The Changing Arctic Community:
Discussions with Inuit Women in Iqaluit, Nunavut

by

Anita Lynn Connolly

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Supervisor:	Prof. Jim Richardson, Department of Sociology, UNB
Examining Board:	Prof. Larry Wisniewski, Department of Sociology, UNB, Chair Prof. Gary Bowman, Department of Sociology, UNB Prof. Peter Lovell, Department ofAnthropology, UNB

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the development of the concept "community" in Iqaluit. The rapid changes from small social groups - which focussed on primary, kinship relationships - to larger, more diverse and heterogeneous communities, has had an impact on how Inuit participate in, and preserve their distinct culture. The development of the "Inuit community," which includes all Inuit across Northern Canada, is possible despite all of the changes in the traditional culture because several key elements (traditions, use of Inuktitut, availability of Elders, and the northern environment itself) are constantly being integrated and redefined in the modern day context. Balancing traditional cultural beliefs with Southern social expectations in a wage-based economy is challenging, but Inuit agency and contributions and control in the ways in which technology enhances their lives cannot be underestimated.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the Inuit women of Canada's North. Your hard work, dedication, and interest in the preservation of your traditional culture is something to be admired, and respected.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION, THEORETICAL ORIENTATION AND RESEARCH INTEREST

Northern Canada has undergone tremendous change in a comparatively short period. The Inuit have faced many challenges; among those are cultural preservation and the maintenance of a sense of community. While a lot of research has been done on the Inuit culture, little of this has focussed on the impact of social, economic and technological change on the community and the Inuit culture. Rather, the bulk of literature refers to either the traditional lifestyle of the Inuit, or of the rapid growth of Inuit communities. Little attention is paid to the ways the Inuit have adapted to these changes, how they have integrated the traditional with the modern form of community, or how they have reconciled the concepts of community and culture.

To seek answers to these and other related questions, soon after the April, 1999 celebration of Nunavut territory, I spoke with ten Inuit women living in Iqaluit about how they perceive the changes in their community, and listened as they described how these changes have had an impact on the traditional Inuit way of life. As I describe later in this chapter, community has been an elusive concept for anthropologists and sociologists, and, as I found, for people in their everyday life and especially so for those undergoing rapid and recent change. In the face of such changes, there is concern about preservation of a traditional culture and way of life.

This thesis, then, focusses on the relationship between community and culture in the context of extreme social and economic change. The changes that have taken place in the

North are extreme in the sense that they have occurred rapidly, and without any sort of adjustment period. Once isolated from Southern Canada, and Western ideals, the Inuit of Canada's North were abruptly (within 100 years) exposed to cultures other than their own, and were expected to adapt quickly which, in essence, they did. Traditionally the Inuit moved in small "bands," or camps. From the advent of the fur trade to governmental intervention and the residential/missionary school system, much of what is now the Inuit "community" has been imposed from the outside. Adjustments were made according to what was occurring to them as opposed to perhaps naturally occurring changes. Far from levelling off, these changes are still taking place in Canada's North. Moving from a life on the land to settlements meant a quick introduction to various lifestyle changes. For example, a different economy meant changes in traditional sex roles. With new forms of leadership, Inuit had to learn a "new" way of perceiving their social reality, they had to attend residential schools, and they were exposed to new and unknown technologies. In short, "everything" changed so quickly that there has been little time in which to decide on the relevance of the traditional Inuit lifestyle in the context of what seems an imposed new social order. Still, a more active role is now being taken by Inuit community; much of which is aided by Inuit organizations such as Pauktutit, and Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA)[1]. Research is only one area in which Inuit community are actively participating; others include health care, education, technology, and government.

A necessary step in this research was to come to an understanding of what community is; or rather, how the women defined community. When one spends any amount of time

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living in the Arctic, there is little doubt as to the existence of a "community." While traditional skills are no longer required for modern survival, it did seem to me that the Inuit have continued to put stock in those practices and traditions which they believe help to maintain a culturally distinctive identity. Community dances, craft sales which bring in artists from all across the arctic, and yearly events such as the "Toonik Tyme" spring festival, all serve to bring people together in celebration of their common background. However, while these culturally specific organizations and celebrations are intended to unite the culture, it remains problematic whether these are sufficient to counteract the forces of change and modernization occurring in their communities.

At the core of this research is the concept of "community." It is a broad concept that has been analysed, stripped down, and redefined by many different theorists (e.g. Hillery[2]). It is a convoluted term, one that means many things to many people, and a concept which can easily be reduced to semantics. In one sense, the Inuit have always had a clear notion of what community means because it was synonymous with what we think of as kinship. Prior to the whaling industry, and more currently, the fur trade, Inuit communities consisted of only Inuit families. In the past, when groups of families, or camps, would travel from one area to another according to the seasons of the year, the idea of what a community is was clearly understood in a social world uncomplicated by multiculturalism.

At the same time, the concept of "community" is, in many respects, a new one for

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[2]In George Hillery's 1955 "Definitions of community: Areas of agreement" he states that while there are 94 various ways of defining the concept "community" (according to his qualitative and quantitative measures) in the end, community is a subjective concept, and there is not one single way in which to define it.

many Aboriginal groups. Whereas Inuit bands were once connected by kinship, a close relationship with the land, and with others who shared a common connection with those same things, I will be arguing in this thesis that community has come to involve a "new" set of ideas and learning how to live with others who do not share common experiences. Traditionally, the Inuit had little need to see outside of their own kinship ties. There was no greater community. Now, however, it is different. Cohen states:

> community is that entity to which one belongs, greater than kinship but more immediately than the abstraction we call 'society.' It is the arena in which people acquire their most fundamental and most substantial experience of social life outside the confines of the home. In it they learn the meaning of kinship through being able to perceive its boundaries - that is, by juxtaposing it to non-kinship; they learn 'friendship'; they acquire the sentiments of close social association and the capacity to express or otherwise manage these in their social relationships. Community, therefore, is where one learns and continues to practice how to 'be social' (1985: 15).

I will be arguing in this thesis that the changes which have occurred in Iqaluit have created the need for this shift from kinship to community; and along with that, the need to rethink "community." Far from being a concept that is defined in one way only by a particular group, "community" can be, and often is, a very experiential concept. Where once kinship relationships served as a form of community for the Inuit, today it is a newly evolving concept which means having to accept others outside of immediate primary relationships as members of the community. And, in doing so, there are obvious implications for the traditional way of life and culture which characterized their lives in the past.

Organization of the Thesis

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to the particular literature that exists on the

subject of community, particularly in terms of typologies, and the ecological perspective. In Chapter Two, I discuss the particular methodological approach I took for this research, some of the steps I took to gain access into a Northern community, and a discussion of ethical concerns when doing research, particularly in the North. Chapter Three examines some of the changes that precipitated the development of the concept "community," namely schooling, housing, and the influx of transients into Northern communities - specifically Iqaluit. Chapter Four presents the development of the distinct "Inuit" community, which traverses actual physical geography to include all of Northern Canada's Inuit. Factors such as common traditional beliefs, the Northern environment, and cultural traditions make the creation of an "Inuit Community" possible. Chapter Five examines ways in which the women make compromises in "two worlds:" both the traditionally Inuit aspects of their community, and the Eurocanadian social reality that exists in Iqaluit. This chapter ends with a discussion of technology in the North, and the presence and involvement of Inuit in the advancement and development of technology in their communities. The final chapter of the thesis is devoted to summarizing the findings of the research, as well as looking at possible future policy and research development in Aboriginal communities.

Theory

Many contemporary attempts to understand community have their foundation in classical theories of society such as those advanced by Durkheim, Weber, Marx, and Tönnies. It is important to expand on these theories in a contextual and historical way so that community can be understood as a constantly changing concept. While focussing on

different aspects of modernity, all looked at how community functioned and was organized prior to and after the great social changes associated with the rise of industrial capitalism. Their typologies of aspects of traditional and modern are helpful in understanding how industrialism and capitalism affects communities. Community as a concept is challenging to define at best, and in a modern context where a dichotomized line of traditional and modern no longer exists, the approach of ideal types and dichotomies becomes almost moot. However, the approach undertaken by those who employ a typological perspective is important in that it aids in showing that structure and agency both have an impact on how communities evolve. With that in mind, it is also important to consider the process involved in the evolution of community from small to large, and from homogeneous to heterogeneous. At the same time, whereas traditional societies involved essentially one set of norms regarding social interaction, in modern societies there is one set of norms seen as appropriate in public life and another set of norms as appropriate in the private world of family and kinship. Clearly, in developed and industrialized societies we have had a considerable period in which to learn how to balance these sometimes conflicting norms (for example particularism and ascription with universalism and achievement). However, in the case of Iqaluit, the traditional is no more than a generation away so that the clash between the two forms of community life is extremely apparent and vivid, thereby creating interesting challenges and developments.

- ***Classical Theories***

For those we now regard as classical sociologists, the overriding concern was the loss

of community. Perhaps, as Gusfield (1975) and many others have noted, their analysis was tinged with "nostalgia for the old and disgust for the new (1975:5)" In any event, as he points out, early sociologists believed that the changes they were observing involved a change from one way of living to another and were irreversible and inevitable. Traditional forms of social interaction and social structure were either disappearing or were being transformed by the forces of industrialism and capitalism:

> they believed that the changes of the industrial and democratic revolutions meant the rapid disappearance of one kind of human association and its replacement by another. They saw two types of human association, each constituting a systematic arrangement of consistent parts and each contradicting the other. The forms of the modern broke sharply with the dominant features of pre-nineteenth-century life. The present was a more individuated and individualistic social organization than the past; one in which bonds of group loyalties and emotional attachments gave way to the rationalistic ties of utilitarian interests and uniform law. It was a world in which the ordered and accepted structure of privileges and duties between unequals was blown away in the winds of class struggle and equality of person; in which the common beliefs of religion were battered by the attacks of secular and scientific argument (Gusfield, 5: 1975).

The Industrial Revolution, then, meant a vast change in the way community was perceived. Influential observers such as Tönnies, Durkheim, Marx and Weber saw the changes in society as the end of a unified and homogeneous society and the beginning of one which was more heterogeneous, competitive and fractured. While these theorists all agreed that the Industrial Revolution and industrial capitalism were related in some way to the changes in communities, each had their own views on how the changes occurred, what the most significant changes were, and what the long-term effects on society would be. Essentially, however, they all agreed that community was changing into something more complicated and

in an effort to capture at least aspects of what we now refer to as modernization, the theorists examined both ends of the long-term changes in European society, and reduced them to two "static types" (Bell & Newby, xii: 1974).

