The difference in value between what a basket brings

in rural and urban areas, while substantial, would hardly fund a round-trip ticket to the city. So while it is possible that urban-based artists linked to the world art system would profit from internet sales, I cannot see it helping the rural artists who need it most anytime in the foreseeable future.

Conclusions

In this paper I have presented an overview of the contemporary market for Alaska Native art. From the discussion it should be apparent that the contemporary situation is far more complex than the view that Nelson Graburn described in the 1976 publication of his groundbreaking book, *Ethnic and Tourist Art*. One of the most striking differences is that the categories of market art that Graburn described are no longer as discrete. Artists live in rural areas as well as cities, and often maintain residences in both. Rather than having to send their work long distances to sell it, those in cities can turn to the Internet, and those in rural Alaska are so often accessed by visiting professionals that they too have more immediate options.

I hope to have demonstrated that the creation of this, or any, art market is far more culturally entangled than it is a monolithic response to the law of supply and demand. To this end, I have outlined an empirical model of the Alaska Native art market and traced its dynamics, arguing that each of its components has a role in the production of desire necessary to transform a "thing" (that is, an Alaska Native object) into a commodity. Along the way, I hope also to have shown by inference that Alaska Native artists, through their growing mastery of the skills associated with the production and consumption of Alaska Native art and the creation of demand and desire it depends on, can be expected to assume ever greater control over this invaluable asset in the future.

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Representing identity: Cultural continuity and change in modern Greenlandic art

Jørgen Trondhjem*

Abstract: Against the background of a short outline of the history of art from 1850 to the present, the focus is on art created within approximately the last 30 years. The idiom in most of these works seems rather Western but the works still have a distinct 'Greenlandic' expression. The art dealt with here is art as understood in the Western concept of art and not what is often labelled Native or Inuit Art or handicraft.

The art is often used, e.g., by the Home Rule government, as a representation of 'the Greenlandic' or understood as such when shown abroad. The article will look at some of the problems that might arise when art—in a time of globalization—is understood as a collective symbolic expression rather than as the expressions and intentions of individual artists. Finally I conclude that modern Greenlandic art is capable of expressing both continuity and change—whether it is seen as fine art or as representational objects.

Keywords: Greenland, modern art, identity, symbols, representation, globalization.

... art in Greenland is changing. However, art is still seen as a tool to strengthen the sense of national identity (Carlén 1993: 10).

The demands on the artists are great: ... it is the artist's important role to formulate identity (Kaalund 1990: 215).

Introduction

Modern Greenlandic art has in recent years been in rapid development both in its expression and in its use of materials—and yet it still looks very "Greenlandic". There is no doubt that modern Greenlandic art is very much influenced by the Western art tradition, especially with regard to paintings, graphic works, larger sculptural forms and more recent forms like installations, ceramics and photographs. But what are the elements

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modern Greenlandic art be shown both for being experienced as an aesthetic object—a work of art—and for communicating "the Greenlandic" identity?

In this article, some of these questions will be dealt with, from the standpoint of discourses on globalization and identity promotion. The starting point will be a short presentation of the essential periods of Greenlandic art history since around 1850, with special focus on approximately the last 30 years. The works of art dealt with here are made in a Western idiom and/or materials normally connected to Western art. Smaller works made from tooth, bone or soapstone will not be included in this paper, for two main reasons: a) they can be considered as souvenirs or "tourist art" (Graburn 1976: 6, 14ff) or be viewed as so exotic when compared to a general Western understanding of art that they constitute a special problem too comprehensive to deal with in this article; b) furthermore, it is exactly such works of art made from more Western-like materials that nowadays are mostly shown in exhibitions of Greenlandic art in and outside Greenland. When modern Greenlandic art is shown in exhibitions, it is still surrounded by ethnographic objects or pictures of Greenland's beautiful nature. The spectator is placed in a dilemma: either the work of art (art by destination¹) seems to become a pure symbolic object or the surrounding objects or "tourist pictures" in some way attain art-like status (art by metamorphosis²). In short, I will deal with what Graburn calls *popular arts* (1976: 7), which means, art where the artistic elite has taken the Western language of art to express something local.

But what have art and art communication to do with "building capacity"—which was the overall theme of the IPSSAS 2003 seminar? If art really is able to communicate a "sense of identity", then art could be part of the process of creating awareness among Greenlanders and the surrounding world at large of what modern Greenland and Greenlanders also can be. But so many elements in the work of art seem linked to former times or other Inuit areas. Can it be possible to communicate modern Greenland and modern identity in this way? Or is it exactly this combination of old roots and modern life that is the strength of Greenland today? I cannot give a full answer to those questions but I can at least give some ideas of why this could be the way modernity in Greenland seems to be expressed.

This article is primarily based on the master's thesis I wrote at the Department of Eskimology³ of the University of Copenhagen, on preliminary research for my Ph.D. thesis⁴ and on some fruitful discussions during the IPSSAS 2003 seminar.

¹ Maquet 1979.

² *Ibid.*

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⁴ My Ph.D. program started in February 2004 at Eskimology and Arctic Studies, Department of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies, University of Copenhagen.

A short history of Greenlandic art

To give an impression of how the institution of Greenlandic art has developed into its present state, I shall present a short overview of the development of style and expression in Greenlandic art.

The starting point for the development of modern Greenlandic art is the establishment of a little printing office in Godthåb around 1850, by the inspector of South Greenland H. Rinch, who asked Greenlanders—which then meant those on the West Coast—to send drawings and stories. To illustrate the stories he asked, among others, Jens Kreutzmann (1828-99) and Aron from Kangeq (1822-69) to draw and paint small pictures. Aron transformed some of the pictures into woodcuts for printing.

Even though there had been a few trained Greenlandic painters earlier—who did not work in Greenland though—it is reasonable to have Greenlandic art history begin around 1850 with Aron from Kangeq and Jens Kreutzmann. The characteristics of those early artists were that they were self-taught and were asked to make their watercolour paintings and woodcuts for printing—new media for most Greenlanders at that time. To me, it is essential to point out here that the narrative was the important part of the pictures—a characteristic of the work of many later artists too.

With such beginnings, four characteristics of much later Greenlandic art were set into place: the narrative; the later interest in graphic art forms; the interest in self-taught artists; and the use of traditional Western materials to express "the Greenlandic". It is also interesting here to mention that as early as around 1860, two small books with woodcuts from the printing house in Godthåb (Nuuk) were available in Denmark.⁵

Watercolour and different kinds of printing, primarily woodcut and lithograph, were the primary artistic materials for artistic expression until the beginning of the next century. At this time, a new educated group of Greenlanders had developed: teachers, catechists and priests. It was from this group that originated the main part of artistic expressions in Greenland for the next 50 years. Both in their writings—novels and poetry—and in their painting, they expressed a national romantic feeling, just like in Denmark half a century before, based on the land and the old culture, which now was beginning to change rapidly. It was during the early part of the period that the notion of belonging to one nation developed among ordinary Greenlanders. This was reinforced by the "discovery" of East Greenland and Thule people and the many scientific expeditions, e.g., the Thule Expeditions, which took place during this period.

We have now reached the 1950-60s—a period that brought a great revolution to almost all parts of Greenland society. In 1953, the status of Greenland changed from colony to equal membership in the Danish Kingdom—at least officially. A country that

⁵ [GRØNLANDSKE TRÆSNIT] (1973 [1860]), *Kaladlit assiliat: Grønlandske træsnit*. Rungsted Kyst [Godthaab]: Anders Nyborg [Inspektoratets Bogtrykkeri]; [GRØNLANDSKE FOLKESAGN], (1859-61), *Kaladlit okalluktualliat: Kaladlisut kablunatudlo = Grønlandske Folkesagn, opskrevne og meddeelte af Indfødte / Med træsnit, tegnede og udskaaene af en indfødt (Aron fra KangeK)*. Godthaab.

had been almost closed to strangers until then was opened and development plans were implemented.

In the expression of identity and in art, nature and the "traditional way of life" continued to be the main focus and even received more emphasis. But the way they were understood changed. Some individuals started to pay more attention to details in nature and to humans—ethnic Greenlanders—as more than just walk-on actors. Finally, other individuals such as Hans Lyngé (1906-88) started to see themselves primarily as artists for whom experimenting with painting as a medium seemed just as important as the expression of a certain motive.

In the 1970s, several things happened that opened up development toward the rather modern Western expression found in much Greenlandic art today. In 1969 and 1974, two great exhibitions on contemporary Greenlandic art were held in Denmark, and in 1979 Kaalund released, in both Greenlandic and Danish,⁶ the first edition of what is still the only comprehensive Greenlandic art history.

In 1972, there opened in Nuuk the *Grafisk Værksted* (Graphic Workshop), now *Kunstscolen* (The Art School), where it is possible to get a 10-month course in different art forms. As its first name indicates, the focus at that time was on graphic art forms. The inspiration was in part the living graphic art of Northern Canada, which was initiated by James Houston. The style was quite different though from that found in Greenland and the collective work form used among Inuit in Canada was not adopted. Another explanation why graphic art stirred up such interest could be that it was seen as a more or less original Greenlandic art form. The works of Aron from Kangeq had just at this time been "rediscovered". His woodcuts especially were seen as the first real Greenlandic masterpieces in Western understanding of art. It was also the period up to the implementation of Home Rule in 1979. One of the challenges was to find the roots and history to make a foundation for this new status and identity as a less dependent people. Another challenge for the new generation was to let their work of art be seen as exactly that "work of art" and not just as culture representing objects.

In the 1980 and to the present day, the dominant artists of the 1970s continued to be active but there was also a new group of artists who started to enter the art scene. Many of them had their first artistic training at the Art School but continued studying art at art schools at different levels abroad, such as in Denmark, Sweden and Canada—where they were and still are very active exhibitors. Over the last 10 years, a new group of Greenlandic artists has emerged. They are young artists who, though living in Denmark, consider themselves and are seen by others to be Greenlandic artists. Their affiliation with Greenland takes many forms. Some were just being born there., Others moved to Denmark to be able to express themselves more freely. Many of them are very active exhibitors and are used in different circumstances and for many purposes by the Home Rule government.

⁶ An English edition was released in 1983.

This is also the period when artists started to experiment with materials and expressions, although there are only a few examples of non-figurative art. The main impression still is of a focus on narrative and symbolic representation of traditional Greenlandic or Inuit culture. Often the artist seems to try to tell something about "the Greenlandic" or non-Western art in a Western language. As the Greenlandic artist Aka Høegh puts it: "Even though I am not involved in political work, the country's spiritual state and pulse are reflected in my work" (Lynge 1998: 84).

A characteristic of modern Greenlandic artists could be that they, in some way in contrast to most Canadian Inuit artists, express themselves in many different styles and are oriented both to their local background and to the Western art tradition. The overall impression is that the works are modern pieces of art while the content seems to be based on traditional Greenlandic or Inuit material.

Interpretation, identity and globalization

One of the dilemmas that artists in general and artists from non-Western countries in particular face is that they on the one hand are expected to be original and on the other hand are expected to follow some traditions on how to make art. This is, as I see it, parallel to the situation described by James Clifford in his *Art-Culture System*, where he describes how objects can be located in either an art sphere or a culture sphere depending on whether they are seen as original and singular or traditional and collective in their expression (Clifford 1988: 224). The point is that it is not only the work itself or the artist's intentions that matters when a spectator is interpreting a work. The experiences the interpreter brings and the circumstances the interpretation happens in are just as important as the picture itself. As Umberto Eco puts it, the work of art is open-ended (Eco 1995 [1967]). This means that every time someone looks at a work of art, he or she will make an interpretation that is only limited by his or her own experiences, cultural background, the circumstances of the interpretation and the limits the work itself puts on reasonable interpretations. I mention cultural background as one of the many parameters because the very notion of what belongs to the mental institution of art is indeed culturally determined.

If Greenlandic artists want their works to be seen as art rather than as merely culture-representing objects by the West, where they often are exhibited and where an important part of the process of establishing an identity takes place, they can do so by using the "others" art form. If they on the other hand want to be seen and understood as Greenlandic artists, which in this connection must be understood as artists with their mental experiences rooted in "the Greenlandic", they have to include some elements like title, materials or motives which make references to this—even though they run the "risk" that the spectator will not understand them the "intended" way.

This takes us to the general problem of expressing something by the use of symbols. To understand a symbol in the same way it was meant by the sender, the symbol must be either institutionalized or very clear. The problem here though is that the sender and spectator in this case often have very different backgrounds, which could mean that even

otherwise institutionalized or clear symbols mean very different things to them (Cohen 1985: 18,61).

As mentioned earlier, many artists make use of elements of or references to former times in their works. Why do they do this, even though many young Greenlanders would rather like their identity or culture to be represented by symbols more related to their modern Westernized way of living (Thomsen 1998: 46)? First, it is the non-Western part of their culture or cultural heritage that, at least on the surface, makes them different from the "other". Furthermore, there seems to be a tendency, when a culture is under pressure or in a nation-building process, like Greenland has been for the last 50 years, that causes one to draw upon archaic traits (Smith 2000: 244). Another explanation is that Greenland and thereby Greenlandic artists are part of the globalization process. Artists are especially under the influence of this process because they often study and exhibit abroad or meet with artists from other parts of the world. Furthermore, the Home Rule government is actively using artists when promoting Greenland abroad.

Often, one has the impression that the process of globalization is about the powerful dominating the less powerful and the disintegration of time and space as fixed points in the life of people. There are, though, some opposite direction effects of globalization as well. According to Harvey (2000), among others, the reaction to globalization is for people to pay even greater attention to local time and space. People and especially people in less powerful countries or areas like Greenland, who are in a period of rapid development, will react by grasping onto or even inventing traditions and history that relate to their local town, country or region (Harvey 2000: 86ff). When graphic art forms underwent a renaissance in Greenland, it could be because of their historic roots as "the first Greenlandic art form"—even though they originated in the same West that Greenlanders are trying to differentiate themselves from. Furthermore, Greenland and many Greenlandic artists focus politically and mentally on Denmark and Scandinavia just as much as on the other Inuit areas. This could explain why Greenlandic self-conception or identity and its expressions are based on this mixture of elements located in Greenland, Scandinavia and other Inuit areas. When shown in Denmark, the Greenlandic artists normally exhibit as being just Greenlandic artists, but when shown in other countries, they also are shown as Nordic artists—the affiliation must depend on both whom the artist or curator wishes the artist to represent and to whom the artist should stand as being opposite.

By affiliating with Nordic art, Greenlandic artists may also liberate themselves from the concept of "primitive art", as objects from exotic areas, as Greenland was known as, when they were used as inspiration for European artists at the beginning of the 20th century (Clifford 1988: 228). This could help the works of art to be seen more like works of art than merely culture-representing objects.

Conclusion

Whether or not artists or other participants in the Greenlandic art world⁷ deliberately want it, Greenlandic art will represent some aspects of 'the Greenlandic identity' to many spectators. This has been so ever since the works of Aron from Kangeq were used by the Inspector of South Greenland, Rink, to create a feeling of belonging to one community among Greenlanders up to the present when "Greenlandic" is part of the title or text whenever an exhibition with Greenlandic artists is on display or spoken of. One reason why art always has been part of the promotion of identity could be that identity often is shown symbolically and symbols, like ideas, need to be visualized to be conceptualized. "Art teaches us to see the world in new ways, and the creation of categories provides one kind of aesthetic lens through which conceptions and visions are constituted or reconstructed" (Edelman 1995: 109).

In many fields, Greenlandic art builds on continuity: the use of graphics, the incorporation of "archaic" elements and the use of the "land". On the other hand, it also reflects the development of and influences on Greenland society over time. When analysing the work of art from different periods, I find a close correlation between the nation-building process and expression in art.

Seen from a globalization discourse, it also makes sense that modern Greenlandic artists incorporate many "archaic" elements in their works. Greenland is in a state of transition from colonial status to a situation of independence—at least on the political level. It is in this way a very young nation under pressure from outside and at the same time with increasing polarization inside. In this situation, it is expected that archaic and non-Western symbols will be in play. Even though it seems that Greenlanders are more oriented toward the West in expressing their identity than Inuit in Canada and Alaska, Greenlandic artists also find their inspiration in a common Inuit heritage, such as in masks, Dorset and Saqqaq artefacts and myths. This is also in accordance with the globalization theory that people under pressure will find elements in history to justify their course of action. The further back in time you can verify your roots, the stronger your case. So even though the present Greenland population has only been in Greenland for around 1000 years, they can, by including the Paleo-Eskimo cultures in their own heritage, claim thousands of years of presence in their land. Often artefacts from Paleo-Eskimo cultures are given art status and, by including references to such objects, the modern Greenlandic artist claims to be part of an ancient art-world. An art-world as ancient as the Western one and not only dating from the 1850s!

As shown in this short paper, modern Greenlandic art is certainly capable of communicating both continuity and change, whether it is experienced as aesthetic art objects or identity-representing objects. By placing themselves firmly in both Greenlandic culture and the Western art-world, Greenlandic artists seem to have been able to create a whole new institution of art specific to Greenlandic culture but

⁷ The concept of "Art world" is inspired by Howard Becker (1982).

understandable and accepted within both Greenland and the wider Western institution of art.

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Interpreting Canadian Inuit art: A theoretical perspective

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Abstract: Contemporary Inuit art has been developing for about half a century. It is well known throughout the world. But how are we to interpret it from an anthropological perspective? A few concepts and approaches in this domain of enquiry are reviewed and reveal a wide range of possibilities of interpretation. While viewing those approaches and concepts as complementary, we intend to place more emphasis in our doctoral research on a constructivist approach and an internal study of meanings, hoping in this manner to arrive at a more in-depth interpretation of this art.

Keywords: Inuit art, anthropology of art, social and cultural intermixing, local/global, cultural dynamics.

Preamble

The art of the Inuit of the Canadian Arctic or, from a more general point of view, their diverse artistic creations, such as carvings, engraving, jewellery, textile production or their cinematography, of which the film "Atanarjuat" is a good example, enjoy international distribution.

These works of art tell us about the Inuit: in a way, they put us in their presence, giving birth to the feeling of knowing a little about these geographically distant populations, who live in a very different climate from that of the rest of the world and are culturally different. But behind this feeling of proximity, the observer, whether Canadian or non-Canadian, is led to wonder: who are these people from the Arctic? What do they express about themselves through their contemporary artistic creations? Since my Ph.D. research is just starting and since I have little experience in the field, I have chosen, within the framework of this IPSSAS seminar in Iqaluit, to give a theoretical overview of this specific field of research, followed by some concrete data.¹

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¹ Sections of this paper were not presented at the IPSSAS seminar. They are inspired from a compilation of Nelson Graburn's writings kindly sent to me by Molly Lee after the seminar. I have also taken into consideration various comments made by Michèle Therrien and Frank Sejersen after my presentation.

The anthropology of art

Making a study of art or, in other words, making it the central aim of analysis, has not been a field of research favoured by anthropologists. From a general point of view, the literature on the anthropology of art is not so abundant; the scientific approaches to be followed are quite limited in number; the concepts to be used prove to be rather imprecise tools. The anthropology of art is not a very well defined field. It is easy to work in and yet capable of accounting for a variety of artistic expressions.

Right from the beginning, the utilization and application of the word "Art" is a problem:

The new focus is on whether the usage of the word is ethnocentric or not, and whether it should be applied to activities of people who do not have such a word, as well as how it should be defined. Confusion here lies in the fact that art is not a phenomenon but a concept. Being a concept it has no objective referent, and so one cannot say what it is or is not, but only what the user means by the term (Hatcher 1999: 8).

On the other hand, the social sciences constantly use concepts that are tools for understanding and analyzing an observed and reconstructed reality. The screening of data through the filters of the research process will not reflect the reality as such but an interpretation or a construction will be made from this reality, leading to a new comprehension of the facts.

Anthropology, which is mainly an intercultural process of knowledge, uses concepts such as culture, cosmology, belief, identity, autochthony, tradition, globalization, local, global, transition, Inuitness, etc. These need to be constantly redefined with regards to the reality that these tools allow us to analyze, as phenomena throwing into relief the facts and actors in a determined historical-political moment.

The usual definition of art is the following: "Expression of an ideal of beauty corresponding to a given civilization" (Larousse 1995, author's translation). Such a definition no longer fully corresponds to what art now represents in the universe from which it emerges. Nonetheless, it is the foundation stone of the concept used in art history. Further reflection is thus necessary when it comes to analyzing an artistic production foreign to the original context of this concept. Such analysis has often led to a negative definition of the anthropology of art that expresses more what it is not rather than what it is. A good example of the adjustment of definitions as this discipline has evolved is the concept of religion, which has given way in contemporary anthropology to the concept of beliefs, a more efficient tool for the numerous variations encountered by the discipline in this field. Nevertheless, this adjustment does not invalidate the concept of religion, but rather incorporates it.

Maquet and Graburn made the distinction between *art by destination* described as the entirety of the objects intentionally created as *objets d'art*, and *art by metamorphosis*,

or the objects produced with an intentionality other than artistic but transformed in a subsequent context into *objets d'art* (Maquet 1971; Graburn 1976). This useful distinction enables us to analyze part of the reality in the field of artistic production. But I think it is likely to restrain the concept of art to its Western meaning. It is certain that at first Inuit art was conceptually a Western product, but nonetheless its final development is Inuit.

Severi (1991) tries to define the problematics of an anthropology of art that should be capable of defining valid concepts for the knowledge of any society. He returns to the first meaning of the word "art" whose Latin origin "*Ars*" covered two distinct and complementary meanings. The first takes into consideration the conscious and intentional capacity of man to produce objects in the same way that nature produces phenomena. The second refers to a set of rules or techniques that the mind has to put into action to reach knowledge and represent the real. "*Ars*" of technique and "*Ars*" of the mind make up two dimensions of the concept of art that allow us to envisage a study of the way that each culture defines the perception of space to create a shape.

The anthropology of art then becomes analysis of the relationship between certain kinds of knowledge and certain techniques of the conception and production of images.

"*Ars*" as a technique belongs to the field of historical and geographical variation and "*Ars*" as a language of spatial representation obeys the laws that govern the mental representation of space. Following Boas (Severi 1991), the style of art depends on the specific organization of a culture as well as the constraints inherent to any representation of space. The object is then a representation imitating what the eye observes or a representation of the mental construct, or both simultaneously. Approaching an object in depth and considering it as an art object involves knowing the styles and techniques. It involves also understanding the mental categories that have governed its creation and that very often prove to be different from those of the anthropologist observer (Severii 1991). These givens are supposed to be an analytical tool for all existing art forms.

Bateson and Carpenter (Severii 1991) have studied artistic style as a communication and meaning system, independent of verbal language, enabling the anthropologist to make reference to the Beautiful or to the notion of aesthetic value and permitting him or her to take distance from the reasoning of the art historian or the art critic. This is confirmed by Severii:

Research in the field has proven that art not only reflects the satisfaction of an ideal or even an aesthetic need [but] can also reveal aspects of the organization of space, of the modalities of the transmission of knowledge, of the registers of the meaning of ritual symbolism (Severii 1991: 84, author's translation).

Coote and Shelton (1992) view anthropology as maintaining confusion between the anthropology of art and the anthropology of aesthetics.

The theoretical label for my approach is "field theory", meaning that all the vectors in the field affect any phenomenon. So what is attempted is an overview of all the factors that affect the arts; or put another way, I am raising questions about the relations of the arts to everything else in human societies (Hatcher 1999: xxi).

If we admit that anthropology is a science of interpretation, all human reality could be taken in principle from language. Man is fundamentally a linguistic being. The interpretation and understanding of discourses can be recognized as an absolutely general condition of the human being. Language is considered here as the entirety of the manifestations of the human being. The interpretation articulates *the field of expression*, meaning the systems of signs or significant forms to which we relate, and *the field of content*, that is, the sense constituted by the interplay of meanings.

In this study, the field of expression is the artistic production, the artists, the themes, the distribution, the schools, the historico-political moment, the Euro-Canadians, each element having its meanings, forming an interactive whole and making sense. For example, the Inuit do carvings to live; they bring back and revive pictures of collective memories that the buyers are fond of whilst confirming their native identity in the Arctic and in the Canadian nation.

The *meaning* is a circumscribed unit and is a synthesis that we will then be able to link to other meanings. Units are *messages* that make up a complex and coherent whole in the hope of reaching a more comprehensive meaning or an active synthesis. Thus the analysis of M. Therrien, following N. Graburn (Therrien 1987) of the relation between hunting and sculpture has enabled us to grasp and understand the symbolic shift from one to the other.

This interpretative operation, though hermeneutic, has, as specificity, its *circularity* and its *infinity*. It aims to capture the pertinent elements of the *context*, i.e., the neighbouring elements of the same nature, and the pertinent elements of the *situation*, i.e., the neighbouring elements that differ in nature. This process leads to a *corpus* or an artificial product of organized series of other messages leading to unexpected relationships. Thus, the comparative study of the artistic production of the Inuit of the Canadian Arctic or of the Aborigines of Australia—study already conducted—can lead me to argue, through these theoretical perspectives, that art is a determining political asset for minorities within their respective nations.

The hermeneutic circle will link the subject and the object of the knowledge: the questions and the answers, the interpretative concepts and the meaning they allow us to produce, the methods and the messages, the tool and the product, the inspiration and the subject. The aim of this operation is not to produce knowledge from any contextual reality. Nor is it to build up a theoretical knowledge cut off from reality. It leads on the contrary to a more operational redefinition of the concepts used to study reality and updates the various strata of knowledge. It is self-evident that no research can claim to cover the whole range of this operation but it will subscribe to and participate in it.

Although very theoretical, this approach has some relevance for the study of the contemporary artistic creation of the Inuit of the Canadian Arctic. It cannot be restricted to a region, given that its origin, as well as its subsequent and current development, results from broad intercultural exchanges. But even more essential, Inuit art incorporates into its process the local and the global. These cannot be dissociated from the Inuit art object because they are intrinsic to its existence, from production to distribution. Permanent and complex interactions occur between these two poles.

If artistic production requires at this stage of research to be considered in its local cultural context of production, and therefore requires us to define the field of study, it seems important to first identify the complexity. The different categories developed in recent decades by Graburn in order to establish a frame of analysis of the artistic production of the Inuit of the Canadian Arctic reflect the reality of this complexity.

From the same perspective, Appadurai writes that the village can be perceived as a question of relationship and of context, rather than scale or space. The village, as dimension or value, is made up of different shapes because it is linked to *neighbourhoods* as substantial social forms. The spatial localization, the daily interaction and the social scale are not isomorphic but interact together. The groups produce the local in a determined historical context and the contemporary world is determined by circulation (Appadurai 2001).

In this global flux of economic, political or social strategies, the production and consumption of goods may become a major issue. In this sense, *the social life of things* (Appadurai 1986) concerns the artistic production of the Inuit of the Canadian Arctic that contains this type of strategies. However Friedman, whilst acknowledging the validity of this exchange theory, warns us;

The strategies involved in a commoditized world are not reducible to the transactions of goods and services. Appadurai focuses on the limited aspects of calculation, competition and even accumulation leads him to play down other more structurally relevant differences (Friedman 1994: 12).

If Appadurai seems to have since broadened his approach, I would hold back the criticism in the sense that focusing on strategies that are mainly calculating or competitive would sidestep the research whilst casting no light on pertinent elements of the dynamic of artistic production of the Canadian Arctic. The local undergoes a constant transformation or transition that does not sweep away the cultural substrata specific to each group. They act and interact with many components that animate the social in its broad sense.

The Inuit art object may have been conceived for export and therefore does not find its conceptual or symbolic roots in a long-established ancestral tradition. But the prominence of this phenomenon over the last fifty years in the North and outside the

North, the quality, the diversity of the production, its discovery and recognition, force us to perceive this artistic production as an Inuit phenomenon, in the sense that Inuit who can rise to the challenge of change, are taking on production, as a result of social product and cultural intermixing.

Anthropologists have always insisted on the constructed nature of the social environment; from the symbolic organization of space, to the socially organized meaning of artefacts (Freidman 1994: 8).

It is to this end that my research on Inuit artistic creation in the Canadian Arctic is directed. A sculpture, before being an *objet d'art*, is an *acte*, writes Carpenter (Carpenter, in Kolb 1996) It therefore suits us to restore to objects their own language and the nature of the act that has created them. The voice of the Inuit is still not very audible in this discourse, even though it is the basic component of its formulation.

Artistic production or creation in the Canadian Arctic

Artistic production, considered as creation, is a reflection of the creativity that the Inuit seem to have always demonstrated when facing the non-customary.

We know that Inuktitut does not have a word to designate "Art" as defined according to a Western conceptual orientation. The term *sanannguaq* designates a sculpture created by imitating on a different scale. The vocabulary refers to the product when referring to a piece of work. The Inuit tradition is nevertheless not without artistic creativity, as shown in the clothing creations. Our conception of art, in which an object comes from an individual creative action having its first and principal function to be viewed, is not theirs.

Nonetheless, Inuit art as an object intended to satisfy a Western clientele meets the criteria of the buyers. In this sense, the definition of "Art by destination" proves to be appropriate to judge Inuit art as the importing of a key Western concept and as the exporting of a finished product from the Arctic to the rest of the world. This definition will serve again to analyze the identity phenomenon and political issue that this art has become on the national and international scenes. However, it forces us to stay inside the limits that we have defined and that art exists within. This is why I have attempted to broaden the concept to allow me as a researcher, in the footsteps of anthropologists such as Nelson Graburn, to give the voice in this field to the Inuit. What represents this creation today? What about Inuit creativity? What are their modes and terms of appropriation of this contemporary artistic production? In which form and in which way is continuity present?

I will finish this presentation by supporting these theoretical considerations with a few concrete givens of how artistic production takes place in the Arctic and what dynamic it entails. It prefigures the pursuit of my research.

Let us first remember the meaning of the term "Inuit art," which is not "a single body" according to Ingo Hessel:

With its wide range of regional community and personal styles, its various media and themes, and different life experiences of three generations of artists, it in fact involves several overlapping categories: fine art, folk art, tourist art, ethnic art (and perhaps Canadian art) (Hessel 1998: 187).

Social and cultural dynamics throughout the artistic production

The economic contribution of artistic production within the Inuit communities is quite considerable and has already been the subject of many studies (Simard 1977; Graburn 1984; Dupuis 1991). One needs to know that practically 25% of the population create stone carvings, a world record for the percentage of artists in a population. Although this activity only represents part-time or occasional activity for some, one should bear in mind other activities of artistic production that increase still further the number of individual producers.

The Inuit are happy with this production activity, which they manage at their own pace and not that of the *Qallunaaq*. They are proud of this preserved independence.

Artistic production may represent occasional financial income in keeping with the needs of the moment, such as those of hunting or fishing. A sculptor will get to work with the aim of acquiring a snow-bike or will achieve what one would call a "bingo-carving" to have the opportunity to go gambling.

Inuit art is extremely present in the public sphere—an identity marker that enhances and restores the Inuit tradition. An important place is reserved for it in government institutions. The Nunavut's Legislative Assembly offers a remarkable example of this phenomenon; in its centre one can view objects from traditional Inuit culture, such as a sled or an oil lamp, a contemporary sculpture representing a drum player, and tapestries decorating the walls.

The educational institutions pay a lot of attention to artistic creation and production. Inuit youth are encouraged to take an interest in art production. In Iqaluit, I found a book dedicated to teaching children as young as seven years of age how to carve (Gosse 1992). After a brief summary of the world history of sculpture and some advice on artistic inspiration and on techniques, it shows the basic shapes of animals from the Arctic. The art is taught in schools. *Nunavut Arctic College* has an arts section. *The Arts and Crafts Centre* offers training in jewellery in Iqaluit and in Rankin Inlet also. The students are given theoretical and practical coursework. Renowned Canadian jewellers have participated in the experience, the jewellery work being elaborate and original. These creations have retained the attention of *Maison Hermès* in Paris for whom an Inuit jeweller is working today.

Of course, the situation is very different in small communities but nevertheless they do not live in isolation and the young people leave more and more to study in large communities.

It is a fact that current production represents a marked change from previous Inuit artistic expressions but it would be a mistake to consider it to be deprived of Inuit specificity or expression.

It was after noticing their competence in the field of stone carving that J. Houston and others tried to develop in the Arctic figurative and realistic artistic production. It seems today that, without artistic production, this competence would have fallen into abeyance.

Also, the observation skills acquired during hunting and the perception of space have been major assets for the creation of figurative arts, whose quality has over decades gone beyond all expectations. The literature in the years 1960 or 1970, with very little faith in Inuit creativity, was somewhat pessimistic about the future of art in the Canadian Arctic. Three generations of Inuit artists have now proven their capacity to create by means of their production of sculpture or through other forms that have appeared or re-appeared, such as the art of drum dancing, which had been forbidden by the missionaries.

Likewise, I think that it is important to question the place of art in the heart of the Arctic communities in terms of social impact. Art, as an object to be viewed, does not seem at first hand to have penetrated the private sphere of the Inuit. Houses are not, or practically not, decorated with produced work. However, in Iqaluit, I was able to observe that many Inuit women wear jewellery created by local jewellers, their work making use of cultural symbols such as the *ulu*. Contemporary art is therefore not completely absent from the private sphere. It is therefore not art by destination in this particular case. What could this instance of acculturation tell us? What is the symbolic meaning for an Inuit woman in wearing a miniature *ulu* around her neck in addition to its ornamental value?

Another aspect touches the domestic sphere. Most of the artistic productions are created in the family environment. They may be the result of shared work by artists and communities, and become topics of conversation, as we were able to see with carvers from Iqaluit. Artistic practice is passed on partially this way as well as all the knowledge that is linked to it today.

In terms of Inuit social organization, a study by Dupuis (1991) shows that a link could be made between cooperation in hunting and cooperation in extracting steatite for carvings. In terms of reciprocity, the distribution of the profit generated by artistic production is similar to the distribution generated by hunting.

From the point of view of social values, Therrien (1987), following Graburn, have demonstrated that some symbolic shift has taken place from hunting to sculpture on the level of mental representation. The symbols are those of survival, ability or competence, strength and prestige.

The themes of sculptures or engravings draw on the traditional cultural substrate of the Inuit: Arctic animals, family scenes, hunting scenes, creatures and scenes of Inuit mythology. These themes have been produced to respond to market needs but in the late 1940s it was also what the Inuit knew about. Today, the Inuit also wish to represent their current daily life: the theme of alcoholism has been represented in a very significant way.

They also wish to represent images of the world—obtained from travelling or television—outside the Arctic and they do so with precision because they are very quick to catch the shapes. But the market is not interested in this type of work and this forces them to reproduce their past. The market wants an image whose "Inuitness" is beyond doubt. Graburn (2002) writes about *the Prison House of Ethnicity* but he also picks on the distinction established by Jean Briggs between the *emblems*, cultural symbols derived from daily life, and the *symbols*, emotionally charged markers chosen from cultural features. Moreover, art and its diverse expressions have returned the Inuit to the recent past from which they were nearly cut off. It contributes to a recollection and a raising of consciousness of the value of their past and therefore also allows an intergenerational transmission of knowledge that the current social reality does not offer as before.

Conclusions

As Ingo Hessel (1998: 185-189) writes on the topic of recent artistic creation in the Arctic, we are witnessing a crystallization of Inuit imagination in current forms. The imagination feeds on the past and the present. It is one of the basic elements of the entire artistic production.

Individual imagination and collective imagination incorporate variety and change, drawing on the roots of the past and moving into the future. These dynamic principles, with which the Canadian Inuit have been confronted for half a century, have resulted in creation and creativity.

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MEMORY AND *INUIT QAUJIMAJATUQANGIT* (IQ)

Collaborative Research: The Best of Two Worlds

Susan Sammons* and Maaki Kakkik**

Abstract: This paper provides an overview of the Language and Culture Program at Nunavut Arctic College in Iqaluit. Four of the program's series of publications regarding *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit* are listed, and a discussion of the methodologies used to collect the data is presented. The paper also discusses some of the advantages and disadvantages of doing collaborative research, and outlines some of the common pitfalls Southern researchers often experience.

Keywords: *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit*, Nunavut Arctic College, Language, Culture, Northern Research.

In 1996 an Inuit Studies program was established at Nunavut Arctic College, which was an offshoot of the Interpreter/Translator Program established in 1988. From the onset, the program believed that students need a grasp of both the past and the present to be adequately prepared for the future. In order to meet this goal, the program stresses a strong exposure to both the traditional worldview and to southern academic thought, and we believe we have made great strides in this regard.

Courses dealing with contemporary issues such as Northern Government, Land Claims: History and Negotiations, and Public Issues in the Land Claim have brought together lawyers specializing in aboriginal law issues and representatives from Inuit organizations to explore these topics in depth. Over the years guest speakers have included representatives from Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, the Nunavut Implementation Commission, Pauktuutit, Qikiqtani Inuit Association, the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board and others.

Courses dealing with traditional skills have also benefited from this approach. For example, elders have helped students master the sewing techniques and skills needed for skin garment construction. These skills were augmented by courses in Seal Skin Parka Design and Construction taught by Jill Oakes (University of Manitoba).

Until recently, most of the anthropological literature published on Inuit was done from a western Judeo-Christian perspective. On the other hand, many oral histories and information on traditional knowledge collected by Inuit have been little more than

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verbatim transcriptions. By having anthropologists and Inuit working together, we have attempted to meld together a methodology that integrates Inuit analysis and interpretation with anthropological perspectives. To date, three series of books using variations of this methodology have been compiled.