Tönnies, the founding father of community studies viewed community as transforming from something simple and harmonious, to something much more complex. His concepts of *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* translate roughly into *community* and *society*; polar opposites when talking about social groups. *Gemeinschaft* relationships are closely related to a traditional sense of community, where family, and kinship are the primary social bonds (Bell & Newby, 25: 1971). By no means was this earlier definition of community meant to describe only a small local group. According to Bell and Newby (1971: 24) it also referred to social bonds characterized by emotional cohesion, depth, continuity and fullness, not unlike what Cooley later was to refer to as *primary* relationships. In general then, Tönnies' notion of community is one that is homogeneous, where roles are clearly defined, and where people feel a strong attachment to others and to place. *Gesellschaft*, on the other hand, refers to the larger, heterogeneous society that focusses on merit, and individual worth (Bell & Newby, 24: 1971). The society is more impersonal, and less attached to place, again, to be echoed later by Cooley's notion of *secondary* relationships. Looking at the extremes of the concepts Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, it is obvious that the older "community" is viewed with a moral hue; there is the assumption that everything was better before large-scale societal change:

> Gemeinschaft is old; Gesellschaft is new as a name as well as a phenomenon. All praise of rural life has pointed out that the Gemeinschaft among people is stronger there and more alive; it is the lasting and genuine form of living

> together. In contrast to Gemeinschaft, Gesellschaft is transitory and superficial. Accordingly, Gemeinschaft should be understood as a living organism, Gesellschaft as a mechanical aggregate and artifact (Tönnies: 8)

Durkheim's notion of *mechanical* and *organic* solidarity was an attempt to capture a more specific aspect of the dichotomy between traditional and modern, that of the change in the division of labour. Mechanical solidarity referred to a division of labour based on age and sex such that people shared similar morals, customs, and beliefs. Organic solidarity on the other hand, referred to a more complex division of labour where interests vary, and occupational groups, though maintaining a dependence on one another, do so on the basis of function rather than kinship (Bell & Newby, 23: 1971). While Durkheim agreed with Tönnies that community was indeed changing, he was more optimistic than Tönnies because he believed, in the long run, the disintegration of community, the anomic society of his time, would be replaced by a new form of social solidarity and social integration, that of organic solidarity (Bell and Newby, 1971: 23). Essentially, then:

> (b)oth men . . . reduced the continuous long-term process of social change to two static types though Durkheim provided at least a partial answer to the problems of the movement between them by linking the two types of bonding to each other as different stages of the division of labour (Bell & Newby, xii: 1974).

Other theorists, such as Weber and Marx, also examined the changes occurring in society, and how they affected social behaviour. Weber, who saw the change from traditional to rational society as involving an increasing emphasis on science and bureaucracy, focussed on the changing nature of authority. Simply, traditional authority, based on inheritance of position, largely through the kinship structure was giving way to rational-legal authority based in knowledge, expertise, ability and achievement. His is

largely a pessimistic view because with the rise of bureaucratic society and norms of efficiency is a process of dehumanization and loss of community (Hassinger & Pinkerton, 1986: 13). Marx, on the other hand, focussed on the implications of the shift in the means of production from a feudal community to a capitalistic society. While for Marx, the relationship between lord and serf in feudal society is inherently based in conflict, the class conflicts of capitalistic society are much more intensely divisive because they involve a breakdown of both community and kinship ties and loyalties. Additionally, Marx did not lament a "loss" of community:

> (A)s an heir to the enlightenment belief in progress through science, Marx saw much value in a capitalism that had destroyed 'the idiocy of rural life.' For the modernists, the new rational character of modern life meant the end of those constraints on human equality and economic affluence from which mankind had suffered for much of the human past (Gusfield, 1975: 6).

Although Marx was more concerned with class relations than community, it is important to note that he too regarded modernity, at least as it is based in the rise of industrial capitalism as involving a loss of community. Only through the overthrow of capitalism and its replacement with a communist society could a sense of community be restored.

There are of course, differences among the classical theorists in regards to societal change; what is a more important consideration, and so forth. What they all share, however, is the idea that there was a shift in society; small, homogenous groups who shared common morals and beliefs eventually became larger, heterogenous, complex societies where the individual became more important than the social group. How communities survive societal-level changes is a question of interest for community theorists who strive to understand how these large-scale changes affected local communities (Hassinger & Pinkerton, 1986: 13).

Particularly in North American sociology (and the Chicago school even more specifically), the focus in community studies in the first half of the 20'th Century was on the rural-urban dichotomy and issues emerging from the human ecology theory or perspective (eg: Theodorson, 1961). While some human ecology theorists argue that community still exists, others, such as Stein (1960) believed that, with the growth of cities, the classical sense of community was lost in the more eclectic, and impersonal environment. In other words all that is good, cohesive, and functional about community is being lost as we become urban and urbane (Wirth, 1938). Thus, "community" for some is fading quickly into extinction. The typological approach to the study of community is important in its description of tightly knit organisms losing a sense of unique identity, and becoming less simple, and less conducive to social harmony. What must be brought into contemporary theory is the acknowledgement of progression from one end of the spectrum to the other, as well as the understanding that change need not be considered negative and may sometimes signify progress. Critics often note that typological discussion of community is value-laden; older, they say, is not necessarily better.

Theorists who study community from a human ecology perspective believe that at one time, the traditional community interacted within a particular, shared locale which bound them together as members of the community. Hassinger and Pinkerton state that the changes in community have been explained in terms of agricultural development:

> a great social mutation occurred when humans learned to plant and cultivate crops and to domesticate animals for food and burden - that is, when they invented agriculture. Now, people could remain in place for the entire year, for an entire life time, for generation after generation, in agricultural settlements. People in close and fixed proximity engaging in agriculture

> develop stable relationships and common norms, values, and institutions (1986: 4).

Certainly this same theory regarding agriculture cannot be used when considering the changes the Inuit have experienced. However, Inuit, once nomadic, when moved by the government into settlements were expected to live in a central community where a nomadic lifestyle was not necessary. It became possible to settle into an environment and not have to travel to support themselves (i.e., hunting). In this way, Inuit settled into more centralized geographical locations, and in becoming sedentary, created communities in such a way as to broaden their social group to include people from other bands from other Arctic communities.

Park clearly defines community and geography as being closely tied together. However, he also argues that while many people can live together in one geographical area, this does not make a community. The terms "community" and "society," then, are used together, rather than as two opposing states:

> community is the term that is applied to societies and social groups where they are considered from the point of view of the geographical distribution of the individuals and institutions of which they are composed. It follows that every community is a society, but not every society is a community. An individual may belong to many social groups but he will not ordinarily belong to more than one community, except in so far as a smaller community of which he is a member is included in a larger of which he is also a member. However, an individual is not, at least from a sociological point of view, a member of a community because he lives in it but rather because, and to the extent that, he participates in the common life of the community (Park and Burgess, 1924: 163).

Participation in the common life I felt, would be an important theme in this research since I believed that for the Inuit, being a part of the community meant participating in community

activities; embracing the community. Certainly, being a member of the community means more than simply living in the same geographical area as everyone else, but the geography of their particular community is one of the most important identifying features of "community." And, in terms of preserving a *common* (Inuit) *culture*, participation in the traditional culture at various levels is necessary.

Geography is important in that it ties people to this "common life." From an ecological theoretical standpoint, it can be argued that while Inuit did not come from an agricultural setting, as is argued in that theory of societal change[3] they are close to their environment. Robert Redfield states that:

> the concept of ecological system takes into account much of the whole community when that community is one that is closely dependent upon the land and the seasons. Primitive communities exist in such dependence; and in primitive communities we find it possible to describe concurrent regularities of man and nature in such a way as to include much of the life of the people and to describe the unique character of that people (1960: 29)

This consciousness of ecological connection has been difficult to maintain when the environment itself changes, and the cultural importance of this connection is not a central focus. Ecology, however, is not enough in describing community or the changes a community goes through. In addition to not being able to fully explain the phenomena of community, human ecology as a theory is a very structural one that does not make much allowance for human agency outside of this view of community as an organism.

One might argue that in cities, it is more difficult than in the country to find this ecological relationship. However, Redfield, a student of Park's, argues that human ecology

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[3] Park and Burgess, 1969

is about our relationship to our environment, and community is as much mental as physical:

> in towns and cities men build their environments into their very houses and streets so that the land and the weather are pushed outside of the system. And in every community, primitive or civilized, what most importantly surrounds and influences the people are the traditions, sentiments, norms, and aspirations that make up the common mental life. The world in which plants and rabbits live is made up of more or less adaptive response to the natural features immediately around the rabbits and the plants. The world of men is made up in the first place of ideas and ideals. If one studies the rise of urban communities out of more primitive communities, it is the change in the mental life, in norms and in aspirations, in personal character, too, that becomes the most significant aspect of the transformation (1960: 29-30).

In his book *The Little Community* (1960), Redfield links tightly the small, homogeneous rural type community with the particular environment in which it exists:

> in short, I began to see that the activities of the Indians were in part reflections of the regularities and irregularities of nature: of the invariably changing seasons and of the variable weather. I become more attentive to the land and to the heavens above. Gradually I came to see that these Indians dwelt in a very simple landscape in which a few features, some natural and some man-made, limited principle features (21).

Ecological theories of the development of community life, then, are not enough to fully explain the cultural and social development of social groups. In fact, says Redfield, attempting to explain communities solely in an ecological framework is pointless when most certainly those living in the community have no understanding of their surrounding as part of an ecological system as sociologically defined (1960: 32). It is important to develop concepts that describe how its members define community:

> If what we want most to understand is their own view of things, we need concepts that will describe the inside view, as much of it as we can come to share (1960: 32).

However, an understanding of human ecology is useful in that it helps to explain the connection of people and their physical environment; perhaps especially for those who live in less urban environments. Furthermore, when looking at the changes in community from a typological framework, human ecology is important in that it illustrates just how, traditionally, people related to one another and to the environment.

The Research Question

While my initial research interest had to do more with preservation of culture than "community" as a concept, my research questions about techniques of cultural preservation, and who is considered a "member of the community" elicited some interesting responses about the ways in which the Inuit community has found balance in a quickly changing social world which has provided them with little time for adjustment. My original research question "how have the changes in Northern Canada had an impact on traditional Inuit culture, and cultural preservation" was shaped and defined by the strong responses regarding community, and community development.

The Research Context

Nunavut is composed of three regions (and 28 communities): Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin), Kivalliq (Keewatin), and Kitikmeot. These regions cover 1.994 million square kilometres, yet have a combined population of only 25,000. Administering an area that covers 20 percent of Canada, the Nunavut government is, of necessity, decentralized through creation of agencies and departments for each community that are designed specifically to care for the particular needs of each individual community. The 1993 Nunavut Land Claims agreement gave Inuit control over nearly 20 percent of Nunavut, and gave them the right to self-

government, which they have chosen to develop in a public government structure, despite the fact that Inuit make up approximately 85 percent of the population in Nunavut. The creation and development of the Nunavut territory has allowed the Inuit to address various social issues in a way that is relevant to their particular needs and concerns.

Iqaluit[4], itself, named capital of the Nunavut Territory on April 1, 1999, is a diverse community of approximately 5,000 with close to 95 percent of the population being Inuit. Many people, including those from Southern Canada who come to Iqaluit do so for work – the new territory offers many job opportunities, especially in government. This has meant an influx of residents from other communities both North and south of Iqaluit. While there are individuals and families living in Iqaluit who are originally from the area, most of the women with whom I spoke originated from communities further North than Iqaluit. In comparison to other Northern communities, Iqaluit is unique in its degree of familiarity with Southern lifestyles. The influx of people from other Northern communities, and indeed, from the South, has much to do with employment opportunities rather than with survival. One writer describes Iqaluit ("Frobisher Bay community") as a community dedicated to change:

> the heterogeneity of life-styles is particularly marked in the Frobisher Bay community, and it is possible to correlate factors of age, sex, and socio-economic levels with life-style patterns in their settlement. Pangnirtung is more homogenous, perhaps because its history is shorter and its Eurocanadian segment is a smaller minority than in Frobisher Bay. The motives of Pangnirtung Inuit for living in a settlement also contrast with the Frobisher Bay Inuit. The people of the Cumberland Sound region came to the settlement because, apparently, there was no other alternative at the time; they were not committed to change, only to survival. The Frobisher Bay

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[4] Appendix I

> people came into town specifically looking for jobs and, to some degree, are committed to change, or at least bring with them a degree of flexibility and receptivity toward change. Thus the wider range of acculturation in the Frobisher Bay population may be a function of various levels of motivation and differential experiences with Eurocanadians over the three decades of modern contact (McElroy, 1977: vol. 2, pp 149-150).

Iqaluit, then, is unique in that it is a city of two "worlds," both traditionally Inuit, and "Eurocanadian."

Participants in the Research

Of the 10 women with whom I spoke, only one was originally from Iqaluit. The other women were from Cape Dorset (2), Kimmerut (3), Pond Inlet (1), Pangnirtung (1), Coral Harbour (1), and one identified herself as being from both North and South Baffin. Of the 10 women, three identified themselves as having spent several years "growing up" out on the land, and later moving into communities with their families. Because the government began moving Inuit into settlements in the 1950's, and because of the 10 women, nine ranged in age from approximately 40 to 65 years of age, I suspect that the number of participants who experienced living on the land is higher.

CHAPTER TWO
METHODOLOGY

Doing social research in Nunavut requires following the regulations set out by the Nunavut Research Institute. There is a stringent licensing process that ensures all researchers follow proper protocol, and that the project itself is ethical in nature. Recently there has been a move to include the Northern community in research projects. This means that increasingly, Aboriginal community members are involved in the research at all stages including the collection of data, the recording of data, and everything in between. Researchers are strongly encouraged to continue to keep the research relevant to Aboriginal concerns and interests. One of the ways to do this is to consult with community members at different stages of the project.

The qualitative nature of my project fit in quite nicely with these expectations. This project focussed on community involvement at all stages, and it gave a voice to each participant which meant allowing the individual to often direct the conversation. Inuit story-telling often seems to the outsider to be a random way of answering a question, or a way of avoiding a question altogether. I learned early on that I could not be in complete control of the direction of the interview; to do so would be to ignore the voices of the most interesting women I have ever met. Allowing the women to receive and answer questions in a way they felt comfortable enabled me to learn so much more than if I had pressured the participant to "stick with the questions." Indeed, allowing the women to participate in the interview as teachers was the best way to ensure that I was learning, rather than assuming:

> while there can be no argument that systematic observation of the human condition is made easier by the so-called scientific method, it is also true that

> the findings of our research stand a better chance of being valid if we include the subjects as expert witnesses about their own lives . . . [f]eminists now call for inclusion of subjects as collaborators whose perceptions of their reality must be carefully weighed . . . [I]n order to help avoid the pitfall of historical and cultural abstraction, as well as the myth of authority, the view into cultures not our own should be painted only with the guidance of those who live in them (Billson, 1991: 205)

As a researcher, I directed the focus of the research project, and guided the questions during the interview. Beyond that, I listened, and redirected the conversation only if I felt the question was not understood, or if the participant was having difficulty answering.

Prior to Entering the Field: Reviewing Contextual Literature as Opposed to Theoretical Literature

My interest in an inductive, qualitative project encouraged me to stay away from literature that might possibly bias my perspective. As much as I wanted to review the available literature on rapidly changing cultures and the attempts to preserve them, I did not want the literature of others to have a significant theoretical impact on what I observed, or learned via the interviews. However, while I chose not to do an extensive theoretical literature review prior to entering the field, I also did not want to enter the field ignorant about the general history, and present social and political changes in the community of Iqaluit.

Billson states that a literature review performed prior to entering the field is necessary:

> although Reinharz advocates not undertaking an extensive literature search before an investigation, in order to avoid self-fulfilling prophecies, I find it essential to have a basic awareness of the geography, history, and social context of each community prior to making contact (Billson, 1991: 207).

A literature review of this kind is especially important when doing cross-cultural research. The researcher may be unfamiliar with the ways in which a particular society operates at the very basic level, making it unnecessarily difficult for the researcher to put the information received into context. Preparation in this sense is important in that it allows the researcher to be better able to analyse the data, and to approach the participants with an elementary understanding of the social context of their lives. Billson claims that being prepared in this way is a courtesy:

> Native peoples especially perceive this as an expression of courtesy and respect. As I work with women in each setting, however, they suggest books, articles, pictures, and letters of which they are aware, sometimes giving them to me for later readings. (1991: 207).

And such was the case in my experience. Several times during my stay in Iqaluit, and during interviews, movies and books were suggested to me by the women as "interesting" reading.

Billson suggests taking an opportunity to undertake a "secondary literature review," whereby any particular concerns or questions that remain unanswered can be discovered (207). In the case of this particular project, it was just as well that an extensive literature review was not done prior to entering the field. My topic of interest shifted after having been in the field for a number of weeks, and I had discovered distinct patterns. I later had the opportunity to find literature concerning the more shaped and defined topic of "Community," that was borne out of an inductive research process.

A further benefit of preparing to enter the field in this way is that it allowed for a more comprehensive dialogue between myself and the interviewees. Understanding the political and social issues of the development of Nunavut, for example, meant that there were

fewer misunderstandings, and more opportunity for a relaxed conversation without pauses for explanations. Putting into context a group's particular historical and cultural reality is a step away from positivistic thinking that social reality is the same all across the board, only the actors are different. Billson states:

> positivist ideas of objectivity, generalizability, and causal relations that float in a vacuum, tethered neither to time nor to place, render social science unrealistically abstract and uselessly historical (203).

Community Awareness Prior to Entering the Field: Licensing Process

Prior to entering the Northern community to begin a project, a researcher needs to obtain a "Research License.[5]" This in many ways holds the researcher accountable for the project, and is an assurance of sorts that the project is, and will remain, ethical and attentive to the interests of the community. I was answerable to the community of Iqaluit via the Nunavut Research Institute. This agency guides research in Nunavut with its mission to: "provide leadership in developing, facilitating, and promoting traditional knowledge, science, research and technology as a resource for the well-being of people in Nunavut.[6]" Recognizing that the focus of research is directed at the "well-being of people in Nunavut," and not on the research and the researcher is a positive step for Northern communities in taking initiative and control of the information that comes in and out of their environment. In fact, the emphasis is directed at encouraging research in Northern communities, and, as much as possible, by local researchers. Recently, the desire has been to redirect research

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[5] Appendix III

[6] Mission statement of the Nunavut Research Institute, Nunavut Research Agenda, January, 1997.

away from pure research for it's own sake, and move it toward useful, interesting and meaningful research projects that will be shared with the community itself.

There has been a huge leap from the days when researchers freely took advantage of Northern communities and of the individuals who participate in research, to the present strict regulations concerning confidentiality and participatory methodologies. The movement from one to the other is a reflection of independence, the desire by Aboriginal communities to be a part of the research process; and to assure it maintains its cultural relevance. This has caused a rift among researchers. On the one hand, it is considered a positive step toward involving the community members in research that reflects their lives. On the other hand, some researchers believe that too much community involvement can harm or slow the progress of a research project, as frequently projects are halted until the community, or a group of individuals (anyone, really) feels comfortable with the direction of a study. There has been some talk of doing away with the licensing process; as some researchers have experienced delays in their research for what has been described to me as "foolish reasons." So, certainly guidelines are not marked in stone, and it will be interesting to see what develops out of this rift.

The Nunavut Research Institute (NRI)[7] controls the licensing of researchers entering Nunavut. In my case, I needed to prove that my project was ethical by sending them a copy of the Ethics Committee approval form prepared at the University of New Brunswick. In addition, they required a description of my project which included an abstract, and a section on methodology. The translation of these documents into Inuktitut had to be provided. Upon

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[7]Appendix XI

receiving this documentation, it is reviewed by the Licensing Director at the NRI (which by the way is physically attached to the Iqaluit Research Centre (IRC) [8]), and is disseminated to community agencies only if it passes the ethical standards which are set out by ACUNS' "Ethical Principles for the Conduct of Research in the North" [9]. Once a researcher is licensed, he or she is entitled to do research in the field for one year. At that point, a renewal is necessary only if there are substantial changes to the project. At the end of the research project, the NRI requires a four page report (translated into Inuktitut as well) from the researcher one year after issue of the license, or in the case of renewal whichever comes first. The final report, thesis, or paper must be sent to the NRI so that it becomes available en masse to the community.

One suggestion made by the NRI is that a researcher contact the community prior to visiting in order to communicate what the researcher is planning on learning, and in order to garner some community acceptance; or, at worst, discover what about the project is deemed unsavoury. Later I discovered that this process need not be done by the researcher herself, but is most often done by the NRI as part of the licensing process. However, in preparation for interviews (and before I travelled thousands of miles to Iqaluit), I contacted several Inuit agencies such as Pauktutit, Inuit Tapirisat, Qikiqtani Inuit Association, as well as Inuit Heritage Trust[10]. I corresponded with several people who worked in these agencies; and explained my research interest, and methodology. Thankfully, I was given advice and

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[8] Appendix XI

[9] Appendix II

[10] Appendix XI

suggestions about what to include in my project, and was given names of people who may be interested in being interviewed. Doing this was a great help in entering the field as this way I no longer felt I was alien to the area, having made some preliminary contacts.

Collection of Data

Data were collected in a variety of ways. Field notes were taken at any given moment - either during an event, or soon afterwards. Participant observation occurred during those times I was a part of an activity, like a social outing, church service, or a community get-together. It was during these times I learned a lot about community cohesiveness and divisions. It was also during these times that I realized that I was not considered a "community member," as I was not a permanent resident, and I was also "another researcher;" an outsider.

It was the pre-interview process that was most helpful in telling me things the women themselves may not have thought to say. My fears of being labelled "another researcher," were put to test as I attempted to locate individuals to interview.

- ***Sampling***

After spending a month in the community taking copious field notes and participating in several community events (both of which continued throughout my stay), I began interviewing. I had discovered that there appeared to be three groups of women; at least as they related to my interest in heritage preservation. It was only when I took the opportunity to read over and study the first couple of interviews, however, that I realized my categories were superficial; and not at all indicative of what I was noticing in the community: an interest in, and implicit fascination with "community," and just what it means to be a part of such a

thing. Nevertheless; my categories were helpful in that they helped me to develop a diverse sample; thereby gaining an insight into different perspectives of the concept "community."

The first few interviews then, focussed on the women of the first group - women who held no distinct role in cultural preservation. At the end of each interview I would ask the participants if they knew of anyone else who might be interested in speaking with me. They would invariably refer me to an individual who had a similar lifestyle to their own (actively involved in a position whereby communicating general Inuit interests on a large scale was possible, i.e radio, Inuit organizations, education). Even though Iqaluit is a fairly small community, I noticed the distinction between groups of women coming from these very basic referrals. It was only later when I looked into alternatives to the "snow ball method" of contacting participants that I came into contact with women who had quite different interests and perceptions. I did not give up completely on the snow ball method, but I soon began to consider what it would mean if I were to place too much importance on it.

As these interviews progressed, I noticed that there were no longer clear distinctions between the groups. Consider, for example, the woman who worked as an interpreter/translator, who owned her own home, was raising a family of five children all under the age of 14, and who was known all over the community as a skilled seamstress of traditional clothing. Additionally, she had past experience with research protocol, and had herself given presentations "down South" on Inuit issues. This individual did not fit neatly into any particular category, and I realized that indeed, none of the women did.

- ***Advertising***

Once I realized that I was interviewing only a very small segment of the population,

I realized that I needed to find ways in which to reach other women in the community. In an attempt to reach a wider population, I decided I would air an announcement on the CBC radio station; detailing who I was, and what I was interested in learning. As far as I am aware, no interviews came from that attempt, since no one called the Research Institute to ask any questions about the project, or otherwise. Later, I considered placing an ad in the local newspaper which would detail the same information I had released on air. I decided against doing that in anticipation of the same lack of interest, and because I achieved some success finding participants in other ways.