Interviewing Inuit Elders

In 1998 Susan Sammons and Alexina Kublu (Nunavut Arctic College), Jarich Oosten (Leiden University, the Netherlands) and Frédéric Laugrand (Université Laval) began collaborating on an oral history project in Iqaluit. The project was set up to train Inuit students in recording the oral traditions of Inuit elders on selected topics which were of interest and importance to them. Southern academics and knowledgeable elders were invited to assist students in their research. This project evolved into a five-volume series entitled *Interviewing Inuit Elders*. Volume 1, *An Introduction*, was a collaboration between respected elders Saullu Nakasuk, Herve Paniaq, Ilisapi Ootoova, Pauloosie Angmaalik, the students, and Jarich Oosten and Frédéric Laugrand. This first volume contains a general introduction to oral research. Volume 2, *Perspectives on Traditional Law*, with Mariano Aupilaarjuk, Marie Tulimaaq Aupilaarjuk, Akisu Joamie, Emile Immaruittuq and Lucassie Nutaraaluk was the result of two courses on methods of social control, one facilitated by Wim Rasing (Nijmegen), and the other by Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich Oosten. Volume 3, *Childrearing Practices*, with Naqi Ekho and Uqsuralik Ottokie was the result of a course on this topic facilitated by Jean Briggs (Memorial University). Bernard Saladin d'Anglure (Université Laval) aided by Stephane Kolb (Université Laval) facilitated a course on shamanism with Mariano Aupilaarjuk, Marie Tulimaaq Aupilaarjuk, and Lucassie Nutaraaluk which resulted in Volume 4, *Cosmology and Shamanism*. This book also contains interviews with Rose Iqallijuq, Johanasi Ujarak, Isidore Ijituuq and Michel Kupaaq conducted by Saladin d'Anglure some thirty years earlier. Volume 5, *Perspectives on Health*, entailed a collaboration between Michèle Therrien (INALCO, Paris), and Frédéric Laugrand, with Ilisapi Ootoova, Tipuula Qaapik Atagutsiak, Therese Qillaq Ijjangiaq, Jayko Pitsiulaaq, Aalaasi Joamie, Akisu Joamie and Malaya Papatsie.

In the early years of the project, funding for research was obtained from Nunavut Unified Human Resource Development Strategy (NUHRDS), the Aboriginal Languages Fund and the Howard Webster Foundation. The project endeavored to bring together experts from both worlds - anthropologists and ethno-linguists, and respected elders knowledgeable in specific fields. Publication costs for this book series were paid by Parijait Tigummivik, the Iqaluit Elders Society, which receives substantial funding from the Royal Canadian Legion in Iqaluit. The series was initially published in separate English and Inuktitut versions. Volumes 1 to 3 of this series have also been translated into French. This series is also available on the Internet at www.nunavut.com/traditionalknowledge/index.html. It is hoped that when Internet usage costs in communities outside Iqaluit decrease, these materials will be accessible for Northern schools and community use.

All five of the subject areas in this series were chosen by students in the program

who wanted to increase their knowledge of these topics. The courses were three weeks in length. The first week of each course was devoted to a literature review of the subject. In some topics students enhanced what they already knew; in other topics such as shamanism, students were learning about the theme for the first time, as this knowledge had not been passed down from one generation to the next. Towards the end of the first week, the students picked a sub-topic that they wanted to learn more about, and were introduced to basic principles of collecting and recording oral traditions. The students were divided into teams and each team focused on a different topic. The teams then prepared interview questions with the help of southern facilitators. Each team consisted of first- and second-year students, so that the first-year students could also learn from their more experienced peers.

During the second week, two or three elders recognized by other Inuit as knowledgeable about the subject area, met with students. In some cases elders from Iqaluit were interviewed; in other cases elders from different communities and different regions were asked to attend because of their noted expertise in a specific field. Having two or three elders present during interviews was quite productive. The elders themselves stated that listening to other elders helped jog their memories; they were also often able to point out regional variations in the topic under discussion. Transportation and accommodation costs for them to attend were paid through funds obtained for the project. The elders were also paid a two-hundred-dollar per diem for their participation in the course. Southern facilitators also had their transportation and accommodation costs paid for from southern Canada.

Members of each team took turns conducting the interviews in Inuktitut. Four interviews, between forty-five minutes and an hour in length, were held daily during the second week of the course. Throughout the interviews, simultaneous interpretation of the proceedings was provided for the southern facilitators. The interpretation was also taped and daily English transcriptions were provided by instructors in the program. We found this useful, as the facilitators could work with the different teams of Inuit researchers on follow-up questions, and on improving their interview techniques. The rough English transcriptions were also a useful tool for the facilitators as they began to edit the manuscript after the course was completed.

Each team was responsible for transcribing these interviews from the audiotapes and keyboarding them into syllabics as one of the requirements of the course. The third week of the course was devoted to this purpose. Students thus gained practice in transcription and syllabic keyboarding. As there is no standardized literary dialect in Inuktitut, students were requested to transcribe the tapes in the dialect of the speaker. This provided a challenge to the students, who had to learn to be aware of differences in dialect and to transcribe the interviews accordingly. They also had to learn how to distinguish between miscues and fillers equivalent to 'ahs' and 'ers' in English, and not to include these in the transcripts. It is important to note that, although all students must have proficiency before being admitted to the program, much practice is needed before they are able to write the language well.

After all the topics were transcribed and keyboarded in both languages, the southern facilitators edited the manuscript into a book format. In this series we believed that it was important to recognize the elders as the authors of these books; the southern facilitators were recognized as editors. Both authors' and editors' names appeared on the front cover of each volume. Joint copyright was also given to the authors, editors and students involved in the production of each volume. In some, but not all of the books, student essays were included. With our joint-copyright policy, our students retained the right to republish their material in a different format, as did the southern academics working with us.

After the English manuscript was formatted into chapters, the Inuktitut manuscript was edited for the syllabic version of the book. Unless painstaking care is taken in labeling every Inuktitut and English tape meticulously, this task can become like looking for a needle in a haystack. When this was completed, the English translation was then checked line by line, and adjustments made when necessary. A glossary of terms found in the manuscript that may be unfamiliar to younger Inuktitut speakers was then prepared for the Inuktitut and English versions of the book. A former student in the program once commented that these books contained, "post, post-secondary Inuktitut," as younger readers have to deal with differences between the speech of elders and the younger generation, differences in dialect, and vocabulary in areas such as shamanism, which they have not seen before. Finally, the southern academics who edited the book were asked if they wanted to contribute an introduction to the book, and this was also translated. Once this was completed, both versions were proofread before publication.

This collaborative research methodology has obvious advantages. Working with a community group or educational institution whose members are committed to having this knowledge preserved is an obvious asset for southern academics. Working with trained interpreters and students who have received some previous training improves the end product considerably. Being able to access community resources such as interpreting equipment, tape recorders, computers, and access to facilities to house the workshops keeps costs down substantially, as does having students transcribe and keyboard the audio tapes as part of their course requirements. A one-hour tape, transcribed, translated and keyboarded, on average takes approximately ten hours to complete. Inuit translators earn a minimum of \$40.00 an hour for this type of work, and when this is multiplied by twenty interviews, cost savings can be significant. Having an instructor provide the simultaneous interpretation also reduces costs, as freelancers charge \$400.00 a day for this service.

This methodology also has benefits for Northern students and researchers. Students are able to transcribe and keyboard real data, design interview questions and get practice and feedback on their interview techniques. Participating in an actual research project helps them build confidence in their skills, and builds pride in their culture and heritage, and in the knowledge that is being passed down to them from the older generation.

What then of its disadvantages? In an ideal world, all Inuit would be fluent and literate in their language. In reality, however, this is not always so, and in many cases it is difficult for southern researchers to find Inuit who have the language skills necessary to

participate in such projects. This holds true for community groups and northern educational institutions as well. There are many more southern researchers than there are northern resources to follow this methodology in a systematic way.

Oftentimes areas of research that community groups and northern organizations would be willing to support are not communicated to southern academic institutions. This communication gap needs to be bridged for collaborative research initiatives to increase in the future.

Inuit Perspectives on the 20th Century

A second series of books entitled, *Inuit Perspectives on the 20th Century*, has recently been published. This series was also published in Inuktitut and English versions. The first volume, *The Transition to Christianity*, was a collaboration between Victor Tungilik and Rachel Uyarasuk, students, and Jarich Oosten and Frédéric Laugrand. In Volume 2, entitled *Travelling and Surviving on Our Land*, the authors were George Agiaq Kappianaq and Cornelius Nutaraq. This book was also edited by Jarich Oosten and Frédéric Laugrand. Volume 3, *Dreams and Dream Interpretation*, was a collaboration between George Agiaq Kappianaq, Felix Pisuk and Salome Ka&&ak Qalasiq in conjunction with our students, Stephane Kolb, a graduate student (Université Laval) and Sam Law, a practicing psychiatrist in Iqaluit. The first three volumes of this series followed a similar methodology to that discussed above. Funding for this series was obtained from a variety of sources, notably from the Nunavut Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth.

Volume 4, *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Using Shamanism to Rehabilitate Offenders*, however, used a variation of the above methodology. Some Inuit community members in Rankin Inlet asked the program if we would help them deliver a workshop on shamanism and rehabilitating wrongdoers, a few kilometers outside the community in the summer of 2000. Participants were Ollie Itinnuaq, Felix Pisuk, Maryanne Tapaqti, Peter Suvaksiuq, Luke Nuliajuk, Jose Angutinngurniq, Levi Iluittuq, and Mariano Aupilaarjuk in conjunction with Jarich Oosten and Frédéric Laugrand. Funding for this research was obtained from Justice Canada. Community members were willing to organize the outfitting necessary for the workshop, ensuring that food and lodging were provided. A total of eight elders participated in the workshop. No students were involved in this project, and the discussion that ensued resulted from the two southern facilitators setting an agenda with the elders on topics they wanted to discuss over the week. A roundtable approach was used, with each elder commenting on the topic. Often more than one round was made per topic.

Some of the advantages of this methodology include a more relaxed atmosphere for the elders. The elders were obviously more comfortable on the land than they were in a classroom setting. This advantage needs to be balanced, however, with the difficulties related to doing research in a setting where no electricity was available. Batteries had to be substituted and more care needed to be taken to ensure that equipment was functioning properly.

The workshop was less structured and less formal, interviews being replaced by discussion groups. Although the discussion was not generated by a Western worldview, the interactive passing of knowledge from one generation to the other was missing because students were not present. Because there were so many elders involved (versus two or three in the methodology previously discussed), one or two people tended to dominate and the voices of others were not heard as much as they should have been. In some cases this resulted in limited information being given.

It was also less clear to the elders why the workshop was taking place: Was it for the southern anthropologists or for the Inuit who had organized the workshop? Not having students present also had other ramifications. There were fewer bodies available for transcribing and keyboarding the audiotapes, which, as mentioned above, is a time consuming and expensive task.

A second workshop using this methodology was used in a research project in the summer of 2002, also done a few kilometers outside Rankin Inlet, with Pullaarvik Kablu Friendship Society. The results of this second workshop are still to be published.

Besides written materials, these workshops have also generated the production of two videos, one on *qilaniq*, a divination ritual, the other on shamanic initiation. Certainly, neither of them could have been successfully produced in a classroom setting.

Memory and History in Nunavut

This third series, entitled *Memory and History in Nunavut*, was a result of a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), Special Community University Research Alliance (CURA) grant which was submitted by François Trudel (Université Laval) and Susan Sammons. This series is based much more heavily on archival materials. This series was not published in separate Inuktitut and English versions; each book is bilingual. Volume 1, *Representing Tuurngait*, by Frédéric Laugrand, Jarich Oosten and François Trudel, and Volume 3, *Keeping the Faith*, by Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich Oosten, are based predominately on the materials of Reverend Edmond Peck found in the Anglican Church archives. Volume 2, *Inuit Recollections on the Military Presence in Iqaluit*, was a very successful collaboration between Mélanie Gagnon (graduate student, Université Laval) and thirty-three Iqaluit elders. This book started out as a Master's thesis, which combined archival materials with interviews with Iqaluit elders on their perspective of this time period. This research generated much interest in Iqaluit's Inuit community and was later expanded to include more interviews with elders, eventually being published in book form.

This ethnohistory text is a good example of how southern graduate students, by using this collaborative research methodology, can not only improve the quality of their theses, but can also leave something to the community in return. This benefits our students as well, for research projects such as this have enabled our students to act as informants and research assistants, helping them to gain skills and experience.

Realistically speaking, not all collaborative research can be done at this level. As mentioned earlier, there are always more southern academics with research needs than there are northern resources to support them. Even when researchers do find community support for their research, they cannot necessarily expect the level of support outlined above.

Support can take many forms, ranging from help finding accommodations (the Nunavut Research Institute allows graduate students with research licenses to stay in the Nunavut Arctic College Single Student Residence for \$140.00 a week, room and board included), help finding interpreters and translators, access to facilities such as telephones, facsimile machines or Internet usage.

Many pitfalls often encountered by inexperienced researchers can be avoided with more advanced preparation. Applications for research licenses need to be submitted well in advance. Canada Post is slow down south – it is even slower in the North. Applications need to be sent to the communities and then sent back after approval is obtained. Some community groups only meet on a monthly basis.

Researchers also need to be aware that it costs money to do research in the North. It is customary to pay elders \$50.00 CAN for granting one-hour interviews. Unemployment is a harsh reality in the North; for many unilingual elders this is their only source of income, other than social assistance. Support staff also expects to be paid for their time. Consecutive interpreters expect \$40.00 an hour for their expertise. The costs of transcribing these tapes, as discussed earlier, is also often underestimated. Researchers should ask themselves if they really need to do certain interviews; oftentimes elders have been asked the same questions over and over again, and much of the knowledge is already contained in published sources. Researchers should also think twice about the number of interviews they intend to conduct, and if they are really necessary.

All this being said, more needs to be done to bridge the communication gaps between southern academics and northern communities. Not many graduate students, or professors for that matter, set out to spend months doing research that is destined to collect dust on a shelf somewhere in southern Canada. Much research has been done on the social problems facing Inuit communities today; little of it has been done in collaboration with the community. Often ‘community involvement’ means asking people to participate in projects that have been defined by researchers before they even arrive in the community. Schools and parents groups are crying out for help in testing and evaluation; elders need help writing their life stories so that their knowledge is passed on to the younger generation; many social agencies need help collecting data so that new programs can be developed which are not out of necessity imported from southern Canada.

In the CURA grant between Université Laval, Nunavut Arctic College and the Pairijait Tigummivik Society, some exploratory work has begun in this regard. Workshops were held in Iqaluit (2000), Igloolik (2001) and Arviat (2002) with elders,

students and academics to help set a new research agenda with collaborative goals. More such work needs to be done.

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Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: the scapegoat for deep-rooted identity-based conflict in Nunavut

Janet McGrath *

Abstract: When Nunavut was created in 1999, a number of initiatives were undertaken to transform the system of governance borrowed from a Western model. The traditional knowledge awakening of the 1980s developed into the *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* movement as land claim negotiations in Nunavut resulted in the signing of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and Inuit were poised to conform the borrowed systems to Inuit values and culture. What might not appear to be a conflict of concern emerges as a deep-rooted and identity-based conflict when assessed through the conflict analysis lens of scapegoating theory. Under that lens one begins to ask what deep-rooted and identity-based crises lie ahead without thoughtful intervention.

Keywords: *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, conflict, Nunavut, decolonizing.

The Rules of the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut provide for Inuit elders to be inside the Speaker's domain, on par with the elected Members of the Assembly¹. Twelve chairs have been assembled "to recognize the importance and wisdom that the elders represent within the individual communities and the Territory of Nunavut as a whole" (Rose, 2004). The seats are designated for Nunavut elders in order to welcome them into the Nunavut legislative system without barriers. A Nunavummiut elder may sit in one of those seats and speak directly to the Speaker; they do not have to speak through their elected member as required by everyone else. Originally, this unique provision was to allow for Inuit elders' authority and Inuit traditional knowledge to be honoured in a legislative system which has been borrowed from a colonial government, and is "not granted to the general public in any other Assembly in Canada" (*Ibid.*). However, the seats remain largely empty, a silent reminder that the traditional Inuit ways and the modern Western-style government may be incompatible without a strategic intervention to integrate systems, people and ideologies.

The Nunavut Land Claim Agreement provided for the establishment of the territory of Nunavut in Canada beginning April 1, 1999. The claim itself was the largest most

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¹ Rules of the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, Section 15(2)(a), www.assembly.nu.ca/english/library/publications/assembly_rules.pdf

comprehensive Aboriginal settlement in Canadian history. While the creation of the Nunavut territory was not an ethnic state boundary, 85% of the area constituents are Inuit. In surrendering their Aboriginal claim to much of their ancestral territory, Inuit established benefits for cultural survival in the larger Canadian context. These benefits are embedded legally into the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. The creation of Nunavut established unique opportunities for experimentation in self-governance. One of the means of choosing their own path was the incorporation of traditional Inuit ways into Western government. This initiative became known as *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, or IQ.

When the Nunavut Government was inaugurated in 1999, the Inuit-majority government opted to use the existing government system and reform it from within over time. The *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* territory-wide initiative was intended to help the government meet its mandate in a way that would be culturally relevant given that 85% of the population it serves are Inuit. The *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* initiative was supposed to be the agency of change within government culture.

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit is a Canadian Inuktitut term referring to Inuit traditional knowledge. The Nunavut Social Development Council rejected the term traditional knowledge because of the connotation of being something mainly of the past. The Council states that *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* "encompasses all aspects of traditional Inuit culture including values, world view, language, social organization, knowledge, life skills, perceptions and expectations" (Nunavut Social Development Council 2000: 26). The *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* Task Force further advised that *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* is "The Inuit way of doing things: the past, present and future knowledge, experience and values of Inuit society" (*Ibid.*). It is an epistemology, or way of knowing, as much as it is knowledge of a particular event, concept, science, or technique that has been passed down through the generations by oral means. In the Inuit culture, the system of knowledge production and retrieval has relied on a complicated system of kinship and social relations within the framework of an oral tradition (Arnakak 2000). In its traditional application, *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* used to have the connotation of the "collective wisdom of Inuit", but has taken on new meaning in post-colonial Nunavut, with conflict dynamics that fuel a public debate about its usefulness in dealing with the challenges of a new government (Bell 2001). While *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* is in part about the Inuit way of doing things, many non-Inuit are participating in the economic life of Nunavut. With confusion and uncertainty about what the Inuit way is, suspicion and resistance have developed in relation to the *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* initiative.

While the vast majority of members in the Legislative Assembly are Inuit, it is important to stress that the government system is a borrowed colonial one and that over 90 cents on every dollar spent in the system comes from the federal government. The majority of middle and senior managers in government are non-Inuit with training in the Western style of government. In addition, historical cultural diversity between Inuit regions, communities and even families will make it challenging, if not impossible to define an *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* approach to government without dialogue and reconciliation among Inuit.

Common frustrations Inuit have voiced in working within government to help it "adapt" are the pressure they receive to be an "IQ broker" (communicate what IQ is on behalf of all Inuit), dealing with demands for written descriptions and directions on what to do specifically. As one senior manager lamented, "Even though I speak Inuktitut, I don't feel free to think in Inuktitut in government". A middle aged Inuk woman's elderly mother asked her one day, "*Kisuungmat Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit?*" Literally: "What is *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit?*" Although *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* was stated in the plural (as in things Inuit always knew about), she framed the question *kisuungmat* in the singular. What she indicated was that *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* as a concept was being used in an entirely different way than what it would be in the Inuit language and culture. It was being treated like a noun and not a process, or verb the way it would be in Inuktitut. English is much more a noun based language and the term was reconceptualized and talked about differently in Inuktitut. By developing the concept of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* in government outside of the elder's conceptual framework, its meaning was lost to an Inuk elder.

While there have been major challenges and criticisms about the *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* initiative, the conflict dynamics reveal a society struggling to reorder itself in the wake of colonialism and land-claims settlements. This struggle reflects the historical inability of colonial style governments to adapt to indigenous knowledge. To place this in a concrete context, can one imagine a systematic destruction of all university research labs, and in the wake of that destruction proclaiming that higher education will now help solve all the problems of society? This is the context in which *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* has been promoted. The social and kinship systems of traditional knowledge production depended upon, had largely been devastated by a colonial agenda, and yet symbolically *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* is being promoted in government as the great elixir for the troubling social statistics within the territory.

It is demonstrated here, through a conflict analysis lens, that the emergence of a scapegoat has hampered the incorporation of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* into the Nunavut government. Scapegoating theory provides some understanding of the conflict dynamics that have emerged in the quest to adapt a government to reflect the values of the people it serves. In this paper, the development of the *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* initiative in government and the processes by which it is scapegoated are discussed, along with possible solutions for producing constructive results to the underlying conflict.

Conflict studies is a relatively new discipline which draws on knowledge bases from many other fields of study. One leading psychologist in the study of conflict, Morton Deutsch, demonstrates that there are themes in conflict theory which can be found to unite the different disciplines (Deutsch 1994: 13-32). One of the themes he offers is the presence of both cooperative and competitive interests which coexist in the complex relationships governing the people involved in a conflict. He also demonstrates how most conflicts have the potential to be constructive as well as destructive, depending how the conflict is channelled; the cooperative and competitive interests of all parties must be kept in balance for the conflict to be channelled constructively.

One of the signs of competitive or destructive forces in a conflict is that of scapegoating². René Girard, a "foremost voice in cultural analysis" (Swartley 2000: 19) has developed the theory of scapegoating from a thorough review of ancient, biblical and modern texts. Conflict analyst Redekop shows how an understanding of Girard's theory of scapegoating can help move conflict from a destructive or violent mode to one he calls "blessing" (Redekop 2002). In moving a conflict on a continuum from violence to blessing, he describes "blessing" as being open, creative, generative of expanding options, generous and life-oriented (Redekop 2002: 256). Patterns of violence are correspondingly closed, confining, acquisitive, and delimiting of options (*Ibid.*). Scapegoating action develops when human needs for meaning, connection, security, recognition and action are threatened or violated (Redekop 2002: 91). According to Redekop, in an environment where human needs are threatened, a crisis evolves and a scapegoat emerges to be the unfortunate recipient of exclusion, blame, ridicule and in extreme cases violence. The spontaneous selection of a scapegoat relies on their having four main qualities: they must be different, powerful, illegitimate and vulnerable to be an appropriate subject for the role (Redekop 1993: 12-13; Redekop 2002: 92).

It is interesting, but not surprising that all three agencies tasked with the duty of helping the colonial-style government to be reformed by *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit*, have been subjected to overt and covert forms of scapegoating. The crisis that precipitated the scapegoating action was the challenge of getting a government up and operating virtually overnight. In this environment of uncertainty and chaos, with enormous pressures to succeed after twenty years of negotiation to create the new territory, scapegoating action could be expected. The scapegoating phenomena can be demonstrated with an overview of the history of these agencies, with attention to the four main qualities of a scapegoat mentioned above.

To achieve the lofty goal of adapting the colonial-style government to Inuit culture, the Nunavut government relied upon three main agencies: The *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit* Task Force, Nunavut Social Development Council, and Department of Culture Language Elders and Youth.

The first two arm's-length agencies of traditional knowledge advice for structural and policy change, the Nunavut Social Development Council and the *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit* Task Force, were fairly short-lived and eventually dissolved with little trace. The *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit* Task Force was appointed by the Nunavut Government in November 2001 to determine how well the government departments were "incorporating the principles of IQ into their day-to-day activities" (*Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit* Task Force 2002: 1). The Task Force's analysis of the problem was pretty straightforward and clear:

² "Reconciliation without Scapegoating" is the theme of the 2006 International Colloquium on the Prevention of Violence, to be held in Ottawa, Ontario.

We think there is a basic underlying problem. It is addressed in the following question. Should Nunavut Government try to incorporate the Inuit Culture into itself? Or ... should the Nunavut Government incorporate itself into Inuit Culture? (*Ibid.*)

The empty elders' seats in the legislative assembly chambers stand as a silent but a stunning example of government trying to incorporate Inuit culture into itself and not the other way around. No public dialogue has taken place with regard to the Task Force's findings and no research is cited by government as being carried out to deal with the dilemma posed by the need to adapt to the Inuit way.

The *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* Task Force, though mandated to monitor the government's progress in incorporating traditional knowledge into their policies, were limited in their terms of reference by a stipulation that the Task Force could only be continued by availability of government funds. In other words, if the government did not agree with what was being said, the Task Force could be discontinued with the excuse that there was no money to continue operations. In this environment, it is clear that the Task Force was not able to operate as a force for change, and no legislation obligated government to seriously look at the advice that the Task Force gave.

This pattern was also noted in the fate of the Nunavut Social Development Council (NSDC) although it was a more complicated matter. Its status as a designated Inuit organization was revoked by Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI)³ through a vote of NTI board in the spring of 2002, though the NSDC's executive director lamented that a review was not conducted first (D'souza 2002). While the NSDC had a weighty mandate of "health, social and cultural issues" (*Ibid.*) derived from Article 32 of the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement, federal government funding was not provided for the Council as it was for all the other designated Inuit organizations. While settling issues on the Land Claims Agreement Inuit negotiators fought for equal status for this organization, and for the funds to support its development. In the end, the federal government allowed for its inclusion but not for its provision; it would have status but no funding. As indigenous knowledge experts Semali and Kincheloe point out, the "Western disregard of the need to perpetuate the cultural systems that produce dynamic indigenous knowledge", (Semali and Kincheloe 1999: 21) has shown that initiatives often provide a form of lip service that is self-serving or absolving of responsibility. While co-management and responsibility and power-sharing structures were designed and funded for wildlife, water, resources and Inuit impacts derived from development, the "cultural systems that produce [*Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*]" (*Ibid.*) that were devastated by colonialism were not supported to be strategically and systematically restored. Both these occurrences indicate that a certain government hegemony is in place, regardless of ethnicity of the majority. The agencies charged with advising the system on how to adapt to the Inuit culture were restricted by funding limitations and thus unsupported by community-based research and limited in their ability to facilitate community dialogue.

³ NTI is the Inuit birthright organization that works on behalf of Nunavut Inuit to ensure their rights and responsibilities under the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement are fulfilled.

When the new government was created, all departmental portfolios from the previous government of the Northwest Territories were shifted over to Nunavut Government. The only new department to be created as a result of the division of the Northwest Territories in 1999 was the Department of Culture Language Elders and Youth (CLEY). The combination of CLEY's multiple mandates was the result of a thoughtful consideration of what was missing in the Northwest Territories governmental model from the Inuit point of view. While CLEY is the government's smallest department it carries a very important social mandate which is complicated by the ambiguity surrounding issues of reforming government according to *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit*. The issues presented by the need to adapt to *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit* fall under the mandates of culture, language, elders (as the carriers of knowledge) and youth (as the future). Over the years, CLEY as a department has endured a marginalization regardless of the high value placed on language, culture and society by the society itself. They are the smallest department, but carry the weight of Inuit hopes for change and a government that reflected their needs. Through three years of under funding and marginalization, the resulting weakened state of the department was addressed in the Commissioner's Throne Speech with a call for support for the mandate CLEY represented.

In Peter Irniq's Throne Speech of 2002 he declared:

... a new emphasis (will be) placed on the role of the department of Culture, Languages, Elders and Youth.

This department is a unique expression of our desires as Nunavummiut ... the department needs to be strengthened and given the authority and tools it needs to do the work it was designed to accomplish.

Over the next months ... Members will hear proposals to increase the role of the department and its authority within government, enhancing its ability to advance the triple goals of Inuit Employment, Inuktitut Language and *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit* (Irniq 2002).

One of the tools CLEY decided it needed was an elder's council. When Jack Anawak, Minister of CLEY spoke before The Committee of the Whole in May of 2002, he said:

As we all know, Elders are a very important resource in our efforts to preserve Inuit culture and language. They provide a vital link to the past and are the keepers of Inuit traditions ... *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit* is one of the Government of Nunavut's most important initiatives. However, it is also one of the most difficult to define. The Elders Council will play a role in our attempt to determine how the Government should implement IQ. It will also review government programs and services for IQ content (Anawak 2002).

Almost a year later, Olayuk Akesuk, the new Minister for CLEY addressed the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut with the elders' council initiative (Akesuk 2003). The new council is called *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit Katimajit* and are non-government appointees. In addition each government department will have a full time *Tuttarvik*, or advisory body made up of employees "responsible for coordinating, advancing, arranging, promoting and discussing Inuit approaches to work that we do" (*Ibid.*). An overall *Tuttarvik* with representatives from each department will be lead by CLEY. Will this system lead the Nunavut government to reform its system according to *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, or will it fall prey to a scapegoating process fuelled by unresolved conflict dynamics between colonial and traditional Inuit cultural systems?

There are many issues to consider within the whole operating context of this new council and the *Tuttarvik* advisory body concept. For instance, how can any council, committee or agency help government to adapt to *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* while operating within the government context? It seems necessary, but is it possible? Will their fate be similar to the *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* Task Force and the Nunavut Social Development Council? The *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit Katimajit* and *Tuttarvik* need the support of quality research to support innovative ways of changing government to adapt to Inuit culture and ways of doing things. A system of dialogue between the grassroots communities and government departments in general will be needed as well, if what they aim to do is to make government more accessible to the ordinary people. In a territory with the total population of under 30,000, it is quite feasible to gather input from nearly every person and identity group. This is a unique asset and opportunity that Nunavut has, one that offsets many other disadvantages and barriers.

No matter how well-intended or positively framed, initiatives to strengthen an Inuit-centred approach to government have been met with hesitation, indifference, marginalization, lack of funds, and a plethora of other responses by colonial government systems. Even the media has referred to *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* as a "pseudo-religious cult". (Bell 2001) As Mahia Maurial asserts, "[t]he magnitude and explicitness of conflict as a result of interaction between the Western and indigenous worlds is immeasurable" (Maurial 1999: 67). While *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* is both an ideology and an initiative, it has become a silent kind of scapegoat for a government in transition. On the one hand, it is meant to solve all the problems in government and society, and on the other, it is ridiculed as being inadequate and ill-defined. While *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* itself is hailed as sacred, and thus powerful, its agencies are discredited, dissolved and unsupported. To review Redkop's four prerequisites (Redkop 1993: 12-13) for the selection of a scapegoat: *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* is different - who can pronounce it? It is powerful, since it is a traditional system of the majority, it is illegitimate - governments cannot be run efficiently on something that cannot even be adequately defined. It is vulnerable, since it is marginal to the function of government and ill-equipped or under-funded agencies have been tasked with promoting it.

If the *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* initiative is meant to meet some of the identity needs of Inuit which were denied by previous hegemonic systems, the question of whether it is appropriate arises. *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, as an Inuit-centred initiative, calls others to

conform to a system of identity and values that may be completely foreign to them. Both Inuit who do not relate to the traditional way and non-Inuit who feel their own world view or needs threatened, will have reason for resistance and criticisms if they are not included in the solution through dialogue that positively addresses some of the underlying causes for competing forces. While the Inuit world view, with a holistic and inclusive approach to problem solving, may support the necessary evolution for government to reform, without dialogue that integrates all the people involved in the future of Nunavut, the initiative is open wide to criticism and resistance. A system of integrating people, not ideologies is required.

Local knowledge expert Sejersen has argued that, "local perspectives, and the intimate sense of personal and community integrity are disregarded" when knowledge systems rather than people are integrated (Sejersen 1998: 55). Are the new *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* initiatives strategically integrating people – Inuit, non-Inuit, traditionalists, and modernists, or are they focused on promoting an ideology that is only resonant with people most familiar with the Inuit way, and one that has been traditionally incompatible with Western government? In Nunavut, the past has demonstrated that focusing on an ideology has pitted people against one another, discrediting the initiative in both the public eye and the larger government structures to which it is accountable.

A leading international indigenous voice on the knowledge debate, Donaldo Macedo, has aptly said, "a global comprehension of indigenous knowledge cannot be achieved through reductionist binarism of Western versus indigenous knowledge. The essence of indigenous knowledge is found in the experience of the colonized". (Macedo 1999: xi). Macedo points out that too often government approaches give credit to ideologies but avoid real dialogue with indigenous peoples who need to process the experience of being colonized in a spirit of equality and dignity with the colonizing institutions, but more importantly, with the people that represent the institutions. What exists in post land-claim Nunavut is a legacy of colonialism and a neo-colonial government structure that is charged with addressing the ravages of the previous destruction of knowledge systems and ways of life. Without a public dialogue as a means of integrating people, *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* as an initiative becomes an impotent ideal and the convenient scapegoat for all of the problems encountered, rather than inviting "a more humble and empathetic Western perspective toward indigenous peoples and their understandings of the world" (Semali and Kincheloe 1999: 18). Interactive and integrative dialogue, as Semali and Kincheloe point out "provides great possibility for Western and indigenous people to enter into a profound transformative negotiation around the complexity of [the] issues and concepts" (*Ibid.*). There is no simple solution to be had by finally defining *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*. The question really is are Inuit and non-Inuit ready and able "to enter into a profound transformative negotiation" (*Ibid.*)?

The twelve chairs in the Nunavut Legislative Assembly symbolize a noble desire to integrate indigenous ways of knowing into post-colonial government. These seats remain largely empty sitting after sitting, and raise many questions. Why are the seats empty? Is the formality of this environment prohibitive to traditional Inuit elders? Do they even know about the intention or function of this provision? At the International Ph.D. School

for Studies of Arctic Societies (IPSSAS) Seminars in Iqaluit in May of 2003, Iglulik Inuk elder Lucien Ukaliannuk was surprised by the knowledge that such a thing existed and yet his work on traditional law in Nunavut is exemplary. If the seats were to be used, who decides who is an elder? What if they criticize the elected members? What if the members do not like their contributions? When the Legislative Assembly sat in Baker Lake in the spring of 2003, the seats were not set up in their makeshift meeting place. While agencies of Inuit traditional knowledge or *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* have come and gone within government, the empty chairs sit as a powerful reminder in a place of law-making and power that the intention was to adapt the government to the Inuit ways and values. Ironically they illustrate vividly how the opposite is occurring.

In practice, this noble intention was not realized in the use of the elders' chairs or in the implementation of the *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* initiative to date because rather than aiming at engaging people, historically incompatible ideals were juxtaposed with little if any research to support the intended transformation. While at present the goal of adapting government to *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* looks bleak, quality research which is rooted in the communities, and open dialogue with the grassroots level, will allow for innovative and practical options and solutions to emerge. Through public dialogue a "transformative negotiation" for a common future can be realized, and competitive and cooperative forces between various interest groups can achieve a dynamic balance and a transformative quality that meets the original intentions of the *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* initiative.

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Inuit Qaujimaningit and Policy Development

Jaypeetee Arnakak*

Editor's Note: This is an edited transcription of the author's recorded PowerPoint presentation to the seminar. The wording was left in the first person and almost no rewriting was done, so as to leave as much authenticity as possible in the ideas expressed. We thank the author for making a final review of the Inuktitut terms in the text.

I work as a policy researcher for the *Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated* (NTI)¹. I am here to talk about *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (I.Q.) and social policy development in Nunavut. But before entering into my subject, I would first like to suggest a distinction between the quite well-known expression *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (I.Q.), widely used in Nunavut, and another expression, *Inuit Qaujimaningit*, which I chose to use for the title of my presentation. I.Q. implies Inuit knowledge, something from the past. There is an element of passivity in the "jaq", making I.Q. look almost as an object to be seen. I believe there is a problem with the use of "jaq" in the expression. So what I propose is that we take out "tuqaq", the temporal element and change "jaq" to "niq", meaning "regarding in general", as in *naasausiriniq* for mathematics. I.Q. could then be defined not only as an objectified Inuit knowledge relating to the past, but as a past, present and future knowledge of Inuit culture.

What is I.Q.? It is the traditional as well as the contemporary knowledge of Inuit. It is imbued with social values and influences behavior. It is the corpus of Inuit epistemology and cosmology. It is the tool for the perpetuation and the advancement of Inuit culture and society. The way it is transmitted reflects Inuit psychology (*observing, trying out and experiencing* the skills or knowledge being learned). It is thus a very *experiential* approach to learning. I.Q. is also the cultural value reflected in art, technology and social structures of Inuit society. When we are talking about I.Q., we are not talking about a *monolith*, but about a very diverse phenomenon that changes from community to community with unlimited themes.

Nunavummiut see I.Q. as a resource and main source of influence in social and cultural policy development in Nunavut. To implement this vision, we have to approach it in such a manner that we achieve scientifically and philosophically tenable stances on

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cultural and social issues in Nunavut. We are in fact trying to formalize and operationalize these concepts so that organizations and other government structures of Nunavut can use them.

For that purpose, we begin by investigating the dimensions and implications of I.Q.. We then construct models and find a methodology for research and analysis of the social conditions affecting the Inuit of Nunavut, with the ultimate view of adapting the institutions, organizations and groups to the Nunavut needs. After all, Nunavut is intended to address self-determination issues such as political, social and economical empowerment. The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement is tied in with repatriation of the Canadian constitution where it is said that Aboriginal groups have the right to self-determination. I see I.Q. as being a natural rollup in that mandate that is instituted in the "law of the land".

I.Q. within the right framework has much potential for making positive social changes in Nunavut. A formalized government philosophy that is family centered as opposed to a cooperative oriented one that is currently imposed upon us has never been tested. But a systematic community-based approach to social issues from early childhood development to human care for the elderly and the sick and those who can't care for themselves would seem a desirable goal to strive for.

The dynamism of social and cultural processes is extremely complex and non linear. In order to make intelligible comments about this phenomenon, we need first to decide what we want to focus on. For policy development and research purposes, I came up with the family health model, which provides a solid base to look at social development issues. The scheme that I have constructed consists of axiomatic expressions of the elements that make up the family structure. So, as you can see, we begin by stating the obvious. The family is the primary life support system. It belongs to a larger network or society. In the traditional Inuit culture, the family was also the means of transmitting knowledge and culture to the children. It is for all intensive purposes the fundamental unit of the economic activity.

Now that we have a model to give effectiveness to our efforts in social and cultural policy development, we try to link the model to quantitative and qualitative data, to come up with bench marks and indicators to measure life prospect of Nunavummiut. But the most important thing about I.Q. is that it is a means of monitoring government policies, programs and government activities.

I am now going to talk about the six principles of I.Q. policy development that I developed in my work with the Department of Sustainable Development, Government of Nunavut.

The first principle is called *pijutsirniq*. This is a concept of providing serving duty. It contains a sense of responsibility or social obligation to someone or the community. Its context is in the power dynamics between individuals, organizations and institutions. Organizations and social structures are intended to serve a purpose in society. What is

that purpose and how was it defined? I am talking here more about mission statements and mandates that organizations employ to justify their existence. With such a principle, you are asking: "why are you here, what purpose do you serve?"

The second principle is *pilimmaksarniq*. It means learning by doing or the process of acquiring skill or knowledge. *Pilimmaksarniq* is a pedagogical device that has been used by Inuit parents to pass on language, culture, knowledge and skill to their children. Inuit believe that child learns best by observing and imitating someone who is teaching a skill. So there is that family element again.