- ***Telephoning Potential Participants***

I decided that I would begin asking individuals in the community if they knew of anyone who might be interested in talking with me. At this point, I was still working with the same three categories of women, and so made these contacts accordingly. I approached employees of the NRI, the craft school, women I met in shops, individuals from church organizations, and the Arctic College. Most of these contacts were done via telephone. As I mentioned, Iqaluit is a fairly small community, and so I was not worried about gaining access to only those who had telephone service. There was one instance, for example, when I was referred to an individual who did not have a telephone. This contact got in touch with the individual, and informed me later that this individual was not interested speaking with me. Such was the case with possible referrals who did not speak English. It became a very fruitful way of locating people with whom to speak. In this way I was not dependant solely on the women I found to interview, but was able to locate participants from those who might not have been interested in being interviewed themselves.

The process of finding participants in this manner was an interesting learning experience. Again, as I spoke with women, I found myself apologizing for my presence in their community. I was infinitely aware that I was perceived as yet another researcher (as indeed I was), yet did not want the stigma often associated with that label. I learned more about the relationship between the community and the researcher through those phone calls than, for example, during an interview. Most of the women claimed that they were "tired of speaking about things" [11], that the media was "taking up (her) time," or that they had already been interviewed during the April 1'st celebration, and were tired of talking about "it." One woman in particular was incredibly hostile. After discussing with her my interest in learning what it was in the Inuit culture she believed was important to preserve, the following dialogue ensued:

> *Caller: Wuh! What do you mean 'if' it's important (not what I said)? It's culture! . . . What is this for? What's it going on?*
> *Anita: It's a topic I'm interested in for my MA at UNB.*
> *Caller: So, this is something that's going to benefit you only - your interviews are going to benefit you*
> *Anita: . . . everything is going back to the community.*
> *Caller: (Yawns several times) I'm too busy. But if I know of someone . . .*
> (Field notes, October 4, 1999)

Fortunately, such an exchange was rare. Most times a positive dialogue was struck and the individual would tell me about her job, her hobbies, and her family. Most of the women I contacted this way were very helpful; and if they chose not to speak with me, they would think of someone else who just might.

There were other opportunities that would have allowed me to approach women to

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[11] Field notes, October 12, 1999

interview but which I chose to ignore because of how obtrusive my presence would be. Specifically, I am referring to the large group of women who met as part of the Anglican Church Group. Attending their weekly get-together would have allowed me to meet and speak with women with varied interests. I chose not to participate in this activity as it seemed not only obtrusive but offensive. As a Catholic who had been attending regular Sunday mass at the Catholic church, they would have been aware that I was there only to meet "criteria" for my project. I concluded that there was a time and a place for my research interest, and a church group with whom I did not belong was neither of those.

Interviews

I interviewed ten women from the community. Interviews lasted anywhere from one to three hours, and took place at the location of the participant's choice. Of the ten women I interviewed, five interviews took place where they worked, three in their home, one in the research centre, and one in a restaurant. Interviewing provided me with most of my data. The interviewing process, however, was not simple. Everything from sampling, modifying questions, and locating interpreters was all part of this process, and the fact remains that I learned a lot about the perception of research, and the particular groups within the community just by preparing for the interview.

The interview began with a general discussion of who I was, where I was from, and why I was interested in learning about this topic. I brought with me both a transcriber machine, and a small hand held recorder. While the transcriber was a better choice for sound quality, there were times when the hand held recorder was less obtrusive. As it was, there were several women who were somewhat put off by the presence of a recorder; I suspect that

once again, the assumption had been made that our getting together was going to be less formal than it turned out to be.

I had formatted a topic "schedule," made up of various categories covering what I considered to be representative of my interests in heritage preservation, identity, and community. As each particular interview progressed, however, the questions were varied according to the direction the interview was taking, and as a more natural dialogue occurred. Naturally, as I began to notice patterns of responses, my project became more focussed and so did the questions I asked.

Of the ten women I interviewed, two did not speak English, and so I hired a translator/interpreter for these interviews. One such person worked with an agency, and the other was referred to me; and I paid her privately. The questions I asked were translated into Inuktitut for the participant who responded in Inuktitut to the interpreter who then repeated the answer to me in English. In at least one case, I am certain that a lot was lost in the translation, as I noticed that the interpreter was adding her own thoughts to the questions. In that case, it became difficult to distinguish who was "talking." There were other challenges that came with the process of interpretation, including particular phrases or sentiments that were difficult to interpret from Inuktitut into English. When there was difficulty translating a particular Inuit concept, the interpreter did her best to find the closest English meaning. Inuktitut was often described to me as a "conceptual language," where an entire concept can be summed up in one word. It is difficult especially to translate a concept that has to do with Aboriginal knowledge, for example, when there is no similar concept to explain it in English, and when there is no common experience from which to draw

similarities. While analysing the data of my project, I needed the services of an interpreter/translator one more time to aid me in correctly spelling Inuktitut words for transcribing.

Payment of interviews was an issue I approached very carefully. On the one hand I did not want to offend anyone by paying them for information, but on the other hand, I wanted to show appreciation for the time the women took to share with me. I approached several individuals on this issue, and was told by most that payment is most acceptable when it's given to an Elder, or to someone who is not "employed." I ended up paying 40 dollars per interview for two women who fit those specifications.

At the end of my stay in Iqaluit, I was interviewed by CBC North about my project. This interview was aired throughout the community, and allowed me to discuss some of the things I learned during my stay, where the information from the project was going to go; and how people could gain access to the report should they be interested. At the end of the interview, the reporter told me that she decided not to air my contact information, for fear I would get a lot of "prank calls." Although I did not pursue this statement, I found it interesting.

- ***Potential Problems in Interviewing***

As I mentioned earlier, many women chose not to be interviewed, stating that they had been "interviewed to death.[12]" And in fact, several of the women I spoke with began the interview sounding rehearsed; almost as though they had done this many times before. As each interview progressed however, a dialogue was established, and the interviews

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[12] A comment made by a woman who owned a fabric shop.

continued much more smoothly and naturally. I have no doubt that the women with whom I spoke shared with me quite openly and honestly. Often I was surprised at the level of sharing and disclosure.

The most difficult obstacle to achieving a positive relationship with the participants (although I will admit that their presence did not ruin a relationship) were the consent forms. At the very least I was distributing two forms: the Objectives form[13], and the Consent form[14]. If the individual wanted copies of the same in Inuktitut[15] (which was often the case), that raised the number to four. If there was an interpreter/translator present, she received the Interpreter Confidentiality form[16], and if she wanted, copies of the other forms in either language, or both. This raised the number to five for the interpreter/translator, and four for the participant, totalling nine forms. This did not happen regularly, but the mere possibility that it could happen was always on my mind. It was difficult to assure the women that I was genuinely interested in what they had to tell me when questions were prefaced with five or more minutes of reading and signing forms. The consent forms had a direct impact on how I conducted my research, and how I perceived the effect they had on the interview. In Appendix IX, I discuss further the matter of Ethics in research; particularly Northern research.

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[13] Appendix IV

[14] Appendix VI

[15] Appendix V, VII

[16] Appendix VIII

CHAPTER THREE
CONCEPTUALIZATION OF "COMMUNITY" : CHANGES IN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

This chapter looks at how the movement of Inuit into one central location had an impact on traditional culture. The abrupt change of social dynamics, population and the structure of Inuit interaction, along with the introduction of housing, schooling, and new forms of leadership all had an impact on the developing concept of "community." It is true that all cultures go through changes. However, Canada's Inuit experienced extreme, abrupt change that occurred over a relatively short period.

Presently, Iqaluit is the home of many Inuit from smaller Northern communities, as well as people from Southern Canada. As will be discussed in following chapters, Iqaluit is seen by the participants as a "Northern Ottawa," a place which offers modern technological advances while also allowing for the opportunity to engage in traditionally cultural practices. The relatively new concept of "community" is still developing as the Inuit in Iqaluit reconcile their abrupt introduction into settlements with their future as active participants in the development of distinctly *Inuit* communities.

Outpost Camps to Settlements

Until merely 50 years ago, most Inuit lived exclusively on the land. When the Canadian government moved them into settlements they were faced with having to deal with life in a community where the kinship group was not the primary source of interpersonal relationships. Indeed, "community" was not a concept that was used by the Inuit prior to moving into settlements, as there had been no basis for comparison. This chapter will

illustrate some of the more dramatic changes that occurred when the notion of "community" entered into the vocabulary of a people who had traditionally relied on the primary group for survival.

The introduction of the concept "community" for Canada's Inuit can be easily traced to their forced move from camps into settlements by the Canadian government in the 1950's after the downfall of the fur trade, and the consequent damage to their livelihood and health. While they were no longer able to live according to traditional customs in the same way as before, the move out of traditional camps changed the ways Inuit interacted with one another socially. It is important to remember that these large-scale changes did not occur hundreds of years ago, but merely 50 to 60 years ago. The magnitude of the changes brings an appreciation to the efforts of many Inuit individuals and groups to retain a sense of distinct Inuit identity. Moving from outpost camps to settlements was the beginning of life in "two worlds," an expression used frequently by the participants.

Some of the women told me about their personal experiences moving from outpost camps to settlements. One woman discussed her memory of people quickly leaving the camps so that at one point there were only a few people left behind:

> *well, from what I can remember, there were about between twenty and thirty, at one point, and then, I think the year before we moved into the community there were only 2 families left. And . . . altogether I think we made about 15 people* (Interview 9, 2: 4-6).

This abrupt change from outpost to settlement meant facing many adjustments. Those participants who had known outpost life described life in the camps as having inspired "unity," and "harmony." Certainly it is true that in the outpost camps people worked together

in such a way as to ensure survival. The evolution of the concept community is one that continues today as Inuit attempt to integrate the traditional Inuit and the Eurocanadian influence in their communities.

The notion of unity was being challenged in a new atmosphere where individuality was given more credit than group association:

> *. . . in an outpost camp everything was done collaboratively . . . for hunting expeditions, or hunting trips and all that, they met together to discuss where they were going. Nobody said "you go there, you go there, you do that, you do that, ' there was none of that. Everybody just talked about where, what they had done, and what they were going to do. [Nowadays] there's none of that . . . Back then it was very different. . . because we lived in very small camps, and that everything that was done in the camp was done for everybody* (Interview 9, 8: 30-42, 9: 1-4)

Far from having less responsibility, Inuit who were moved felt that they had more responsibilities to maintain a sense of unity, of family, of identity while simultaneously trying to live in a new social reality. Not only did they have to fulfill new expectations (wage employment, attending school), but they also had to continue doing many of the traditional activities that they had before.

> *(Everything) my sister and I were required to do had to be done after school or before school, or during lunch time. Suddenly, my parents' way of life suddenly came second. It was now, our lives were suddenly ruled by the school and by the clock because as a family if something needed to be done my mother took on a lot more responsibility than she had before we went to school. Living in a community, moving into a community . . . we still had to go and get ice, my sister and I still had to go and get ice from the lake, we still carried our younger siblings around a lot.* (Interview 9, 6:42-43, 7:1-7).

Living in the community presented some benefits in that survival was easier; food could be obtained simply by visiting the local Bay store, instead of having to stay out on land

for days at a time, hunting. But with this ease of daily living came the sacrifice of traditional elements of the Inuit way of life.

- ***School and Housing***

In settlements, Inuit experienced "innovations" such as housing, health care, and formal education. With this rapid development came employment opportunities that slowly created less of a need for traditional tasks that were once performed for survival, or at one time performed as a primary means of making money during the fur trade. The Inuit of this period were witness to a change in how they would be interacting with one another as the concept of "community," was being born at the same time as hamlets and towns.

Once in the settlements the Canadian government expected the Inuit to send their children to school. Many of the participants told me about attending school for the first time after the move into settlements. It was described to me as frightening, and confusing to be surrounded by so many strangers, and Southern culture:

> *. . . people were brought in from other places, or villages, or outpost camps they call it, and, kids were asked to go to school, and that's how they were brought in. And . . . I was very confused because we had to move in with a bunch of other people. And, then we had to go to school, and then we had this person that I don't really know about in terms of their culture, never been exposed to any English culture before. We did in very slow way of you know, maybe bits of food like flower, sugar, all that stuff, but it wasn't something in, in terms of moving, and another person. It was quite confusing for quite a long time* (Interview 2, 1:41-42, 2:1-4).

Technically, families were given a choice whether to send their children to school, but not doing so meant losing a part of the Family Allowance cheque:

> *I grew up out on the land until I had to go to school; the federal government suggested that kids go to school...only way you can get paid is that way, get*

> *family allowance, so, we, sort of had no choice, well we did have a choice, but it was more of a threat than anything else. So, we moved into the small town of Cape Dorset* (Interview 2, 1: 9-13).

Some families sent their children away to residential schools, while other families uprooted, and moved into the community which had a school. The effect this had on children and families in general cannot be underestimated. One woman told me about her sister having to leave the community to go away to school. It was obvious that this event was quite traumatic for her, her sister, and her family:

> *my sister, I remember, she was 7 years old (eyes start tearing) when she left, and it's about 70 miles away, and when you travel by . . . in those days, snowmobiles were new (right) and they were very slow, very weak, and, that was what, 30 years ago. And , (chokes up, swallows) , you know, when you're 7 years old, she has told me about this story, and it's very difficult, because she's, she was seven, and you go away, and you have no idea what's coming at you, and you're leaving your parents 10 months of the year, and as a parent, because I do have a 7 year old son, I don't know how my parents dealt with that, and . . . like I get teary-eyed just thinking about such a dramatic change, especially for my sister how my parents had to deal with such a thing* (Interview 2, 2:9-19).

Most of the women felt that being sent to school was a "choice" their parents had to make. The only real choice families were left with in terms of sending their children to school was whether the entire family would move to the nearest community in which the school was located. In the case of the woman quoted above, her family decided to stay behind as they sent their young daughter to school away from "home." Other families moved to a settlement closer to the school:

> *oh, my family moved into the community. My father was given two choices. He could, he was told to either send my sister and I into the community and we would stay with people there, living there, or move as a whole family.*

> *And my father's belief was that a family stays together, so . . . he wasn't going to send us without our parents* (Interview 9:20-30).

It was difficult for many Inuit families to adjust to the social expectations in the new community. Sending children off to school to learn things quite unrelated to the Inuit lifestyle seemed not to make sense. One woman with whom I spoke described the frustration of her father, after having to send his children to school:

> *I remember him, my father, being frustrated, I think realizing "Hey, no one's going to learn about our culture in my, in this generation with my children, so he literally went to the school, grabbed my brother out of the school, he was 7 years old then, this was before you know, all that stuff, but anyway, he was he grabbed him, took him out of the classroom, and said, "He will not be going to school, because he'll learn how to hunt," and do all the stuff that Inuit did, or he did as a father . . . and he just did that* (Interview 2, 3:2-8).

Among other changes, time became an important consideration for the Inuit in the settlements. Children in school, for example had to learn that classes began at a certain time, ended at a particular time, and ran throughout the week.

> *When we moved into the community, suddenly we had to follow the clock, because that's when school time started* (Interview 9, 6: 31-32).

> *. . . when we went to school it was really different because you were at school, you were required to sit for a long period of time, by being taught by the teacher some really foreign things from your, from your, way of life in an outpost camp* (Interview 9, 6: 11-14).

In addition to having to adjust to ordering their lives around Southern expectations, Inuit families also had to adjust to living in pre-fabricated houses instead of the traditional qammaq[17]. Separate rooms, separate beds, and a clearly non-Inuit concept of "privacy" were

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[17] Sod house, or an igloo that is often topped with hides

all introduced into their daily lives by virtue of the design of the houses. New living arrangements changed how the family interacted with one another on a very basic level. Separation from one another was the new norm, instead of living in close quarters with little or no personal space:

> *. . . when we moved into a three bedroom house, one of the things I've often thought about for a long time after that of how scared we were to be separated from our parents at night. Even though they were right next door in a bedroom, but we always slept with the lights on, because we were not used to sleeping on our own. The house that we were given had a bunk bed already in it, so that my sister and I could sleep separately, but we never slept apart, we slept together in the bottom bunk, because we were not used to sleeping alone, whatsoever. My parents in their room had two beds. The double bed for my Mum and Dad and the baby, and then my younger sister had her own little home made bed in the same room . . . (I)n a qammaq, we all slept together on a sleeping platform. Like it would be the baby, my mother, my father, me, and my sister. Like we all slept together that way.* (Interview 9, 7:15-39)

- ***Leadership***

Having to live amongst a diverse group of people where social interaction is based not only on culture created challenges in terms of leadership. Where once people relied on traditional authoritarian figures, with the move into a larger, more heterogenous settlement, new rules about who was the "leader" had to be followed. These rules were not created by Inuit themselves. Leaders in the traditional Inuit lifestyle earned that title because of the "natural leadership skills" (Interview 6, 9:31), they were not simply appointed. It was these people, those who were seen as natural leaders, who guided the family, hunters, and band. In the settlements, leadership was more often than not based on English-speaking skills, not age, or cultural expertise (Interview 6). Settlement managers often "misunderstood their

role:" (7)

> *Suddenly they were trying to tell these people what to do who had been self-sufficient for a long time before they moved into a community. So, that's another thing that . . . I've thought about from remembering from living in an outpost camp to a settlement life* (Interview 9, 8:26-29).

Influx of residents in Iqaluit: Transiency

Many residents of Iqaluit come from Southern Canada in pursuit of employment. The new territory has created many job opportunities, especially government-related. This has meant an influx of residents from other communities both North and south of Iqaluit. While there are individuals and families living in Iqaluit who are originally from the area, most of the women I spoke with originated from Northern communities further North than Iqaluit. The rapid economic growth of Iqaluit has meant many newcomers but also a high "turnover" in the population; mostly Southerners who leave for other jobs. This is often interpreted as Southerners' attempt to take what they can without contributing to the community, or learning about the community:

> *I don't want the White people just go away, and disappeared. They should come here to learn about us, and learn about our culture, and then do things, see things sort of like an Inuit, and don't go away! Stick around North and you'll learn some more* (Interview 3, p. 14:8-11).

Iqaluit was often described to me as a transient community, and as a "dumping ground," (Interview 1, p.15:24-43) where some people who come to Iqaluit are considered "unsavoury," and yet obtain some level of success in the work force, or because of social reasons are unable to live in other, smaller Northern communities:

> *when you're a White person, and you're basically a street person in the city,*

> *suddenly, you've got a plane ticket to come to Iqaluit, and you're a cab driver. And if you have a grade 12 education, you can apply for a middle management job, and you just may get it. And suddenly you have it in less than 6 months, and that really goes to their head. Suddenly they're superior* (Interview 1, 15: 31-36).

Another reason for waves of people coming into and leaving Iqaluit is because Iqaluit is the closest location to many smaller Northern communities that has a hospital which is equipped to handle small surgeries, and pregnancy. Many women from smaller Northern communities come to Iqaluit during their last month of pregnancy. Often, they stay with friends or family during this time, and leave shortly after the birth.

The movement into settlements created the need to develop the concept "community." Social interaction with many different people outside of the primary kinship group created challenges in terms of having to look at how they fit in *among* groups of other people. The concept of "culture" and "community" are fairly new to the Inuit. As they look back at their lives prior to moving into settlements, they attempt to reconcile the traditional culture with modern expectations; most of which they have adopted for themselves.

- ***Isolation in the Northern Community***

The reality in Iqaluit is that it does not necessarily engender closeness with other people. Northern communities, specifically Iqaluit, are growing larger every year as the population increases and construction of government buildings continue to be developed. Iqaluit was referred to by one woman as a "Northern Ottawa," (Interview 6) as the activity gives this Arctic community the appearance of a burgeoning small Southern town or village.

Many of the participants stated that they had experienced feelings of isolation within

the Inuit community. They stated that they did not feel at "home" in the larger community of Iqaluit. Many of the women I interviewed expressed to me how the divisive nature of Iqaluit isolates them from a sense of belonging to a community. The large population changes the ways in which Inuit think about community, and makes for traditional solutions to community consensus difficult, if not impossible:

> *this community, like Iqaluit, is turning into a city, it will be a city eventually and that kind of makes me sad* (Interview 6, 6: 11-12).

The participants clearly felt that entering a significantly larger community with a more diverse population creates a sense of detachment from a "group:"

> *I'm an Inuk . . . that is unfamiliar with the Inuit, in a sense, that's how big this community is . . . And that's really odd* (Interview 6, 12: 33-34).

Certainly for some of the participants, people who are not from Iqaluit, or who are non-Inuit are not seen as immediate members of the community. At the same time, however, participants recognized that there is an "Inuit" community to which all Inuit belong. The difference in the varying definitions of community is between community as locale, and as a more complex concept that unites people; between a concrete definition, and a metaphorical expression of cohesiveness.

Where once there would be no question as to group affiliation - mostly via kinship ties - now the diversity of people, and the high transiency rates for many Northern communities makes it very difficult to associate or identify with only a single group. Living in a larger community like Iqaluit makes it easy to associate with various groups, or to become detached and isolated.

> *Well in, in this community, my community is my network of friends and family maybe my co-workers . . . but when . . . it's like in the city when you're in a big, big, you know, population, you need to make your own community for yourself, and there's all those different networks working around, and . . . In a small community, though, like, if you're, like in Pang, the community is the actual community. It's, like it's small enough that it, the population itself still has room to be a whole community* (Interview 6: p 7: 29-35).

> *I don't know all that many in this community, like I don't feel connected* (Interview 6, 13: 5-6).

The participants stated that adjusting to life in Iqaluit was difficult, and as one woman explained, it is impossible to become an "Inuk from here," (Interview 4, 3:23):

> *What makes me very Inuit is when I go off to Europe to teach. When I go off to Europe to talk about Inuit; and I sing traditional songs, I tell stories - when I go to Southern Canada to go to the schools and talk about being Inuit, or talk about Inuit - I'm considered an Inuk. I'm introduced as an Inuk, but to the Inuit here, I'm not Inuit. I'm more . . . White I think to them . . . So when you take me out of this loop, place me with a bunch of Southerners, or Europeans, I'm considered an Inuk - because of my race . . . so I belong to that group of Inuit. I'm still trying to learn the language, what I don't have is that, I was not born here but I've tried to [learn] everything on the [traditional] knowledge, the language, the tradition as much as I can to try to compensate for that. But I can never become an Inuk from here* (Interview 4, 3: 13-28).

Difficulties in feeling a part of the community were echoed by one woman, who in addition to stating that she did not know many people in Iqaluit and did not feel connected, said in reference to marriage counselling up North:

> *. . . as a young couple, I get very frustrated, because I know in the past there would have been Elders, or Aunts and Uncles that would have been really [helpful] if we were in a really small close-knot group setting, but I live in a community of Iqaluit which isn't my original community, so I don't necessarily know all the net-, all the Inuit, you know. I'm a Inuk, that, that is unfamiliar with the Inuit, in a sense, that's how big this community is, and, and that's really odd . . .* " (Interview 6, 12: 28-34).

Yet another woman said that she did not feel she was accepted as a part of the community. Although she claimed that she has established her own community of single mothers (most of whom are Inuit), and various "original community members," she still feels as though she is an outsider in Iqaluit:

> *I'm not originally from this community. I have been rejected by community members because I'm not originally from here. 'What are you doing here? Why are you here,' you know, 'Why are you taking up my space?' . . . it surprises me every time it happens to me because I'm an Inuk like them* (Interview 1, 7:37-43, 8:15-19).