The third principle, *piliriqatigiigniq*, is about learning organically by feeling and testing out ideas. It implies an interaction or a partnership of two or more people, or communities.

This principle, tied in to fourth one, is called *qanuqtuurunnarniq*, learning by reflecting and experiencing. This style of learning allows for innovation and idiom synchronic learning styles.

Hunters were always encouraged to consult those who are more knowledgeable than they are before they go hunting. Decisions were made through *aajiiqatigiingniq*, the fifth principle. It is through *aajiiqatigiingniq* that one's needs are expressed and addressed. Like *piliriqatigiigniq*, *aajiiqatigiingniq* implies interaction and partnership. Through *aajiiqatigiingniq*, *piliriqatigiigniq* emerges; the needs of the culture and the society are based on working together for common good. Inuit psychology tends to be like as a learning process. The more you get, the older you grow. And problem solving Inuit genius tends to rely more on the mind than just the proper tools that might not be a necessary a hand when someone has a problem to solve. This principle is like scratching of the head and making use of everything and anything that is available to overcome or transient an obstacle or problem. Like the phrase "Inuit are born mechanic". It is a witness to this amazing capacity. In the arctic, where things tend to break in the middle of nowhere, the "know how" is carried to an extreme. There are too many stories on how he or she fixed it, but one using a strip of canvas as a drive belt is typical of this thing. And *qanuqtung* can mean shaking your head in amazement and just believing. An example would be using a rifle to make holes in a metal strap that you will use for something else.

Finally, the sixth principle is *avatimik kamattiarniq*, chaos complexity theories and Inuit knowledge of wildlife, environment and interactions or synchronicity. Life is uncertain but everything happens as a result or a consequence of a system history. Seasons, environmental conditions, movement of life (light?), all according to its specific nature. The needs for conservation are a recent phenomenon. But the unadulterated fear of God, for respect for the environment is inductive to the concept of conservation. So, even new concepts are viewed as being desirable in terms of I.Q. And the anthropomorphic regard for the relationship between the environments, which is seen as the plants, the animals, as their children, was once expressed through an elaborate taboo. Today, Inuit and environmental rights and interests are protected extensively through legislation. Most Inuit understand this fact and see the need for conservation. As

papattiniq of environment and animals, we have the responsibility to leave the environment as natural and intact as possible for the future generations. It is like borrowing something and returning it to its closest original condition as possible. That is why you do not see a lot of monuments made in stone up in the arctic.

My work has to do with psychological integration, acquiring the tools to participate fully in your existence. It is not a political or an ideological statement, but a mixed substantial statement more than anything. Try to imagine being born to a world where your parents are grossly dependent on a system. As you grow up, you realize that they do not even speak the language of the system. By the time you reach 15, you realize that the education that you received is useless. Then, you realize that your parents are making fun of the way you speak and you are yourself not speaking English very well. It is this state of being that I am trying to address, because I see suicides happening every month. Death is a constant companion. And that is not normal. It is stressful and it makes you feel like "Why am I here?" Those are the I.Q. topics I am working on in terms of policy development. In this work process, I am trying to create the right environment for a fully functional human being.

Inuit traditional law: perspectives from an elder

Lucien Ukaliannuk*

Translation and comments by Aaju Peter**

Editor's Note: Since 1999, the Nunavut Government and other Inuit organizations have been trying to incorporate *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit* (I.Q.) or Inuit Traditional Knowledge into many aspects of the social and cultural life of the new territory. This knowledge is largely generated and maintained by elders. For this reason, we decided to include in the program of the IPSSAS seminar at least one meeting with an Inuk elder. Lucien Ukaliannuk was a logical choice, as Elder-In-Residence at the Akitsiraq Law School, about which a presentation was to be made at the seminar by its Northern Director, Professor Shelley Wright. Lucien was also developing a compilation of Inuit Traditional Law at the Department of Justice of the Nunavut Government, with the assistance of Aaju Peter, one of the Akitsiraq Law School Program students. The following text is an edited version of Lucien Ukaliannuk's presentation, based upon a translation by Aaju Peter, followed by some discussion between him, her and the seminar participants.

Aaju Peter: It is my great pleasure to introduce you to Lucien Ukaliannuk, from Igloolik. He lived in Iqaluit from 1978 to 1986 and has been politically active in an Inuit organization named Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI).¹ For the past 2 years, he has been working at the Department of Justice of the Nunavut Government, compiling Inuit traditional law before Christianity. He is also a frequent visitor to the Akitsiraq Law School and provides us with traditional knowledge about law. I have been his part-time collaborator for the past year. This coming summer (2003), I am helping him in his work. I think it is going to be a gold mine. There is not enough work done in compiling all the information Inuit elders possess about our life and culture. In his presentation, Lucien would first like to talk about the reasons why the Inuit valued custom and law during the pre-contact period. He will then speak about the work he is doing today at the Department of Justice of the Nunavut Government.

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¹ NTI is an Inuit organization responsible for advancing and protecting Inuit interests in the creation of the Nunavut Territory in 1999 by ensuring that the terms of the Nunavut Political Accord are lived up to.

Lucien Ukaliannuk: I remember the time, before everything was written down, when the Inuit had their own laws and had to follow them in a really strict manner. There was no paper then. The only pieces of paper I can remember were on tin cans.

I remember when I was just a little boy travelling with my father in the winter. The weather was so cold that my father would have to heat up the arctic char in water above the small oil lamp so that the fish wouldn't stick to my skin. And to this day, that is how I like the fish I eat, cooked on the outside and frozen in the inside. That is the manner I grew up with back then, when the Inuit had just a little lamp to heat up their food and huts.

I am very thankful that we had lamps because it made it possible for us to survive. The temperature would often be so cold that the floor part of the hut would still be frozen while the upper part would be hot. In the morning, we had to first put on our frozen kamiks (boots) and go outside while it was still dark. The kamiks would eventually heat up with body heat, but I realize now that it was not a great pleasure to wear those frozen kamiks.

The husbands would go hunting to get fat for the lamp, food, and fur for clothing. The entrance of the huts would let the heat escape and the cold come in. But the wives would know that their husbands had caught something if the entrance melted, even minutes before they arrived.

There are also different ways of telling that apply to the females and the males. They could tell whether something would happen by their body reactions, like a ringing in the ear or a twitching of the skin on the eyebrow, eyelid or other parts of the body. There are explanations of those phenomena today, but back then, Inuit also had those ways of telling what happened. Some of them would not say how they knew something, but just that they knew something would happen.

This ability to tell whether something will happen has not disappeared. When a member of my family is dying, a certain part of my body will let me know. There are still a lot of people with this ability. They can tell whether something will happen. It is not a scary thing.

The Inuit gave up their traditional beliefs and traditional culture for others. I was interested to hear that some of you at this seminar were studying *turnngait*. It is extremely interesting to compare the new traditions of today with our own Inuit traditional beliefs.

I will now talk about the period when the Inuit started to give up their traditions, starting with the dogs and going on to the schools.

Because Inuit tradition is not written down, you cannot find it anywhere. Inuit knowledge was passed on and the knowledge was also a personal experience. You cannot claim to have knowledge if you did not experience it yourself or if it was not given to you as part

of your teaching. Before the arrival of the *Qallunaat*, the Inuit had more control over their own lives and had their own teachings designed to promote healthy living and a good society. Even though none of the Inuit traditions had been written down, rules were enforced very strictly to control community life.

I would not be alive today had I not followed my father's and grandfather's teachings, like how to survive on the land, how to behave if the ice breaks off, etc. Even in the summer, when I am confronted by difficulties or when the time comes where I really need to do something in order to survive, those teachings come from my heart to my mind when needed. I believe wholeheartedly that through teaching, wisdom is given to the heart. You do not really remember those things, but when you need the knowledge, it comes to your mind and you need to follow what comes to your mind.

As an example of teachings passed on to you, I could mention the case of an individual who is still alive today because he received knowledge from his uncle. This uncle said: "If you are attacked by a polar bear, you need to defend yourself in such a position because the bear cannot open its mouth as wide as this." And when later on in his life a bear attacked this individual, the knowledge just came from his heart to his mind: "Oh, now, I need this information."

When I was a youth, around 1958, my father would show me areas where there were enough animals for the dogs and family to live on. But in 1958, the government told us to move to Igloolik, because we were still having sicknesses, because we would have good housing, and because we would have a good life. The government also told us that we would be given a house and that we would have to pay only about \$2.00 a month for the house, with \$5.00 a month being the maximum to be paid.

When we lived in the small camps, before centralization, each of the hunters had his own dog-team and none of the dogs were tied up. The dogs had a lead dog and a boss dog that would tell the other dogs what to do. Because the dogs were not tied up, the dogs were very close to the "owner" of the dogs. If the boss dog didn't want them near the house, he would tell them where he wanted them and they would stay there. There was never an attack on small children or on any people, because the boss dog of the dogs would be controlling all the dogs. It was only when dogs were tied up that they forgot how to conduct themselves.

When we were moved to Igloolik, our dogs had to be tied up. And the dogs that were not tied up started to be "savage." It is only when they started being tied up that they finally started to attack little kids, to fight between themselves, and to lose their sense. I think that the dogs were mad because they were tied up and that is why it made them lose their sense of judgment, of what is right and what is wrong. And now you understand that dogs were not always like this. So the changing life affected the dogs.

In 1962, when the children were asked to go to school, the parents were happy because the children would also learn to speak English. In the beginning, when the children started going to school, there was no change: children kept listening to their parents. But

after a longer period, the parents lost control of the children, which was taken over by teachers. It then became harder for the parents to guide their children.

It was not until later, when the children had been in school longer, that it became harder and harder for the parents to pass on their traditional knowledge and to guide the children in the right direction. The children would no longer listen to what the parents were telling them, to the dangers they would normally guide them against. They now preferred listening to their instructors or teachers, not to their parents.

The Inuit used to raise their children. They would slap the little ones on the butt if they still did not comprehend through language. They used to show the children where the limits were and how far they could go. But when the children were in school all day, the only thing the parents did was wake them up in the morning and then welcome them home later to eat. That was the only contact they were getting in the end.

Nowadays, parents are afraid to raise children the way they would like to because they are afraid to be taken to court or see their child taken away. I think that if we would incorporate traditional ways of raising children into the way that children are being raised today, it would be really helpful.

Because Inuit traditional practices and Inuit traditional law are not written down, they are not given the same kind of importance or the same kind of weight as the southern Canadian laws that are used here and that anybody can access. If someone wants to have information on something, he can go to a piece of paper that will tell him what to do. Like a lot of others trying to work in Nunavut, I think that if we had Inuit traditional laws written down, that could support us. We would have a lot stronger force in what we are saying or trying to do. We could say then: "See, it's written, it's our laws and we need to follow them."

I have been writing about "Traditional Law before Christianity" for three years now, with at least four other people in Igloodik. I am confident that this material will be useful even when we pass on. It will be very useful to the younger generation to guide the Inuit in their work.

I could talk to you for a long time, but I would also like to hear what kinds of questions you have. And it would be better to know what you want to hear.

Participant: Could you tell us a bit more about the parts of the body that let you know that something is going to happen? It seems to me that those kinds of predictions are a lot similar to what exists in Siberia. But it depends on individual experience again. Everyone has his or her own body experience.

Lucien: There are different forms, different parts of the body and it depends on the person. When you hear a ringing in your ear, a deep sound means there will be wind and you should not go hunting that day. Or if it is a high pitch, it will be good weather and

you can go hunting. Or if the palm of your hand, where the thumb is, is moving or itching, that is a sign that you will catch an animal that you have not caught yet.

Participant: Could you tell us more about the problems of children when the schools were created?

Lucien: The schooling was good; the fact that children were learning was good. What was problematic is the fact that the children stopped listening to their parents because of the school. The parents would try to raise the children. They would reprimand or even punish them for not listening to them, which they usually did. The children would start telling their teacher and the social services about the conduct of their parents. In a sense, the children were learning a new custom that the parents had not taught. The parents would teach the children not to say bad things about their parents, about other people, not to talk back to parents, but the kids were encouraged to adopt a new behaviour. So the parents were afraid to raise their children the way they would normally have done. Their authority was taken away from them.

Participant: I'm interested to know whether there were any parental behaviours that the teacher would disapprove of and that children would talk about.

Lucien: The second part first: when you are not in school yourself, it's hard to know what kind of information the teachers were seeking. But the fact that some parents have been taken to court is an indication that some teachers have done that. As for the first part of your question about parental behaviour, the children would listen more to what their parents wanted while they were still with their parents. But Southerners came up with this grand belief that when you are 16, you are your own boss and you can do whatever you want. That is an important difference. In the Inuit culture, the children have to listen to their parents for as long as they live.

Participant: Could you talk to us about some of the social problems that existed in the traditional way of life of the Inuit?

Lucien: There were hardships in traditional life. When the weather was bad, the hunters still had to go out hunting and look for seal fat and meat. A hunter had to stay by the seal hole all night, without moving, until the seal came up, even if he was hungry, even if he was tired. You had to cope with these kinds of hardships and you could not then afford to just say: "Forget it, I will not do it today." You did not have that kind of privilege. The women had a lot of work to do. They had to keep sewing, keep the dwelling warm, and do things constantly. They could not afford to just relax.

I will give you another example about hardships at the time when the Inuit were still travelling by dog-teams. When a wife would give birth, the Inuit had no choice then but to stop and try to make an igloo. Wherever they were, no matter how cold it was, the woman still had to give birth. Due to their ability to adapt to the incredible harsh environment, the Inuit were able to survive. Babies would not wait for summer.

Participant: What did the community do when somebody committed a crime or some wrongdoing against the traditional laws?

Lucien: The mother and the father, or the grandparents, were the ones raising the children and telling them what kind of behaviour was expected of them. But if the child or the adult child of these parents continued to misbehave, then the mother would ask somebody she knew, a respected elder, to help her in counselling her child. However, if the bad behaviour continued, then they would invite selected people to come for a meal (they always used meat as a reason for gathering people) and gather the people of the community and others in the nearby camps. If a husband and wife were fighting or were not agreeing, and were not listening to the advice that was given, all these people that had been asked to gather would speak with them after the feast. But this happened only after each party had had a chance to explain why they were behaving like this. After doing this, the elders, taking turns, would tell them what kind of behaviour was expected from them. Not only young people were counselled, old people were too. If an old person was doing things that were not approved of, the same thing would happen. And once that was done, all would agree that what was done was done and would not be mentioned again. Unless the misbehaving person caused the subject to be brought up once more, nobody would mention it again.

Participant: Could you briefly talk about the place of elders in contemporary Nunavut society?

Lucien: When I was a child, children had to listen to their parents, to their grandparents and to anyone older than them. Anyone older than the children could give them advice to correct their behaviour. This was an important law, probably the most important one. Nowadays, this has all changed. The elders do not find themselves worthy of the respect that they got before. They are not getting the same respect or the same kind of treatment that they would get in the old days. The children and youth are being governed by others who do not share their culture and values. Their opinion and wisdom are not sought after. The government is not asking them what they think. The government does not take into account and does not respect their ability to counsel and to give advice, because their knowledge is not written down in books. Belief did not just come with Christianity. Belief does not mean belief in Jesus only. Belief exists when you believe in someone older than you, when you believe in your own culture or when you believe in your own language. The Inuit were able to survive and pass on their knowledge because that was their belief. They also believed in the ability of their elders and the ability of their parents. The Inuit had so much belief, you cannot even start to imagine. Belief is believing in what your elders have to say. It is believing in your own culture and language.

Participant: Lucien, I heard in France that elders have been invited to sit in the Legislative Assembly to give advice. Have you ever taken that opportunity?

Lucien: It is the first time I have heard about it.

Aaju: This is not the first time that something like that happens. The Inuit were not told when their land was taken and given away.

Participant: What is Lucien's opinion about the changes that have occurred since the Nunavut territory and government were created. Has this changed the life?

Lucien: It just has made the government stronger. The power of the Canadian government has been reinforced. And since Nunavut, it has a stronger role with the people of Nunavut. The requirement of a grade 10 or a grade 12 degree to get a job is even more a requirement right now. And even more, you need similar experience for the job you are applying for. I believe that the introduction of the Nunavut government has left the uneducated population further behind than before for jobs and for participation. And it means that there are more needs and requirements for lawyers and people who are making all kinds of laws and statutes up here. That's how I see it.

Participant: People need to have further training to meet the requirements?

Aaju: If you look at the job ads, there are more requirements for this or that degree. You need to have a grade this or that. It is like a systemic barrier to keep part of the population—the low- and non-educated—out in the cold.

Participant: Can anything be done about that?

Aaju: Only if the Government of Nunavut recognizes the ability of the people, the Inuit, to take on these jobs. The obstacles come from government requirements. This can be changed only if the government recognizes and publicizes that the Inuit can do such or such a job even if they do not have a grade 10.

Participant: Are there things from the *Qalunaat* culture that benefit the Inuit culture?

Lucien: At this moment, I am only able to say that the Inuit were misled to believe that their lives would be better. The *Qalunaat* that came were too bossy and the Inuit felt that they had no other choice than to comply. Now, it is really hard to get away from that and they are trying to work in a different direction, but it is very difficult.

The Inuit were really scared to say no when, in the beginning, the *Qalunaat* would ask them to do something. They sort of felt they had to. I remember when my father was getting ready to go and stay all winter at a place where there were a lot of foxes for them to trap. Then, a Southerner came and asked my father to work for him at a salary of \$15 every two weeks. At first, my father refused because he was about to leave to catch foxes all winter. He would thus get a lot more money than if he worked for this *Qalunaaq* who kept insisting. You have to take it in context. When Inuit say no, it means no. But when the *Qalunaat* keep insisting, Inuit get afraid. So when the *Qalunaaq* came again and promised to pay him \$15 every 2 weeks, my father accepted and had to abandon his own plans. But that is only one little incident. My personal feeling is that the Inuit, back then,

were really afraid of these very bossy childlike people who would come from down south.

There is also proof that Southerners were at times big liars. They would mislead their fellow Southerners with their writings. I am talking here about an incident with a minister who, with a strong rope, tied ducks down, enabling them to move around, but not to fly away. He did so because there was no freezer and no fridge to keep the food fresh. The Inuit have a strong belief in not harming any animal, not even a little fly. And their belief was so strong they would never think of doing this to ducks. If this had been reported to Southerners, it would have misled them about Inuit culture.

Participant: How does he see the future for his people, the Inuit?

Lucien: I find it difficult to predict where the Inuit are going. But I would like to see the leaders in Nunavut start paying attention to Inuit language and culture. And to a person's ability to survive. Nowadays, we see a lot of students going to school, but only a few get their degree. Where are the rest? Because of that, it is hard to predict where the future is going. I would like to see more students graduating. Some of them could become more *Qalunaaq*; others could be made more Inuit.

Participant: Would it be possible for Aaju to give information about the Akitsiraq Law School Program and about the work she is doing with Lucien, in the field of law and traditional law?

Aaju: Three years ago, a Law School and Program were established here in Iqaluit. I picked up an application for my son. They said he was too young and they were looking for older applicants. I thus filled the application and submitted it. They interviewed me and asked me why I wanted to become a lawyer. And I said: "For the past 7 years, I have been trying to get a divorce and nothing has ever happened. I hope that after I become a lawyer, I can do my own divorce." They laughed and accepted me into the program. But I still have to think about it, because law was not what I had in mind. The reason why I accepted was the work I had done in Nunavut. I really wanted to learn about traditional law. I think that the way Nunavut is going now, we are having two different cultures colliding. If I can understand what is going on with the Southern system, it will be a better tool for me in the North.

So when we started law school, I found it very interesting, but very lacking because we were not getting traditional law education. All we were learning could have been taught in the same manner down in Victoria.

I met Lucien in Igloolik where I was doing interviews on how Inuit traditionally controlled behaviour. And I met 5 of them who were then compiling Inuit traditional law. When I came back here, I started looking around to find someone interested in the subject. Fortunately, Lucien soon moved here, since his wife had to study in Iqaluit. So the Akitsiraq Law School asked him whether he could educate us. Since then, he has been coming to the Law School twice a week. Now, I can compare the social methods and the

values that the Inuit had with Western culture. You know, it is so nice to study the rule of law and to be capable of explaining the reasons why there are property laws. But it is also interesting to know about the kinds of law *Qalunaat* have and the kinds of law Inuit have, and try to compare them.

Lucien was asked to coach us and to talk about IQ. He has given a workshop on it to about 15 summer students and 15 people working with the inmates. This is the kind of job that Lucien does, trying to explain where Inuit come from, what kind of values we have, and what kind of treatment we would like people to give Inuit. There is so much work to be done but nothing can be done overnight. And I think it is so important to ask Inuit "OK, what is your opinion" instead of always saying: "This is how we want things done and this is how you're going to do it."

But it is more than words. In order to understand something, you have to understand what the person is saying. Even if a person is speaking your language, very often you do not even understand what is being said. You have to process in your mind what the person is saying and one day you'll say: "Ah, this is what he meant..."

Participant: What do you think about the new Youth Criminal Justice Act, which gives a greater role to the communities in the administration of justice?

Aaju: The Youth Justice Committees can be really good for the youth, the parents and the communities because it gives the roles back to the parents and the community to raise their children. It also gives responsibility back to the youth. They have to take responsibility for their own actions. In the end, the kind of work that the Youth Justice Committees are doing is very valuable because the ones that work take the youth and the parents to talk about what the youth did and they involve the victim of the crime to try to come to a workable solution. If however the youth does not shape up or listen to what the committee is saying, then the youth is given to the RCMP or the social services to be dealt with. I think the kind of work that the Youth Justice Committees have done is very valuable because it is trying to incorporate Inuit traditional practices by trying to integrate youth back into society.

Participant: I would just like to add that the coordinator of the justice committee for the whole Kivalliq area has raised a point. The RCMP, the lawyers and the judges get paid huge salaries, whereas people who sit on a justice committee are volunteering their time. It is difficult to have a huge commitment when you see the other side of justice, the Western side of the administration of justice, getting a lot of money, time and resources, and when the justice committees in the communities are not getting as much support as they should.

If you are to incorporate more of the traditional culture of consultation and tutoring, then more government funding has to be invested in this new form of administration of justice. If people are trying to adapt an Inuit style of youth justice, then the government needs to invest in this. Too often, only Southern institutions and officials are recognized and

government funding tends to go to them, not to the Inuit organizations, not to the Inuit way of doing things, and not to the Inuit culture.

Participant: People are talking a lot about the fact that youth commit crime to get attention and help. This new youth justice act prevents them from getting this help by sending out their cases to a committee without structures and places to be able to address what they were crying out for.

Aaju: What to do with our youth? The Inuit cannot raise them and are not allowed to raise them in the traditional way and the *Qalunaat* have lost control of them too. In all this, the youth are just the ones losing out. And I think that the two sides have to get together and say: "That's enough. If we have to have a Youth Justice Committee, then we have to do it really good ..."

Inuit memories of the early Fox Main DEW Line station (Hall Beach)¹

Maxime Steve Bégin *

Abstract: This paper explores Inuit perspectives on the early years of the DEW Line, a web of radar stations built across the entire North American Arctic during the Cold War. The case of Fox Main station, near the hamlet of Hall Beach, Nunavut, is described. *Sanirajamiut* perspectives on cultural change, relationships with White workers and environmental issues are among the subjects discussed. Some aspects of the construction of Inuit memories are also presented.

Keywords: memory, DEW Line, Hall Beach, cultural change, Cold War.

Introduction

Looking back at the development of the Canadian Arctic in the last 60 years, one cannot leave aside the importance of military projects as a driving force for many changes. These types of projects have often launched and influenced the growth of settlements in the North, broadened the intercultural contacts between *Qallunaat* and Inuit and accelerated the processes of Inuit acculturation. The second half of the 20th century, and especially the Cold War period, saw an opening of the Arctic to Western culture in a way that had never been experienced before. It also led to increasing interest by the Canadian Government in its northern territories and inhabitants, creating a form of paternalism that has been pointed out by many analysts (Duffy 1987; McMillan 1995). Such a process deeply modified many aspects of the material and spiritual life of the Inuit.

The erection, between 1955 and 1957, of the Distant Early Warning Line (DEW Line), a radar fence running through the entire North American Arctic, is seen by many as one of the most important sources of social and cultural changes to have taken place over the last fifty years in the Canadian North (Bisset 1965; Harris 1980). It is therefore

¹ This article presents some results of my Master's Thesis in anthropology at Université Laval (Bégin 2004). The research was conducted within the *Memory and History in Nunavut* project directed by François Trudel and Susan Sammons and funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), through its "Community-University Research Alliance" (CURA) program. Supplementary funding came from the following sources: *Fonds pour la formation de chercheurs et l'aide à la recherche* (FCAR) of the Québec government, *Programme de formation scientifique dans le Nord* (PFSN) of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Fonds Georges-Henri-Lévesque (Faculté des sciences sociales, Université Laval).

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interesting to take a look at this radar web from the perspective of the Inuit, given that they saw its arrival and dealt with it in several locations. This article will focus on the case of the *Amitturmiut* (the Inuit of the Northern Foxe Basin, in Nunavut).

Historical overview of the DEW Line in Canada: need for an idea of security

In many ways, the construction of the DEW Line, with its science-fictional designed antennas and radar domes, was something of a revolution for the Canadian Arctic of the 1950s. Very few southern institutions were present in the North and intercultural contacts were rather limited in many regions. This radar fence was basically an American military project with deep roots in the Cold War and resulting from the animosity between the United States and the Soviet Union. The construction, between 1955 and 1957, of this web of air detection radar facilities across the entire North American Arctic was also the result of technological developments that changed the conception of the Arctic. Until World War II, the Arctic had been seen as a natural frontier because of the harshness of its climate and the limited flying autonomy of planes. By the end of the war, some technological advances had given rise to long-range bombers. This change, in conjunction with the Cold War climate, was instrumental in revealing the Arctic as a highway leading straight to the heart of America. In addition, the tensions between the two giants rose in 1949 when the USSR detonated its first nuclear bomb, giving birth to the threat of a nuclear war. Atomic power was no longer an American monopoly (Eyre 1987: 294).

In 1951-1952, a scientific study group from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology concluded that the air defence system in place could not prevent a bomber-driven nuclear attack coming over the North Pole. The idea was put forward to build electronic fences² in the northernmost part of America, which would give the American army enough time to get ready to face a potential attack from Soviet bombers. The DEW Line project was rapidly developed and planned between 1952 and 1955. The project's goal was to circle the North American portion of the globe at the 70th parallel with radar stations in order to create a detection belt. Originally, this system was supposed to give 4 to 6 hours of warning, but a few years later this warning delay was reduced to 15 minutes as intercontinental missiles were developed.

During the summer of 1953 and 1954, around 60 sites were chosen across Alaska, Yukon and the Northwest Territories, about 40 of them being on Canadian territory. In the spring of 1955, construction began with the creation of permanent facilities to welcome planes and boats, as well as temporary shelters for civilian workers. The year 1956 saw the erection of the radars and the main buildings—all pre-fabricated modules. In July 1957, most of the construction work reached its end; the DEW Line was up and running. The system was operated with few modifications until the end of the 1980s when it was shut down and replaced by the North Warning System, which is still

² Both the Mid-Canada Line and the Distant Early Warning Line were proposals from the MIT study (Harris 1980: 71-72). Canada decided to go forward with the erection of the Mid-Canada Line at its own expense in order not to engage in the bottomless financial well that the DEW Line project was representing.

guarding the Arctic skies and might be replaced soon.

In Canada, the construction of these radar sites led to government-driven development programs. To the Canadian political leaders of the 1950s, the DEW Line project was seen both as an opportunity and as an obligation to develop the North. Even though the construction of the DEW Line, being overall an American project, was definitely not intended to develop the Canadian portion of the Arctic, it gave Canada an opportunity to get access to areas previously unreachable and to citizens who were considered neglected by many. Answering criticisms made in the 1940s, Canada began to create various social programs to include Inuit as Canadians. Housing programs, medical care, welfare payments and educational programs slowly reached the Inuit. However, such governmental programs were also an attempt to develop a sense of belonging to Canada among the Inuit, for new citizens were needed to ensure the country's sovereignty over the Canadian Arctic. Lessons had been learned from the uncertainties created by the American presence in the Arctic during WWII (Crimson route, Northwest staging route, etc.), and the lack of knowledge about what was going on in the North was not to be repeated this time. Therefore, the creation of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources of Canada at the end of 1953 can be understood both as a reaction to a threat to Canadian sovereignty and as a desire to help the Inuit coming from the humanistic context of the postwar years (Hamilton 1994: 58-59).

In search of an Inuit perspective on the DEW Line

The literature about the DEW Line and its impacts on the Canadian North is abundant. It contains mainly theses in the field of military studies, but also some interesting research by social scientists. It rarely takes into account Inuit reflections and thoughts on the DEW Line, but rather provides the views of Westerners, which could hardly correspond to that of Inuit who were witnesses and actors of the DEW Line's early existence. Very few studies give a voice to the local people or even take their presence into account. When they do, they generally depict Inuit as mere receivers of the changes, a discourse that needs to be contrasted with their experience. Therefore the main goal of this research was to seek and reveal an Inuit perspective based on elders' memories about the establishment and early years of operation of the DEW Line, in order to depict a different point of view on this military project.

Fox Main station, located at a distance of 3 miles from the present-day community of Hall Beach in Nunavut, was selected for the research. This station was one of the four biggest in Canada; its construction gave birth indirectly to a community—Hall Beach—in a place where there had formerly been no Inuit settlements and where no Western institutions had existed prior to the DEW Line's arrival, the nearest one being a Hudson's Bay Company post and a Catholic mission, both in the vicinity of Igloolik, some 80 kilometres north of Fox Main. A few months after the beginning of the construction of Fox Main, a nursing station was erected in what was to become Hall Beach. Over the following years, some families gradually gathered in a camp near the future site of the Hamlet, a few miles from Fox Main, but this was a very marginal phenomenon in comparison to what happened during the construction of Frobisher Bay's military base

(Gagnon 1999: 96). Hall Beach was artificially born around 1965 when the Canadian Government took actions in order to settle the Inuit population in hamlets.

The *Sanirajamiut* (the people of Hall Beach) have developed a liking for some of Fox Main's structures: two huge 120-foot antennas (called radars) are known locally as parts of the landscape and are meaningful to the *Sanirajamiut* in terms of identity. Recently, the people of Hall Beach saved them twice from destruction by the Department of National Defence, which considers them useless. This symbolic appropriation of some of the DEW Line's equipment shows that the presence of Fox Main is meaningful to the Inuit. It is also an indication of the liveliness of a culture that can incorporate foreign elements as having significant value.

Dealing with memories

As this research is based upon recollections, the concept of memory needs to be briefly reviewed in order to understand some specific features of the construction of an Inuit perspective on the DEW Line station in Hall Beach that is intended here. Memory plays a fundamental role for humans: with it, they are able to function as persons (identity) and as groups (identity, social conventions) (Candau 1996: 4). On the one hand, memory is thought of as an individual experience that gives a person the impression of owning its recollections. It also creates the idea of the self's continuity. On the other hand, memory also needs to be thought of as a social phenomenon, because many of its manifestations are collective. Memory is also a social construct, because specific social and cultural contexts give it various tools (time representations, language, reference points) (Halbwachs 1994: 22-23) and, therefore, this construct varies from one group to another. But, as Candau (1998: 44) states, individual memories need to be in a continuous open dialogue in order to create a social or collective memory. Therefore, memory needs to be thought of as a dialogue between collective and individual processes, collective representations of the past being reinterpreted individually and individual recollections being influenced by the social and cultural spheres.

Memory must also be understood as a construct that evolves over time, that is fluctuating, that is continually reorganized to fit into new contexts, sometimes by forgetting, sometimes by adding or remodelling memories. It is a form of knowledge of the past that is actively reinterpreted in line with changing social conditions, emotions and present events (Searles 2002). In the same way, the context in which recollections are expressed is important. The story produced corresponds to specific needs: to transmit a particular message to the receiver, to produce an image of the self that satisfies the narrator. This last type of rhetorical construction of recollections highlights the narrow links existing between memory and identity.

Another specific feature of memory is that it includes the future of the past: the events of the past are remembered with the knowledge of other events that happened after, a process that affects the reconstruction work (erasing fear or uncertainties felt in the past, for example). Therefore, recollections are not objective, but are representations of the past that correspond to a reconstruction at one point in time. However, some limits

exist to the possible variability of the memories: credibility and continuity of identity. These limits are culturally determined.

On this point, memory contrasts with history, as the latter is attached to the truth of a reconstruction, to its exact reconstitution. In contrast, memory feels at ease with credibility and does not seek accurate reconstruction. This does not mean in any manner that history is a better representation of the past: it can be the subject of many manipulations as well; it is only a different way of reconstructing past events. Therefore, memory and history are interesting to look at, as both processes might present opposed points of view on the same object.

Some results: Fox Main in contemporary Inuit memories

All in all, the DEW Line was very well received in the Sanirajak (Hall Beach) region. In fact, this Fox Main station is rarely seen in a negative way, which is not the case for other governmental entities and some of their policies (the laws on hunting activities, for example). One could expect that the arrival of a noisy facility like Fox Main would not be well received as it might have meant the disappearance of traditional Inuit campsites or disturbed the behaviour of some animals, causing the destruction of good hunting grounds, etc. Interviews revealed that no campsites or symbolic sites existed in the immediate vicinity of the site chosen, so that the location selected for the radar station was not believed to cause any problem to the Inuit. On the question of game presence and behaviour, one of the informants known as a good hunter convincingly stated that Fox Main had created no disturbance. This place was not a hunting ground for any species, except walruses, which were apparently unaffected by the new radar station. Caribou, an important game animal for Inuit, are not found in this area, for the land is entirely flat and covered with gravel over many miles. Thus, the chosen site was not a problem in itself. The only negative comment was made by a lady who had lost the grave of her sister under tons of gravel used for roads and a landing strip, but she was conscious that the *Akilillirmiut* (the white DEW Liners in Hall Beach) probably never noticed the grave. Still, she was sad about the loss of the grave.

Far from causing problems, Fox Main, even before it could offer jobs to the local people, was remembered as a very welcomed Western facility. When Southerners were still prehistoric recyclers, the *Amitturmiut* would walk each day through the site's dump to collect various items that could be reused. The dump became a supplier for various items such as containers and boxes of all kinds, fabrics used in the making of tents and clothes, and scrap wood to build shacks and heat them.

Elders remembered that the DEW Line came in a period of hardship; people were close to hunger because bad sea ice was making walrus hunting impossible. The site was very helpful because a lot of food was being thrown out, food that was untouched like canned food and frozen meat that had not even thawed. This food was mainly used to feed the dogs, so the people could keep the country food for themselves. Some elders also remembered that a DEW Line cook gave them food when they were on their way to the dump or when they were going to go hunting.

Another positive aspect of the DEW Line that was frequently mentioned in the recollections of elders was the medical care that Fox Main's medic provided the local people before the opening, late in 1957, of the Canadian Government Nursing Station building outside the DEW Line site, the first building of what was to become Hall Beach. Lots of serious diseases like tuberculosis were affecting the people and many hunting accidents were occurring, so the site and its airport made it possible to ship out people rapidly to Frobisher Bay or to southern destinations such as Montréal or Ottawa.

Starting around 1956, Inuit from Melville Peninsula began to work at the site occasionally, handling gas drums and unloading boats late in the summer. Later, they started working as heavy equipment operators, driving loaders, water trucks and bulldozers. They were taught how to drive and maintain motors in the South during intensive learning sessions organized by the government. Inuit interviewed were thankful to the DEW Line for having given them the possibility to work and to begin a new way of life. That said, the informants depicted themselves as actors in those changes: many remembered being active in finding a job and trying to change their economic and social conditions. Some elders even encouraged their sons to move in that direction. For example, one informant stated that his father had died when he was still young, leaving him with insufficient knowledge for living from the land. Just before passing away, his father convinced him that it would be better for him to take a job at the DEW Line, because living on the land was a constant struggle. The presence of Fox Main had thus created a context where a choice between the traditional and modern ways of living was now possible to the *Amitturmiut*. Nowadays, such choices are not always easily dealt with and some of the recollections recorded seem to be organized in order to justify choices made in the new context. One informant, a former Inuit DEW Line worker, regretted his choice of the modern way of living. He felt that his decision had deprived his children of important Inuit values, which he regretted not being able to teach to his family today.

Although the *Amitturmiut* perspective on the DEW Line is mostly positive, some negative aspects came out. Drinking alcohol was one problem associated with the arrival of Fox Main. But, on that point, elders include Inuit among the introducers of alcohol. Informants remembered that Inuit from Cambridge Bay working at Fox Main were the first ones to drink alcohol made out of fruit from the cafeteria.

Almost all of our interviews revealed criticisms directed at the *Akilillirmiut* about the way they damaged the environment. Recent surveys of the soils and ponds around the site proved the presence of an environmental mess. Elders expressed real concerns about this problem, for they see more and more cases of cancer and diseases appearing in the hamlet. For some elders, this concern is not described as new: a hunter remembered wondering what the fishes and marine mammals would do with all the waste that the *Akilillirmiut* had left on the ice in order to be sunk in the spring. Another hunter wanted to denounce the dumping problem, but felt voiceless, as he could not speak English. However, such concerns might be rather new and been generated by the growing production of scientific studies on health issues in the North since the early 1980s. Memories were probably reorganized recently to incorporate this new information.

Except for these few but important criticisms, the elders' recollections about the

early Fox Main are rather positive regarding the early years of the radar station. In contrast, discourse on the presence of the current "DEW Liners" (the North Warning System employees) is completely different: the early DEW Line is remembered as willing to help Inuit in many ways, which is not the case right now. The current team, working since 1989 in the context of the North Warning System, is seen as living a completely parallel existence and being unhelpful to the community. In addition, this team now employs only two Inuit, an unpleasant situation for the residents of Hall Beach where unemployment is high.

One hypothesis about the positive perception of the station's presence in the early years is that the Inuit integrated the DEW Line into their world construction rather than questioning the legitimacy of its presence. For example, the dump and the help provided by the DEW Liners (food, medical care) became part of the economic system in place, making the DEW Line a participant in the web of resource distribution. In the same way, the radars and towers were inscribed in the landscape and added to the local knowledge of the land, helping people to find their direction and becoming part of the local identity. Later, when a dozen *Amitturmiut* workers were hired, they continued to participate in the spheres of sharing, buying boats, motors and equipment for their people. Contrary to what has been observed elsewhere, there was no rupture between workers and non-workers at Hall Beach. This situation kept intact the social links and favoured the continuity of the local Inuit culture until 1965.³ The early Fox Main is not thought of as an important factor in the cultural changes that took place before that year, reinforcing the idea that it was included positively in the local system, at least at its beginning.

In the same manner, this positive perception probably unveils one characteristic of the Inuit construction of memory that is mentioned by Laugrand, who states that large parts of memory are put aside in order not to affect the well-being of the living people. The recollections of the elders interviewed seem to fit into this pattern as they were filled with gaps and blanks, painful events being rarely mentioned. In this, the Inuit stray from Western history and its tendency to preserve every trace of the past. Inuit reconstruction of the past is quite fragmented, permitting oblivion, leaving space for speculation and imagination, and, thus, for creativity (Laugrand 2002: 110).

This positive spirit also characterizes discourse on the relations between DEW Liners and Inuit, based on the elders' recollections. What stands out in the elders' discourse on those relations is that contacts were rather friendly and that racism had no place in those relations. Although elders remembered that they feared the DEW Liners at first sight, they stated that there was no reason for fear because they later turned out to be a friendly bunch, always ready to help if they could. Once again, one can wonder if these memories were not constructed positively in the processes of reconstruction of the past.

Some interesting observations were made about those intercultural relations. One of the elders wondered whether the good behaviour of the DEW Liners was not a product of the rules they had to respect, which is not entirely false. The archives revealed that the

³ It is important to note however that Sanirajamiut workers sent to other stations for periods varying from a few weeks to two years were cut off from those social links.

workers had to follow some informal regulations on behaviour with Inuit, and especially with Inuit women. If those rules were broken, they were shipped back south at their own expense. Their behaviour was also recognized by some interviewees as varying from one person to another, some being friendly and some less, just as among the Inuit. In this, the DEW Liners were remembered as acting like any human being. Complicity and friendship developed between *Qallunaat* and Inuit, but apparently only between co-workers engaged in similar types of work. Although the relations were rather good, they were subject to some constraint: profession and rules. To those constraints, language must be added, as many described it as a barrier.

In summary, the *Sanirajamiut* have a rather positive perception of the DEW Line. However, this positive discourse is not based on Cold-War-related security issues, for which Fox Main was created. We can therefore speculate about Inuit understanding of that role and of the Cold War. The term "Cold War" itself was unknown among the elders, but this does not mean that they had no knowledge about it. In fact, many people—especially the Inuit workers—knew that there was something going on between the Americans and the Russians and that Fox Main was there "on guard", watching for the Russians. However, it appears that this knowledge was gleaned after 1955, mainly from relations with the DEW Liners who informed their Inuit co-workers about the world context, but also with the HBC employees and the Catholic priests. The information shared was rather basic; the Russians were depicted as malicious beings, as enemies, in the Inuit understanding. This representation of the Russians was used to explain the mysterious disappearance of a woman's family during the 1940s, leaving no clue about what happened. With the arrival of the DEW Line, the event was understood as an abduction by a Russian plane.⁴ A similar explanation was also used by some Inuit to justify the attribution of the E5 numbers (Eskimo disk lists), which many elders considered as having been given to the Inuit by the Canadian Government in order to reduce the risks of abductions. As we can see, the information shared about the Cold War was reinterpreted to fit in the local history. The importance of Fox Main as a means of protection was mentioned only once as a significant aspect of the station's vicinity. Although most Inuit knew that the station was there for their protection, this was not a significant element to them. The support Fox Main offered was much more important.

This positive construction of memories related to the DEW Line might change in the future. The new bearers will reinterpret this presence in their own terms. The influence of new knowledge on history and world context through modern communication systems, the different political framework and the difficult local reality shall affect the perspective of the new memory bearers.

⁴ This unsolved event is regularly discussed in Nunavut's Legislative Assembly.

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Remembering and dancing in an Aleut community

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Abstract: This exploratory paper examines how a practice—"Aleut traditional dancing" —, which had vanished from a group's collective memory, has been re-established and reconstructed on Atka island (Aleutian islands, Alaska). More specifically it focuses on the will to memory expressed by the revival of these dances. I argue that the restoration of these dances and the memory-work it implied is the will of some members of a specific generation. It overcomes an experienced break of social cohesion engendered by the upheaval of World War II. It fulfils also the need to find a place in a present which entails a redefinition of their native identity, particularly in the cultural heritage context where this identity is partly negotiated.

Keywords: dancing revival, memory, generation, war, school, cultural heritage.

Since our Unangaġ dances went to sleep in the relocation of our people in internment camps of World War II we have not seen Unangaġ traditional dancing upon our shores. ... It seems during the war years that the Unangaġ society was literally dying off. Today dance is very much alive in Atka. It has once again becoming part of the village.

Introduction

During the 1990s, Atka,¹ a village of the Aleutian Islands (Alaska), has seen the creation, under the auspices of the local school board, of a dance group to revive the "Aleut traditional dances". My purpose is not to discuss the concept of tradition (see Lenclud 1994; Mauzé 1997) but to identify a type of modality, which relates to the past, through qualifying these dances as "traditional". This exploratory paper, based on

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¹ The village of Atka is located on Atka island in the Central Aleutians about 1100 air miles from Anchorage and has a population of about 90 Aleuts or *Unangas* (sing: *Unangaġ*). It is the only community in the United States where the Western Aleut language is still spoken.

ethnographic data collected for my doctoral research, examines how a group re-establishes and reconstructs a cultural practice, i.e. "dances", whose collective memory had been "lost". More specifically my aim is to focus on the will to memory expressed by the revival of these dances. Therefore, I will explore the different dimensions of this will to memory as they have been distinguished by Gil Eyal (2004) e.g., *the injunction to remember, what is to be remembered, what it means to remember* and how a form of the will to memory interprets *the goal of memory, its utility, effect or function*. After dealing with the very generation involved in the reconstruction process of the dances, I will draw my attention to the procedures implemented within the school where this memory-work takes place. Subsequently I will examine which part of the past is chosen to be remembered through the public performance of dances, which are both object and support of a memory.

The issue of generations

The re-establishment of "Aleut dances" in Atka began as an official cultural revival project in 1993 when the Aleutian Region School District hired a Koriak choreographer from Kamtchatka to teach the local students native Siberian dancing for two years. A year later, the school district hired a head teacher also dance instructor, who was born and raised in Southeast Alaska. He possessed a wide knowledge in Tlingit dancing which allowed him to obtain a position in the school. According to him "They [Tlingit] have 6 or 7 dances down there that they claim honorship to that they originally got from the Aleutian Islands, Koriak people talk about their dancing and have Aleut interpreted dances also". While being not based upon a recollected memory, the Aleut dancing revival in Atka called upon the past to build up a dance practice. This practice relied on dance instructors whose skills could be directly linked to the Aleut dancing past. They made use of textual sources (among them the notes written in the nineteenth century by the well-known Russian missionary Veniaminov) and also got a hint of the choreography from old films made before World War II. Regalia, headdresses and Aleut visors were recreated after the original models housed in museums and from old pictures. After this brief history of the dances' revival, I will now turn to the people involved in the process to grasp the motivations behind this revitalization movement.

The project was initiated by the president of the Atka School Board. It involved the bilingual teacher in charge of the Aleut language class and the head teacher (dance instructor) whose maternal grand-mother was born in the village of Nikolski, located on the neighbouring island of Umnak. All of them are part of the school staff and belong to the generation whose parents experienced the forced evacuation² by the U.S Army in 1942 to internment camps of southeast Alaska. This traumatic episode and its dramatic consequences, which "had threatened their survival as individuals and as an ethnic group", (Kholhoff 1995:169) remained for a long time an untold³ story. This was not only

² For a detailed account of the Aleut evacuation as a whole and the one concerning Atka in particular which was the only Aleut village almost entirely burnt to the ground by the U.S Navy in June 1942 see Kholhoff (1995).

³ *The Aleut Evacuation: The Untold War Story*. Video documentary issued in 1992 by the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association.

an unspeakable story for those who survived that experience but also a concealed issue in history as remarked by an ex-president of the Aleut Corporation. In foreword to Kholhoff's book, she wrote:

The book tells the stories of the camps and experiences of the Aleut people, who had previously felt too embarrassed to tell these things to their children. [...] In my own experience with my children, when I told my oldest daughter what happened to me and other Aleutians during World War II, she did not believe me because it was not in the history books (Kholhoff 1995: xi).

The silence surrounding this major historical disruption that led to the upheaval of the pre-war's ways of life and their representations introduced a significant break in the "transgenerational" memory as identified by Paul Ricoeur (2000). Relying on Halbwachs's analysis of collective memory and historic memory, Ricoeur emphasized that this phenomenon enables the transition between learnt history and living memory. In the Aleut context, a double process regarding the discontinuity of memory in the succession of generations is at work: it related to the silence of memory tied to the war trauma and to the geographic removal of one generation sent away to boarding schools.

This traumatic episode, which could neither be talked about nor explained, called for a need to forget necessary to the stability and coherence of the representation of the individual or the group (Candau 1998). As an Aleut woman commented upon the silence following the painful experience of her parents, "I guess they just wanted to put the past behind and start a new life". It was nonetheless an experience that could not be ignored. Among the generation born during or after the war emerged a set of new leaders. Following the path of some evacuees, they worked towards the recognition and reparations by the American government for the losses and damages provoked by the evacuation and its awareness by the American public at large. A long juridical battle was undertaken with the Congress, which led in 1988 to the signature of Public Law 100-383, an act "to implement recommendations of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians" (Kholhoff 1995). The episode of the evacuation and internment is always present in the discourses surrounding the dances. The harm to Aleut "culture" is being viewed as one of its consequences. According to the dance instructor:

I can't come up with any good reason why we stopped [dancing] other than that we were interned and at that point in a lot of the communities everything that was Aleut became viewed as negative because if you were Aleut you obviously had a loss and you were dying off so let's be pretend to be somebody else but it didn't work either.

The awareness of this loss was concomitant to the identity issue raised by the general movement of native claims surrounding the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act⁴ (ANCSA) in 1971. The generation who worked for the recognition and

⁴ About the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act see Burch (1984).

compensations for the evacuation was also affected by this large political and identity movement where some its members played a significant role such as the president of the Atka School Board who became the first president of the Aleut Corporation. The enactment of the ANCSA brought forward the issue of the cultural identity, its modalities and representations in part because "[...] culture has been made intrinsic to native claims by the laws governing the adjudication of those claims". (Dombrowski 2004: 370). For this generation confronted with the issue of its identity especially in the context of its cultural heritage, the lack of visibility in the various settings of the public arena – where this native cultural heritage is partly negotiated—has put forward the question of its representation and performance. According to the dance instructor:

Some of us in *Unangaŋ* people felt that our culture is important and every time we go to something like AFN⁵ or Native arts festivals it would be the Indian groups or Eskimo groups and where are the Aleuts? Where are Alaskans forgotten people? Why aren't we here, representing our own people? Are we too ashamed to even be who we are?

If dances could today overcome this invisibility, they had nonetheless been forgotten in the past. The process of their reconstruction raised the problem of its insertion.

Dances as a "site of memory"

The "sites of memory" identified by Pierre Nora, which are together material, functional and symbolic are not necessarily topographic sites but external supports where a commemorative consciousness rests on (Nora 1984). From this point of view, dances are indeed a site where a memory-work is taking place, relying on specific procedures. Created in 1994, the *Atŋam Taliŋsniikangis* (Atka dancers) is first of all grounded within that specific social space which is the school. If during the Russian and American colonization, education was a crucial issue, school is today the privileged place where the transmission of a cultural heritage is formulated, as it is reminded to the visitor in the small local museum housed in the school. It has become since 1972 a place where students benefit from a bilingual curriculum (see Krauss 1980), where "Alaska Native History" is taught, as well as various skills and techniques such as Aleut basket weaving, *iqyaŋ*⁶ or *baraabaraŋ*⁷ making, etc. This educational shift occurred after a long period of acculturation policy through schooling and was made possible by the creation of the Aleutian Region School District under which the Atka school is operating today. The Aleutian Region School District is one of the 21 Regional Educational Attendance Area schools districts (REAs). Its creation in the mid-seventies allowed in some areas the transfer of education under native control, through the system of a locally elected board (Burch 1984: 661). It provided the opportunity to define part of the curriculum established by the Aleutian Region School District. It is within the school curriculum that

⁵ Alaska Federation of Natives convention which is held every fall in Anchorage.

⁶ single-hatch *baidarka* (kayak) (Bergsland 1994 :210).

⁷ from Russian *barabara* , sod house (Bergsland 1994: 122).

the measures allowing the reconstruction of the dances were displayed. These latter are part of the renegotiation of an identity at play within the school framework. As a 1998 school document underlines it: "In the past 5 years, there has been a tremendous resurgence of *Unangaġ* culture and pride. ... The *Atġam Taliġisniikangis* (Atka dancers) have played a key role in this process".

Mandatory part of the school curriculum until 2002, the practice of Aleut dances formed the content of the "physical education class" under the direction of the head teacher who was also the dance instructor. Each student from kindergarten to high school attended on a daily basis the Aleut dance class e.g. five hours a week. The manufacture of drums, regalia, bead headdresses and Aleut visors took place in the "cultural and fine arts" class. Songs, accompanying each of the dances were composed either from personal initiative or from texts written by students in the Aleut language class with the bilingual teacher. The choreography and music were settled afterwards in the dance class. Since 2003 dances practice has somewhat evolved with the departure from Atka of the head teacher who has been appointed curriculum coordinator and dance instructor for the whole school district. Nowadays, students are still practicing dances as a part of the physical education class but only when the dance instructor is back to the community⁸ to teach dancing. If the process of dances reconstruction is inscribed in a parallel process of a memory reconstruction, both entangled in a quest of a re-appropriation of identity within the school framework, the mobilization of dances is taking place in other privileged spaces. If some performances within the community can occur at events such as Christmas school celebration or graduation, they are mainly held outside the community. Since the creation of the group, the dancers have thus performed in a wide-range of various settings in Alaska such as the Aleut Corporation Banquet, The Camai festival in Bethel, the Tamata Katurlutta celebration in Homer, the Alaska Federation of Native convention, the Native Arts festival in Fairbanks or the Alaska Native Heritage Center, etc. It also happens that the dance group performs outside the state of Alaska, for example at the National Museum of the American Indians in New York. The performance in various settings displaying cultural heritage calls for the following question: What identity is expressed through the public manifestation of the dances? In other words, which part of the past has then been chosen to be remembered?

As Pouillon puts it (1997: 20) a tradition revived "or, more accurately, consciously claimed ... is less a matter of recovering the past or rediscovering a lost or forgotten identity than of drawing from it the means to guarantee the future and build or at least detect continuity". The question of continuity, situated at junction of memory and identity, is at the heart of the status of the dances, which are envisioned as asserting a link with the "ancestors". The core of the problem recalls Paul Ricoeur concerning the instrumentalized memory is the mobilization of memory in the service of identity. One of the cause of the fragility of identity lays in its relation to time, which justifies the recourse to memory, as a temporal component of identity, in conjunction with the evaluation of the present and the projection in the future (Ricoeur 2000). Through establishment of a

⁸ This is the case also since 2004 for the students of the two other schools of Adak and Nikolski belonging to the Aleutian Region School District who never practiced the dances before and where today two other dances group have been created.

filiation between the dancers and their "ancestors", an identity is assessed against historical losses. Any element that could remind of the Russian or the American colonization is erased to the benefit of cultural signs of a distant past, which grounds the dancing performance in an unchanged tradition.

Performances are displayed in a formal setting: After the introductory speech are performed several dances. Each dance and its corresponding song are preceded by a short explanation in Western Aleut and in English. Dances led by the dance instructor "demonstrate life in the windswept islands of the north, the deeds of our ancestors, and the natural and spiritual wonders around us"⁹. Dances and songs evoke either some elements of the pre-colonial Aleut culture (the war song, the sea-otter's myth or paddling of an *iqyaġ*...) or the traditional subsistence lifestyle (fishing for halibut or king salmon...) or the natural environment (sea-gulls or puffin's songs). The dancers are all barefoot, wearing their regalia. Male dancers wear Aleut visors, female dancers their headdresses and tattoos drawn on their faces with a pencil. Some of the oldest students, as all the other adults involved in the dance group, have lower lips pierced as a reminiscence of the labret. Drums and rattles are the only musical instruments. After the performance, each dancer is introduced to the audience by its Aleut name. These names (*Sakuchaġ*, little bird, *Kdaam Idigaa*, sweet ice, *Anakuchaġ*, little mother, or *Qagnaġ*, bone, etc.) are either chosen by the students themselves or given by other students. They operate as a strong individual and symbolic Aleut identity marker. These names are also used by the bilingual teacher during the Aleut class at school. Being part of a scrupulous reconstitution, this forgotten past is however not subject to a shared representation within the community. The dance group did not raise any interest outside the school. Some elders even considered the recreation of these dances as "pagan" thus expressing a part of their Russian memory. Moreover, after their graduation, most the students did not choose to stay part of the dance group.

Conclusion

This exploratory paper offers just a glimpse at the complex reality dealing with the issue of cultural revitalization. It rather suggests some keys to understand how a cultural practice, which had vanished from a group's collective memory, has been re-established and reconstructed. The restoration of the Aleut dances implied a memory work localized within the school and mobilized in the various settings offered by the public sphere. This memory-work reflects the will of some members of a specific generation. It overcomes an experienced break in social cohesion engendered by the upheaval of World War II and its aftermath. It also fulfills the need to find a place in a present which entails a redefinition of their native identity, particularly in the context of the cultural heritage public settings where this identity is partly negotiated. The issue of cultural heritage has stressed out the problem of its testament. In this very case dances operated as an instrument of the recovery of a loss. "The testament, telling the heir what

⁹ Extract of a document presenting the dances (school archives).

will rightfully be his, wills past possessions for a future" (Arendt, 1960: 5). Does this past have a future? What will become the testament left by some members of this generation?

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CULTURAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES

A discussion of Tim Ingold's poetics of dwellings as it applies to non-humans beings in Nunavik today¹

Nathalie Ouellette*

Abstract: Stories of encounters between Inuit elders of Inukjuak (Nunavik, Québec) and *tuurngait* (a type of non-human being) are directly related to aspects of contemporary Inuit worldview and reveal a cultural continuity between the past and the present. Studying the stories about *tuurngait* using Tim Ingold's 'poetics of dwelling' opens up new possibilities for analysis. There is not doubt that *tuurngait* and Inuit participate in each other's lives. However, for most Inuit today, involvement and engagement with *tuurngait* are unfolding in new ways.

Keywords: Inuit, worldview, oral tradition, Tim Ingold, arctic anthropology.

More and more, anthropologists are showing that they are happy to mix approaches and take from different theoretical traditions. This has been going on at least since the 1950s" ... the future of anthropology may lie in the blending of approaches ... cultural anthropology remains a field of diverse viewpoints. The present generation can take its ideas from structuralist or processualist theories to suit new purposes, or it can accept wholeheartedly the postmodern condition if it is prepared for the consequences. The blending of old ideas, of all sorts, seems the safest bet (Barnard 2000: 174-175).

Non-human beings of all kinds are an integral part of the ways in which Inuit understand the world. My doctoral research focuses on the experiences that contemporary Inuit of Inukjuak (Nunavik) have with non-human persons as well as on the knowledge that the Inuit have of those non-humans. The non-humans that I am particularly interested by are called *tuurngait*. They resemble humans but possess specific features, which indicate that they are not ordinary human beings. My previous work (Ouellette 2000) showed that stories of encounters between Inuit elders of Inukjuak and *tuurngait* are directly related to some aspects of contemporary Inuit worldview and reveal a cultural continuity between the past and the present. I now wish to pursue these ideas, but in a

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slightly different way, by following Tim Ingold's (2002) proposal for a non-dualistic analysis. It is also my goal to emphasize the realities of lived experience as it may apply to relationships between humans and non-humans in a contemporary Inuit community.

Between May 1998 and April 2003, I conducted fieldwork in Inukjuak (Nunavik) on three separate occasions. Located on the East Coast of Hudson's Bay, this Inuit community is the third largest in Nunavik after Kuujuaq and Puvirnituk. It has a little over 1 200 inhabitants. During my fieldwork, I gathered stories of encounters between *Inujuamiut* (inhabitants of Inukjuak) and *tuurngait*. Twenty-seven men and women, 55 years old and over, sat down with me for a semi-formal interview. Among those, 8 agreed to see me on more than two occasions. I also had informal discussions with various community members, including high school and adult education students. Four adults between the ages of 20 and 30 sat down with me for a semi-formal and recorded interview.

Maybe Tim Ingold's dwelling perspective applied to what I have learned so far about *tuurngait* will open new possibilities of analysis and suggest new levels of inquiry. This is an attempt at new explorations into a subject with which I have been 'engaging' for many years now. I begin by briefly presenting Ingold's approach and then proceed with a summary analysis on my data while keeping in mind Ingold's poetics of dwelling.

Many anthropologists working among Aboriginal peoples all over the world are interested in the relationships between humans and non-humans and their significance for local communities (see among others, Ingold 2002; Bird-David 1999; Descola 1996; Viveiros de Castro 1998; Descola and Palsson 1996). These authors agree on the necessity of renewing our discipline's concepts in order to enhance our understanding of how these societies understand the world. Although they have different theoretical approaches, these scholars nevertheless share the common goal of paying close attention to local worldview when gathering and analysing data and in suggesting a non-dualistic theoretical approach and analysis.

Among the above-mentioned authors, Tim Ingold stands out because of his somewhat unconventional approach to the subject of relationships between humans and non-humans. This social anthropologist maintains that human worlds are not culturally constructed. It is his point of view that the meanings that are immanent in the environment—"in the relational contexts of the perceiver's involvement in the world"—are discovered rather than constructed (Ingold 2000: 22). In suggesting that, he grounds the way persons understand their world in their real experiences rather than "attributing them to some overarching cosmological schema for its imaginative reconstruction" (*ibid.* 95-96). Consequently, it is not a question of constructs or representations in the minds of humans. Other social scientists like Philippe Descola (1996a, 1996b) or Nurit Bird-David (1999), who are also looking for ways to reunite nature and culture, may not entirely agree with Ingold. Descola's approach is constructivist and naturalistic in that representations are considered to be social construct and social relations, and categories are part of a mental template which organises the universe. According to Ingold, this type

of framework presupposes the separation of mind and nature and, as such, is incompatible with the 'relational-ecological-developmental synthesis' that he proposes.

In proposing his 'relational-ecological-developmental synthesis' Ingold challenges those versions of cultural theory that "... attribute human behaviour to designs that are passed from one generation to the next as the content of acquired tradition" (2002: 4). Furthermore, Ingold believes that it makes no sense to speak of culture as "an independent body of context-free knowledge, that is available for transmission prior to the situations of its application" (2002: 37). Culture is taken out of the equation: "humans ... are brought into existence as organism-persons within a world that is inhabited by beings of manifold kinds, both human and non human. Therefore, the relations among humans, which we are accustomed to calling 'social', are but a sub-set of ecological relations" (Ingold 2002: 5). Ingold challenges the naturalistic and culturalistic views of the landscape, of the person, etc.

Ingold's interest in exploring alternative forms of relationships between humans and animals dates back to his early years as a scholar. In 1974, based on the premise that the reindeer was a social and decision-making animal, he suggested that the herder's control on the deer was based on a form of social contract between human and animal. Throughout the years, Ingold continued to write extensively on subjects relating to animal/human relations, as well as on perception and culture. He has drawn his inspiration from many different sources and disciplines such as biology, psychology and anthropology and more specifically from Heidegger's phenomenology, Gibson's psychology, Bourdieu's theory of practice, Bateson's ecological approach and Sperber's cognitive science, to name but a few.

The division of human beings into two separate components, a biophysical and a sociocultural component, has been one of Ingold's main irritant, over the years. He strongly believes " ... that we should be trying to find a way of talking about human life that eliminate[s] the need to slice it up into ... different layers" (*ibid.*: 3). Ingold's desire to reunite biological and cultural anthropology has been the driving force behind a lot of his work and resulted in his current theoretical propositions. His latest publication, *The Perception of the Environment. Essays in livelihood, dwelling and skill* (Ingold 2002), provides us with the author's numerous efforts in attaining that goal.

Western ontology divides human beings into two distinct and mutually exclusive categories. In the natural sphere humans are organisms and in the social sphere they are persons. It is usually thought that it is only through our 'human half' as persons that we are capable of conscious thought, intentionality and action. Thus, to speak of persons "is to tell of the thoughts, intentions and actions of human beings" (*ibid.*: 90). As far as an organism is concerned, mainstream biology regards it as a discrete bounded entity, which relates to "other organisms in its environment along lines of external contact that leave its basic, internally specified nature unaffected" (*ibid.*: 3). Ingold's relational approach does not only involve human beings. It is all encompassing, it brings the organism back into the person and it introduces the person as part of the organism. It is by doing so that Ingold believes he can reunite the human and the organism in what he calls the

'organism-person'. Therefore, humans, plants, animals, and non-humans are all organisms *and* they all have the potentiality of being persons. In this instance, personhood is a condition of life. This implies that personhood is not something that is added on to an organism only if and when it enters the social sphere. Organisms *are* persons who acquire identities and characteristics within the fields of relations and who are transformed through their own actions. Thus, it is as an organism-person that a human being establishes relations with the world in which he or she dwells.

In an animic ontology, the person exists in the world and is involved in relationships with components of the "lived-in environment" (*ibid.*: 101). The person approaches the world from a position *within* the world. It is a complete engagement *in the world, within the world and with the world* that is essential for the acquisition of knowledge among hunters and gatherers. Meanings are not superimposed upon the world by the mind. They are "drawn from the contexts of a personal involvement" (*ibid.*: 101). In an animic or relational epistemology, knowledge "is developing the skills of being-in-the-world with other things, making one's awareness of one's environment and one's self finer, broader, deeper, richer, etc." (Bird-David 1999: S78). That kind of context is what Ingold has named a *poetics of dwelling*. It is a "perspective that treats the immersion of the organism-person in an environment or lifeworld as an inescapable condition of existence. From this perspective, the world continually comes into being around the inhabitant, and its manifold constituents take on significance through their incorporation into a regular pattern of life activity" (*ibid.*: 153).

***Tuurngait* and Inuit 'dwelling' together**

In the past, *tuurngait* had particularly close ties with the *angakkuq* (Inuit shaman) as they were widely known, all over the Arctic, as the shaman's helpers. However, as Laugrand et al. (2000) revealed, considerable regional differences exist about those non-human beings. Today, the stories *Inujjuamiut* tell about encounters with *tuurngait* rarely include the *angakkuq* but do reveal that the beings in question are not ordinary humans. However, only a few people seem to have close encounters with *tuurngait* even though their existence is known to a great number of people.

The narratives about *tuurngait* describe a dynamic and multidimensional world populated by human and non-human beings that engage in interpersonal relationships with one another. Those non-human beings have their own identity and possess distinctive personality traits and attributes. In this context, emotions and consciousness are definitely not exclusive to humans. Animic ontology and relational epistemology are definitely at play. However, as the conditions of engagement and involvement change, so do the experiences of *tuurngait* and Inuit. Relations have also changed as new organism-persons entered the "fields of relations embracing all living things" (Ingold 2002: 59).

According to most *Inujjuamiut*, *tuurngait* are human-like beings. They are very tall and their eyes are set lengthwise in their faces. *Tuurngait* are known to be wealthy and to possess sophisticated tools. Their houses are beautifully built inside rocky hills, the doors of which are only discernible to human eyes once their occupants have vacated the

premises. It is believed that *tuurngait* are often among Inuit, either in the community or in their camps. People do not notice their presence since they are invisible most of the time. They disappear as soon as they have been seen and they leave no evidence of their passage, not even in the snow. *Tuurngait* do not like to be bothered by humans, but will readily rescue someone in danger or else simply lend a helping hand to someone in need. Sometimes, Inuit are invited to join *tuurngait* in their homes. A man, who went missing in the beginning of the 1990's, is thought by some to be living among *tuurngait*. *Qursulaaq*, a woman from the Belcher Islands (Nunavut) married a *tuurngaq* and has most likely achieved immortality through her partner's special powers (Ouellette 2000). Other Inuit who have also visited *tuurngait* have returned to live among humans. Sometimes a stranger might be suspected of being *tuurngaq*. The same can be said of someone who will not acknowledge your presence when meeting you on a trail. In the past, *tuurngait* were especially known for kidnapping and even killing humans. The murders and kidnappings of Inuit by *tuurngait* have ended since those non-human beings started reading the Bible. Today, *tuurngait* are mostly responsible for stealing miscellaneous items in outpost camps. One must not have negative thoughts about *tuurngait* so as not to offend the powerful beings.

Although stories about *tuurngait* are common nowadays in Inukjuak, not all *Inujuamiut* want to share them and not everyone agrees on the contemporary existence of *tuurngait*. Nevertheless, it is clear they were alive and numerous in the past. The knowledge of *tuurngait* is something that is shared among community members, young and old. Most elders I spoke with had personal experiences involving *tuurngait*, although I met only one person who had close encounters with the non-humans. Most other *Inujuamiut* know about *tuurngait* because they heard of them or experienced their presence from a distance. Only a few elders visited *tuurngait* in their homes. For those elders, encounters with the *tuurngait* are definitely part of their "lived experiences". When most of today's elders were young, Inuit were always out on the land and their involvement with *tuurngait* happened at many levels. Inuit lived within the world of *tuurngait*, camping near their homes built in rocky hills or simply passing by areas where the *tuurngait* dwelt. Stories were also told about encounters, past and present. Inuit's involvement with non-humans blossomed throughout their entire lives; their engagement with their surroundings was a long-term affair, which required close attention. Most *Inujuamiut* say that the most knowledgeable person on the subject of *tuurngait*, as well as other non-humans, is Atami Niviaxie. This elder's involvement with *tuurngait* is indissociable with his experiences growing up. When retelling of encounters with non-humans he recounts part of his life history, as well as, the experiences he's had living in and with the environment and all of its components. During my fieldwork, the *Inujuamiut* who had most to say about *tuurngait* seem to be those who still are in frequent 'contact' with them through their activities outside the community.

However, for most people today, involvement and engagement with *tuurngait* seem to be unfolding in new ways. Many elders are sick and confined to their homes, many adults work in office buildings and children are at school all day. Long periods of time spent outside the community, in the tundra, are rare for most people. That alone has to have a dramatic impact on the relationships between organism-persons of all kinds.

In the past 50 years or so, the Inuit have come to live new experiences and have been involved with new organism-persons who have come their way: missionary, merchants, and health care workers, the devil, the saints, just to name a few. These new experiences in the lives of the Inuit have had an impact on the relationships between Inuit and *tuurngait*. Nowadays, *tuurngait* visit the Inuit communities to come do their shopping at the local store. When the Hudson's Bay Company was in Inukjuak, the *tuurngait* would go shopping in the evening or on weekends. Later, they began buying products from the local Cooperative. Angakkut let go of their *tuurngait* and developed new relationships with various non-humans entities of Christianity. The teachings of the missionary also dramatically altered the ways in which *tuurngait* and Inuit were involved. *Tuurngait* stopped killing Inuit once they became Christian.

Conclusion

There is not doubt that *tuurngait* and Inuit participate in each other's lives. However, present day Inuit are 'engaging' differently with the constituents of their world than their ancestors were. What have those new relations, new ways of engagements and new kinds of involvement done? They've brought *tuurngait* closer to the community. They've made them Christian and less threatening. They might even have opened up a new range of relationships for Inuit and non-humans. It is no surprise that transformations have occurred in the relationships between *tuurngait* and Inuit, as well as, in the lifestyle of *tuurngait*. Change and innovation is not something new as far as non-human beings, and especially *tuurngait*, are concerned. *Tuurngait* have always lived in a world, which is "dynamic and open to innovation" (Laugrand et al. 2000: 108).

Maybe this dwelling perspective of Ingold's is more apt to include the dynamism of animic ontology than previous attempts at doing just that were. This first attempt at analysing the data I gathered during my fieldwork using Tim Ingold's work as an inspiration and a guide has provided me with more questions than answers. I wonder if *tuurngait* disappear because of a lack of direct engagement with Inuit? What happens to a person's understanding through experience when that specific experience stops? Are some persons not being as solicited as before in relational contexts? If persons are persons because they enter into relationships with other persons, will the *tuurngait* disappear for lack of direct involvement with other persons? If that is so, what, if anything, will replace them? What fields of relationships are unfolding between Inuit and non-humans today? Are the younger generations of *Inujjuamiut* experiencing situations where the discovery of meanings relating to non-humans is possible? Are those generations of Inuit still as involved in relationships with components of the 'lived-in environment' as their elders were? If they are not, does that mean that the 'lived-in environment' is becoming less 'lived-in'? Or, is it more a case of the environment still being 'lived-in' but differently? Those questions remain to be answered.

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Threats to dwelling in a northern coastal community

Martina Tyrrell*

Abstract: The following paper is based on one year of field research conducted in Arviat, Nunavut, on the north-west coast of Hudson Bay, from September 2002 to September 2003. The paper outlines some of the uses made of the sea by Arviarmiut¹ throughout the year. Following a brief overview of Ingold's "dwelling perspective" (2000) of human habitation, I will then explore what I view as three potential threats to dwelling and livelihood in Arviat, namely, the imposition of polar bear hunting quotas and regulations; the effects of climate change on use and knowledge of the sea; and contaminants in the food chain. I argue that all three of these threats to dwelling are being imposed from outside, resulting in local concerns for the future use of and interaction with the marine environment.

Keywords: Inuit, sensory perception, environment, dwelling, knowledge.

Use and knowledge of the sea

Arviat, with a population of 2,700 people, is situated on the north-west coast of Hudson Bay, in the Kivalliq region of Nunavut. Its short but intense summer, roughly from the end of June until the end of August, is followed by an equally short autumn, when the nights become longer, temperatures drop and snow begins to fall. By the end of October the sea ice has begun to form and by mid-November the ice is usually safe enough to travel on by skidoo or on foot. For the next seven months the thick sea ice extends a number of miles out from shore into the Bay. As the days grow longer in spring, and the sun begins to warm the earth, the ice slowly starts to melt, with pools of melt-water forming on top of the ice in mid- to late-May, as the floe edge moves ever-closer to the shoreline. Finally a day comes at the end of June or early July when the ice suddenly disappears. Then it is summer once again and the seasonal cycle continues.

This passage through the seasons is closely followed by the activities of Arviarmiut. Each season brings its opportunities and rewards, and in each season there is a looking forward to and preparation for the activities of the next season. During summer fishing nets are set out for the capture of Arctic char along the shoreline or from boats close to reefs or islands. Beluga whales migrating north are hunted and the occasional seal is captured. During autumn, with the whales gone and the fish migrating back up the rivers, it is now the time for more concentrated seal hunting. Ringed seals are the most

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¹ Arviarmiut: the people of Arviat.

common species found in these waters, but also the larger bearded and harp seals are occasionally hunted. At first the seals are hunted by boat or from along the shoreline, but once the sea ice has formed, hunting trips are made to the floe edge where hunters patiently await the arrival of ringed seals. The end of October brings the opening of the polar bear hunting season, and once the tags have been distributed as part of the hunting quota system, no time is wasted by those few lucky hunters who receive tags, in their attempts to each kill a bear. Seal hunting at the floe edge continues throughout the winter and spring, with spring also bringing the ice-fishing derby. Most of the community takes to the sea ice to fish in the derby, not in the hope of capturing the most delicious fish, but rather of capturing the largest rock cod, and a large monetary prize. Once the ice begins to break up there is once again some seal hunting from along the shore, or by boat out to the ice floes. And then it is summer again with its fishing and whaling. All of this hunting activity on the sea is accompanied throughout the year by the hunting of caribou on land and at different times throughout the year, the hunting of wolves, musk-oxen, and lake fishing for trout and char.

The hunting that takes place requires a community-wide complex of other activities in order to ensure its success. Boats, if store-bought, must be repaired and kept in good working order. Some boats are hand-made and this requires time and skill. Skidoos, Hondas², *qamutiit*³, and trailers require maintenance, as do the tools used for hunting – rifle, harpoon, float, net etc. Warm protective clothing is required and this involves the cleaning, tanning and sewing of caribou, seal, polar bear and wolf skins to outfit the hunter from head to toe. When animals are successfully hunted the skins are passed on to wives, mothers, mothers-in-law, and other women, and the lengthy process of transforming a raw skin into a piece of clothing begins. The meat or *maktaaq*⁴ harvested from the hunt must also be dealt with appropriately in order to ensure that it will last. Fish not immediately eaten is frozen or dried; *maktaaq* is cached or frozen. Caribou too is cached, frozen or dried. This food moves around the community in complex webs of sharing and exchange, so that even those households without a full-time hunter (or any hunter) have access to a supply of country food throughout the year.

But the sea is about much more than the hunting complex. The sea provides a passageway for travel to other communities, it is the scene of sporting and recreational activities, and it is an arena for fun and family outings. Some summers there are rowing races across the inlet, and games for children on the shoreline. Men make extensive use of the sea in summer, to travel in their small boats to the neighbouring communities of Churchill in the south, or Rankin Inlet and Whale Cove in the north. As Arviat is a dry community (a by-law outlawing the sale and consumption of alcohol was passed in 1973), the chance to spend a few days in the bars at Churchill is always tempting, so during summer, groups of men travel down the coast for a few days, often taking the

² Arviarmiut usually refer to their two most important modes of transportation by their most common brand names. Therefore snow-mobiles are almost universally known as skidoos and all-terrain vehicles as Hondas. Throughout this essay I employ the terms used by Arviarmiut rather than the generic name for each vehicle.

³ *Qamutiit*: sleds.

⁴ *Maktaaq*: the skin of the whale.

opportunity to hunt whales on the return voyage. Once the sea ice has formed and is safe enough for travel, travel by skidoo and Bombardier⁵ is common, with this same movement between communities. Bombardiers, being large and warm (if somewhat uncomfortable) vehicles move between Rankin Inlet, Whale Cove, Coral Harbour and Arviat, transporting entire families.