She added that despite her sense of rejection, she has formed her own personal community which includes those with similar interests to her:

> *. . . I have my own community here. Most of my friends are other single parents. Women. We have the same interests, we have the same struggles, we . . . we create a safe environment for ourselves to share our common experiences. So within the community we create our own communities* (Interview 1, 8: 15-19).

Just as Inuit feel out of place culturally-speaking when they are living out of the Northern context, for example in Southern Canada, so do Inuit face an identity-crisis of sorts when they are away from their home community, or choose not to incorporate traditional lifestyle practices in their daily life.

One woman stated:

> *I had been told consistently, "You are a white person. You are a Qallunaat." Look at me. I'm not mixed blood. I'm a 100 percent Inuk physically. I don't know how to hunt, I'm...I don't know how to sew, I've been learning . . . and because I've been away for so long at one time I'd forgotten how to speak Inuktitut. My language isn't really . . . up to par for my age. And the way I*

> *run my household at home is that we don't have frozen caribou every night on the floor, [my husband, who was White] used that against me. "I'm more Inuk than you are." In my mind he knew I was sensitive to that* (Interview 1, 20: 26-43, 21: 1-11).

The participants state that there can be feelings of isolation if they do not make somewhat regular attempts to belong to the community either in terms of locale (Iqaluit), or in the broader sense (the "Inuit" community). In the end though, admittedly, the problem of being seen as "non-Inuit" was not commonly expressed in the interviews, and all of the women with whom I spoke participated in many traditional activities in their personal lives. Furthermore, most women did not feel that they were isolated in Iqaluit. Any sense of isolation that was expressed to me related to a feeling of isolation from "community" as it relates to groups of people living together and sharing common interests and experiences - which certainly is not the case for an diverse "city" like Iqaluit, where the diversity alone creates division among community members. Despite the difficulties some of the women experienced in fitting in, all of the women with whom I spoke felt that it was important for the Inuit in a particular community – including Iqaluit – to somehow band together to strengthen the common Inuit culture.

This chapter examined some of the changes that have happened in the lives of the Inuit, and how this has had an effect on how they interact with one another. The abrupt changes in the social structure of Inuit social interaction created a need to find ways to understand their place in the new, diverse community. In the next chapter I examine how the Inuit are reconciling the abrupt change in their social structure with traditional aspects of their culture. Also, I describe how the term "community" has been defined and shaped in the

new social reality where Inuit and non-Inuit share the same living space.

CHAPTER 4
CREATING AN "INUIT" COMMUNITY IN LARGER COMMUNITIES (IQALUIT)

In Iqaluit Inuit have to find new ways to define the Inuit identity, or community. Participants said that it was easy to feel as though they were drowning in the diversity of Iqaluit. Preservation of the culture, then, depends on defining the "community" in common terms. Common traditional characteristics like sharing, living in a Northern environment, and finding a place for traditional activities in a new context are all important elements in creating the larger, more generalized "Inuit Community," which includes all Inuit, not just those within a particular town, or hamlet. This chapter describes some of the traditional aspects of Inuit life in the North, and examines how they are important in forming a new vision of community; one that will allow Inuit to feel as though they are contributing to their own cultural preservation.

Creating a Definition of Community: "Inuit Community"

For some of the participants, community was represented by everyone living in a particular area. No one was excluded, everyone living in Iqaluit was considered a member of the community. This is expressed by one participant:

> *Community means everybody. . . with the Inuit, community is for everybody . . . everybody forms the community. Not just the Inuit* (Interview 4, 5: 1-11).

She also said that if there are divisions in the community, they are self-imposed, and perpetuated by Whites in the community:

> *The white population . . . I think because of their own limitations don't make themselves as much part of the community as Inuit want for them to. They are not . . . only now because of rules that are set like . . . new*

> *implementation rules*[18] *- you need 50 percent Inuit, 50 percent White, and then in few years you need 15 percent White people, 85 percent . . . that is bridging a lot of . . . differentiation? Like Inuit never liked to do . . . That is I think forcing Inuit to think differently in how they treat the community* (Interview 4 , 5: 12-18).

Other women said "it's various people from different communities who [build up] a community," [19] and that community is ". . . the people here, in the groups, whole people" [20]. For one woman, "community" meant a much smaller group of particular people: specifically the residents of Iqaluit who were indigenous to the area; this included Elders and their descendants who are still living in the Iqaluit area.

While each participant defined "community" a little differently, it was not long before I noted that each of the women had a common, more overarching definition of community. To them, community is not so much the town, or the hamlet in which they live, rather it is an ideology, a gathering of Inuit, living together, and working together in such a way that the traditional, core beliefs of the Inuit culture are shared and passed on to younger generations. In the past, kinship ties were necessary for survival. Today, survival is not dependant on reinforcing this harmony in culture. From the interviews it became clear that Inuit rely on the sense of togetherness out of a need to feel connected to the past, and to a very important part of themselves. Women told me that they cannot separate themselves from their culture,

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[18] The participant is referring to the Nunavut Implementation Commission (NIC), a public body which designed a particular model of government for Nunavut to follow. NIC, developed by the federal government, was responsible for the initial electoral process for the Nunavut government. Six of the nine members had to be residents of Nunavut.

[19] Interview 5, 7:37-38

[20] Interview 3, 5:28-29

and as one woman put it, "without culture, you are nobody" [21].

Smaller, more homogenous groups make it easier for people to come together, share common experiences, beliefs, and perspectives. Smaller communities make it easier for people to gather together and do things as a group. Similarly, outpost camps are remembered as places where groups of Inuit worked collaboratively to ensure survival. Even eating was a group activity that could be described in the Inuktitut word "Alupajaaq:"

> *and when we would be eating together, the men would be talking about their hunting expedition that day, or the day before. And they would talk about what they did, what they saw, where they were, all that sort of stuff. The men would talk amongst themselves - the women also, took part, but they were a little separated, like they weren't together eating (right). . . . the men would often talk about where they were going to go the next day, like they would arrange, sort of, after everybody ate, we all sat around , having tea and bannock and that sort of sort, after we ate, let's say a seal, seal meat. And, they would, they would often talk about what they had done in their hunting trip that day, where they had gone, sort of exchanging stories of where they had gone, and what they had done and what they saw, and where the danger parts were in a certain area, that sort of stuff. And they would talk about where they were, what they were doing the next day. So, it was very much like reporting, then planning, what they were going to do. So that everybody would know, if they wanted to go to the same area for caribou hunting, they went together. If not, somebody would go this way or that way* . . . (Interview 9, 3: 12-45).

The participants stated that it is difficult in Iqaluit to feel this sense of connection with other Inuit. The large size of the community makes it challenging to focus on traditional aspects of the culture, or to gather together:

> *it has changed. Just because we have changed to a new way of life, we . . . no longer living like our grandparents did, like our parents did where you lived in much smaller communities . . . it is very difficult to include everybody when there's 4000 people in our community. If I had thought of everybody*

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[21] Interview 4, 6:23

> *else but myself, I never would have gotten divorced. I would still be living in that community, or in that family because I'm thinking of everybody else* (Interview 4 p. 5 23-29).

A commonly repeated theme in the interviews was that Inuit need to "stick together," and to do what they can to keep the traditional culture alive, while moving ahead into the future. Inuit solidarity in the face of so much change in modern community life is one example of how culture and community relate. It is significant that the phrase "Inuqatigina[22]," which means living together, in one word captures the concept of Inuit unity, of Inuit community.

> *I strongly believe that the unity and caring and loving for not just the immediate family . . . I've heard so many stories, working with radio for almost 20 years, if I could speak for everybody, it would be the unity of a family. If a family is not united, no matter how many or how few, the siblings or children they have, if they're not united, they can't survive. That's been drilled to me, the unity of the family, and looking after one another* (Interview 10, 1:33-39).

Women used words such as "collective," "solidarity," "Inuit society," "community survival," and "unit" to describe how they viewed the larger "Inuit community" as needing to hold fast to traditional perceptions of social reality. A term like "community" would have referred more to the close kinship group where the group itself worked together for the benefit of everyone. Furthermore, there are efforts being made in Iqaluit to engender this sense of "Inuit Community," when it comes to social issues:

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[22]Interestingly, I was unable to find a spelling of this word that matched the *sound* of this word as it was used by the participant. Upon consulting various translators it became obvious that the word can be spelled in a variety of ways. Because concepts and spellings of concepts vary from community to community, the word will be spelled in this thesis according to the closest phonetic match, as well as a combination of the various spellings I was given by people who frequented an online Inuit message board.

> *I look around the room, in particular, the walls where there are several posters. There is one poster that hangs above the end table that has a drawing of 5 women holding hands in a ring. All have long hair tied back. The top woman is holding a baby, the lower woman has grey hair and is wearing some sort of cape that the others are not wearing. All are wearing robes – suggestive of traditional clothing (i.e., amoutees). Above the drawing, the poster reads: "AIDS is a hurt that can be touched," and at the bottom of the poster, under the drawing is: Keep our Community Strong." (Does this poster suggest that it is the role of women young and old to spread the word about social diseases?)* (Field notes: September 30, 1999).

Several of the women explained that they envy their parents' generation - the generation who were born, and grew up on the land. This generation, they said, know who they are; they have a firm grasp on what it means to be an Inuit:

> *I think my parents' generation are more powerful . . . inside of who they are, because they know who they are, where they came from, [they have] inner strength* (Interview 2, 3:39-41)

Defining "Inuit-ness" in Iqaluit means looking at common, traditional characteristics of the Inuit culture; finding things that unite the people as a distinct group. Because of the difficulty narrowing the term "community" in a large area where there is so much diversity, efforts are being made to focus on the larger, more generic "Inuit identity," which is broader in its definition as it involves both traditional culture, and modern reality.

Connection with other Inuit/Unity in the Community

How Inuit define themselves largely revolves around where they lived. Maintaining a distinctly Inuit identity means living in an Arctic environment, surrounded by the people and traditions of the Inuit culture. Living elsewhere - Southern Canada, for example - was described as stressful, and difficult to maintain a sense of connection to an Inuit community

The participants were descriptive in their discussion of the modern Northern community. While the women defined community in a broad, inclusive sense, they also discussed smaller, more intimate groups as "community." Feeling a part of a group was very important, as was a sense of "feeling connected." This network of people within a personal community includes those with whom a person felt more in common. Specifically, this means that it is important to be surrounded by people of their own culture. Women said things such as "I want to connect with people that can understand what I'm saying . . . my community is Inuit, because I lived in Inuit reality" (Interview 6, 8: 12-25).

One young woman who had recently started her own family, talked about how important it was for her to surround herself with people with whom she could identify on a cultural level. She spoke frequently about the past, in a somewhat romantic fashion, yet at the same time thought that some of the traditional ideologies were outdated, and did not apply to her modern life. This participant (who is both Inuk and White) felt that it was important that her young children be exposed to the Inuit culture:

> *I eat my food . . . speak my language, eat my food, be with Inuit, I'm making cultural connections, like just to have a Inuk husband, so now I have a Inuk mother-in-law, and father-in-law, I'm building up that, that network, um, I'm relating to them on the Inuit level, and I'm learning from them about Inuit.* (Interview 6, 21:42,22: 1-5).

Many of Iqaluit's Inuit are "transplanted" from other Northern communities. With the result that most Inuit have family all over Northern Canada. So what of the sense of familial connection? According to several of the women, finding a connection with family when it is so spread out, requires a lot of work. One woman told me that she reminds her children

that they have family in communities other than Iqaluit, and to recognize the relationships for what they are:

> *what I want my children to know is who they're related to . . . I want them to know because even in, even if we live in different communities, we still have blood relation? Like, like connection* (Interview 10, 2: 39-41).

The importance of finding that connection in a community as large as Iqaluit was expressed as well. Finding that connection in a large community was described as being difficult, yet ultimately desirable. I found this sentiment once again in the language; one word used to express a complete frame-work for thinking about community:

> *'Inuuqatigina' basically means living together well as Inuit, as people so, that's, that's very important to keep, because that was the foundation for Inuit culture for so long, and if we did away with it, we're just going to be like any other city person, without being attached to anybody, you know, just going about in our daily life without connections* (Interview 9, 11: 13-17).

The large population of Iqaluit is often compared to a Southern city, where people do not know everyone, but do know those from their own personal groups. One of the participants, a young mother and wife, said that:

> *it's like in the city when you're in a big, big, you know, population, you need to make your own community for yourself, and there's all those different networks working around . . .* (Interview 6, 7:32-34).

The women stated that life in the North surpasses any of the opportunities and "advantages" that are available in the South. When discussing living in the South, the women often talk about "Southern attitudes," "freedom," physical (geographical) environment, and losing one's identity. Southerners, said one woman, feel the need when living up North, to compare Iqaluit to their home in the South, and inevitably find fault where resources are lacking. It

is, however, very different from a Southern town:

> *This place has it's own identity, it's own character . . . it doesn't have all the amenities of the South* (Interview 6, 5: 20-21).

- ***Sharing an "Open Life"***

Most of the women told me that the Inuit have a "very strong sense of community," (Interview 4, 4: 43) and that entails sharing with one another, and allowing your "personal" space to be filled with friends and families quite openly. Sharing, or opening up your home, meant understanding the needs of others, and being open to helping others who live in your community:

> *I think a community, or a sense of community, knowing what other people need, constantly, either if it's your brother, or a total stranger that you don't even know, but then again we know everybody in a community. But someone you don't personally know, I think it's understanding what their needs are. And I think that's a community, always a sense of community . . . either it's spiritual help, or, I don't know . . .someone in need of talking, or simple things as food. I think knowing what the other people's needs are, is a community, a sense of community* (Interview 2, 17: 1-7).

> *If somebody was, if somebody needed help, if somebody was especially in need of food, then you, you help the community* (Interview 4, 4: 3-4).

> *Back then it was very different because we lived in very small camps, and everything that was done in the camp was done for everybody* (Interview 9, 9:4).

One woman lived alone in a senior's complex. During the interview I noticed that she had bloody caribou bones on the table, and art supplies on her living room table. Having grown up on the land she had very particular ideas about community, and when I asked her if, when she was a child, she had spent a lot of time with her Grandmother, this was her

reply:

> *We are different children. We don't put things like White people "Spend time with you," we don't need time in our Inuit, because we have an open life. We just go next door neighbour any time we want to, we don't have to make a phone call before you go in there, we just in and out, just like that, my own house, is nothing . . . it's just open to everyone* (Interview 7, 3: 40-43, 4: 1-9).

This notion of sharing within the community, of the interdependency of each person in a community is reminiscent of a time when groups of people travelled together, and relied on the skills of one another for survival. It is everyone who makes up a community, and together survival is ensured:

> *(E)ven I buy it, I'll cut it off for my neighbour, and my other neighbour, and it went from me and the Inuit always thinking about what you have I give out, and then back and forth and food, and everything. You don't have to pay back, or 'you owe me this you owe me that,' not like that. She say, when I was a little girl, I grow up Inuit culture which is every family had food . . . neighbours, when you have a little bit of bread, and they take half and half, I mean this is the Inuit culture. For free. Free give. I'm home, sometimes come home from dinner and everything free food in my house . . .* (Interview 3, 7:2-3).

This concept of reciprocity was echoed frequently during the interviews. An "open life," or a life that involves sharing openly means being receptive to sharing your own food, or possessions in order to enjoy the same for yourself. This concept of reciprocity is one that was borne out of necessity; living in the harsh arctic climate meant that it was absolutely imperative to develop a social system that ensured your own survival. It is a concept that has evolved in an interesting way: Inuit no longer need to rely on one another for survival to the extent they once did. Now, the reciprocity is expressed in different ways. One woman told me that her new parka was the result of a trade she made with someone who was interested

in one of her drawings:

> *. . . you wanna see my beautiful parka that's made? I paid for it with my arts. She was here today. We bought the material from the lady own the store here in town. And , she got out all her sewing and everything (Ah, is that ever nice!). I need a fur now (Oh, is that ever, yah, to put around the collar, on the hood). The lady gonna give me a fur. She's gonna buy (my) art. I'm gonna pay it with art (so you're just going to exchange) yah, yah, but I buy all that from my arts . . . I pay cabs from all, all my art money* (Interview 7, 7:18-25).

Sharing, and the notion of having an "open life" was a common theme in the interviews, and was illustrated on several occasions. Usually, when I was invited over to someone's home for tea, I was told to walk right in, and that knocking is more of an irritation than simply entering and announcing oneself.

When I went to one participant's home for an interview, I stood on her porch and rapped on the door for a few minutes, with no response. Finally, I peeked my head through the door and said loudly "Hello? Anyone home?" From a couple of rooms away I heard "Come on in." She then told me, in a slightly irritated tone, that there's no "need" to knock on the door, she had been expecting me, and she was very busy preparing a meal. At the end of our interview she told me:

> *I think the Southern people are complicated. Their biggest enemy is themselves and their own restrictions. They put all these restrictions to themselves when Inuit are very welcoming, the door is always open, you don't, we never knock, we, we just walk in. And. . . what is yours is mine . . . not to abuse it, but you will be treated as equally as anybody* (Interview 4: 12-17).

Try as I might, I was unable to follow the advice I was continuously given while in Iqaluit. I always knocked, always waited for a response, despite the sighs, and apparent irritation that

I had made them stop what they were doing to open a door.

> Even the language reflects the importance of sharing within a community:
>
> *. . . the term that we use for eating together of a seal is called 'alupajaaq,' 'alupajaaqutu,' and in South Baffin when you say that word everybody, people who are, accustomed to this way of eating will understand what it means. It means that a seal is going to be eaten at, by a group in a certain way* (Interview 9, 3: 21-25).

In fact, this same woman told me that one of the difficulties she and her family had when they were moved from an outpost camp into a community in Kimmirut (Lake Harbour), was the distance the three bedroom house put between them. They ended up sharing two bedrooms between six family members leaving the third bedroom empty.

> *My older sister and I were given a separate room, and that was hard, I remember. We were so scared. And we had three bedrooms, so my parents, my youngest brother and my younger sister all stayed in one, my older sister and I had another room, and then the third room nobody slept in there. To us, privacy meant nothing. There were, there was supposed to be no private . . . things. And the third bedroom was used as a storage room* (Interview 9, 7:15-39).

Reflecting on traditional practices within the "outpost camp" community occurred regularly during the interviews, and always put into context of community cohesiveness and sharing.

The Northern Environment

The participants told me that living in the North allows for constant exposure to the Inuit culture. Several of the women told me that the Inuit are easily "adaptable," and maintaining the culture meant being able to practice it. The women expressed to me that living in a Northern community affords the Inuk individual the opportunity to experience

traditional life, and to witness first hand, others living traditionally. Not only is this important in terms of learning traditional skills to pass on to the next generation, but more specifically, it allows Inuit to connect to defining characteristics of an Inuit "identity."

> *When they live in a community, they can keep their language, they see people making their own clothing, they see people going out hunting, and they're around their family. But once they live down South, you don't see that, and we're so used to isolated places where there's not that many people . . .* (Interview 8, p 14:43, p. 15: 1-4).

Iqaluit, even though it is significantly larger than smaller Northern communities, affords the best of "both worlds," allowing Inuit to live in a modern context with all of the amenities one would find in the south, yet still be able to connect to the landscape in the traditional Inuit sense. In this very important way, Inuit in Iqaluit are able to maintain important aspects of the traditional culture, while at the same time making use of other aspects of modern living which reportedly enhance their lives.

The Arctic environment is a tie to the Inuit past, when survival meant banding together, and fulfilling particular roles. Everything in the Northern environment holds meaning in the traditional Inuit culture:

> *it's funny, you think you know, the Arctic is cold, treeless, , there's nothing there. But everything means something to us, here. Everything. Every little thing. The smell the land, the changes throughout the year. It's everything. The animals, you name it. It . . . everything means to us. So if we just lose all that, everything will be meaningless* (Interview 2, 13: 32-36).

One of the points made about the arctic environment is that much of the Northern landscape, remains unfettered by modern, Southern "things;" and the solitude of the land was described as a tie to the past:

> *you should go out and camp out on the land, and there'll be total silence. You won't see a building, you, you won't see nothing. All you'll see that is part of your Western society is a tent, few things there and there, your snowmobile, and that's it. A sled is Inuit-made. That's it. But other than that, you're, you know, this is where we are. You have a sense of who you are, where you came from.* (Interview 2: 13: 27-36).

The environment of the Arctic creates a sense of identity for these women that has meaning and significance in terms of a connection with a traditional lifestyle. The environment is so closely connected to a sense of identity that without it, the meaning behind being "Inuit" is lost.

> *And in the Winter when the Fall comes just right now, it, it's still in my blood, I think, to get ready for the Winter. I need to sew, I need to . . . start dressing my children accordingly, and I wouldn't have that at all if I was in Calgary. It would be, it would be too hot. I wouldn't be able to see the water, I wouldn't, the Winter wouldn't be severe enough, eh, like the traditional things I would do what are, em, environmental oriented wouldn't be there. So I would lost that part, and my children would totally lose it. They are not exposed to it* (Interview 4, 12: 23-31).

Being able to perform tasks, or to participate in traditional activities serves as a clear reminder of where they come from, and who they are, culturally-speaking:

> *To be able to go hunting, camping, and sort of take a step back to the past helps me a lot* (Interview 4, 12: 23-24).

Most of the women told me that Inuit adapt easily to new environments and social situations. The swift transitions made in such a short time are an indication of this 'flexibility.' They told me that because of this adaptability the physical environment of the North is a constant reminder of sorts, of who they are, and what their ancestors lived through. Essentially, they said, no matter how much their community changes, the environment of the North will

remain a reminder of their traditional culture, and ancestors. It is easier to identify with traditional Inuit lifestyles, and to connect with their cultural past and present when they are living in the same environment as their predecessors, and the landscape which they themselves have known most of their own lives. Environment and tradition go hand in hand, and are virtually inseparable:

> *If you don't have something to keep you going, if you don't have your sense of identity in place, belonging to your surrounding, I think you are lost* (Interview 4, 6:29-31).

The participants told me that being separated from the Northern environment, and being away from other Inuit people within that environment creates a feeling of separation arguably more so than non-Northerners living in the North. The reason for this is because with the change in environment comes the difficulties in identifying with other cultural groups who perhaps do not share the same cultural connection to the environment as do the Inuit. Many of the women told me that the Inuit are "masters" of being assimilated, and if they were to live elsewhere, future generations would suffer the consequence of losing that very important connection to their culture:

> *I think (Inuit culture) would just be sucked in to our surroundings, and although we could remember the next generation and the second generation would have forgotten. It's a collective effort which needs the environment also . . . to keep it alive* (Interview 4, 12:15-19).

As the community itself changes, so do the traditional roles between men and women change. While some argue that traditional roles are remaining the same, only in a more modern context, [23] many of the women described some of the difficulties men are facing

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[23] Reimer, 1996

now that they do not identify with the hunter/provider role as they once did. While many men do still hunt, and provide for their families this way, it is not a "full time" way of life, and is often subsidized by the woman's wages. In this sense, the disconnection from the environment has created confusion about roles, and traditional ways of identifying with the Inuit culture.