The most frequent recreation activities to occur on the sea ice are the regular skidoo races organized by Arviat Racing Club. Weather permitting, these races take place every second Saturday from the end of November on, culminating in a massive three day event at the end of March, with participants coming from as far away as Winnipeg to participate. These races not only bring out all the skidoo enthusiasts in the community, but many Arviarmiut brave the cold conditions to watch the races and cheer on their favourite racers. Dog sled races are also common events on the ice, with a series of smaller races throughout the year culminating in a large event in late April. Participants from throughout the Kivalliq region race their dogs between Arviat and Rankin Inlet, a distance of approximately 250 kilometres that the dogs cover in three to four days. At Christmas, New Year and Easter there are community games on the ice, with prizes for such events as tea- and bannock-making, running races, rolling in the ice races, hole-drilling races, etc. Spring, as mentioned earlier, brings with it the three-day fishing derby, during which much of the community moves out onto the ice, many families erecting tents on the ice and not returning to their homes for the duration of the event.

These are just some of the uses made of the sea throughout the year in Arviat. It is not only a place that provides physical sustenance, but it also nourishes the community socially and emotionally. It provides an outlet for play and merry-making, for travel to meet family and friends in other communities and for their travel to Arviat. The community extends out onto the sea at various times of the year, sometimes in the form of a few lone hunters braving the icy weather in pursuit of animals, and sometimes in the form of the majority of the community leaving the shores and taking to the sea.

It would simplify this picture of use of the sea too much to suggest that hunting, travel and recreation are three distinct and mutually exclusive endeavours. Hunters talk of the enjoyment and quietude they experience while travelling and hunting at sea. On journeys to other communities hunting equipment is usually brought along, in case a hunting opportunity presents itself; and organized games and recreation always have monetary or other prizes which are eagerly sought after by contestants and their families.

The dwelling perspective

The preceding brief description of how Arviarmiut use and interact with the sea can be viewed through Ingold's dwelling perspective of human habitation. Ingold writes (2000: 153), "the world continually comes into being around the inhabitant, its manifold constituents take on significance through their incorporation into a regular pattern of life activity". In other words, the environment and humankind exist one within the other, with

⁵ Bombardier: pronounced 'bombadeer' by Arviarmiut, this snow-bus on skis can carry up to twelve passengers.

the inhabitant deriving meaning from the world as he lives and moves through it. In Ingold's view, the environment and humankind are inseparable, with each one constantly creating and recreating the other. "Cultural knowledge", he suggests,

... rather than being imported into the settings of practical activity, is constituted within these settings through the development of specific dispositions and sensibilities that lead people to orient themselves in relation to their environment and to attend to its features in the particular ways that they do (*ibid.*: 153).

This dwelling perspective builds on Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* (Bourdieu 1980; Ingold 2000: 162) which views cultural knowledge as generated within specific contexts and in the course of involvement with others in the practice of everyday life. *Practice* is the essential word here, as knowledge is acquired, generated and transformed through the practical activities of living. Life is lived *within* the world, as "the skilled practitioner consults the world...for guidance on what to do next" (Ingold 2000: 164). Ingold's dwelling perspective is further influenced by Gibson's ecological psychology. The main thrust of Gibson's argument is that the world does not confront us, but rather surrounds us (Ingold 2000: 168). He helps break down the Cartesian nature-culture dichotomy, and suggests that the world becomes meaningful by being lived in as meaning comes through our practical engagement in the lived-in environment. Central to Ingold's thesis is a view of the environment as a sphere or rather

... a nesting series of spheres, centred on a particular place. From this experiential centre, the attention of those who live there is drawn ever deeper *into* the world, in the quest for knowledge and understanding. It is through such attentive engagement, entailed in the very process of dwelling, that the world is progressively revealed to the knowledge-seeker (Ingold 2000: 216).

From the point of view of Arviarmiut, Arviat is at the centre of the world – the world revolves around the community: the inlet to the north, opening out into Hudson Bay to the east; the land in every other direction – tundra, muskeg and innumerable lakes. The world revolves around Arviarmiut in ever-widening circles from the home, out through the community, across land and sea. Arviarmiut dwell within this encircling and nurturing environment, gaining understanding and meaning through their everyday activities. Emphasis is placed on continual and long-term observation and interaction with the environment. As one hunter said, "There is always something new to learn". It is, as Ingold notes (Ingold 2000: 166) a "fine-tuning" of knowledge, as the more time one spends within a given environment, the greater one's knowledge of the fine details. Arviarmiut make use of the affordances of both land and sea and this centric or spherical perception of their place in the world is essential to their successful habitation of the world.

Threats to dwelling

However, I see a number of threats to Arviarmiut interaction with the sea and with marine animals, and as such these are threats to the very habitation and dwelling of the community. Inuit acknowledge the on-going external influences to their culture and ways of being. Not only have Inuit adopted useful innovations over the centuries, they have also adapted to imposed rules and regulations from the nation state and from international bodies. The threats outlined below are all being imposed from outside, in one form or another, and in all cases Inuit feel helpless in the face of these potential threats to their way of dwelling and living in the world.

The imposition of polar bear quotas and regulations

The days and weeks leading up to October 31st each year are filled with excitement and expectation for many Arviarmiut. Polar bears are sighted with increasing frequency on the outskirts of the community, on the margins of the ever-thickening sea ice, and occasionally even wandering along the streets. Conversations are peppered with talk of what people will do if they get a tag or if they succeed in killing a bear. Bears seem to be uppermost on everyone's mind and the excitement mounts leading to the night of October 31st. Arviat Hunters and Trappers Organisation (H.T.O.) is allotted 20 bear tags per year. Everyone, male and female, over the age of sixteen, is entered in the draw, which takes place at the community hall. In 2002 (as has been the case for the past number of years), the first five people whose names are drawn are offered the opportunity to sell their tags to the H.T.O. for the polar bear sport hunts. Without exception these five always sell their tags, for \$2000CAD each. Earlier in 2002, two bears were killed in self-defence and these had to be removed from the quota. Therefore the next two people drawn were given these two skins for their own use. This left thirteen remaining tags. The next thirteen people drawn now had 48 hours, beginning at midnight, in which to each kill a bear. Over 30 alternate names were then also drawn, so that if the first thirteen failed to get their bears, then these alternates would each have 48 hours to hunt, until the quota of thirteen bears had been filled.

Despite the excitement that precedes the draw at the community hall, many people are unhappy with this quota system which they feel has been imposed from outside, and which they believe serves to make encounters with bears more dangerous while at the same time endangering the future of the bear population. These feelings are not exclusive to Arviat. As Jaypeetee Arnakak has noted in an unpublished paper (2002), "The two males for one female policy for [the] polar bear harvest in Nunavut has surely upset the balance of the [bear population]. Put into the mixture the preference for big, trophy-quality, mature, male bears by sport hunters" and the resulting male-female imbalance is obvious. While wildlife biologists claim that polar bear populations are at risk, Arviarmiut are experiencing more bear encounters than in the past and also at different times of year. Many elders say they almost never saw bears when they were young, but these days there are bears throughout the year. There are warnings on the community radio and on CB almost throughout the year for people to be careful as a lone bear or a

number of bears have been sighted at such-and-such a place along the coastline. Bear sightings are not just restricted to the end of October. Arviarmiut put these increased numbers down to beluga whale carcasses being left to rot on the beaches and on the tourist industry in Churchill, northern Manitoba, making the bears more used to and reliant on human habitation.

However, the strict quota and hunting season results in Arviarmiut attempting to frighten bears away rather than shooting those that pose a danger to the community. If a hunter kills a bear out of season he is not allowed to keep the pelt for his own use or to sell it. Therefore anyone encountering a bear, no matter what the danger, will prefer *not* to kill it. Many Arviarmiut believe this increases the danger of attack by bears closer to the community. Arviarmiut are concerned about a number of issues. The first is the quota system, which despite claims to the contrary (made by a number of biologists and government employees I spoke to), is imposed from outside, with little or no consultation with the local community. The number is fixed at twenty bears per year. The hunting season is also of concern. There are bears almost throughout the entire year, and not being allowed to hunt until November 1st is of concern to many. Again, it is a matter of weighing up safety and danger levels. Elsewhere in Nunavut in October 2002 a fifteen-year polar bear hunting moratorium was imposed on the community of Gjoa Haven. The community has carried out its own traditional knowledge study of the issue and says that climate change is a huge factor, with ice forming later and breaking up earlier, resulting in a loss of good seal denning sites. They say these factors were not taken into consideration by the scientists and in turn the policy makers. They believe that 15 years is too long and the moratorium should be drastically reduced.

Arviarmiut, and Nunavumiut in general, feel powerless in the face of such regulations, imposed as a result of national and international laws and treaties (cf. Fikkan *et al* 1993). While their own long term observations and day to day interactions within the environment tells one (quite complex) story, the imposition of quotas and hunting seasons speaks to a different reality as seen through the eyes of wildlife biologists and policy makers. Not only are polar bears thought of and treated differently than they previously were, Arviarmiut feel that their community is under threat from these bears and they are powerless to do anything about it without the potential of getting into trouble with the law.

The effects of climate change

As mentioned above, in the case from Gjoa Haven, climate change is having a marked effect on, not only the polar bear population, but also on ice formation and break-up, and reproduction of seal populations. Arviarmiut elders speak often of climate change in the form of unpredictable weather, changing seasons, unpredictable animal migrations, and other factors which threaten both safety and hunting success at sea. One elder I spoke to remarked, "If I predicted the weather now, I would be a liar", meaning that the weather is no longer predictable. In an environment where the ability to predict weather conditions with some degree of accuracy can mean the difference between life and death, unpredictable weather is indeed a threat to dwelling. Inuit have always acknowledged the

dangers of travelling by land or sea, yet are aware that one's chances are vastly improved if one can make sense of what is going on in the environment. Therefore, if a certain type of wind foretells inclement sea conditions, then a hunter will know not to venture out. However, elders claim that the weather is changing, and it is becoming more and more difficult to link one atmospheric phenomenon with another or with sea conditions or animal movements. With safety and success at sea uppermost in minds of hunters, a decreasing ability to understand the changing conditions is seen as a threat to a way of life.

The changing weather conditions are also blamed for changes in animal behaviour. Animals are believed to be migrating later or earlier in the year. In 2003, the whales arrived earlier than expected, and as mentioned above, polar bears are now observed almost year-round. Other animals, when they do not arrive on time or in sufficient numbers, are believed to be farther out to sea in cooler water, as the water closer to shore is now "too hot". Hunters and seamstresses alike complain of the condition of animals, particularly ringed and bearded seals, which are said now to be always "stinky" as if in a constant state of rut. It is suggested by many that the changing conditions of the sea-water are responsible.

While scientists discuss the concept of global climate change, local communities are experiencing changes in weather that are adversely affecting entire ways of life. If successful habitation is based on long-term observation and dwelling within an environment, then how do local communities deal with these changes? Can the generation of knowledge and new ways of knowing keep in step with the rapid changes in the environment? Discussions within the community, particularly amongst elders, suggest that these environmental changes are already affecting the ability of hunters to be safe at sea and therefore affecting safe and successful use of and interaction with the sea and its animals.

Contaminants in the food chain

Each year Arviat H.T.O. co-ordinates a contaminants study of beluga whales, ringed seals and char on behalf of the University of Manitoba. In 2003 hunters were paid \$100 for each complete whale sample they returned, and \$45 for each seal sample. When all the samples have been gathered they are sent to Winnipeg for laboratory tests. Arviat hunters see this as an opportunity to make some extra money, with a successful whale hunt not only providing a family with *maktaaq*, and meat for dog teams, but also some much needed cash. Each summer a number of biologists come to the community to carry out other contaminant tests on beluga whales and throughout the year other studies are done on seals and fish. The study of contaminants brings some much needed extra revenue into the community.

Whenever I asked Arviarmiut if they worried about contaminants in the food chain, they always replied in the negative. However, in the general flow of everyday conversation, stories emerged of sickly and deformed seals and fish being hunted or caught in nets; seals and polar bears with poor or no fur on different areas of their bodies;

and unusually small, but adult seals, being caught. These stories were always followed by concerns that other animals might also be diseased but not showing any outward signs, and could then be passing those diseases on to the families who eat the meat or *maktaaq*. Most people are aware that country food is still preferable to a diet of southern junk food, to which many children and adults have become dependent. This puts Inuit in a double bind: to eat a traditionally healthy diet that may now be contaminated with chemicals from industrial and agricultural processes in the south; or to switch to a southern diet which is resulting in the phenomenal growth of obesity, diabetes and heart disease amongst Inuit throughout Nunavut. This is a complicated issue which has been dealt with in detail elsewhere (cf. Downie and Fenge 2003) but it is enough to say that contaminants in the food chain are causing a threat to the livelihood and life ways of Arviarmiut. Many Inuit are no longer sure of what to eat, and I even spoken to one man who will no longer eat *maktaaq* having spent the summer of 2002 in a Winnipeg hospital recovering from food poisoning which he claims resulted from eating "bad *maktaaq*". If Inuit are unsure of what is safe and unsafe to eat, then surely this is a threat to dwelling.

Conclusion

Inuit are not adverse to massive and sudden changes to their ways of living. Throughout the history of their contact with agents of colonialism, they have faced change in their interaction with whalers, trappers, Christianity, the Hudson's Bay Company, the RCMP, and the Canadian government. Adaptation to change is a way of life. However, these were often immediate and visible changes. The three threats to dwelling I have outlined above are but an example of many that Inuit currently have to deal with. Inuit argue that they have no say in the regulations imposed on their hunting activities and climate change and contamination of the food chain are the result of invisible factors which have no single source. How are Arviarmiut to deal with these changes? Will the upcoming generations learn to adapt to these changes by finding alternative ways to dwell within their environment? Will they become attuned to new ways of observing and knowing the sea and the land? Or will they be forced to adopt entirely new modes of living? Only time will tell.

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New theoretical influences in anthropological study of Inuit gender relations¹

Julie Rodrigue *

Abstract: Many anthropologists who study the relationships between men and women use Western categories as the starting point of their analysis, a type of approach seriously called into question in the last decade. To overcome this problem in our study of gender relations among Inuit of the Eastern Canadian Arctic, we plan to draw on two sources: a) Barraud and Alès' contribution (2001) showing how the distinctions between the sexes can be studied without being influenced by the researcher's own perspective as an analytical tool; b) research among Yupi'k and Iñupiat showing complementarities instead of oppositions between the sexes from a hierarchical or non-hierarchical point of view.

Keywords: Inuit Cosmology, anthropology of the sexes ('gender studies'), Eastern Canadian Arctic, gender relations

This article, inspired by my participation at the IPSSAS 2003 seminar in Iqaluit, will present part of my Ph.D. frame of reference, i.e., exploration of the relations between men and women in the Inuit context. At the seminar, I presented a paper on the possible influences of relations between men and women in a religious context. In this article I will briefly review a new theoretical approach to the anthropology of the sexes and examine how this approach might provide a better understanding of gender relations among Inuit of the Eastern Canadian Arctic.

Anthropology of the sexes

At the beginning of my research project, it was difficult to find publications on gender studies that could be helpful in the study of the Inuit of the Canadian Eastern Arctic. Most of the existing publications looked at other societies through the prism of Western categories and often chose to analyze the social relations between men and

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women from a hierarchical point of view. I finally found an interesting and inspiring publication by two French anthropologists, Cécile Barraud and Catherine Alès (2001), showing how the distinctions between the sexes can be studied without using our own perspective as analytical tools. They believe that the main problem in the study of gender relations in other societies is our own societal tensions, which often tend to cloud the issue. They think that the Western model of social relations is too often taken as an analytical framework for other societies that might not define the distinction between the sexes and inequality in the same way. They have come to see our own model as one that can be used for comparative purposes, but certainly not as an analytical framework.

To deal with research on gender relations in the Inuit context, it is relevant to present a brief history of anthropological studies on this theme. At first, the feminist approach to anthropology faced a double problem: women were practically absent from anthropology as authors and as subjects. Anthropology often focused on male perspectives because of the larger proportion of male anthropologists. Before the mid-70s, anthropological research among the Inuit was in a similar situation. As Saladin d'Anglure (1986) has pointed out, it was mainly produced by men. There was thus a need to collect women's perspectives on various topics, such as the relationship between biology and reproduction. This approach to anthropology did provoke criticism and numerous discussions, especially on the search for the universal foundations of gender disparity, which is, most of the time, based on women's reproductive functions. Gradually, the goal of researchers moved from the man/woman dichotomy to various social disparities.

In the 70s, a new notion emerged, "gender", which developed and became widespread in the 80s. This concept allowed researchers to put aside biological sexual distinctions and stress distinctions based on social relations. In this way, the notion of gender would be, as English-speaking anthropologists say, a "social construct". This "social sex", not limited by the biological sexes, could now be applied to all social relations. In the English-speaking world, these relations are said to be "genderized". To make a distinction between "social" and biological sex was an important improvement. Among anthropologists who work in the Canadian Arctic context, Bernard Saladin d'Anglure was one of the first to use the concept of "gender" as a social construct.

The notion of "social sex" is inevitably linked to hierarchical differences and disparities. Social disparities would thus not only be based on biological differences, but could also be constructed as social differences. Certain authors reject dichotomies that are based on "difference". They try to demonstrate that the "difference" is a social construct like the notion of gender and gender disparities. These authors wonder how exactly various societies define a "difference". Clearly, the academic output of anthropologists inspired by gender studies has been prolific. But some have had doubts, being aware of the limits imposed by the Western categories used in the analysis of other societies.

Barraud sees comparisons between societies as a way to analyze biological or social disparities. She also believes that Western categories can be useful to underline differences between societies, but cannot be used as a frame for analysis. She criticizes approaches still based on the postulate of "difference" between the sexes as

a presocial fact. She finally suggests looking at the "difference" and at the structure of inequality as a social construct instead of as a presocial fact (Barraud 2001: 39).

With regards to the reality of the two sexes, Barraud mentions that the relationship as a system can be questioned. To avoid presupposing the effectiveness of a sex-based distinction in the societies under study, she suggests that social relations in general should be first analyzed by means of the kinship terminology used by each society. Afterwards, if relevant, one could underline the various terms used to mark various distinctions between the sexes. But Barraud notes that kinship terms could mark different types of relations between kin partners. For example, kinship terms related to generation distinctions in some societies could be more relevant than those based on sexual distinctions. Once the various distinctions between the sexes have been underlined through kinship terminology analysis, and proven to be relevant, they can be contextualized in various social manifestations like rituals, myths, system of sharing, transmission of knowledge, formal and informal discourses, etc. This method underlines the surprising complexity of relevant social relations in a particular society, which are often different from Western conceptions (Barraud 2001: 40-43).

Inuit men and women in ethnographies

The questions on gender relations in the Inuit context are certainly complex and interesting and have been the main focus of many publications. We must, among others, point to the work of Naomi M. Giffen (1930), Marie-Françoise Guédon (1968) Jean L. Briggs (1974) and Lee Guemple (1986). They worked on sexual roles and, more particularly, on the sharing of tasks between Inuit men and women. Bernard Saladin d'Anglure (1977, 1978, 1980, 1986), Yvonne Guérin (1982) and Jarich Oosten (1983, 1986, 1989, 1995) also documented the symbolic dimension of sexual distinctions between men and women. The notion of gender among the Inuit was also the main topic of two issues of *Études/Inuit/Studies* in 1986 and 1990 and of a 1988 issue of *Anthropologie et Sociétés*.

In the Canadian Arctic context, there seem to be two different kinds of ethnographies: those describing and classifying the sharing of tasks and those interested in the symbolic meaning of being a man or a woman in Inuit cosmology.

I will first review briefly the ethnographies that describe the roles, as they are still relevant today, of Inuit men and women, even if the ethnographies only superficially portray realities much more complex and flexible than those being described. I will afterwards summarize the debate about the symbolic meaning of being a man or a woman in the Inuit context and introduce the interesting point of view of anthropologists who work among native people in Alaska (USA).

Role of Inuit men and women in ethnographies

Rasmussen describes relationships between men and women as depending on an honest friendship. We can read about the *Netsiligmiut* (Inuit from the Pelly Bay area) that:

Man and wife live together like good comrades. Although the wife has been bought, acquired for a sledge, a kayak, or perhaps a piece of rusty iron, she is by no means treated as a chattel that has no right to any consideration. In theory no doubt the husband is lord and master over her and never need ask, as among all primitive peoples. He can do as he likes with his woman. But despite that fact that this is the general and time-honored view there is no sign of subjection. On the contrary, woman's behavior in the home is very self-assertive, and she is not only lively and loud spoken but has considerable authority in both her early and her late years (Rasmussen 1976: 190).

Rasmussen attributes this ease of Inuit women within the dwelling to the division of tasks that he describes as "naturalness": men being providers and women taking care of the usual domestic tasks. We notice that anthropologists and ethnologists who specialize in the Inuit culture largely accept this idea of task division. This is the case with Lee Guemple, for whom the type of work that one carries out is at the base of sexual identity (Guemple 1986: 12). Thus, hunting for big game (seals, bearded seals, walrus and polar bears), the building of dwellings (igloo in winter or tent in summer) and the tools necessary for daily tasks (snow knives, harpoons, kayaks and sleds) were normally allotted to the men. The men also needed to know how to make the various tools used by women, like the *ulu* (the woman's knife), the *qulliq* (the stone lamp), the rectangular cooking pot and the other tools for curing skins. As for women, they had to maintain the flame of the *qulliq*, to prepare food, to take care of the children, to keep up the house, to cure the skins, and to make and repair clothing (Guemple 1986: 13). The ideas proposed by Guemple are likely to have been inspired by Naomi Giffen's findings in her book, *The Rôle of Men and Women in Eskimo Culture* published in 1930. In this important book, Giffen reviewed the classics of ethnography such as the work of Boas, Rasmussen, Birket-Smith, Thalbitzer, Mathiassen and Stefansson and so on. She explored the work of these authors with the division of labour between men and women in mind. She examined every aspect of daily life and noted the tasks exclusively reserved for men and women, the tasks mostly accomplished by men and women and the ones that could be accomplished equally by men and women

These early ethnographies were more descriptive than analytical and started to raise a few methodological and theoretical questions. Some of them stressed the difficulty in developing a clear-cut typology of so-called male and female tasks, because of the flexibility of the division of labour, such as in instances when women would go hunting to ensure the food supply when men were absent or occupied with other tasks and men cooked or repaired their clothing when no women were available to help. Guemple

believes that: "Now it should be understood that this division of labor by gender was purely conventional and had little to do with a differential distribution of skills and perhaps nothing whatever to do with knowledge" (Guemple 1986: 13). Giffen has effectively pointed out exceptions. On this subject she wrote that: "Though there are occasional instances of women engaging in procuring animals on land or ice, they are no doubt exceptional" (Giffen 1975: 3). She, for example, describes a woman who was recognized as a skilful hunter on Cookburn Island (North of Iglulik).

The task distribution between the sexes did not seem as rigid as some ethnologists had thought it was. That is why we think it more appropriate to look at this phenomenon in terms of complementarity instead of opposition between the sexes; in terms of distribution instead of division of tasks. Asen Balikci raised the importance of looking at gender relations as complementary. He explains, about the *Netsilingmiut* (Inuit from Netsilik area), that: "The male and female technical tasks were so rigorously complementary, however, that these ownership rights, albeit individual, had meaning only when they were functioning together as one economic unit" (Balikci 1970: 104). For the same author, it is not necessarily easy to approach Inuit gender relations in hierarchical terms. The authority that men exercise over their wives is also to be questioned:

... the father was the recognized head of the family, responsible for all major decisions, essentially those involving family location and movement. He did not interfere in his wife's sphere of activity, there she enjoyed considerable autonomy. And there are cases, to be described later on, indicating that a wife could successfully influence her husband in practically any decision (Balikci 1970: 109).

In addition, the decision-making role was no more a question of sex than it was a question of age, experiences and strong personalities. He indicates that the strong personalities who made important decisions were frequently elderly women (Balikci 1970: 149).

Presenting the various distinctions between the sexes as a typology was not really representative of an Inuit perspective. It seems that reality is much more complex. It could be more relevant to view Inuit gender relations from the larger perspective of Inuit cosmology. Some authors have particularly taken care to avoid using classifications inspired by Western models when analyzing relations between Inuit men and women. The contributions of Jean L. Briggs (1974), Bernard Saladin d'Anglure (1986), Yvonne Guérin (1982) and Jarich Oosten (1995, 1989, 1986, 1983) are worthy of mention, since all were more interested in a symbolic approach and the meaning of being a man or a woman from an Inuit cosmological perspective. To be added to the list is research by anthropologists working among Yup'ik and Iñupiat people from Alaska (Fienup-Riordan 1988, 1994, 2000; Bodenhorn 1988, 1990; Chaussonnet 1988; Johnston 1988) who tried to stress the complementarities between men and women from the perspective of Yup'ik

or Iñupiat cosmologies, instead of contrasting them and/or using a hierarchical point of view.

First, there is much debate about Inuit (Yup'ik and Iñupiat) cosmology, some, like Saladin d'Anglure, for instance, seeing gender relations as the basis of Inuit cosmology while others, like Fienup-Riordan, considering that the relations between humans and animals are more fundamental.

Saladin d'Anglure (1986) introduced the concept of "third sex" to the debate in answer to all the studies published on gender in the Inuit context. He traces back the beginning of an interest in the relation between men and women among Inuit to the 1930s, with the ethnographies of Rasmussen and Giffen. More studies dedicated to the activities of Inuit women were published in the 1970s and 1980s (Guédon 1968; Dufour 1984, 1988; etc.). The important contribution of the article of Jean L. Briggs (1974), which is, according to him, the first one to question the problem of sex categories inspired by the Western context and used to analyze Inuit reality. Saladin d'Anglure seems nevertheless amazed that there is no larger debate around the question of gender among the Inuit, as, from his perspective, they are the basis of Inuit cosmology.

In a more critical way, according to the same author, classification based on Cartesian logic had the effect of eliminating all the exceptions that would have highlighted the importance of possible overlapping of the border between the sexes in Inuit cosmology. He believes that the concept of flexibility also harmed the debate in a sense that it was used to hide the incapacity of ethnologists "to classify" certain cases in their analysis framework. Anthropologists did not perceive the importance of the presence of the "third sex" characterized by the capacity of a person to cross the borders between genders, which would be neither completely female, nor totally male, but somewhere in-between.

This "third sex" appears on an axis divided into three levels: on the first level the fetus (uterus); on the second level the socialization period from childhood to adolescence (igloo); and on the third level the shaman (heavenly firmament). On the fetal level, the *sipiniit* (babies who change sex right after birth) and intra-uterine recollections seem to indicate the presence of an overlapping of the gender border by the "third sex". On the childhood level, during socialization, the name(s) attributed to the child is one of the key elements of identity construction. At this stage of life, there are several degrees of overlapping: psychic, since there is a diversity of sexual identities caused by the naming system; clothing-related, because some children can be cross-dressed; technological, because certain children learn to use the instruments of the other sex; and, finally, symbolic, because certain ritual injunctions, usually attributed to the other sex, can be prescribed. It was normally after a girl's first menstruation and after a boy's first killing of big game that children would become adults and take their respective roles. The shaman's level and the cosmic forces contain different space-times: mythical, dream, trance, spirits, souls and shaman. Saladin d'Anglure presents five portraits of shamans (3 men and 2 women) from the Iglulik area who represented, for him, the embodiment of the "third sex". He was able to bring out a certain number of constants that indicate that these

shamans had crossed, at some point in their lives, the border between the sexes. Saladin d'Anglure believes that the members of the "third sex" are not marginal in the Inuit context, but are instead at the centre of social reproduction (from fetus to shaman).

But the theory of the "third sex" is also criticized by Jarich Oosten, who is sceptical of the relevance of the "third sex" category in the Inuit context because it is not an Inuit concept (Oosten 1989, 1995). From Oosten's perspective it is delicate to reduce Inuit cosmology to a question of gender. He explains that: "... the contrast between male and female appears to lose its significance with regard to reincarnation, the name and conceptions of the soul. Neither the name nor the soul is male or female" (Oosten 1989: 334)

Beside his "third sex" theory, Saladin d'Anglure also thinks that Inuit men dominated women (1977, 1978). According to his analysis, the frequent desire of Inuit families for male infants, the fear of seeing a baby boy turning into a girl at birth (*sipiniit*), the infanticide mainly practised on girls, and the practices of polygyny and spouse swapping are all signs of male domination among the Inuit. He also looked at Inuit mythology to support his theory of male domination. But this analysis is criticized by Yvonne Gu  rin (1982) who is not convinced of male domination among the Inuit. After looking at the oral tradition about *sipiniit*, the naming system, the infanticide in various northern regions and the Inuktitut terms that are used in various variants of different myths, she concludes that there is no clear evidence of a domination relationship among the Inuit. As she notes, Jean Briggs (1974) also believes that even though social conflicts existed between husband and wife, they are not clear proof of a domination relationship (Gu  rin 1982: 151).

Briggs, in her article "Eskimo Women: Makers of Men" (1974), thinks that we not only have to pay attention to our own influences, but that we also have to be careful with hasty generalizations which could lessen the richness of the individual experiences of Inuit women. Briggs pursued a part of her research in the *Netsilingmiut* region where infanticide of female babies was once practised for a certain time. This context brought her to question the value attributed to female members in the *Netsilingmiut* context. She does not think that this practice inevitably indicates that men had a low view of women. Once a baby, whether a boy or girl, is accepted by the family members, it receives the same love and attention. Briggs believes that it is maybe the value attributed to life by the Inuit that is different from our own view "... Eskimos do not place the same absolute value on life that we do, so that children have to "apply for admittance", they are not simply accepted on the ground that they happen to be born" (Briggs 1974: 295). Once the babies are admitted, they are socialized and they learn, among other things, the sexual roles during their childhood. She notices that the children often learn by imitating their parents executing their daily tasks. Even if the boys tended to imitate their father and the girls their mother, she notices that it was not uncommon to see little boys backpacking babies or playing with dolls.

Her article also questions the perception of several anthropologists about the disparity in sharing of daily tasks. Some of them believe that women have heavier tasks

than their husbands do: "... such observers forget about times when the women are sitting comfortably at home in their warm *qammaqs* or *iglus*, drinking tea and chatting, while the men are out in subzero winds and blinding snow trying to find a seal or bringing home a load of fish from a cache 50 or 60 miles away" (Briggs 1974: 274). She also mentions that, according to the comments she collected from women, they do not particularly seem to envy the situation of their husbands. Certain authors mention that Inuit women were subordinated to their husbands. But Briggs points out that one of the characteristics of a good leader is to listen to followers and notes that an Inuit woman dissatisfied with a decision by her husband could always find a means to express her dissatisfaction and be listened to. As for capacities of judgment, there is a noticeable complementarity between men and women. According to Briggs' data, "Men have better judgment concerning the things they have been taught and women have better judgment concerning the things they have been taught" (Briggs 1974: 288). It is thus not evident that Inuit women are less appreciated than men are. There is much to indicate that men and women need each other. Briggs ends by observing that it would be interesting to know how much Inuit women would have liked being born men and vice versa. She also notices the interesting fact that *sipiniit* (babies who change sex right after birth) go generally from male to female and not vice versa. She concludes by asserting that there indeed are conflicting relations among the Inuit, but these conflicts do not seem to be necessarily based on gender. We also found this interpretation of complementarity between husband and wife among anthropologists who work in Alaska.

Among anthropologists who work among the native people of Alaska, the trend is not to explain the basis of Inuit cosmology in terms of gender relations as Saladin d'Anglure does, but rather to stress the fundamental importance of human/animal relations (Fienup-Riordan 1988, 1990a, 1990b, 1994, 2000; Bodenhorn 1988, 1990; Chaussonnet 1988; Johnston 1988). For these authors, Inuit (or Yup'ik, or Iñupiat) people depend on the abundance of game to survive, so it is primordial for Inuit to preserve good relations with the animals. To preserve these relations, they have to follow many limitations and restrictions. Women were certainly not forgotten because they actively took part in hunting activities. Barbara Bodenhorn (1990) argues that hunting activities are not only about catching game, but are a whole set of symbolic and technical activities in which men and women are active and interdependent. She explains that: "Among Iñupiat, as among Northern hunters in general, hunting is a sacred act. Animals give themselves up to men whose wives are generous and skillful; it is also the man's responsibility to treat the animal properly, but it is women to whom the animal comes" (Bodenhorn 1990: 61). Among the Inuit, the concept of personhood is not only restricted to human beings but also includes non-human beings like animals, plants, ancestors, and all other kinds of non-humans ("spirits"). The animal person shares some ontological characteristics with the human person, such as awareness of their environment and the possibility of taking an active part in it. So the animal chooses to give itself to the hunter and family who know how to treat game correctly. In this way, the women take an active part in the process. They could please, seduce and attract game by, for example, sharing their meat with generosity and sewing their skin skilfully (Fienup-Riordan 1988; Chaussonnet 1988; Johnston 1988; Bodenhorn 1988, 1990; Briggs 1974). Thomas Johnston states that, in the Iñupiat oral tradition, there are stories and songs about how the

woman's magic needle "makes the hunter" (Johnston 1988: 168).² Instead of explaining the relationships between Inuit men and women by opposing them to each other, the anthropologists who work among the native people of Alaska choose to present men and women as partners who are parts of a cosmological whole where the relations between humans and animals are fundamental.

Though the debate between those who think that gender relations are the basis of Inuit cosmology and others who rather think that the relations between humans and animals are more important is for some very interesting, others, such as Jarich Oosten, think it is artificial (Oosten 1995: 84). He bases this assertion on the fact that "... in the Central Arctic we can not separate the relations between animals and human beings from those between the genders in Inuit society. They are part of the same discourse and presuppose each other" (Oosten 1995: 85).

Conclusion

The relation (or the interrelation) between men and women is incontestably a pertinent subject in Inuit culture. Although several studies have been completed, there is still a lot to be accomplished to fully understand the phenomenon. Most of the research done in the Eastern Canadian Arctic, until now, has used classifications or emphasized a hierarchical point of view and created an opposition between Inuit men and Inuit women, and between hunting activities and other activities mainly done by women. A few authors, who have worked among the *Nunavumiut* like Giffen (1930) Balikci (1970) and Briggs (1974), have stressed the possibility of complementarity and reciprocity between men and women in Inuit culture.

I am especially interested in and inspired by the research done among Alaskan Yup'ik and Iñupiat and the relevance of approaching the question of relations between men and women as a part of a cosmological whole. I think this point of view could be a good starting point to go further in understanding of Inuit cosmology in general and more particularly of social relations among the different components of that cosmological whole. There might be many ways to approach this topic. Barraud has proposed analysis of kinship terms. I do not claim to be a specialist when it comes to the Inuit kinship system, so the existing data available will help me in my understanding

It could be relevant to go further and analyze the mythology³, the rituals, and the informal and formal discourses and observe the upbringing, socialization and daily life in general among different actors. I plan to make observations of various contexts and try to find where the distinctions and/or complementarities are particularly meaningful. I will also try to pursue an exhaustive analysis of Inuktitut

² As my research is conducted among an Inuit community of Nunavut, it is important to note that this saying about the woman's needle that "makes the hunter" is also present among the *Nunavumiut* (Briggs 1974: 288).

³ Some interesting analyses have already been presented by Birgitte Sonne (1990), Saladin d'Anglure (1977, 1978, 1980, 1983, 1986), Blaisel & Aranakak (1993) and Oosten (1983).

terms by studying the actors' standpoints. Dorais, in his short paper "Agiter l'homme pour attraper la femme: la sémantique des sexes en langue inuit" (Shaking the Male to Catch the Female: The Semantics of Sex in Inuit Language) (1986) explains that even if there is no gender in Inuktitut, Inuit are able to express the differences between sexes when relevant. He proposes an interesting brief analysis of kinship terms, which designate the difference between the sexes. This will be useful in my research. The important point in my work is to avoid using Western conceptions to figure out what happens in an Inuit context.

While reading the books of the *Interviewing Inuit Elders* and *Inuit Perspectives on the 20th Century* collections, I chose to study the area of Kivalliq because it seemed to be particularly rich and there is not much research done there. I have been able to verify this during two stays there (winter 2003 and fall 2004). One book influenced me particularly, *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit: Shamanism and Reintegrating Wrongdoers into the Community* edited by Jarich Oosten and Frédéric Laugrand. This book has been of invaluable help not only in determining the geographical region of my research, but also in specifying the framework of my project. I noticed that Laugrand's and Oosten's interviews in Kangiq&liniq, were mainly conducted with men. Thus, I thought it would be relevant and interesting to try to supplement the data with accounts from Inuit women. As a matter of fact, we more often find accounts from men on various aspects of Inuit life. That is why I want to focus on Inuit women's perspectives during my Ph. D. studies.

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Explaining social problems of Inuit through their modes of social integration¹

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Abstract: To overcome the ideological bias of colonial discourse on Inuit social problems, we look at some of the contemporary sociological determinants of suicide, violence, alcohol and drug abuse, etc. Without neglecting the historical causes that are crucial to understanding of Inuit social problems, we focus on Inuit modes of "social integration" observed in daily life today: "normative integration" (compatibility of norms and values), "instrumental integration" (availability, legitimacy and efficiency of means enabling individuals to realize their goals), and "interactional integration" (social networks allowing individuals to get social support and to participate in their community). In this paper, some of our theoretical concepts and research hypotheses are presented in conjunction with the scientific literature on Inuit social problems. These concepts and hypotheses could also be applied to other societies, including Western societies. In our opinion, Inuit society shares enough similarities with non-Aboriginal social groups to legitimize the use of a common approach, even though some important Inuit and Arctic specificities have to be taken into account. The main objective of this text is to propose some reflections on the general correlation between social integration and social problems, and at the same time present how this correlation is applicable to Inuit realities.

Keywords: social problem, social integration, social norms, socialization, social control.

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Introduction

Nowadays, our understanding of Inuit social problems—such as suicide, family violence, juvenile delinquency, criminality and psychological distress—is partly influenced by ideologies in the scientific community, in Arctic and non-Arctic populations and among people working on Inuit social issues (government employees, individuals involved in community groups, etc.). One of these widespread ideologies can be called "colonial discourse" on Inuit social problems. This ideological explanation is based on two historical events: 1) the period from the first encounters of Euro-Canadians with Inuit centuries ago to the mid-20th century; and 2) the massive State intervention in the North since around the 1950s. According to this ideology, these historical events changed Inuit social structures, and consequently led to a major increase in social problems among the Inuit. Even though this "colonization" happened at least decades ago, it is presented as the principal cause of contemporary Inuit social problems within colonial discourse, thus emphasizing the negative consequences of colonization. As an ideology, colonial discourse blames other people and another historical period, while neglecting contemporary determinants and the role of Inuit society itself in the present situation. One ideological tool of colonial discourse is the victimization of Inuit, who are therefore seen as passive actors with little or no control over their behaviours and conditions. Following this logic, Inuit would not necessarily be responsible, individually and collectively, for the social problems they are experiencing. But colonial discourse is an abstraction that cannot be completely found in reality. In fact, some people or organizations adopt this rhetoric, or some of its elements, while others reject it. Moreover, besides colonial discourse, there are many other important explanations of Inuit social problems (e.g., economic, genetic or gender explanations). Nevertheless, colonial discourse is significantly shaping the interpretation of Inuit social problems by a substantial amount of people from different social spheres (for more details and references about "colonial discourse" on Inuit social problems see Morin 2004).

Part of our approach is to overcome the ideological bias of colonial discourse, by analyzing some of the contemporary sociological determinants of Inuit social problems. Without neglecting the historical causes that are crucial to understanding Inuit social problems, we will focus on Inuit modes of "social integration" in daily life today. In short, social integration refers to norms and values, means to fulfil aspirations, and social networks allowing individuals and groups to achieve well-being. In this paper, some of our theoretical concepts and research hypotheses are presented in conjunction with the scientific literature on Inuit social problems. These concepts and hypotheses could also be applied to other societies, including Western societies. In our opinion, Inuit society shares enough similarities with non-Aboriginal social groups to legitimize the use of a common approach, even though some important Inuit and Arctic specificities have to be taken into account. The main objective of this text is to propose some reflections on the general correlation between social integration and social problems, and at the same time present how this correlation is applicable to Inuit realities.

Theory and hypotheses – Inuit modes of social integration and related social problems

Our general hypothesis refers to "social integration" as one of the variables allowing a better understanding of the existence and configurations of social problems. As outlined earlier, the concept of social integration generally consists of social mechanisms whereby social actors can obtain well-being in their social lives. We do not pretend that there is necessarily a direct and unidirectional association between social integration and social problems. Conversely, it is possible that social problems can influence social integration as well. Yet, for the purpose of this particular text, we will concentrate on hypotheses addressing the influence of social integration on social problems. Our notion of social integration is here divided into three modes: "normative integration" (compatibility of norms and values), "instrumental integration" (availability, legitimacy and efficiency of means enabling individuals to realize their goals), and "interactional integration" (social networks allowing individuals to get social support and to participate in their community).

Normative integration

In our view, social integration must be composed of a double compatibility on the normative level (social norms and values): 1) between collective norms; and 2) between collective and individual norms. On the one hand, normative compatibility would rest on the coherence of what Durkheim called the "collective consciousness," i.e., a set of common values (Martuccelli 1999: 37). Social norms and values collectively promoted will appear to be compatible if they are not radically opposed to each other and when they lead to similar ideals. On the other hand, this compatibility could also be observed between the normative patterns of individuals and those of the society. In this regard, we suppose that an individual or a group will be and feel integrated if their norms and values generally match those of their society and are not in conflict with the latter.

At least two mechanisms are at play in order to reach normative integration to some extent: socialization and social control. Socialization refers to the procedures for transmitting and learning norms and values. Social control means the processes through which members of a social group encourage each other to respect the rules they have given themselves, like social sanctions or constraints (Cusson 1992: 407).

One of our specific hypotheses raises the issue of normative under-integration. Such under-integration could be observed when socialization and social control do not appear to be efficient in teaching individuals about well established norms and associated sanctions. This normative context leaves individuals with a lack of understanding in terms of social rules, and sometimes opens the door to deviant behaviours such as delinquency (Fréchette and Leblanc 1987: 155, from Cusson 1992: 406).

An example of normative under-integration could be observed among Inuit, for instance when it comes to their child-rearing patterns. On this matter, it is occasionally affirmed that some Inuit may have a tendency not to frustrate, contradict or confront their children (Graburn 2002). If this situation is true, are young Inuit properly prepared for modern adult life if they are not confronted with the consequences of their acts and the social rules that surround them? This phenomenon has been associated with conjugal violence and suicide:

Quite often the responsibility [about conjugal violence] is actually placed with the perpetrator's parents, primarily his mother, who are assumed to have done him a disservice by spoiling him. A male informant thus said: "I think that parents are mistaken whenever they inculcate such (violent) tendencies by letting their children get away with such acts unchallenged, but in many ways women have brought the (violent) situation on themselves as well as the men who beat them up". ... my informant stressed the point that parents, especially mothers, have failed to live up to their responsibilities. Seemingly, the violent men can neither be held responsible for their acts and behaviour nor be expected to change their attitudes (Sørensen 1990: 102).

In some Aboriginal groups, child-rearing practices aimed at developing self-reliance involve teasing or playful threats of abandonment that may also foster insecurity about relationships and intense dependency needs. This may leave individuals vulnerable to depression and self-harm in situations of loss or deprivation (Briggs 1982). Similarly, socialization may also inhibit other-directed aggression and increase the likelihood of self-directed aggression in times of frustration or loss (Briggs 1983). Presumably, child-rearing practices interact with the temperamental differences discussed above to make individuals more or less vulnerable to suicide. However, the impact of cultural variations in child-rearing on personality remains a controversial issue. The profound changes in Aboriginal settlement life have also rendered many traditional child-rearing practices difficult to apply or inappropriate and may be creating new problems. Clearly, this is an area in urgent need of systematic study (Kirmayer et al. 1994: 28).

We are still quite ignorant about this issue, and we have no answers for now. It is a difficult question to address also because it is a sensitive one. But since the literature underlines the possible relationship between child-rearing patterns and Inuit social problems, and since our qualitative data (interviews in two Canadian Inuit communities) contain fruitful indications in this regard (children being "spoiled," for instance), we think that this may be a fertile way to look at normative integration when it comes to Inuit. In

short, it brings up the question of whether Inuit child-rearing practices fit the contemporary world they live in.

Over centuries in the Arctic prior to settlement in permanent communities, the Inuit developed a set of non-confrontational informal social controls, based primarily upon the avoidance of other's detrimental behaviour, that were especially well suited for group survival in the harsh arctic environment. However, as Ross (1992) has shown, those non-confrontational ways of dealing with anti-social behaviour have not been successful in the permanent settlements the Inuit and other native Canadians inhabit today (Wood 1997: 134).

Are these non-confrontational modes of socialization and social control appropriate for modern formal education systems and the capitalist labour market now in place in the circumpolar North? What are the consequences of such normative mechanisms in Inuit life today?

Tolerance for deviance also reveals a form of normative under-integration, where behaviours, though perceived to be problematic, are not suppressed for different reasons. Norms are then in place, but they are not brought into force or controlled.

It seems that some Inuit would have a tendency to tolerate deviant behaviours to some extent, by justifying, ignoring or minimizing them (Briggs 1985, from Kirmayer et al. 1993: 64), or because it is considered to be "other people's business" (Raybeck 1988, from Kirmayer et al. 1993: 67; Durst 1991: 370). For example, mental and physical toughness are valued traits for some Inuit, and they sometimes choose to intervene in the actions of deviants only when threats of violence and aggression are unusually strong or when their personal safety is in question (Searles 1998: 146). Following a similar logic, conjugal violence is somewhat tolerated and legitimate, while some Inuit tend to use expressions such as "they fight" (meaning that it's not their problem, and that there is no particular victim) and sometimes assume that the women deserved it, according to Sørensen (1990: 94). If violence is tolerated to some extent, violent behaviour when alcohol is involved also seems to be an acceptable combination (Wood 1997: 37). "It seems to be culturally recognized that men - and woman, to a lesser degree - can undergo a transformation of personality [including becoming violent] in their state of intoxication, and this may well serve as an excuse afterwards" (Sørensen 1990: 98).

Whether it is in terms of tolerance for deviance or child-rearing patterns, it seems important to look at the role of socialization and social control in the normative context of the Inuit, and how these processes prevent or encourage behaviours linked to social problems.

Continuing on the subject of normative integration, we can also look at norm conflicts in terms of social problems. Again, the Inuit are no exception as illustrated by the so-called "traditional" versus "modern" norm conflict. Today, there is a discourse,

quite widely used, explaining what it is to be a "true" Inuk (eating country food, speaking the Inuit language, going out on the land, hunting, fishing, respecting elders, sharing, etc.) (Jaccoud 1995: 252). For example:

To become an Inuk, teenage boys must, at the age of 19 (an age boundary set by their parents), acquire the financial capital to support land activities which will allow them to become self-reliant and competent hunters. To become a hunter is the fundamental criterion of being male, adult and Inuk. Since contemporary Northern economic conditions make such a transition in the late teens impossible, teenagers must devise alternate social realities to nourish and sustain positive identities through this transitional period (O'Neil 1984: 287).

This discourse also explains what is not a "true" Inuk (making money, selling country food, living in the South, etc.). Do individuals have to conform to "Inuit" or "non-Inuit" norms, or both, to be socially integrated? If some people do not want to be a "true" Inuk as defined by their society, what social sanctions or pressure will they experience? If their values are incompatible with those of their community, how are they going to deal with this conflict? Are they going to be labelled as deviants? Admittedly, this discourse uses abstract categories that are not always perfectly observable in Inuit daily life, but pressures to act like a "true" Inuk, as sometimes socially promoted, can possibly disturb individual well-being. Also, being a "true" Inuk requires some means or, in our jargon, a minimum of "instrumental integration" as described below.

Instrumental integration

Individuals do not only need to have compatible norms; they also have to possess the means to meet these norms to be socially integrated (Merton [1938]). Instrumental integration refers to the availability, legitimacy and efficiency of means enabling individuals to realize their goals. First, if these means are not available locally, possibilities of integration might be limited. An individual wanting to get an education to find a fulfilling job and unable to get access to an appropriate educational infrastructure could face a problem of unavailable means of integration. Second, the means have to be legitimate, i.e., socially accepted. To steal is a way to obtain material goods or to be integrated into certain groups (e.g., organized crime). Nevertheless, stealing is generally a severely criticized act, and consequently an illegitimate means of integration. Third, the efficiency of the means of integration is important as well. They must effectively allow individuals to conform to social norms and to meet their social aspirations. Dropping out of school can be seen as an inefficient means to reach a goal, for instance, financial success in a skilled job. In short, the means of integration can be of different types: material (infrastructure, money, etc.), experiences (education, travelling, etc.) or individuals (social support, professional contacts, etc.). These are the various means used by individuals and social groups to achieve goals, aspirations, etc.

This raises the question of whether the Inuit have appropriate means of integration. Lack of education for skilled jobs among the Inuit is sometimes emphasized as a significant obstacle to Inuit fulfilment, especially among men (Kirmayer et al. 1993: 57). Elias (1996) has demonstrated that a lack of job opportunities leads to an increase in social problems in Canadian Aboriginal communities.

As mentioned earlier, "many Inuit believe that another important aspect of male Inuit identity is developing an ability to hunt (Condon et al. 1995; Stairs 1992), and hunting opportunities are often unavailable to the young offenders simply because they belong to households lacking active hunters" (Searles 1998: 144). Also, such food procurement is carried out using store-bought manufactured equipment (e.g., firearms, motorized vehicles) and often requires substantial capital investment (Duhaime, Chabot and Fr chet 1998: 22-23). In addition to the monetary factor, the feasibility of food procurement depends on a number of factors, including weather and seasonal availability of resources, as well as fluctuations in animal populations and their accessibility. Participation of Northern residents in hunting, fishing, and gathering varies widely across the Arctic. In larger communities, participation is only occasional and sporadic; in smaller communities, it is often widespread. Even where participation is limited, many residents view this kind of social participation as vital to cultural identity and survival (Duhaime et al. 2002), but the means to accomplish these activities are uncertain.

Interactional integration

To reach a state of relative social integration, a society needs more than compatible norms and the means to meet them; individuals have to interact together and participate in common projects of various kinds. Interactional integration refers to the characteristics of social networks (family, household members, friends, neighbours, health professionals, etc.) allowing individuals 1) to get social support and 2) to participate in their community.

Social support is observed when individuals get affection, security and help from other people (Thoits 1982, from Lechasseur 1989: 32). Four functions can be related to social support: "emotional" (demonstration of tenderness, approval, love, etc.), "instrumental" (practical assistance in daily life), "communicational" (meeting people who enable individuals to meet other people) and "problem solving" (advice in order to find answers to some important personal problems or daily worries) (Carpentier and White 2001: 294).

As for social participation, it can be divided into four categories that are neither exhaustive nor exclusive: "associative" (community groups, public events or meetings, collective sport activities, etc.); "political" (voting, getting involved in a political party, etc.); "economic" (salaried jobs, informal domestic duties, etc.); and "academic" (formal learning activities: secondary, postsecondary or vocational training).

Knowing that Inuit populations are experiencing the problem of crowded housing (Health and Welfare Canada 1991: 15, from Barsh 1994: 22; Larsen 1992: 221;

Bjerregaard and Young 1998: 187; Kleivan 1985: 705; Wood 1997: 139), it appears crucial to address the question of interactional over-integration.

First, living closely in a restrained area can possibly lead to obligations of reciprocity between individuals. In the case of social support, individuals give, but occasionally expect something in return. Therefore, a social network can eventually create demanding norms of mutual aid (Carpentier and White 2001: 291), especially when resources are limited. It is possibly the situation for relatively small Inuit communities, where it is difficult to ignore relatives and the usually concomitant obligations of reciprocity. For example, it might be hard to avoid such obligations when your needy grandmother lives very close to you. On this point, bigger towns seem to be better places for escape from demanding obligations, in relative anonymity. Moreover, some voluntary helpers are sometimes exhausted because they feel obliged to help or because the conditions of people in need are critical. It has been pointed out that some Inuit women suffer from these obligations of reciprocity (Kirmayer et al. 1993: 57).

Interactional over-integration can also appear in the form of particularly strict, indeed even problematic, social control of an individual's behaviours (notably because such control might be easier to exercise in a restrained area). If many generations share the same household, it is important to pay special attention to intergenerational norm conflicts. Also, to achieve social aspirations while almost inevitably having to report one's actions to peers and confront their possible criticisms might be problematic. Similar hypotheses can be applied at the community level. We can interpret such circumstances as normative over-integration created by interactional over-integration. Family and community morphological structures can thus be stifling for individuals and possibly lead them into a state of psychological distress or other social problems. For example, gossip, a form of sanctions or social control, is reported to be a significant phenomenon among Inuit.

One can also bring up the question of whether Inuit can fully participate in their society from a political, economic, academic and associative point of view. We are then addressing the issue in terms of interactional under-integration. For example, boredom has been documented as a substantial problem for young Inuit (O'Neil 1984: 202), being notably linked to suicide (Kirmayer et al. 1993: 58).

Clinically, some Inuit adolescents mention boredom as their reason for attempting suicide, giving the superficial appearance that it is a casual act (Kirmayer, Corin, Corriveau & Fletcher 1993). Boredom is a common complaint among youth who feel there is a lack of activities or opportunities for them in their community. The use of the term "boredom" as a reason for suicide may reflect a cultural style of minimizing or denying distress, a reluctance to acknowledge difficulty in coping, or a simple description of feelings of alienation and emptiness. In many cases, further inquiry leads to more explicit expressions of suffering, and acknowledgment of loss of relationships,

intolerable family circumstances, or depression (Kirmayer et al. 1994: 37).

Being aware that youth centres have been in place in some Inuit villages for only a couple of years makes us wonder whether Inuit youth have enough possibilities and infrastructure to encourage social participation, especially knowing that associative participation has been documented as an efficient strategy to cope with stress for Inuit youth:

... "recreational" activities can be vitally important to young people on many different levels. For the ... [young teenagers] particularly, recreating is the fundamental coping style to create situations and understandings which alleviate the pressure associated with entering other sectors of village life. Their recreational activities contribute to greater self-confidence and self-esteem, and to the definition of an identity as "players" which protects them from the anxiety they feel about becoming "hunters", "workers", "husbands", and "fathers". ... For ... [older teenagers], recreational activities are opportunities to express their solidarity with the larger community and to resolve some of the tensions flowing from other sectors of life (O'Neil 1984: 250).

Furthermore in the sphere of interactional under-integration, it is acknowledged in the literature that there is a sort of "law of silence," meaning that Inuit tend to avoid talking about their personal problems or social problems in general, subjects that are considered taboo. Among other things, it would be true for suicide (Jaccoud 1995: 233) and family violence (Durst 1991: 365) among some Inuit.

Owing to their isolation and complex web of family relations, there may be intense taboos in some communities against exposing and confronting family violence and abuse. Lack of opportunity and support to confront the problems leaves victims to struggle alone with their pain and so many contribute substantially to the risk of suicide (Kirmayer et al. 1994: 29).

For this reason, statistics about conjugal violence do not provide a complete picture of the situation. Some victims refuse to denounce their spouses, afraid that he or she could act out of revenge (Sørensen 1990: 95).

Crowded housing, obligations of reciprocity, strict social control, boredom, forbidden subjects... These are indications that more research is needed on Inuit social networks in relation to individual and collective well-being, i.e., in terms of interactional integration.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the concepts listed below can be used to address Inuit social problems, while avoiding the "colonial discourse" discussed earlier. The use of these concepts is not specific to Inuit populations, as they are also applied to non-Aboriginal and Western societies. This approach simply means that an explanation only based on historical and ethnic specificities—such as "colonial discourse"—is not sufficient to understand Inuit social problems.

Theoretical framework

Social problems		Social integration	
		Integration modes	Disintegration modes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Suicide • Family violence • Juvenile delinquency • Substance abuse • Criminality • Psychological distress 	↔	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Normative integration • Socialization • Social control 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Norm conflicts • Normative over-integration • Normative under-integration
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instrumental integration • Available, legitimate and efficient means to fulfil social aspirations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instrumental under-integration
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interactional integration (social networks) • Social support (emotional, instrumental, communicational, problem solving) • Social participation (economic, academic, associative, political) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Obligations of reciprocity • Normative and interactional over-integration • Interactional under-integration (social isolation)

Finally, social integration has to be interpreted carefully. Although social integration can be associated with collective and individual well-being, it is not a "recipe for happiness." In the first place, social integration cannot be quantified, as one might quantify a poverty level for example. The borderline between social integration and disintegration is a vague one. Individuals or groups may be (or feel) integrated in certain respects and not integrated in other aspects of their social lives, while positively perceiving their well-being. Also, social integration does not have a monopoly on sources of well-being. It is only one of many ingredients included in the complex recipe of individuals and collective well-being. Following this logic, the compatibility of norms and values, and the potential of means of integration as well as social networks, do not have to be perfect or settled in a particular way. The main idea is that a defect in terms of normative, instrumental or interactional integration can, theoretically, undermine individual or collective well-being. Empirical analysis must then come into play to verify these theoretical questions, for instance with regard to Inuit populations.

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What I saw

Saali Mikijuk*

Editor's Note: On her own initiative, Saali Mikijuk approached us during the seminar to ask if it would be possible to present a personal testimony on the issue of alcohol use and abuse in Nunavut, in the form of a short written essay, to be read in her presence not by herself, but by her colleague Maaki Kakkik. We readily agreed, since one of our goals in organizing the seminar had been to include a number of contributions from the local community and, more particularly, from the Inuit. This presentation was a very moving experience for all seminar participants, who were exposed—in a very direct fashion and with occasional crude words—to the harsh reality of the detrimental effects of alcohol abuse on individual, family and community lives in Iqaluit and its vicinity. After the presentation, this testimony was published in an edited form in 2004, by the Nunavut Department of Education, in the Teacher's and Student Handbook, Curriculum and School Services, Aulajaaqtut 11. With the author's permission, it is republished here in its original version, with only a few typographical corrections and without the discussion with the seminar participants, which touched on a variety of topics, like trends in alcohol use and abuse in Northern Canada, liquor licensing rules in Nunavut as compared to Greenland and Siberia, relationships between alcohol abuse and criminal actions in the communities, local support and healing offered in the communities, etc.

When the Legislative Assembly appointed a Liquor Board last year¹, I was watching the live telecast at home with my son and started being flooded by memories of the time Iqaluit was more lenient with the alcohol issue. When Iqaluit considered alcohol a staple.

I spent most of my summers out camping with my mother and relatives. The brief time I spent the summers here, this is what I saw:

I saw my father transform from a loving, caring, busy man into a raving, angry lazy alcoholic.

I saw my father often peeing on the floor.

I saw my tiny, little mother pull in my extremely heavy father one winter because he had passed out just outside our house.

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¹ The Nunavut Liquor Licensing Board was created in 1999.

I saw the tent we were sleeping in burn, because the people my father went camping with were partying outside.

I saw my father force my maternal grandfather, who was bedridden at the time, to eat his bodily waste.

I saw two of my playmates dying. I watched the boy taking his last breath. The sister was already dead and lying on the ground. Since the ambulance and other trucks were there, I thought for a minute that they would be okay. I went to a house across the street and the mother came in with her youngest daughter in her *amauti*. She was drunk. At the house I learned that she had left a cigarette and it had rolled down the counter and set the fire to the house, trapping them in their room. Someone told her that her two children were dead just as she was pulling the baby out. In her shock I don't think she realized that she was holding the baby. She let out a wail and threw the baby on the floor, the baby landed on her head. I saw her lose everything.

I saw welts on my namesake's back from being whipped with a belt by his father.

I saw a whole family lose their parents on New Year's Day. The children scattered all over the place, placed in different foster homes.

I saw an old man dead from a house fire. Someone in the house had decided that they were hungry and started cooking, but passed out.

My neighbour found a murder victim during a weekend on the beach. He couldn't sleep for a long time. Even when he did fall asleep he would wake up crying.

I saw two hunters going out and only one coming back.

I saw a man dragging his wife on the ground by the hair during the day.

I saw a woman run naked in the winter. I asked my mother why she had no clothes on in the wintertime. I don't think she answered me.

I saw a woman that was badly beaten by her husband. He had broken her ribs, being curious, I went to check, there were no protruding bones. I did not think at the time that the same thing would happen to me many years later.

I saw people walking into other people's houses and stealing food.

I saw a refrigerator empty save for the jug of water.

I remember my two young nieces coming into our house and telling me that my brother-in-law was beating up my sister. I phoned the police and I remember the exact words the policeman used with me. I explained the situation, and he told me that they couldn't do anything about it because it was a domestic dispute. I asked if it would

become a police matter if he killed her. He asked me for my age. I told him I was 12. They went and stopped the fight.

I saw mothers leave their kids for days at a time.

I saw a toddler doing the dishes and sweeping the floor. He wasn't allowed to cry. There is something very unsettling in seeing a toddler with two black eyes.

I saw a shoot-out occurring down our street. Rather than being arrested, he shot himself.

I saw an under-aged drunk ice hopping and he fell in the water. He yelled at us to go and get his father. We went, the father followed. He told his son to stand up and the water was just to his thighs. The father berated his son all the way home.

I saw a woman that had been stabbed but not dead.

I saw my sister drinking cognac like water.

I saw my oldest sister being tried in court for beating up her husband's girlfriend with a 2x4.

I saw my other sister being tried in court for smashing windows.

I saw one of my uncles grab his sister-in-law by the throat because he said she was too religious.

I saw a man holding a woman down by the throat with a knife.

I saw a man passed out on a honey-bucket.

I saw a mother throw her child against a boulder.

I saw another woman beat up another over \$10.00.

I saw parents handing over their children to social services.

I saw my brother wrestling a gun away from my sister, because she wanted to kill herself, and the gun went off, leaving a hole in our ceiling and the roof. That always leaked, a constant reminder.

I remember a drunk (supposedly respected) elder, who came up to me and examined my face and pronounced me a "half-Breed." I watched the asshole slink off after I barked at him in Inuktitut.

I saw the people I grew up with commit suicide.

I saw my peers using exactly what we saw.

I saw grown people crying when a popular nightspot burned down.

I saw my friends sniffing glue and other toxins.

I saw a group of kids behind a house watching a couple having sex.

We kids would group together to play. There would be at least twenty of us at any given time, safety in numbers. Our favourite past time seemed to be breaking outside lights and setting fires. Of all the things we used to do, I am surprised that I only got caught once. Thank goodness they didn't have a Young Offenders Act then. I have felt the thrill of being chased by drunks. We had chants and teasing songs for each drunk. Even for my father.

I saw us becoming obnoxious, insolent, vulgar teenagers, injecting a swear word into every other word. Swearing is something that I carried into adulthood. My three year old tells me: "Not swear."

I saw myself using the wrong path.

LANGUAGE, ETHNOHISTORY AND YOUTH

Inuit snow terms: How many and what does it mean?

Lawrence D. Kaplan*

Abstract: That Inuit languages have extensive terminology to describe different types of snow was long held as a commonplace of linguistic anthropology since it was first brought up by Boas in 1911. This often repeated proposition was meant to illustrate how the physical adaptation of a people to its environment could be reflected linguistically. More recently, others have reexamined it and sought to expose it as groundless, claiming that these languages do not have a larger index of snow terms than many other languages. The issue is linguistically complex and extends far beyond making a simple count. This paper intends to add information based on Inuit linguistics to this long-standing discussion.

Keywords: Inupiaq, snow terms, linguistics.

The claim that Eskimo¹ languages have numerous words for "snow" has often been repeated and has become familiar to the general public in addition to linguists and anthropologists. The point to be made seems to be that "Eskimo" has some indeterminate number of words—and the numbers given vary in different sources—for a substance which is described in English and most non-Eskimo languages with a much smaller number of words. The existence of snow terms in Eskimo is most often used to show the relationship between the vocabulary of a language and the physical environment in which that language is used. For some reason it is always the Eskimo example that is brought out to illustrate this situation and not the fact that painters may use a wide array of color terms and carpenters know a lot of words pertaining to nails and other hardware. The Eskimo example has entered the realm of popular mythology, having turned into a scholarly equivalent of the urban legend about the poodle in the microwave: everyone is familiar with the story but the exact details are a little sketchy.

Two publications have refocused attention on the snow example. Linguist Geoffrey Pullum in 1991 published *The Great Eskimo Vocabulary Hoax* but first, in 1986, Laura Martin, Professor of Anthropology at Cleveland State University published a report in the *American Anthropologist* entitled "Eskimo Words for Snow: a Case Study in the Genesis and Decay of an Anthropological Example". This interesting article follows the example from the original claim made by Boas in the Introduction to the *Handbook of American Indian Languages* published in 1911 through its many mutations and transmogrifications

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¹ In spite of the controversy surrounding the term Eskimo, I use it because the snow example is almost always attributed to "the Eskimo language", undifferentiated as to which of the six languages and numerous dialects is intended.

as it has been repeated and often amplified in various articles and books and all without reference to primary sources of information. The numerous published dictionaries of Eskimo languages were not consulted and neither were linguists or Inuit. A brief summation of the history of the snow example based on Martin's article follows, showing how the example progressed and took on a life of its own, divorced from any empirical data to support it.

When Boas in 1911 first presented his Eskimo snow terms, it was not in the section of the introduction called "Influence of Environment on Language" as one might suppose but rather in a less enlightening section called "Limitation on the Number of Phonetic Groups Expressing Ideas". The point of the discussion is to show that languages classify things very differently, "that the groups of ideas expressed by specific phonetic groups show very material differences in different languages, and do not conform by any means to the same principles of classification". Boas gives the example of English, where water in various states is denoted by independent, unrelated words, such as lake, river, brook, rain, dew, etc., although another language might conceivably express them by means of derivations from one term. Boas next gives an example comparing snow terms in "Eskimo" to English with its water terms. He gives four "words", *aput* 'snow on the ground,' *qana* 'falling snow,' *piqsiqsuq* 'drifting snow,' and *qimuqsuq* 'snowdrift.' These forms appear to come from a variety of Eastern Canadian Inuktitut, but the source is not given.² Boas goes on to say that the same language has a variety of terms for seals.

This passing reference to Eskimo and the fairly modest claim which it is intended to support are rarely remembered when the snow example is brought up. It is however closely associated with Benjamin Whorf, who in a 1940 article used the example of Eskimo to contrast with English:

"We [English speakers] have the same word for falling snow, snow on the ground, snow hard packed like ice, slushy snow, wind-driven snow --whatever the situation may be. To an Eskimo, this all-inclusive word would be almost unthinkable" (Whorf 1940, in Carroll 1956: 216).

Whorf does not cite Boas and does not give specific data, but he clearly suggests that Eskimo languages have five or more snow words. The example is taken up again in two textbooks published in the late 1950's, *The Silent Language* by Edward Hall and *Words and Things* by Roger Brown and the example is mishandled again, with no serious attention paid to the linguistic data. Carol Eastman continues the tradition of carelessness in her book *Aspects of Language and Culture*, basing a discussion of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis on the snow example, quoting Brown saying that Eskimo has three words for snow and also asserting that "Eskimo languages have many words for snow".

² Boas's *qana* is probably *qannik* or *qanik*, *piqsirpoq* is a verb meaning "there is a snowstorm," and dialect information would be needed to assess the word for 'snowdrift' which appears to be equivalent to *qimugyuk* in Caribou Eskimo, for example.

The snow example has also found its way into the press. A number of articles in Time Magazine, the New York Times, and elsewhere refer to the quantity of words for snow in Eskimo languages and often pull numbers out of thin air, nine in one case, one hundred in another. As a result of this wide discussion, the snow example is widely known and referred to. Amazingly, it has come to be accepted as a commonplace of linguistics and anthropology. Shockingly, it has achieved this status without the benefit of reference to linguistic facts but based on the assumption that these facts must be found someplace, all despite the existence of published sources of Eskimo lexicon that have been accessible for decades.

Given how widespread the snow example has become, it is surprising that it escaped scrutiny for so long. Not until Pullum published his humorous essay "The Great Eskimo Vocabulary Hoax" in the book of the same name was there anything in print giving the view of a specialist on Eskimo languages, since Pullum reports information from the linguist Anthony Woodbury in an appendix. With the exception of Pullum's appendix, Eskimo linguists have ignored this subject, probably seeing it as unworthy of any serious attention. It would be something like an anthropologist writing about whether Eskimos rub noses. But because the example is so widely known and because it has been written about by both linguists and anthropologists, it seems worthwhile to add a perspective informed by Eskimo linguistics.

Martin's article does a fine job of tracking the snow example through its many incarnations, showing how it has been misrepresented and misused. She points out that Eskimo is not a single language, as it seems to be presented by those who have discussed the snow example. She further stresses that the polysynthetic morphology of Eskimo languages renders a discussion of "words" as such almost pointless, since the number of words in these languages is practically infinite due to highly productive patterns of suffixation. It is therefore necessary to establish what would be considered a word in the languages in question, and apparently it must also be decided what is to be considered a "snow term", since Martin and some others see this as part of the issue.

It is correct that Eskimo words are theoretically infinite in number, so that what is phonologically a single word is most often not a lexicalization but a longer combination of elements generated as part of the speech process and not found anywhere in the mental lexicon, much like sentences in more analytic languages like English. These strings of morphemes combined by productive processes can therefore not be considered lexemes; Eskimo dictionaries list word stems that are then subject to inflection or derivation through suffixation. Most noun stems, e.g. *anun* 'man' or *agnaq* 'woman,' are also full "words" in the sense that they may stand alone without any affix. Verb stems on the other hand cannot stand alone and require at least an inflection, although it is usually convenient to cite them in stem form. So *katak-* 'fall' must be inflected to be used in speech, e.g. *kaktuq* 'it fell' or *kakkaa* 's/he dropped it.' It can also take adverbial-type suffixes, e.g. *katagniaġaa* 's/he will drop it.'

Treatment of actual data is ancillary to Martin's primary purpose of demonstrating the careless handling which the snow example has received, and almost as an

afterthought, data are given in a footnote which explains what Schultz-Lorentzen's *Dictionary of the West Greenlandic Eskimo Language* gives in the way of snow terms. She reports that "There seems no reason to posit more than two distinct *roots* (her italics) that can properly be said to refer to snow itself (and not for example, to drifts, ice, storms, or moisture) in any Eskimo language. In West Greenlandic, these roots are *qanik* 'snow in the air; snowflake' and *aput* 'snow (on the ground). Other varieties have cognate forms. Thus, Eskimo has about as much differentiation as English does for 'snow' at the monolexemic level: snow and flake".

A small flaw in her otherwise fine article, Martin does not handle the data particularly well, taking snow terms in West Greenlandic to be representative of those found in all Eskimo languages. The Comparative Eskimo Dictionary³ lists three reconstructed Proto Eskimo noun stems which would fit her criterion of referring to "snow itself" and not to other related atmospheric phenomena: **qanig* 'falling snow', **anigu* 'fallen snow', and **apun* 'snow on the ground' are the three basic roots found in all Eskimo languages and dialects, except, unfortunately, West Greenlandic which lacks **anigu* whose Inuit reflex is *aniu*.⁴ Another problem between Martin's equation of the two West Greenlandic stems meaning 'snow' with two English words is the inclusion of 'flake' as a basic English snow term. While 'flake' often refers to snow, it is generally used in conjunction with the word 'snow' in the compound 'snowflake' or the phrase 'flake of snow'. It may also be used with a variety of other meanings unrelated to snow, e.g. flake of paint, of dandruff, etc. I find no historical evidence that 'flake' originated as a snow term either, although it seems to have related to ice; it is of Scandinavian origin and may have meant 'disk' or 'floe'. If we disqualify 'flake' that leaves 'snow' as the solitary English snow word (by Martin's criteria), and Eskimo languages with three times that many!

In his essay "The Great Eskimo Vocabulary Hoax" Geoffrey Pullum writes very entertainingly about the snow words example, citing Martin's paper and poking fun at the scholars who have slavishly repeated the claim promulgated by other scholars with no reference to primary data. Pullum is not above overstating the case just a bit: "The truth is that the Eskimos do not have lots of different words for snow, and no one who knows anything about Eskimo has ever said they do". (This second part of his statement is certainly true, since those familiar with the actual data have kept fairly silent.) "Anyone who insists on simply checking their primary sources will find that they are quite unable to document the alleged facts about snow vocabulary (but nobody ever checks, because the truth might not be what the reading public wants to hear.)" A minor quibble with Pullum is that he calls the bungling treatment of the snow example a hoax, even though there was never really any intention to deceive. In an appendix entitled "Yes, but how many really?" Pullum is to be applauded for taking the radical step of consulting a bona

³ The Comparative Eskimo Dictionary appeared in late 1994, after Martin's earlier 1982 version, but before the 1998 publication of the reader *Linguistics at Work* by Oaks in which the most recent version of Martin's article appears. In any case, the stem *anigu* and its Inuit reflex *aniu* have been well-documented for decades. I use g to represent a velar fricative here and R for a uvular fricative.

⁴ A derived form of the stem *anigu* appears in Fabricius (1804) as a shaman's word, but this stem is not found in Schultz-Lorentzen's dictionary.

vide specialist of Eskimo linguistics, Anthony Woodbury. By all accounts Pullum is the first scholar writing on this subject who has thought to consult a specialist, or at least the first one to openly admit doing so. Based largely on Jacobson's *Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary*, Woodbury estimates that there are from one to two dozen words (lexemes) for snow, depending on which ones are included⁵.

Looking at data from Inupiaq which I include in an appendix, one can see that it is difficult to decide if there is really a large number of snow terms for a number of reasons, many of which are pointed out for Central Alaskan Yupik by Woodbury. First, many of the terms describe related phenomena such as ice; remember that in counting roots Martin suggested that only those meaning 'snow' be included and not related terms. Next, many of the terms are derived from non-snow terms, e.g. the verb stem *natigvik*—'for snow to drift along the ground' is based on the noun stem *natiq* meaning 'floor, bottom'. The meaning of the derived stem has shifted somewhat from the stem meaning even though there is still a clear semantic relationship between the two. While it is not a basic unanalyzable stem like *qanik*, *natigvik*—is not a transparent recent derivation either and goes back to a derived Proto Eskimo stem **natiqvig-*. *Puktaaq* 'iceberg' is easier to discount, since it is an obvious derivation from the verb stem *pukta-* 'to float' which itself derives from *pugñ-* 'to surface'. Then there are metaphorical usages like *mapsa* 'snow cornice' which originally means 'spleen', since a snow cornice is meant to remind one of how a spleen overhangs other organs. The snow meaning of *mapsa* is found only in Alaskan Inupiaq and is clearly secondary. Even if we discount derived words and transparent metaphors, there are still a number of terms like *pukak* 'granular snow' and reflexes of *pirtur* 'snowstorm,' which are not obviously related to a more basic root.

Another relevant fact when tallying snow terms involves how current these terms are in the language. Some of them are a part of any Inupiaq speaker's vocabulary, including the three basic terms mentioned earlier, *qanik*, *apun*, and *aniu*. Others are quite specialized like *piqaluyak* 'glacial ice from a river' and are likely to be known only by elders and particularly hunters. Many of the terms are not in general use and would not be known to much of the Inupiaq-speaking population. Yet, the lists of terms that exist were compiled within recent decades from people who knew the specialized vocabulary. Then there is the question of how many snow words English has so that a comparison can be made. Sleet, slush, blizzard and other terms do not include the word snow, just like almost all of the Inupiaq terms that denote some type of snow or ice without including the basic roots that bear those meanings.

Even if we exclude the sorts of terms that some have suggested should not count in our tally of snow terms, it still appears that Inupiaq at least has an extensive vocabulary for snow and ice. It would surely be a surprise if Inuit people did not pay special attention to snow and ice, which are important features of the landscape throughout most of the year. Weather conditions and the state of frozen moisture underfoot are of utmost importance to travelers, hunters, and others, for whom faulty judgment of the terrain can

⁵ Jacobson (p.c.) says that the Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary does not fully cover terms for climate.

have severe consequences. This particular semantic area demonstrates the detailed knowledge that many Inupiat have about their natural environment, and the example could have easily been something other than snow. An extensive vocabulary exists for both snow and ice, and the claim should make reference to both phenomena. Linguists and others familiar with these languages have always taken it for granted that there is extensive vocabulary for the areas in question.

Appendix: Snow and Ice Terms from Kobuk Iñupiaq*

aniuvaq	snow bank
aniuuyutyaq	snow house
api-	to become snow-covered
apun	snow cover
aqi uqqaq	soft snow
auksafaq	melting snow
katiqsruḡniq	snowdrift
kusrulugaq	icicle
mapsaq	snow cornice
natatquḡnaq	Hailstone
natiḡvik-	to be blowing snow
nutagaq	fresh powder snow
puptaruq	floating chunk of ice (listed as 'iceberg')
pukak	lower layer of sugar snow used for drinking water
qanigruaq-	to snow
qanik	Snowflake
qimuagruk	snow drift in lee of building or covering a trail
qiqsruqqaq	glaze on snow in thaw time
siku	ice
sikuliaq	young ice
sikuqqamiaq	first ice at freeze-up
sisuuq-	for there to be an avalanche
sitliq	hard-packed snow bank
taḡu	snow cornice

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The West Greenlandic midwifery service in the period 1820-1925

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Abstract: As early as the 1820s the first Greenlandic women were trained in western obstetric, as a consequence of Danish colonial policy on improving the health of mothers as well as their babies. During the century midwives were trained in Greenland as well as in Denmark, and in the respect midwives differed from one another in such ways as competence and salaries, etc. Most of the midwives trained in Denmark were of mixed-blood in contrast to the ones trained in Greenland. Intentionally the Trade Company used the mixed-blood midwives as middlemen between the Danish officials and the Greenlanders, which is to be examined in this Ph.D. project.

Keywords: midwives, status, middlemen, 19th century & Greenland.

Introduction

The main objective of my Ph.D. project is the West Greenlandic midwifery service in the period 1820-1925. Focus is on the status and social position of the Greenlandic midwives in the West Greenlandic local communities as well as on the midwives' role as middlemen between the Danish officials and the Greenlandic population.

Since the 1940s, no research has been done concerning the Greenlandic midwifery service in the 1800s and early 1900s. This Ph.D. project may thus be described as new research within the field of humanities as well as within the field of health science. It will be an elaboration of my M.A. thesis about the West Greenlandic public health service and the Greenlanders' concept of sickness and health in the period 1800-1930 (Rønsager 2002).

Most literature about the social layer of the Greenlandic elite is about men as social actors. Hopefully my Ph.D. project will also contribute to a better understanding of the history of Greenlandic women and their role as social actors in the elitist layer as well as their role in the modernization process in Greenland during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

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The traditional Greenlandic midwives and childbirths

Childbirth was closely connected to traditional religious belief. Like puberty and death, childbirth involved a high number of taboos, amulets as well as ritual songs. Many of the ritual prescriptions surrounding childbirth concerned the relationship between men and women. As an example, a hunter socializing with a woman who had just been giving birth would encounter resistance from preys (Sonne 1994: 49).

Assisting a woman in labour was in the traditional Greenlandic society a skill that most women knew about and it was a knowledge that was passed down from woman to woman through generations (Bertelsen 1921: 6). Birth assistance was a local affair and often the birth attendants were kinswomen of the woman in labour. Sometimes they were also assisted by an older non-kindred woman from the community, acknowledging the wisdom and know-how of the elders. Likely, a particular elderly woman was called in to assist many of the women giving birth in a specific band, but she was not looked upon as the midwife: she was not paid for her assistance like for instance an *angakoq* was paid for curing a sick person. Being a midwife was not considered a profession.

The normal position for a woman to give birth in Greenland was in kneeling position as far as the source material says, but variation in birth position is likely. Straps of sealskin were twined around her upper waist, and the female helpers pulled the straps down her stomach to help the baby on its way out through the birth canal. If the delivery made slow progress, the procedure was to stretch this custom a bit further by pressing a knee or a foot into the stomach of the pregnant woman, according to doctor Lerch who worked in Greenland in the early years of the 1800s (Lerch 1829: 9).

The Western public health service in Greenland

The first official doctor was employed in Ilulissat in 1793. In 1839, another doctor started working in Nuuk and in 1851 a doctor was employed in Qaqortoq (Dalgaard & Sveistrup 1945: 304-305). European missionaries and tradesmen, the so-called "colony managers" (*kolonibestyre*), worked partly as medical staff in the colonies as well, but still medical staff was few in number.

The public health service was financed by the Royal Greenlandic Trade Company (Den kongelige grønlandske Handel, known as KGH) and not by the Danish state, as one might expect. The consequence of this arrangement was that little money was spent on medical care, because the KGH was more interested in making money than spending it (Rønsager 2002: 139).

During the 1800s, a rapid development in European medicine took place: the discovery of X-ray, germs, anaesthesia, stethoscopes, etc. This new development in technology as well as a better understanding of the importance of hygiene was of course also reflected in the field of obstetrics. For example, childbed fever was brought into focus in the mid-nineteen century (Martin 1987: 57 ff.).

The doctors who went to Greenland in the 19th century were of Danish and German descent. Often the doctors were newly qualified and knew of this new development in medicine and obstetrics. Matters that worried the doctors in Greenland in the beginning of the 1800s were the general state of health of the Greenlanders as well as the high death rate among women giving birth, their babies and their young children. The traditional birth attendants were described as ignorant and uncivilized by the Danish doctors as well as tradesmen in the colonies. Among other reasons, the doctors ascribed the high death rates to the traditional way in which the Greenlandic women gave birth (Rønsager 2002: 78).

Western education of the Greenlandic midwives

The need for Greenlandic speaking medical staff, the high death rate among women in labour and their children as well as the above described way of giving birth were the official reasons for the need of Greenlandic midwives with western education (Bertelsen 1911: 105 ff., 117 ff.).

In the 1820s, doctor Lerch started to train young Greenlandic women in western midwifery in Greenland. In the beginning midwives were only trained in North Greenland but later on as a doctor was employed in Nuuk, midwives were also trained and employed in the Southern Inspectorate. These women were without any doubt familiar with the traditional way of birth, but the doctors did not use this knowledge. Instead they were trained in western obstetrics, which did not include any kind of connection to religion or kinship whatsoever.

The midwives had a theoretical as well as a practical education. At least from the beginning of the 1800s there was a high level of literacy among the Greenlanders and this was also used in the training of midwives. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, several textbooks about midwifery in Greenland were published in the Greenlandic as well as in the Danish languages (Bertelsen 1906, Koppel 1904, Lerch 1829, Lerch 1867). In these textbooks it was stressed that the Greenlandic midwives were to forget the traditional way of midwifery and instead practise the western one.

By the work of the Commission of 1835, whose purpose was to raise the general state of civilization as well as standard of living of the Greenlanders, the decision was made to educate Greenlandic midwives in Denmark as a part of a plan to improve the state of health of the Greenlanders in general. The midwife pupils trained in Greenland as well as those educated in Denmark were hand-picked by the Danish doctors. The Greenlandic midwives educated in Copenhagen came from the so-called Greenlandic elite. They were of mixed-blood and therefore they also spoke Danish – more or less— which was needed attending lectures in Copenhagen (Bertelsen 1945: 109).

The midwives were the very first Greenlandic women to be educated in Denmark, and the midwives trained by doctors in Greenland where the first Greenlandic women to have a western education at all. They were indeed pioneers as they both entered a men's world and a western education.

The education in Copenhagen was hard on the young women and they often had difficulties in understanding the Danish language (Bertelsen 1911: 118 ff.). Most of the midwife pupils passed the practical examination but few passed the theoretical one. Often the pupils had difficulties in reading the textbooks in Danish and they also had difficulties in expressing themselves in Danish in class or at the examinations. Karoline Rosing passed the theoretical as well as the practical examination in 1867, and she became the first fully educated Greenlandic midwife from the Royal Laying-in Hospital in Copenhagen.

West Greenlandic midwives—a heterogeneous group with different skills

Four different types of Greenlandic midwives worked along the Greenlandic West coast during the period 1820 to 1925: those fully trained in Denmark, those who had the practical examination from Denmark, those trained in Greenland and then a small group who was paid by the KGH but practiced in the traditional way of midwifery.

The midwives differed from one another in the way they were educated, in the way they practised midwifery, in their salaries as well as in their origin of descent. Therefore the midwives were in many respects a heterogeneous group, a characteristic reflected in the status of the midwives. Their jobs included care for pregnant women, assisting at births, infant and mother care, providing general medical care, informing and taking care of patients in the hospitals and last not least, setting a good example in their way of living for other Greenlanders to follow (Bertelsen 1921, Bertelsen 1945: 108 ff.).

The western educated midwives were placed by the doctors in settlements where there was a need of a midwife, so the midwives often came as strangers, not knowing the local people and their traditions. Likely, the Greenlanders met the first western educated midwives with scepticism wondering if they were to be trusted. These midwives were to break a chain of traditional birth-knowledge passed down from generation to generation.

Furthermore, the work of the western educated midwives was separated from any religious aspect at all and built on a western technique-based way of obstetrics very different from traditional Greenlandic births: how to stop bleedings, how to turn babies laying in the wrong position and, of course, how to focus on hygiene which was *the* new discovery in western medicine.

The status of the traditional Greenlandic midwives

In Greenlandic a midwife was/is called *ernisussiortoq* (Kleinschmidt 1871: 71). Translated into English: "The one who looks for (makes) sons". The term *ernisussiortoq* emphasizes the value of boys and sons. It also stresses the importance of well-qualified attendants at the birth of children (sons). The midwives were "the makers of boys" and were believed to be guilty of changing the sex of a baby from male to female due to an infraction of a taboo, e.g. cutting the umbilical cord with a knife instead of using the edge

of a shell or forgetting to wear new clothes before going to assist the woman giving birth (Bertelsen 1911: 106).

We assume that the perception and status of midwives in Greenland could have resembled quite closely to the situation in Alaska described by Lise Klein Kirsis (Kirsis 1996). The helpers attending a birth in the traditional communities were appreciated for their help and good skills during this fundamental rite of passage in the female life cycle. Their knowledge made births less dangerous for mothers as well as for children. They had a higher status but only momentarily and only within the special situation of the specific birth where they practised their skill.

Nevertheless, the midwives working in the traditional way and paid by the KGH, were more popular among the Greenlandic population than the western educated midwives. The Greenlanders often sent for these midwives before turning to the western trained medical staff. The traditional midwives always worked locally—often in the place where they were born, so these midwives knew the local birth-costumes as well as they knew everyone living in the community. The doctors in Greenland were requested by the officials in Copenhagen to encourage the Greenlanders to use the western educated midwives instead of the traditional Greenlandic midwives.

Social stratification and the status of the midwives

During the late 18th and the early 19th centuries, the West Greenlandic population may be divided into three social layers according to occupational status: A layer of Danes; especially Danish administrators, the Greenlandic elite (or upper social stratum of Greenlanders) and finally a layer of direct producers working in the hunting and fishing sector. Between these three categories, there were different types of relations e.g. marriage (Rasmussen 1983). In the case of the western educated midwives, the elitist layer is the most interesting layer to examine and therefore this social layer will be described in the following.

A large number of the members of the Greenlandic elite worked as wage earners at the Danish Mission or at *Den kongelige grønlandske Handel* (Marquardt 1998: 8, Thuesen 1991: 7). In the mid-nineteen century most KGH employees worked all day and had little or no time for hunting, which among other things differentiated the elite from the traditional lifestyle. A very large part of the Greenlanders in the elite were of mixed-blood, the so-called *Blandinger*: Originally the term *Blandinger* referred to children of Danish (European) fathers and Greenlandic mothers, but in the late 19th century *Blandinger* were Greenlanders with Danish consanguineous relatives (Thuesen 1988: 63). From the late 1700s until 1901, mixed-blood Greenlanders figured as a separate category in the censuses and their number increased rapidly during this period.

In the late 1800s, there was a high degree of social endogamy in the families of the elite and the upper stratum consisted exclusively of families with one or more European forefathers. Most members of the elite were to a certain degree bi-lingual and spoke Greenlandic as well as Danish. Some even knew how to read and write Danish. Mixed-

blood Greenlanders knew of Danish manners and some brought up their children according to Danish customs. In some occasions, the mixed-blood Greenlanders also dressed in the Danish way of fashion – especially when they were staying in Denmark for a period (Rasmussen 1987). This familiarity with the Danish language as well as lifestyle was the reason why *Blandinger* often were hand-picked by the Danish officials to go to Denmark to get an education as catechists, as craftsmen (Dalgaard & Svestrup 1945: 292 ff.) and as midwives as well.

An example of a midwife who in many respects had a Danish lifestyle was the above mentioned Karoline Rosing. Her husband was Danish and she brought her children up partly in a Danish manner. She herself spoke, wrote and read Danish very well and she often wore Danish clothing (Rasmussen 1983: 143-144).

The midwives were to help every woman in labour: wives of hunters, wage earners, Danish officials as well as more generally women of the elite. It goes without saying that the lives of the elite in many respects differed from the lives of the hunters. The differences were to be found partly in religious belief, language, household structure, type of work, food, way of dressing and outlook on life etc. I assume these differences will be reflected in the status of the midwives.

Some difficulties in interaction and communication are likely to have led to misunderstandings. These misunderstandings might not exist so much in the colonies as in the smaller communities as the contact with the western public health service in the everyday life was higher in the colonies than in the small settlements.

When examining the status of the midwives, one also has to take into consideration that the Greenlandic employees in *Den Kongelige grønlandske Handel* had jobs that were specialized (Marquardt 1992: 168 ff.), and specialization of fulltime jobs was not known in the traditional Greenlandic society. The job of a midwife was now to be considered as a fulltime profession too. It must have been a big change for the Greenlanders to call one (non-kindred) midwife every time someone was to give birth. Birth in the traditional Greenlandic society was regarded as a contact with potential chaos and disorder, and people attempted to protect themselves against disorder by means of taboos. A fulltime midwife was in fulltime contact with this potential disorder, and this I expect is to be reflected in the status of the very first western educated midwives in the middle of the 19th century.

The midwives as middlemen

During the 19th century, a part of the men of the elite were social actors in the modernization process in Greenland, because *Blandinger* were the most well-educated group of Greenlanders (Thuesen 1991: 7). Like the men of the social and cultural elite, the well-educated midwives were social actors too and in this respect, they were pioneers among women. They had to bring western medical knowledge to their fellow Greenlanders as well as western ideologies of (Danish) civilization. Like other women of the elite, they were also expected to pass on Danish culture and manners to their own

housekeeping and to their own children (Rasmussen 1983). In this respect the midwives' role as "agents of civilization" might be considered twofold.

The role as "agents of civilization" was the role of a middleman. The Greenlandic midwives might be considered as middlemen between the Danish officials and the Greenlandic population just as the midwives were middlemen between the world of the direct producers – the hunters—and the world of the academics, i.e. doctors. They were links between cultures as well as links between social layers.

The western trained midwives had to adapt their learning to the reality in their everyday work. The enormous gap between the western way of obstetrics and the traditional Greenlandic way put the midwives between the Greenlandic population and the Danish officials. The two groups had different demands on the midwives, and the midwives had to please both sides. An example of conflict between the midwives, their countrymen and the doctors in the late 1800s was hygiene or the lack of it. Midwives were accused by the Danish officials of having literally forgotten the principles of hygiene as it was taught to them by the doctors. On the other hand, Greenlanders complained that the midwives always talked about hygiene, over and over again (Rønsager 2002: 75).

The dilemma of pleasing the Greenlanders as well as the Danes is to be reflected in the status and social position of the midwives in the late 1800s. In the period after year 1900, the Greenlanders were step by step used to western medicine and therefore the midwives' way of helping the women in labour was not questioned in the same way as before.

During the 19th century, midwives were indeed more numerous than doctors and the midwifery service was the only group within the health service employed only by Greenlanders.

I have already described the official reasons for educating midwives in the western manner, but in my opinion, the KGH also consciously only chose midwives of Greenlandic descent in order to use the midwives as middlemen. The midwives were to be "agents of civilization" and they were needed by *Den Kongelige grønlandske Handel* to gain insight into the local communities of the Greenlanders too. In short KGH needed middlemen in order to profit. In short KGH needed middlemen in order to profit, a situation well described by Robert Paine (Paine 1971).

In order to put the midwives' roles as middlemen into perspective and as a conclusion, I will draw a parallel between the midwives and the Greenlandic catechists drawing upon material found in Thuesen (1991, 1995). Both midwives and catechists were Greenlanders educated in Denmark, working in a western based manner and they were members of the Greenlandic elite. The midwives as well as the catechists might be considered as middlemen between their countrymen and the Danish officials. They had to deal with the difficult balance between self and community and between "Danish" and "Greenlandic". The catechists were frequently moved from place to place by the mission

and they were placed in unfamiliar communities (Thuesen 2002: 8), so were the midwives. Therefore, it is relevant to compare the two groups as regards status, social position and role as middlemen.

Furthermore, a comparison of the midwives and the catechists will enlarge our understanding and knowledge about the Greenlandic elitist layer, and especially the role women played in the elite as well as in the Greenlandic modernization process in the late 1800s and the beginning of the 1900s.

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Youth culture, media and globalization processes in Greenland¹

Jette Rygaard

Abstract: Globalization has been advantageous for Greenland. In that it has broken the country's isolation. The disadvantages described as results of modernization and globalization processes, such as the annihilation of local cultures, giving rise to further stratification problems or causing frustrations as individuals long for things they cannot achieve, are discussed in this article in relation to Thomas Ziehe's levels of modernization's penetration into society, culture and the individual. The analysis is based on empirical data from quantitative and qualitative research among 12 – 19 year-olds in Greenland in 1997 and 2001. As we see, the local culture is not at all in danger of annihilation. Socioeconomic differences exist and are unfortunately entangled in ethnic and center-periphery factors. The young peoples leisure habits reveal an urge for a global lifestyle, but its limited availability does not seem to lead to a sense of being left behind as deprived locals in a global world.

Keywords: ambivalence of globalization, cultural release, globalization, global versus local, youth in Greenland.

Foreign television opened a window to the world to me, a young student from Tasiilaq on Greenland's east coast said to me. She had spent a year at an American college, and was now studying journalism in Nuuk. "Had I never had the possibility to look at American television", she said, "I never would have learned English. I never would have wanted to study in America and I would never have begun to study journalism" (Girl 19, Nuuk [my translation from Danish]).

This is a gratifying remark heard from a media researcher's point of view, and one that made me wonder about the positive effects of globalization. Being a part of the technological blessings of the 'Global Village', as the Canadian media researcher Marshall McLuhan (1964) named it in the 1960s, seemed to benefit small communities in Greenland. The debate surrounding globalization, however, is a heated one and, like the Polish-English sociologist Zygmunt Bauman, some of those involved see globalization as a contributor to discrimination almost in line with earlier cultural imperialism theory.

To judge from the young student's statement, television was to her a 'magic multiplier' (Golding and Harris 1997: 4) which, according to communication research, represents the first of three stages. Due to her reaction to television, she chose to study

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abroad for a while, illustrating mobility as one of the much-coveted values of globalization. By means of such mobility, the fear of cultural imperialism' - the second stage (Goiding and Harris 1997: 4) - to some extent is dissolved.

From this example and a superficial glance over the country's youth culture, Greenland certainly has become 'globalized', as the third and present phase puts it (Golding and Harris 1991: 4). Almost everyone has a mobile phone. According to age and gender, rooms are decorated with Marilyn Manson or Madonna. Young Greenlanders' favourite movies are the latest releases from Hollywood and their enjoyment of them is enhanced with Coca-Cola. Their clothes are chosen from among the significant brand names and yet we clearly feel a local 'touch' - we are definitely in Greenland and globalization seems not just to be the uneven battle between David and Goliath, which the traditional cultural imperialism model describes. In which a powerful centre totally dominates the periphery. Several weaknesses of that simplistic model have been described in recent years, and I mention here just a few relevant to my Greenlandic examples. First, the traditional model exaggerated the external determinants and underestimated the internal dynamics in the dependent society. Second, the traditional model wrongly assumed that audiences are passive and that local creativity and resistance or simple satisfaction or ignorance - are of little significance. Third, the model takes for granted that everything that comes from the West is bad news for everybody.

However, for obvious reasons, the exchange is still somewhat unbalanced. Greenland is an enormous, remote, ice and mountain-hampered country with a tiny population of just 56.000 inhabitants. Even though it is located geographically as a part of North America, ever since 1721, when Hans Egede settled as a missionary among the Inuit. It has been colonized by Denmark. This has had social consequences as regards language and cultural impact. In 1953 Greenland's status as colonized was modified and it became a fully integrated dependency of Denmark. In 1979 Greenland obtained home rule government and political forces are at the present time striving to achieve autonomy. Cultural interchange between Greenland and the rest of the world is still mostly one-way as far as media products such as television programmes, music and films are concerned - often with Denmark as gatekeeper. However, this does not mean that global influences inevitably penetrate to a deeper, more personal level.

In this article I try to measure the degree to which some aspects of young Greenlanders' lives have become globalized. The first question is how to measure globalization and its actual influence? In my view, assessment of the connection between globalization and lifestyle is one way to measure it. It is my wish to ascertain the degree to which the screened reality of television and films, of music and of cyberspace affects young people's daily life, dreams and expectations.

The German youth researcher Thomas Ziehe reminds us that modernization penetrates society, its culture and also its individuals (Ziehe and Stubenrauch 1993: 29). In the following I investigate aspects of globalization in line with Ziehe's three levels of penetration. At level one - societies' objective condition - I start by describing the SES (socioeconomic status) group classification according to the respondents' statements and

their possibilities within their small communities. Subsequently I call attention to some theoretical aspects of globalization of special Interest for Greenland, and finally I describe the availability of the media. At level two - social symbolic culture - I analyse what my respondents choose among opportunities offered by society. Finally, to give an impression of their subjective inner structure seen as level three, I relate results from my data about my respondents' dreams and longings as regards professional careers and places of residence.

Material and methods

As part of the project entitled 'Children, Youth and Media in Greenland 1996 - 1997', a colleague and I started our research with a broadly scoped pilot survey In Nunk, which qualifies for being studied separately by being quite different from the other communities In Greenland (Rygaard 1999).

In 1997 we initiated our nation-wide qualitative and quantitative study. A survey was sent to schools in Upernavik, Aaslaa, Sisimiut, Qaqortoq, Tasillaq and Ittoqqortoormiit, all of which are considered as townships or cities. In-depth interviews were conducted in all these communities except Aasiaat². The cohort from the nation-wide survey consisted of 454 young people between 12 and 19 years of age, i.e. 9 percent of persons that age in Greenland. Finally we interviewed 120 out of the entire group. The questionnaire contained 75 questions similar to those of the pilot survey as regards lifestyle, media use and attitudes toward media. The quantitative data in this article are based on this survey presented as descriptive statistics.

Between 1999 and 2001 we proceeded with a reception study entitled 'Young People's Media Cultures in a Reception Perspective'. One of the projects was the 'Cain/DC project (Cameru/Thary Project). In the townships of Nuuk, Sisimiut and Ittoqqortoormiit we supplied 101 informants between 12 and 19 years of age with disposable cameras and with diaries which had to be used during one week In the autumn of 2000. We asked them to describe 'their life with the media'. We received 696 pictures and 313 related diary texts (Pedersen and Rygaard 2003).

² Aasiaat was only part of the research project because of its high school, and served as frame of reference to the high schools in Nuuk (1996) and Qaqortoq (1997).

Level one: society's objective conditions and socioeconomic groups

Since the accessibility and use of media has a clear correlation to socioeconomic status³ [hereafter SESI - at least at the beginning of the diffusion process - we asked our respondents, in both our pilot and our nation-wide questionnaires, about their family background. In discussing globalization, Greenland's immense size and the structural differences between townships make it advisable to analyse the data with reference to relevant socioeconomic status groups.

As regards age and gender, the sample of 454 displays a rather even distribution. As for language, the majority speak Greenlandic only (63%); a small minority speak Danish only (10%) and a larger minority are bilingual (27%). The correlation between language and social group is a strong one. Bilinguals are distributed fairly evenly among the different social groups. Among the Danish-speaking children, most belong to the two upper social groups, whereas most of the Greenlandic-speaking children belong to the two lower social classes or to the category that includes unemployed parents. Some regions are seriously affected by insufficient job opportunities; hence the SES groups differ in size in the various communities. Since the parent generation in Greenland is still unaccustomed to choosing professional careers that require an advanced education, the SES groups 4, 5 and 0 dominate, especially in the outer districts such as Upernavik, Ittoqqortoormiit and Tasiilaq. The majority of the unemployed (or indefinable answers) are to be found in Tasiilaq and Ittoqqortoormiit. Both townships are seriously disadvantaged as regards sufficient infrastructure and job possibilities. The figures for SES group 1 are of the same small size in the different townships, apart from Aasiaat and Qaqortoq, both of which are communities with a higher educational level.

The low level of education that particularly dominates in small and remote townships such as Upernavik on the northwest coast and Tasiilaq and Ittoqqortoormiit on the east coast, reflect the somewhat confined activities of the younger generation with regard to educational or professional practical training possibilities. Replies to the enquiry I sent to the involved communities in July 2001 confirmed my impression of substantial structural differences existing between some regions and communities. Many of the cherished joys of youth life such as cinemas, clubs and discotheques are not

³ SES 1 = self-employed in large organizations, top officials, university graduates. SES 2 self-employed in middle-sized organizations, higher ranked public servants, middle ranked public servants with more extensive educational background. SES 3 self-employed in small organizations, middle ranked civil servants with short term educational background. SES 4 = subordinate public servants, skilled workers with shorter-term educational background. SES 5 unskilled workers. SES 0 unemployed (or indefinable answers). The categorization into social group was made according to the respondents' answers to open-ended questions about parents' or guardians' job positions. The numbers 1-5 indicate the so-called SFI' division of family social groups (Hansen, 1984). The preferred rule takes a starting point in the spouse or partner (in our context the parent or the guardian) who is in the 'highest' position in the Job hierarchy. The division criteria, valid for the current Job position, are the name or title of the job, the duration of training, and to what extent the Individual can control his/her own or others' daily work. Concerning SES group 0, although it would be obviously rewarding to be able to differentiate between unemployed and Indefinable answers, it is not possible to do this from the database (Pedersen and Rygaard 2000:1.13).

available in most communities. In many places there is not even a grill bar, a clothing store or a place to rent videos. At best young people can meet at a sports hall. On the other hand, one certainly is able to find other interesting leisure occupations such as sailing, fishing. Kayaking, skiing, dog sledding, camping & hiking, which adventure-seeking youngsters in the metropolitan areas may look upon with envy. The question is, however, whether that is what the Greenlandic youth are dreaming of?

**Theories of globalization in relation to Greenland:
The monster of discrimination of the saviour from national isolation?**

Even though Greenland has for many years been able to receive sound and pictorial transmission - radio since 1940-45, telephone since 1972-78, and television since 1982 - the personal computer with ISDN, the Internet and email must nevertheless be interpreted as a substantially new kind of connection to the global world. Consequently, growth of technologically distributed Information in Greenland has proceeded at a considerable pace since 1997, when these facilities were introduced. Although the term globalization is older and broader in scope, since it refers to everything from the world capitalist economy to the emergence of the world military order, it is the modern information technology and media that are the crucial key factors when we speak about globalization in Greenland.

Globalization points to the hypothesis that we all live in one uniform world: films, music, television and fashion are speedy travellers, connecting young audiences everywhere. Remote cultures become accessible through television, radio, internet and easy transport. Due to the internationalization of the market economy, goods and services cross borders, thereby annihilating local cultures, according to the sombre picture painted by Zygmunt Bauman (1998) among others. The English sociologist, Anthony Giddens, however, does not see tangible American manifestations such as Coca-Cola, McDonald's and Hollywood films (of which only Coca-Cola and, to a certain degree, Hollywood films are represented in today's Greenland) as expressions of traffic that merely goes one way. Decentralization and 'reversed colonization' (Giddens 2000: 21) also make their presence felt. Furthermore, Giddens maintains that the cosmopolitan way of life and widespread international tourism represent one of the major effects of globalization (Giddens 2000). But a cosmopolitan way of life is not to be attained by everybody, Bauman claims: All of us are doomed to the life of choices, but not all of us have the means to be choosers' (Bauman 1998: 86). The postmodern consumer society is a stratified one. Universal freedom and mobility are but phantoms: the freedom to buy things and to choose where to go is the prerogative of the elite only. Globalization is supposed to unite the people of the world, but according to Bauman the truth is that it causes isolation and degradation: to be local in a global world 'Is a sign of social deprivation and degradation' (Bauman 1998: 2).

What Bauman and Giddens outline is but a partial truth about paradoxes of globalization in Greenland as it is in (other) former third world countries⁴. Many of their

⁴ Through Giddens's (1989) explanation, Greenland conforms to the term 'former third world societies' by having been colonized, by not having the status of a distinct society before colonization, by having

statements may be adequate definitions for the consequences of globalization among young people in big cities, but for smaller Greenland localities, other fears are often more urgent. The geographic isolation of Greenland simply sets other standards for postmodern ambivalences. However, one problem of globalization that people in Greenland recognize is the deprivation of local society by the departure of the elite, which drains impoverished local communities of their resources. But to take in the warnings of globalization one needs to look more closely at some of the statements. Let us start, for instance, to define what is meant as regards the culture that is in danger of annihilation. In one example Baxnan describes a female globetrotter living in an annihilated culture, which he terms the 'culture of the absolute present':

She constantly migrates, and among many places, and always to and fro. She does it alone, not as a member of community, although many people act like her ... The kind of culture she participates in is not a culture of a certain place; it is the culture of a time. It is a culture of the *absolute present* ... She stays in the same Hilton hotel. Eats the same tuna sandwich for lunch, or, if she wishes, eats Chinese food in Paris and French food in Hong Kong. She uses the same type of fax, and telephones, and computers, watches the same films, and discusses the same kind of problems with the same kind of people (Bauman 1999: 89).

The situation described above would be very difficult to find anywhere in Greenland. Perhaps in Nuuk the globetrotter would be able to experience a few of the features of absolute present-day culture, but in some of the small townships she would not even find a hotel - let alone a Hilton! The traces of globalization she would find would be communication and information gadgets: the fax, the telephone and the computer. By chance she might find the same kind of film on television or at the video store and possibly some canned Chinese and French food in the store. The concepts of 'control' and 'predictability', (Ritzer 1996) which prevent the global tourist from feeling uneasy about new things, are hard to find in the small townships in Greenland's outer districts. As regards the opportunities for being able to discuss familiar problems. Bauman's globetrotter probably wouldn't feel at home in the discussions that take place, if even she could understand them. But whether the young people living in these districts are deprived and degraded is another matter, which I will return to later.

One of the positive aspects of globalization is reputedly 'the end of geography', but in the case of Greenland geographical facts still are of utmost importance. Remembering Bauman's allegation that television sells daydreams or examples to follow and hence undermines people's interest in local life - the local 'sounds' - I asked my students if they believed that the local 'sounds' are in danger of being quelled in Greenland. This young girl's answer is typical for the attitude of the majority.

only a low level of industrialization and by having the former traditional culture transformed by contact with the West, i.e. Denmark.

No, as a matter of fact, I don't think so. I don't even think that the local sounds in Greenland will ever be quelled, because Greenland as viewed geographically is and always will be an outlying district relative to the rest of the world. It will always be difficult to travel to the outer districts. Just now we have even heard that the prices of the air tickets have risen even more. Moreover, the weather is still the determining factor as regards all traffic and from time to time also as regards electronic communication (NN, 19 years old, Nuuk, 2001 [the author's translation from Danish]).

This young girl is, like everybody in Greenland, familiar with the sad experience of giving up a scheduled journey simply because one connection fails due to bad weather. She also knows how annoying it is to miss the decisive seconds of a television film because the satellite transmission is interrupted and she knows the feeling of not being able to reach the 'world' if both telephone and Internet connections break down. Most people living in Greenland have serious problems paying the very high prices for air travel. Faced with obstacles such as these, the vulnerability of the local society's connection with the global world becomes very apparent. But certainly it is not a connection one would give up voluntarily.

Even though its geography thus sets some standards for Greenland's globalization, other aspects are part of an inescapable development in high modernity. The all-pervading omnipresence and synchronism - the space/time compression effect - provide the individual with a world-encompassing standard of comparison for how to live a fulfilling life. Giddens points to how the standard of comparison promotes important changes such as political and gender oppression. Existing social institutions, existing patterns of consumption and ways of living, ideas about how to fulfill oneself through one's work, etc. are now all under constant evaluation. At the individual level this dominant standard of comparison generates ambitions and longings for a life lived in accordance with this standard. Globalization causes greater expectations. Ziehe's term 'cultural release' explains this new abundance of possibilities (Ziehe and Stubenrauch 1993: 31). However, just as Bawnan pointed to ambivalence toward globalization, we find that Ziehe points to ambivalence towards cultural release. Identity and self-evaluation are no longer simply inherited: the individual is now free to try out, to transform, to modify and to formalize his or her own life and identity. The gap, however, between longing and fulfilling as regards lifestyle, goods and 'subjectivity' (Ziehe and Stubenrauch 1993: 32) can be very difficult to bridge. Besides, even if some of the longings are fulfilled, they do not necessarily result in changes on the psychological plane.

Of special interest here, concerning emphasized ambivalences towards globalization, is the frustration caused by the Net that prospects and possibilities are known, but beyond reach. Many besides Bauman have described this: Robert Musil called it the 'potentiality sense' (Ziehe and Stubenrauch 1993: 35); the social psychologist Helner Keupp (Jmrgensen 2002: 123) sees it as 'risky chances'; and Ziehe also describes

the problem of being conscious of the many possibilities that one suddenly sees and misses as part of cultural release. The psychological consequences of such a deprivation could range from a desire for change. As we saw in the example of the young girl from east Greenland, to a paralysing depression or even to somatic illness (Ziehe and Stubenrauch 1993: 33). In line with Ziehe, the Norwegian media researcher Anita Werner found the cultural clashes between media, life-styles and local life to give rise to consumerist frustrations: 'Being Introduced to hitherto unknown material benefits, and at the same time meeting obstacles in acquiring them, is conducive to frustration and powerlessness' (Werner 1979 [author's translation into English]). The English sociologist Peter Townsend has also described deprivation. In 1979 he compiled an index of deprivation in his study *Poverty in the United Kingdom* (Townsend 1979). Using the concept of relative poverty, he showed that the lower the household income, the greater the extent of deprivation. In his index, he defines lack of 'social activities' as 'no afternoon or evening out for entertainment in the previous two weeks and uses this as one of the standards of comparison (Townsend 1979: 250). According to the standards of Townsend's index, the youth in many of the small settlements in Greenland are deprived.

Certainly Greenland youth also risk many of the undesirable aspects of globalization, of cultural release, of frustration and deprivation. The gap between what can be achieved under optimal conditions and what is possible under the conditions prevailing in Greenland is huge. This is not, however, tantamount to saying that globalization is therefore to blame. Does an alternative to globalization exist? And do the young people actually feel frustrated, powerless and deprived when a media screen makes them face living conditions which are widely different from their everyday environment?

The alternative to globalization and cultural release is not inviting. Greenland without inspiration from the outside would be a country which remained isolated and whose major problems would perhaps not even be recognized as problems. The typical problems' which exist in geographically remote micro-states are:

... smallness, remoteness, constraints In transport and communications, great distances from market centres, highly limited Internal markets, lack of marketing expertise, low resources endowment, lack of natural resources and dependence on narrow range of agricultural resources, heavy dependence on a few commodities for their foreign exchange earnings, very narrow range of local skills with a critical shortage of trained manpower, serious balance of payment problems and heavy financial burdens, limited access to capital markets, dependence on one or few large companies alien foreign owned and operating on highly privileged terms. Shortage of administrative personnel, proneness to certain types of natural disasters such as cyclones or avalanches in the polar region, highly fragile ecology and very vulnerable physical environment (Jonsson 1995: 72).

In such small countries there are also problems of nepotism due to interpersonal relations between the individuals. Furthermore, high rates of suicide, alcohol and child abuse as well as violence in families speak for themselves about the problems that especially confront very small societies.

I find that the fear of the annihilation of local cultures leads to a counter question: who are the ones who want to preserve the local culture? It is rarely the people living in the culture in question who fear its substitution by something new. More often you hear the fear expressed from tourists who seek thrills of authenticity. An example will illustrate this. The Danish/Greenlandic film *Heart of Light from 1997* is not the typical young Greenlanders' idea of how the true essence of their local culture should be represented. During a film festival In Nuuk In 1998 several of the young viewers objected to the way in which contemporary Greenland culture was presented as a hopeless prospect, whereas the return to the traditional culture seemed to be the remedy to help the Greenlander find his way. A German film buyer among the participants thought that the film was excellent because it showed Greenland as it *really* was. For the young people the film seemed to promulgate a past culture, which is not at all recognizable or attractive.

Therefore, much as I agree that Bauman, Zlehe and Musil's warnings that modernization and globalization can lead to situations in which people face the torments of Tantalus. I still do not see any alternative to globalization for a country like Greenland. For Greenland as for the rest of the world, there is no turning back.

Media availability

As a precondition for, as well as a consequence of, globalization, the media make it advisable to Interpret leisure culture as a result of their own Impact. Table 1 displays the different SES groups' access to the media. We asked questions about the kind of media equipment to which the informants' had access - be it in their own room or in their parents' houses or in the shared facilities of a students' hostel.

Television accessibility is high among all SES groups. Everybody either owns a television set or has easy access to one. In groups 1,2 and 3, over 70 percent have a television set in their own room; in groups 4, 5 and 0, the figure is lower, at about 50 percent. However, if we consider the categories 'own' and 'access as one unit, we observe a clear correlation to the SES groups. The total figure for ownership and access In SES group 0 is much higher than in SES 1, and in general the figures increase as we go down the social ladder. Television has always had the reputation of being the darling of the lower classes.

Table 1: Media ownership and/or media access for 12-19 year-olds by SES group (%)

	SES 1(35)		SES 2 (72)		SES 3 (40)		SES 4 (129)		SES 5 (83)		SES 0 (96)	
	Own	Access	Own	Access	Own	Access	Own	Access	Own	Access	Own	Access
Television	72	53	70	63	82	55	54	85	44	100	60	100
Video	59	63	46	70	64	70	33	91	44	94	35	92
CD	100	16	100	27	100	36	100	48	100	50	98	56
Radio	75	44	77	30	76	30	69	56	77	67	58	60
Computer	28	53	23	45	18	48	19	22	17	29	13	23
Internet	3	34	4	18	0	24	2	12	2	8	4	4
n =	32		56		33		91		52		52	

Note: In some cases the categories ‘Own’ + ‘Access’ are above 100% because some have both their own media devices and access to either their parents’ or the shared facilities in the boarding school or college. In cases where the ‘access’ does not seem as high as could be expected, age-related variables play a part. Some of the young people do not live at their parents’ home, but in school houses End student hostels. Figures in brackets = total number of persons in the group in question.

The total accessibility for video is rather high in all SES groups, and a positive economic correlation can be found between the category ‘own’ and the upper SES groups, whereas the opposite is the case for access’: the lower the SES group the higher the coverage.

CDs are the most preferred electronic device. Nearly everybody has his/her own CD player.

With regard to computers, and especially the internet, we should bear in mind that the data derive from 1997, which is just before the computer age really blossomed in Greenland. Owning or having an access to a computer is highly correlated to SES groups. Again, as was the case with the television set, the dividing line for accessibility to a personal computer is between the socioeconomic groups of 1,2,3 on the better side, and 4, 5 and 0 for lesser coverage. The percentages for computer access in parents’ houses or in shared facilities, however, in all groups are higher than the figures for ownership of a computer.

All figures for internet ‘access’ are very low. Not surprisingly, the figures for groups 1,2 and 3 are somewhat higher than those for 4,5 and 0. In 1997 prices for Internet time were extremely high in Greenland and the connection was very unreliable. Since then, however, the computer age has reached Greenland: 35 percent of all inhabitants (aged over 15 years) in the country had a PC in their home in 1999. In comparison, the corresponding Danish figure was 52 percent (Greenlands Statistik 2000). However, for a new and expensive medium such as the computer, differences in ownership mirror differences in language and places of residence. Both a centre-periphery and an ethnic factor are involved: 39.5 percent of the people living in townships or cities own a computer, whereas just 7.7 percent of the people living in the settlements and small communities are that lucky. Among people born in Greenland only 28.2 percent own a computer, whereas the Danish group displays an impressive 72.2 percent (Greenlands

Statistik 2000). In some schools, libraries and in the Internet cafes the younger generation can now enjoy all the new possibilities of the Internet.

Concerning information disseminated by the media, both the supply and the level of consumption leave much to be desired. Television and the Internet are the most important short-cuts to the globe at large since both the radio and the national papers convey predominantly national news. But although channel options can be quite extensive in certain districts, the Greenlandic reality does not fulfill the global dream, since few have the means to buy the satellite dishes needed. Most people have to rely on the public service channel KNR.TV, which is on the air for about nine to ten hours a day (KNR-W 2000). Eighty-one percent of its transmission time is used for the diffusion of Danophone programmes (mostly from channel DR1) without Greenlandic subtitles. Some of these programmes nevertheless comprise imported productions such as films, series, etc. - 18 percent in 1996, for instance (Nordic Baltic Media Trends 4 1998). About 19 percent of transmission consists of programmes produced in Greenland (Rygaard 2001), and these have mostly local content, and are without Danish subtitles.

Both the national papers, *Sermitsiaq* and *AG (Awagagdliutit/Crunlandsposten)*, are published in Nuuk, the former once and the latter twice a week. Townships and settlements outside Nuuk rely on airmail for their papers. However, the delivery of the papers in the smaller settlements is highly irregular, which creates a news gap and a cultural lag. Because of the newspapers' infrequent appearance, and the fact that they concentrate on news emanating from the capital, they tend to favour consensus Journalism' and local news. So in fact the press is not doing much to tie the population to the global world.

On the radio, which has always pursued a policy of transmitting 60 percent of its programmes in the indigenous Greenlandic language and 40 percent in Danish, the news of the day, which mainly consists of local news and a few international headlines, is read first in Greenlandic and then in Danish. Many financial resources in bilingual Greenland are earmarked for translation, but unfortunately there is no solution to this language problem in sight.

In small societies, the objective conditions have changed due to the impact of the modernization process and technological and media related globalization. But since the media culture which people meet represents both global and local influences, the question remains: Is the local culture so strongly represented that it dominates or is the global influence so urgent and recognizable that it could be adopted immediately and hence influence the intra-psychic level of our young audience?

Level two: choosing among the social opportunities

Social background is a decisive factor in relation to leisure activities, but so are simple availability, ethnic distinctions and centre-periphery factors, as mentioned in connection with what society has to offer. Table 2 displays how the young people actually spend their leisure time. But access is not always within reach, nor can a

connection between supply of or possibilities for leisure activities and utilization be taken for granted.

To illustrate my point of local versus global leisure possibilities, the table is divided between selections of what could be called 'global style youth life' and local style youth life', both of which comprise leisure activities that ideally call for special places, areas or paraphernalia. The answers, however, derive from one single question: How often do you engage in your leisure activities?'

Starting with 'global style youth life' we see that availability distinctions and centre-periphery factors, as well as SES distinctions are problems to be considered. Lack of availability, however, could be an indication for low *figures* for time spent on, for instance, grill bar/playing slot machine'. According to the response from the communities the existence of such things is not immediate in most communities.

Comparing the favourite leisure time occupations for the marginal groups, for SES 1 these are shopping (94%), discotheque/dancing (58%), and bar/cafe (47%) versus SES 5 whose figures are lower in each case: shopping (68%), discotheque/dance (55%) and bar/cafe (19%). A clear SES-related difference may be detected (except for 'dancing'), but the general low figures for bar/cafe are also in most communities due to centre-periphery factors. The small communities do not have a café or a bar, at most they may have a simple grill bar serving soft drinks. All SES groups love to dance and dancing does not necessarily require money. Most of the small communities lack a youth club - along with a discotheque or a place to dance - but temporary arrangements that provide the illusion of a discotheque can be easily created. Nevertheless, the great wish we heard mentioned time and time again during our interviews was for a discotheque or a youth club.

The most popular activity in all groups is shopping - although this is dearly SES related - but it is hard to fully understand its fascination in a small community where one or a few local shops sell everything from long-life milk to guns. Material things such as videos, CDs, clothing, make-up and sports clothes are part of what young persons wish for. Such wishes, however, are not always easy to fulfill for adolescents living in remote communities. Consumer expectations regarding foreign goods are evoked through the media, as we saw in connection with our projects. To express our gratitude to our respondents for having answered a rather lengthy questionnaire, my colleague and I asked them each to choose their favourite video, and we drew lots for a prize, in 1997 a young boy in Ittoqqortoormiit requested the film *A Vampire from Brooklyn* with Eddie Murphy. We had never heard of it, and neither had the three otherwise well stocked shops in Nuuk. A little investigation revealed that this film was entirely new.

To judge from this example we clearly live in the age of globalization in Greenland. Advocates for globalization would find it encouraging that a small boy in one of the most isolated communities in Greenland had such up-to-date knowledge about the latest video trends from Hollywood. Opponents, however, would strongly lament the loss and destruction of a local life-style. In the meantime, one aspect of the feeling of

'powerlessness', originating from consumers frustrations, has changed for young people in Greenland. One of the recurrent themes mentioned in the 2000 'Cam/Di' project was the ability to 'buy things on the internet' (Girl, 13. ittoqqortoormiit).

Regarding the traditional Greenlandic activities - 'local style youth life' - the results are somewhat disheartening if we look at them from an anti-global perspective. Figures for 'frequent' are equally low in all categories, except for SES 3, which among others includes self-employed persons in small organizations as related in note 2. Forty percent of that group inform us that they frequently operate a snowmobile, but the majority in all groups do not. A snowmobile is a rather expensive toy, but for self-employed parents it might serve as a transport vehicle and thus be tax deductible. Dog sledding is a resource-demanding activity since it requires both a location north of the Arctic Circle and dogs as well as specific skills. The majority in all groups say that they rarely go dog sledding. The same is the case with hunting, fishing and kayaking. In small communities with few job resources, transfer incomes (benefit payments) and sealing during the winter provide the economic foundation for family life. Since winter sealing is done from sledges, the skill of dog sledding might well be communicated to the next generation. The greatest interest, however, was detected in SES 0, which shows 13 percent frequent use.

Both hunting and operating a snowmobile require skills that are rather easy to acquire, but could be economically demanding. Nevertheless, the figures for both have no significant tendency as regards SES groups. It is noteworthy that a 'resource limited activity' - Greenlandic polka/dancing - tends to increase as we go down the social ladder; this may be an indication of the distribution by language and ethnicity between the SES groups. The monolingual Greenlanders, who mostly are found in SES 4.5 & 0, are moderately interested in Greenlandic polka/dancing. However, generally speaking, none of the figures for 'local style' activities approach the figures for 'global style activities'.

Table 2: Frequency of engagement in leisure activities: 19-12 year-olds by SES group (%)

	SES 1 (35)		SES 2 (72)		SES 3 (40)		SES 4 (129)		SES 5 (83)		SES 0 (96)							
	Rare	Freq	n=	Rare	Freq	n=	Rare	Freq	n=	Rare	Freq	n=						
Global style youth life																		
Youth club	68	32	28	74	26	57	45	29	63	38	96	64	36	58	44	56	50	
Disotheque/dance	42	58	33	41	59	63	25	75	32	39	61	103	45	55	65	36	64	61
Bar or cafe	53	47	30	51	49	59	48	52	27	59	41	91	81	19	54	80	20	41
Grill bar/playing slot machine	70	30	30	75	25	57	78	22	27	81	19	88	88	12	50	80	20	44
Shopping	6	94	31	18	82	61	17	83	29	25	75	92	32	68	59	37	63	54
Local style youth life																		
Greenlandic polka/dancing	93	7	28	91	9	56	96	4	27	87	13	92	80	20	54	77	23	47
Hunting/fishing	90	10	31	84	16	57	74	26	27	95	5	91	96	4	51	88	13	48
Snowmobile	75	25	32	73	27	55	60	40	30	87	13	86	88	12	52	66	34	50
Dog sledding	93	7	30	93	7	55	89	11	28	95	5	83	96	4	52	88	13	48
Skiing/roller/skating/skateboard	77	23	30	65	35	55	70	30	27	80	20	87	90	10	50	74	26	42
Kayaking	93	7	30	81	19	57	83	17	29	94	6	83	96	4	52	94	6	47
Sewing leather/pearls	97	7	29	85	5	55	96	4	28	100	0	82	92	8	52	89	11	47

Notes: Rare = answers 'never' and 'rarely'

Freq = answers 'daily', 'at least once in a week' and 'at least once in a month'

n = those of the SES group who have answered the sub questions. Rendered in absolute numbers. Figures in brackets = total numbers of persons in the group in question.

Level three: Globalizations possible effects on children and youths' subjective inner structure

As already stated. I assumed that the media - and especially television - could be a possible source of inspiration for a more globalized life-style and ideas about the future for young people whose travel prospects are limited (Pedersen 2001). Inspired by Anita Werner (1972), my colleague and I asked questions to see whether television had an effect on young Greenlanders' wishes for future jobs and places to live. We asked them partly to state realistic goals and partly dream goals. Especially in connection with the 'dream questions we had expected a variety of exotic and far-flung places and career possibilities straight out of movies such as *The Blue Lagoon* (Kleiser 1980) or *Nurse Betty* (LaBute 2000), which is why I deal only with the dream' answers to the questions: 'If you had all possibilities, where might you dream of moving? If anything were possible for you, what job would you dream of obtaining?'

The majority of the answers concerning 'dream places' were very pragmatic and the young people considered other places in Greenland, probably locations they had visited. Furthermore, we observed significant SES correlation: the three upper SES groups dream of moving to exotic places to a greater degree than do the lower three as may be seen in Table 3.

The fact that the differences between SES groups follow an economic pattern, together with the very concise toponomic answers (e.g. America. Sugarloaf. Maine) gives us a hint that it might be the media, but more probably a possible future vacation that has inspired the answers. A cross check with other questions in the survey confirms this. In many cases exactly the same holiday destination is mentioned. Nevertheless, among the exotic places, the priority 'dream' land is the USA, which alone represents 9 percent (39 of 411) of all SES groups' preferences. Could this preference be inspired by movies?

Table 3: Answers to 'dream' questions. 12-19-year-olds by SES Group (%)

	<i>SES1</i> (34)	<i>SES2</i> (66)	<i>Sf53</i> (37)	<i>Sf54</i> (115)	<i>SFS5</i> (73)	<i>Sf50</i> (86)	<i>SES0-5</i> (417)
<i>Dream places to move to</i>							
Local places	50	44	54	72	82	73	66
Exotic places	41	47	41	23	15	16	27
Don't know	9	9	5	5	3	10	7
	<i>SES 1</i> (21)	<i>SF52</i> (40)	<i>SES3</i> (25)	<i>SF54</i> (83)	<i>Sf55</i> (42)	<i>SES0</i> (32)	<i>SF5 0-5</i> (243)
<i>Dream Job</i>							
Local jobs	43	33	50	54	64	63	53
Exotic Jobs	48	63	40	41	29	34	42
Don't know	10	5	0	5	7	3	5

Note: Figures in brackets - total number of persons in the group who answered the question.

Concerning ‘dream jobs’, inspiration probably comes from both real life perceptions and the media. Furthermore, the SES differentiations are less clear, as can be seen in the second part of Table 3. The most wished-for job is ‘pilot’ in all SES groups: 16 percent (39 of 243) of respondents In SES groups 0-5 wanted to become a pilot. This wish could easily be inspired by media sources as well as from real-life perceptions, since many places only can be reached by air traffic most of the year. A weekly adventure for children and youngsters is when the helicopter arrives with goods, mail, visitors and dreams from far away.

On the other hand, we can detect certain isolated Inspirations from the media In the wish for some jobs that are certainly unavailable in these small communities, such as astronaut, model, Hollywood star, rock star, tourist guide in New Zealand, yogi, or even vampire!

If the young people’s subjective Inner structure’ can be deduced from their wishes for the Future, we can say that the majority are much more subjected to personal experiences than mediated experiences. Only very few have fantasies of becoming a member of a globalized elite, living and working in fancy places and holding extraordinary positions. The SES correlation between economic situation, higher education, good Jobs and life expectations, however, suggests that stratification is at work even though there is little global rush in small communities.

Global or ‘glocal’ way of life?

Given Greenland’s characteristic features; globalization may be said to be a blessing in that it is breaking this remote country’s Isolation through, for Instance, extending the possibilities for travel, communication and media. The many disadvantages attributed to modernization and globalization processes, such as the annihilation of local cultures, giving rise to further stratification problems among groups or causing frustrations by giving rise to longings for unattainable things and possibilities, are only qualified truths when it comes to Greenland.

The local cultures are not at all in danger of annihilation. On the contrary, in many of the small communities a more thorough penetration of a global standardized culture with a wide range of offerings to young people would seem preferable. In theory, the information flow and the outside inspiration should present adolescents with an opportunity for choosing between many different experiences, thereby helping them to develop strategies for their future. In practice, the global flow in the outer districts is so insignificant and so spasmodic that the existing reality leaves much to be desired. Although the traffic between Greenland and the rest of the world is mainly one-way and chiefly conveys merchandise and some cultural flow, the inertia of the outer districts prevents the global ‘Goliath’ from dominating the local David’.

True enough, socioeconomic differences exist and are unfortunately entangled in ethnic and centre-periphery factors. Living as a monolingual Greenlander without education or vocational training in the outer districts does not provide any economic basis for obtaining the newest media equipment or for travelling. These disadvantages in the parent group have an influence on the young people's media access. The shortcuts to global input require satellite dishes, Internet and possibilities to travel outside Greenland. To indulge in media content of one's own choice necessitates owning a television and a videocassette recorder or player. The dividing line between the three upper SES and the two (or three) lower SES groups is unmistakable, but to blame globalization alone would not be fair.

At the level of symbolic culture, examples from young Greenlanders' leisure habits reveal that the urge for what could be seen as a global life-style is strongly marked. In all SES groups the interest in activities such as shopping, disco-dancing and frequenting cafes is more pronounced than the joy of dog sledding, skiing and sewing leather or pearls, although the extent to which these are enjoyed varies according to socioeconomic status. The traditional way of life as shown by the film *Heart of Light* is not what the young people strive to attain. In line with their visible desire for things foreign, it seems as if these youngsters cherish whatever part of the globalized lifestyle that happens to be presented to them, regardless of its limited availability. They decline what is theirs for free and what tourists from other places are yearning for.

In response to ambivalent attitudes towards globalization it would be an exaggeration to claim that young people in Greenland are anything but locals in the globalized world. However, an answer to that problem in Greenland would nevertheless be to ask for more globalization - in the sense of more rather than less standardized conditions in all of Greenland's districts.

To the question of whether unattainable potentialities cause feelings of deprivation, I would say no. The survey questions and interviews reveal that by and large the majority of the young people seem content with their personal experiences (Rygaard 2003). I inferred a certain 'non-aired satisfaction' from their lack of desire to move to another community or country or to aspire to a job beyond their limited possibilities. This conspicuous absence of the will to go beyond what they already know intimately is disturbing when seen in relation to general notions of young people as regards adventure-seeking, dreams of the future, job careers and travels to distant countries.

The young Greenlanders who answered the survey questions only wish for the interesting things the outer world has to offer, such as CDs, movies, DVDs, the latest fashion, computers and other electronic devices. With their natural curiosity the young people seek to make exotic foreign things available and then mix them with elements from their indigenous culture, thereby creating a 'creole' interplay. Very distinct symptoms of 'creolization' can be encountered in Greenland. In fashion, which is one of its most conspicuous manifestations, we observe that even in the most remote of the small communities, young men have bleached their black hair to a very popular shade of orange. And the young girls display their colourful North Face brand coats and leggings

combined with ~sealskin mittens with a border of polar bear fur The shining mountain bikes do not stay on the ground; they are ridden on the frozen sea alongside dog sledges. And the most important piece of furniture, the television set, is beautifully decorated with Greenland handicraft, in front of a wall crowded with well-known foreign idols.

The availability and consumption of consumer goods is one thing; quite another is the ability to ensure that the youngsters of the future will be sufficiently educated to enable them to use existing opportunities in a constructive way. This is something that requires training in knowing what one has to look for and what one can reasonably expect. The young girl who pursued a career as a journalist asserts that she was inspired by the media, but evidently she was unusual.

Although it is from the opposite perspective, I could be criticized, like the German film buyer, for looking upon the lives of the young generation from an ethnocentric viewpoint. That is both justified and wrong. My daily perspective is Nuuk, and from a certain familiarity with the local young people, it seems to me that the possibilities for a challenging 'creole youth life' exist here. Small as it is, Nuuk lacks neither leisure activities, nor the media, nor educational challenges. But in smaller communities -and here I refer to cities' and not the even smaller settlements' - media flow and inspiration are simply not challenging enough. Even though space/time compression has made Greenland part of the global world, 'the anorak [still] tightens', as the former home rule premier, Jonathan Motzfeldt said. Growing up in environments with limited social and human resources and media might be detrimental to members of the next generation. Three of the most fundamental issues in socialization are imitation of the parents, the treatment of the child by significant others, and inspiration from cultural sources, such as folk tales and the media. These factors are crucial for the attitudes of young persons, and living in a 'poor' environment might render them 'degraded', 'powerless' and 'disadvantaged' members of the global society.

Both In the survey and during the interviews we asked very personal questions and our young respondents willingly answered. As mentioned, they did not complain much - only about not having a club, places to meet, and places to dance. I find this rather sad. They don't even know what they are missing in terms of optimal opportunities for the development of children and young people, for planning the future and inspiring dreams. Dreams and plans for the future are nourished by sparks of recognition and by having something to choose from. For many of these young Greenlanders, gaining recognition and having something to choose from would be a luxury. As Betty Friedan (1963) said, "I didn't know I was unhappy being a housewife until I discovered he many other possibilities!"

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The ideas of the future among young Eveny, in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)

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Abstract: This paper represents research proposal for study of Eveny younger generation's visions of their own future in the village of Topolinoye, in the northeast of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) in Siberia. I attempt to examine the consequences of the Soviet State's programmes of displacement, placing of children in boarding schools, and sedentarisation of their nomadic parents and grandparents. As key elements of context, I focus on isolation, exacerbated since the dismantling of much outside infrastructural support; the countervailing raising of expectations through television and videos, made available only recently; and vastly increased consumption of alcohol. This research is located within broader anthropological issues on social change, child development and family dynamics. All of this requires taking under consideration the relationship between past, present and future which I propose to interweave by bringing together the voices of several generations of local people

Keywords: future, reindeer herding, life stories, children's socialisation process.

Introduction

In this research project, I aim to explore current social, economic and political aspects of the contemporary life of a community of Eveny, one of the indigenous peoples of the Siberian North. I focus on how children's ideas about the future are shaped, what attitudes and expectations are generated under conditions and situations contemporary young Eveny face and what choices they are likely to make in the future and why. This research is located within broader anthropological issues on social change, child development and family dynamics. All of this requires taking under consideration the relationship between past, present and future which I attempt to interweave by bringing together the voices of several generations of local people.

The Eveny are an Asiatic minority who number around 17,000. They speak a Tungus-Manchu language. A majority of the Eveny population lives in northern Siberia and are reindeer herders. However, their traditional mode of hunting and reindeer herding was subject in Soviet times to special development policies (Slezkin 1994), which

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attempted to sedentarize them through the construction of villages and placing their children in boarding schools.

The starting point for my research is the local discourse of futurelessness throughout this region. The term *my vymirayushi narod* – a people who are dying out— has become a rhetorical tool used by representatives of indigenous peoples on the political level (Vitebsky 2002). I wish to explore how far this claim has become an integral part of young people's identity, and what strategies they may be devising for dealing with this discourse. Bearing in mind that children eventually grow up to be adults bringing their youthful decisions and longings into their adult life, I would like to explore how Eveny children and teenagers reflect on the situation of social and economic instability that has emerged after the collapse of Soviet state, what impact it exerts on their plans for the future, how they evaluate their own economic and social position in a rapidly changing society.

Research questions and methods

In recent years the social and economic predicaments of indigenous peoples in the Russian North have received increased attention in the writings of social scientists (Anderson 2000; Balzer 1993; Bloch 1996; Forsyth 1994; Grant 1995; Pika 1993, 1999; Slezkin 1994; Ssorin-Chaikov 2001, 2003; Vitebsky 2002). The current revival of Russia's economy is due largely to high world prices for oil and natural gas. Such benefits do not easily reach the inhabitants of the remotest fringes. Indigenous northern minorities suffer rural frustration and poverty without the outlet of migration to the city. Such social problems may be reflected in the rates of violent deaths among northern native peoples which are far higher than among any other citizens of Russia (Bogoyavlensky 1997; Pika 1993), especially among young adults.

The study will take place in Topolinoye, Eveny village on the northeast of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). Initially, the place where Topolinoye now is situated used to be one of the GULAG camps. GULAG stands for the State Administration of Camps (*Gosudarstvennoie Upravlenie Lagerei*), an enormous organisation within NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) which in its days conducted political purge affecting practically every citizen in the Soviet Union. The aim to liquidate "enemies of the people" led to numerous arrests and particularly heavy sentences. NKVD would supply millions of sentenced prisoners as free labour force for large industries throughout the Soviet Union. These included huge timber and gold industries in Siberia and building of important roads as *Kolyma trassa* (Road of Bones), canals as *Solovetzky kanal* and railways. In the 1930s, under Stalinist regime, the entire production of natural resources and the associated industries came under GULAG. GULAG prisoners were concentrated in labour camps where high mortality rate was due to severe and anti-human conditions (Beck and Codin 1951; Solzhenitsyn 1974).

All prisoners' camps within 300 km of the village of Topolinoye were engaged in building the tragically known Kolyma road or Road of Bones. Due to its location close to

the supply road, this place was chosen by the authorities as a suitable location for a new village.

The village of Topolinoye was built in the late 1960s and it became for a few decades a showpiece of Soviet rigid planning, with high level of subsidy giving stability of status and employment. But with the economic collapse of the 1990s, such remote communities were the most severely affected in the entire country: employment, transport, and social and medical care suddenly disappeared, leading to widespread anxiety about the future.

Like other native communities throughout the Russian North (Pika 1999: 12-13), this community has gone through drastic social and economic upheavals including sedentarisation, settlement in centralised community which at that time used to be the village of *Tompo*, introduction of a collective farm "*Pobeda*" in 50s followed by its reorganisation into the state farm "*Tomponsky*", construction of the village *Topolinoye* in 70s and relocation of the old village into the new one. The period of 80s and 90s officially characterised as *perestroika* has brought other changes including liquidation of the state farm "*Tomponsky*" and establishment of several reindeer herding *obshinas* (collectives) whose initial purpose was to allow reindeer herders get involved into market relations on an independent basis.

Since the object of my study is going to be Eveny youth, it is necessary to clarify the term *young* and what meaning it bears in the context of this work. The choice of the age group of 14-17 years old or teen age can be explained by the specificity of this particular stage in a human life cycle when an individual, comparing to earlier periods as toddlers' age or childhood, can articulate his or her potential priorities and the ability to express wishes and expectations from the future as well as the reasons for their preferences. At this stage, young people still have ideal conceptions of the self and it will be revealing to look at how young people envisage their own future and what to their point of view should be done in order to attain the goals which they set for themselves. Moreover, I would like to see how institutional age group classification correlates with Eveny traditional ideas of maturity and responsibility. Does this classification conflict with their conceptualisation of young person' transition to adulthood? What constraints does it involve? What role duties are expected from the young person of this age?

Seventeen is the final complete year of compulsory full-time education in Russian Federation. Adulthood is formally attained by the age of eighteen which signifies that a young person is no longer a minor and entitled to vote. Thereafter, experiences and forms of participation in social institutions become divergent but mostly determined by educational attainment, social background, values or some combination of other factors which I aim to explore first in the village and also by following mature youth to the city of Yakutsk.

Therefore, in connection to this, it is also necessary to ask the following questions: how does the present system of social and economic forces affect or determine life

pathways and destinations for young Eveny? And what individual or other social attributes are needed to have a successful outcome in this system?

The research will be ethnographic in approach and its core will consist of participant observations supplemented by in-depth interviews. Moreover, I shall be involved in different kinds of community activities on a voluntarily basis such as organisation of children's leisure time, celebrations of national holidays and traditional festivals as Reindeer Herders' Day and others. I shall also take part as an observer in political elections on the local administration, district or republic levels and these kinds of events. My involvement in community life will give me access to different age groups, i.e. grandparents, parents, older siblings of those children whom I am going to teach.

I shall stay with Eveny families in the forest, moving around with a reindeer herding brigade in the forest during the summer time to observe family interaction in the setting of reindeer herding camp. These sorts of involvement as in employment or as an observer will allow me to account for children's socialisation in the forest, i.e. reindeer herders' camp, and to look at children's participation in the life of reindeer herder's camp. Looking at patterns of employment and occupational options available for young men and women will give me an opportunity reflect on possible professional destinations opened for young Eveny.

Furthermore, interpersonal relations in local society, i.e. existing factions, history of any conflicts between personalities or tensions within the community, will need to be reflected as well. This will allow me to consider what resources are at stake for the local Eveny nowadays and will bring the discussion towards the question of social networks. This dilemma will demand special attention since the implications are complex and eventually lead to the question of access to different kinds of future.

As I have stated above, I shall conduct my research in the settings of the village and the forest. Thus, I am distinguishing two modes of living which make up two specific social contexts characterised by different modes of communication and practices involved. By drawing this distinction, I intend to encompass people's movement between different kinds of space and different, though interacting, ways of life. My main question in the research process can be phrased in the following way:—To what extent does children's socialisation differ in each of these settings, and what influence this might have on their later life-trajectories? To test the presumption of 'no future', I shall also ask questions such as: How do local children see the future, for themselves, their friends and community? How might they write or talk about the future? What generates their anticipations? What do the present young generation of Eveny consider important and what they are pre-occupied with? How do they understand their parents' lives, and how do they relate to this their own lives?

As key elements of context, I shall reflect on the situation of isolation, exacerbated since the dismantling of much outside infrastructural support; the contradiction of raising expectations through television and videos, made available only recently; and vastly

increased consumption of alcohol, which somehow reaches the village far more easily than food or medical care.

The task to following young people's migration from one setting to another, for example from Topolinoye to Khandiga or Yakutsk to pursue educational purposes, and observing afterwards their experience in the city and further pathways will help me in my attempts to understand where their social and material capital come from and what is the relationship between individual and structural factors in the process of young person's fulfilment of growth tasks. In other words, how does an individual's agency interact with the system and with those social structures, which determine occupational choice and, eventually, shape individuals' life trajectories?

Theoretical perspectives and analytical frameworks

In their discussion of cultural change among Siberian Yupik (Asiatic Eskimo) in Chukotka, Krupnik and Vakhtin suggest that several important components of the Yupik heritage – naming and ideas of reincarnation, attitudes towards game animals and their remains on the beaches, concepts about the vertical stratification of the universe, and others- are firmly preserved (1997: 239). They view indigenous knowledge as a "people's intellectual legacy in transition" and believe that "any environmental change – either physical or social – could be similarly examined from the perspective of cultural transformation as an integrated community response" (1997: 237). Taking this into consideration, the question of continuity or loss in this sense could be approached from the point of view of a two-sided dynamic in which there is a place for general cultural shifts and replacement of certain components of culture as well as for endurance and persistence of others.

Julie Cruikshank's elaborate and beautifully written accounts on oral life stories of Native Americans (1990, 1998) might prove helpful in approaching the issue of generations. I expect that oral testimonies and biographies of individuals can reveal the complexity and mosaic of experiences in different historical periods of the society as well as providing reflections on the dynamics of its changes. In this sense, I consider life histories as a nexus of three temporal dimensions—past, present and future. While telling history of his/her own life, the elder person would look back to the past, a young person would do the same but in the opposite direction – to his/her own future, but for both of them the present would be the starting reference point. Hence, I will look at people's life stories, the ways they conceptualise their past and what reference points they use while speaking about their family histories. I presume that each person will talk about personal life experience in the genre distinctive to the generation to which he/she belongs. Therefore, I shall make an attempt to account for the nature of continuity and change among several generations of Eveny.

The process when children become effectively functioning members of particular society has been a subject of substantial corpus of anthropological and psychological literature (Briggs 1979,1998; Jahoda and Lewis 1987; Middleton 1970 and others). These authors have been tackling the question of how people become who they are and in so

doing constitute the social relations of which they appear to be the product. Under the given research agenda, I will explore, in detail, types of discrepancies revealed in the texture of individuals' lives, i.e. the particular which can be situated within and distinguished from the general (Schiefflin 1990: 21). By looking into individual children's accounts I would like to consider variabilities which are related to differences in activities of forest and village children as well as between children of different age in terms of what is acceptable, interesting, appropriate.

I shall explore cultural continuity within the family – between parents and children, elder and younger siblings, grandparents and parents, grandparents and grandchildren—I will look at everyday family life in order to understand the context of practical actions in which values, rules and attitudes are expressed, talked about, and negotiated. Giddens suggests that individuals act out, experiment, practice and creatively manipulate the social resources available for them. He posits that "socialisation is an active process between children and members which encompasses dialogical contexts of communication and the accumulation of practical knowledge of conventions drawn upon in the production and reproduction of social interaction" (1979: 251). In my research, I will put to test this theoretical proposition by considering, in ethnographic detail, socialising activities within the given society and explore those aspects which may form the basis for transformation of the culture and also serve as a pre-condition for its transmission and reproduction (Fortes 1938; Schiefflin 1990; Yates 1990). In other words I attempt to touch the range of several aspects of the present-day situation of a local society and Eveny culture in order to understand the constituents of young Eveny identity, i.e. what cultural aspects are either contested or conformed to in contemporary Eveny society.

While analysing learning processes many anthropological studies while analysing learning processes put an emphasis on cultural transmission and the persistence of traditions. Meyer Fortes, following Malinowski, stressed the necessity to observe the interaction between parents and children in the socialisation process and how knowledge of specialised techniques was taught and passed on. This emphasis is particularly prominent in his work on children of Taleland. He views the process of informal learning among Tale children not as an isolated activity but woven into the general texture of practical life. He criticises the notion of children's play as imitation of adults' activities and points out that play 'is never a simple and mechanical reproduction; it is always imaginative construction, based on themes of adult life and the life of older children' (1970: 244).

In the same vein, Christina Toren has described how Fijian children develop notions of social hierarchy (Toren 1987). She observes that children do not simply learn fixed concepts, their concepts differ in significant ways from those of adults, and that they are actively engaged in the process of producing meanings.

"The child" in contemporary anthropology is understood to be an agent, actively engaged in constituting the ideas and practices that will inform its adult life, i.e. the process of making meaning is always mediated by relations with others (Toren 1993). Then, Jean L. Briggs states, "each individual weaves that web of connections

cumulatively over a lifetime, out of the materials available: cultural, physical, biological and so on ... Choices are never free, they are weighted by associations created in emotionally charged experiences both past and present" (1998: 15). In other words, children do not get their culture 'ready-made'; they have to construct it gradually over time out of data available to them from their interaction with, and observance of, other members of society.

The question of cultural continuity requires consideration of different aspects of Even culture and, specifically, the question of their transmission. Spirituality is one domain of the given culture, which stirs up a number of complex predicaments for researchers. Historically, Siberian Native societies have undergone a long period of acculturation which went hand in hand with the Soviet project of modernisation (Pika 1999; Slezkin 1994). One of the ultimate goals of that project was to instil among these people atheistic ideas and to deny traditional beliefs and local religion. And this is actually one of the reasons why some discussions of cultures of native minorities in the Russian North have been focused primarily on "loss of tradition or culture" as an aftermath of Soviet ideology.

However, this may not necessarily be the case. Perhaps, in the context of family, where actual cultural learning is taking place, the transmission of traditional ideas and beliefs from elders to juniors has been aided by other means interwoven in their everyday practice of hunting and reindeer herding since transmission of practical knowledge can be held in a particular mode where the ideas of doubt or disbelief is simply withheld.

In this case, it is necessary to concentrate on culturally and family shared norms acquired through repeated interaction between parent and child or between child and mature family members like grandmother or grandfather. I believe that this interaction plays a crucial role in the person-making process. It also contributes to development of the sense of attachment and confidence in values instilled by parents throughout childhood. The close socialisation among family members ensures continuity of cultural meanings shared by different generations and prevents disruption of mutually understanding dialog between elder and youngsters (Briggs 1998).

Reindeer herding parents are forced to stay away from their children most of the time, and their interaction with their children doesn't take place that often, apart from the summer school holidays when children eventually can participate in their parents' everyday activity and help them looking after the herd of reindeer or taking care of the tent and doing household duties.

Furthermore, several generations of local Even have grown up in the *internat*, or boarding school. *Internat* was, and in some regions still is, a permanent element of any reindeer herders' communities. It served as a home for the children while their parents were away working in the forest camp. In the village of Topolinoye before *internat* was closed in 1993, children, whose parents were reindeer herders, stayed there throughout the whole period of their schooling. During the summer time, the state farm – *sovkhos*—

usually provided them with a helicopter or any other transport means that brought all the children back to their parents in the camp for the summer vacation.

Since the early 30s, the boarding or residential schools in indigenous Siberian societies were a part of the project of acculturation which ultimate goal was to transform people into ideal members of Soviet society. Bloch writes, "it was thought that ultimately an educated cadre of indigenous leaders and professionals, such as doctors and teachers, would assist indigenous Siberians in moving quickly through the stages of feudalism and capitalism, directly into socialism" (1996: 72). Created during the Soviet time, institutions and infrastructures were meant to facilitate further economic development for indigenous Siberians. Thus, a boarding school was one of the means to achieve these goals.

The long period of boarding school education has brought changes of different nature but most of all it produced the situation when parents' reliance on institutional support has become inevitable. Families of reindeer herders were obliged to give their children for compulsory ten-years of schooling when children reached the age of seven. In this community, it has been practised from 30-s to 90-s of the last century.

By the end of 90s, local boarding school was closed due to the lack of financial support of the state which maintained existence and functioning of the *internat*. Nowadays, there are several generations of local Eveny who spent childhood and adolescence in the *internat* and younger generation who grew up without necessity to stay in a local boarding school but still with their parents in the forest.

Hence, I will explore the impact of boarding schools on the life of several generations of the local Even. How do elders express their feelings toward the state's enforced removal of children from their families? What was the experience of these children in the boarding school? How has it affected their destinies and outlooks? How do they view their parenting role now? What pattern do they follow while bringing up their own children? What did they lack at boarding schools? What wouldn't they wish for their children's future lives and why? What are their expectations of children? How do they view the future of their children?

In addition, I will examine the situation which has been created by the abolishment of local *internat*. Who is taking care of school children while their parents are away and a boarding school does not exist any more? Are there any substitutes for *internat* apart from relatives who stays in the village? What are the actual implications of *internat* abolishment? And how do local people regard the role of a boarding school now?

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The Second IPSSAS (*International Ph.D. School for Studies of Arctic Societies*) seminar was held in Iqaluit, Nunavut, Canada from May 26 to June 6, 2003 on the theme of “Building Capacity in Arctic Societies: Dynamics and Shifting Perspectives.” Thirteen graduate students came from six different countries to present and discuss their research with IPSSAS and guest faculty. The seminar also welcomed active participation from local Inuit and non-Inuit residents (students, instructors, civil servants, researchers, etc.).

The proceedings of this Second IPSSAS seminar include contributions from the following individuals (in alphabetical order): Jaypeetee Arnakak, John Bainbridge, Maxime Steve Bégin, Jean L. Briggs, Mac Clendenning, Cindy Cowan, Kenn Harper, Peter Irniq, Maaki Kakkik, Lawrence D. Kaplan, Molly Lee, Janet McGrath, Saali Mikijuk, Alexandre Morin, Ludger Müller-Wille, Nathalie Ouellette, Kenneth Pedersen, Lynn Peplinski, Aaju Peter, Bruce Rigby, Julie Rodrigue, Mette Ronsager, Jette Rygaard, Marie-Amélie Salabelle, Susan Sammons, Frank Sejersen, Jamal Shirley, Mary Ellen Thomas, Jorgen Trondhjem, François Trudel, Martina Tyrrell, Lucien Ukaliannuk, Olga Ulturgasheva, Pascale Visart de Bocarmé, Shelley Wright.