One woman expressed to me just how related the Inuit culture and environment are:

> *without culture you are nobody, right? You just disappear. You can just look at the Indians. Not everybody. Indian people who have lost their culture or Inuit people who have lost their culture, they can see themselves, like myself when I, I had lost my culture . . . I was like nobody. I looked like Inuit but I didn't have my language, I didn't have my . . . heritage, I couldn't fit in the society. I think that creates all the problems you want in life. If you don't have something to keep you going, if you don't have your sense of identity in place, belonging to your surrounding, I think you are lost* (Interview 4: 6:22-30).

Adjusting, adapting, and surviving in the new community (or abroad) means, to a certain extent, loss; loss of identity as part of a unique cultural group.

> *I think it's really good that we have this, this cultural responsibility and identity that I think that when you get into a city it's too easy to [lose] . . . especially if you're fifth generation, sixth generation, you just tend to identify with Canadian culture . . . that might [be a] culture in itself, but we're still Aboriginal culture, you know* (Interview 6, 19: 21-26).

There was one woman, however, who lived in the South, and would have preferred to live and work there if it were not for her children. She told me that while she felt it best to move her children into an environment where they could make practical use of their language, and to learn traditional Inuit skills, that the North, unlike the South, is not a motivating environment for Inuit youth, and as a consequence, youth are not motivated to succeed

academically. She viewed her return to the Inuit community as a parental sacrifice (Interview 1, 11):

> *but I would like them to be comfortable in both (cultures), because I'd like to see them go to university. It'll be a long time before we have a university in Nunavut, and they will have to go south . . . to go to a higher education, and they do have to learn to live in both worlds* (Interview 1, p. 22: 11-15).

When women told me about their experiences living in the South, or about their perceptions of living in the South, all but one told me that if they had to choose where to live, they would invariably choose the North. They associated life in the South with a loss of identity, as things like hunting, living in the cold environment, and being separated from friends and family are all things that they associate with their identity as Inuk.

> *I tried to live in Ottawa at the age of 19 you would think when you're 19, oh yah, wow! Ottawa, big city. I was so tied with my culture that I just couldn't live there . . . I hated the fact that I had to stop in order to go somewhere. A beam of light telling me to stop or go, or whatever. I hated that. It's something that I just couldn't adjust to. Many things that I just couldn't adjust to. You know, that was just physical thing, but just the way people . . . are* (Interview 2, 13: 10-19).

One of the challenges of living in Iqaluit is that while living in the North allows them to feel closer to their ancestral past, and to one another as a cultural group, there is a Southern "mind set" (rigidity of character, too many "rules") which affects the sense of personal freedom to live as an Inuk. The conflicts in cultural attitudes can create stress between Inuit and Southerners in Iqaluit.

Traditions

Traditional activities are more often performed in smaller communities with less

focus on having to "teach" this know-how, which is the case in Iqaluit. Being a government town where many Inuit are employed in a wage earning job, residents in Iqaluit do not have to rely as often on traditional activities such as hunting and sewing as do smaller Arctic communities for survival. With the exception of Apex[24], traditional activities in Iqaluit have become more of a pastime with specific cultural relevance than something relied upon for survival.

One woman told me of the difference between her home community of Pangnirtung and Iqaluit:

> *between Pang and here? Well it's, in smaller communities, not just Pangnirtung, a lot of families still hunt animals. Like seal, caribou, to make clothing, and for the meat, but we don't see that too much here, because there's so many people here we don't now who goes out hunting, who catches what, but when you go to a smaller community we know that people goes out camping, or hunting* (Interview 8, p. 3: 29-34).

Again, traditional activities are being taken out of a group context, and moved into a very individual context, where people do not insist on formal traditional leadership in terms of passing on information about who has hunted where, or when.

Hunting and sewing were cited as two traditional activities (aside from the use of Inuktitut) that occur with more regularity in smaller Northern communities:

> *. . . when there's less Inuit people, there's less groups of people getting together, and doing sewing or, having a hunter's meeting or something like that, it's a little different from other communities . . . And when they, in smaller communities you see that more often, and you see more clothing like , parkas that hunters use. Or kamiks that are being used in town during the winter. People seem to be more creative. Not just creative, but sewing more*

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[24] the original settlement in the Frobisher Bay area., several miles from the town of Iqaluit.

clothing. Here we don't see that often (Interview 8: 30-38).

There is an emphasis in Iqaluit on making sure that the younger generations learn and use the Inuit traditions. The city-like environment in Iqaluit creates an atmosphere where it is very easy for Inuit traditions to be put aside. To avoid this from happening, programs have been developed to create an awareness of traditional activities, and to teach:

> *and in smaller communities, young people learns more, , about how to make clothing, how to go out hunting, and, without having to take any program. But in this community, there are some programs available for people to learn how to go out hunting for seal, or go out camping with a group of students, and how to . . . make kamiks, how to make parkas. In smaller communities, they're starting to start some programs. So that younger people can learn how to make clothing for their family, or they can learn from their parents, from their mothers* (Interview 8, 4: 11-18).

> *Maybe most of the communities, do make an effort to teach their younger generation how to sew, how to survive on the land, what you do when you're out camping and when you go out camping, and stuff like that, even just to go out hunting during the Fall, like a younger person would know if the ice is thick enough to walk on* (Interview 8, 10: 1-5).

- ***Language***

The participants told me that smaller communities make more frequent use of Inuktitut. English is more frequently used in Iqaluit, and this, along with the fact that Inuit traditions are used less means that retaining culture in a larger community is difficult:

> *I want to move to a small community for a couple of years and I want to gain (the language) all back* (Interview 6, 13: 9-10).

> *In Pangnirtung there's about 95 percent Inuit, and everybody uses Inuktitut language when they communicate. But here basically everybody speaks English* (Interview 8, 2: 33-35).

Children, as well as adults, use English more regularly in Iqaluit. Along with other issues such as the education system where Inuit children are not receiving enough traditional knowledge learning, language is an important component of the Inuit tradition that is under some strain:

> *My children weren't speaking, well, I wasn't speaking English as much as I did in Pangnirtung? Just like my children, they're starting to speak only in English, but we use a lot of Inuktitut at home. But when they're in school, or when I'm at work, we usually speak English. And it's different, because, when we're in Pangnirtung, my parents didn't even allow us to speak English in the house? So it's, right now, it's, it was a little difficult for my youngest when she went to Pangnirtung she has to, not really concentrate, but try and speak Inuktitut because , she was getting use to speaking in English* (Interview 8, p. 3:1-4).

Historically, and even presently, Inuit who could speak both English and Inuktitut were regarded as useful to non-Inuktitut-speaking people in the community. Several women told me that in the early days of the fur trade Inuit people who could also speak English were regarded as highly useful to the White community. Furthermore, as one woman told me, language also became an indication of leadership skills. If a person could speak both Inuktitut and English, they became a candidate for community leadership, whether or not they were considered "natural leaders" by the Inuit in the community:

> *In the past when we had outpost camps, we were living out on the land, there were natural leaders, people that were really good leader personalities, and they would lead the family, or the band, and, they, they were the hunters and the organizers, and they just had good leadership skills. But when we went into the municipality or we went into the communities, when we were herded into communities, who became the leader? The person that could speak English, you know, a few words of English. Whether or not they were considered leaders by the community didn't matter it's that the, the new community thought they were, because they had the skills necessary for the new era, you know, English. And, a lot, so in that time, it, it seems like there*

> *was a real shift in what leadership is, and it, unfortunately wasn't necessarily the leadership skills or the leadership qualities we wanted* (Interview 6, 9:28-40).

Communication now requires a knowledge of English. But while speaking English is a necessity for their children, and it is required in their schools, the women feared that Inuktitut in Iqaluit will be lost, as many children are not using it as often as their parents. Many families refuse to allow their children to speak English in the home.

> *In Pangnirtung there's about 95 percent Inuit, and everybody uses Inuktitut language when they communicate. But here basically everybody speaks English* (Interview 8, 2: 33-35).

Inuktitut is another part of the Inuit identity that connects them to one another, and to their past. Like traditional activities that are reminiscent of times before the modern community, language is a way for the distinct Inuit community to remain strong in the face of community change and development.

> *It is something, Inuit cultures have been, are falling apart. My children, my son's kids, are now letting their marriage fall . . . we fall away, we [are] separating from each other now, because of separate houses, and they move from the other end of town to the other end, my child, and I don't even know what's going on . . . they live so far away, everything going far apart, and the next thing I know, they are getting divorced, and I didn't even notice, because you don't communicate [with] each other as much as they used to* (Interview 3, 7:20-27).

Inuktitut was repeatedly described to me as one of the most important areas of Inuit culture in terms of how it brings together the community. Currently there are aggressive attempts at preserving the language in Iqaluit; both older, traditional terminology that relates to a time when the Inuit lived in a more homogenous environment in outpost camps, and the newer

and quickly expanding vocabulary that is being created to illustrate new ideas and concepts. Language has the potential to tie Inuit together, and all of the participants agreed that it is important to use the language, and to teach the language to others - even White transients.

> . . . *it's my responsibility to preserve the language* (Interview 2, 10: 40-41).

- ***Naming***

Naming is a way to continue kinship lines, to show respect to Elders, and to hold Inuit identity together. This also crosses communities

> *I'm named after five people in our area. And, of my five names people in my area treat me differently because of who, who I'm named after. So, a certain kind of respect? If I was seen to be, if I was seen to be doing something that didn't please people I would be told that so and so that I'm named after, who, my namesake wouldn't have done that. So, you grow up with people having expectations of you, and you try to rise to that . . . I think that it is very important that naming be still part of our day, daily life, and it's still being done. Even though they are giving them Qallunaatitut names, most of the people in their community will call the baby by who they're named after in the community and how they related to that. Even though on, in their birth certificate it might be Christopher, it might be John, it might be Matthew, or it might be Rosemary, whatever. But in the community, and the family that's not their name . . . in our society we call them by their Inuktitut name. For example, my baby, my two year old's birth certificate says Jennifer Qaunaq Johnson (not real name) so she's called Jenny by Qallunaat that are not close to me but in my home community, she's not called Jenny. She's called Qaunaq, because she's named after my cousin from my home community. So, they refer to her as Qaunaq more than Jennifer so, even though she's only two years old, she's called Mother, she's called Grandmother, by her namesakes relatives so that kind of thing, and she's treated special by the people, who were very close to her, to her namesake. An example is that her namesake was my cousin. But she was very close to my mother in age so they were very good friend. And my mother . . . has ordered not for my baby to call her "Grandmother". She is to call her by her first name. So, my two year old is going around calling her grandmother by first name! Which would be considered very disrespectful in our culture but naming is even stronger. So my mother sees my two year old as Qaunaq first, then grandchild* (Interview 9, 8: 22-46, 9: 1-12).

Also, naming remains a way for kinship groups to maintain close ties. Where families are spread out, naming provides a way for individuals to keep close primary ties. When an individual lives away from their home community, naming is a way for them to still feel a part of the community when they return, or when they are in contact with those who know the importance of the namesake.

> *So, because of my five names, when I go to my home community in Cape Dorset where I'm related to a lot of people . . . they refer to me of who I'm named after. So different people in that community will be calling me "Mother", different people will be calling me "Grandmother", different people will be calling me "Father", because one of my names is a man, an Elder that died. And so his daughter calls me "Father her children call me "Grandfather." And then because one of the names I have has a lot of relatives but she didn't have any children, a lot of her relatives call me "Aunt"* (Interview 9, 10:15-23).

The identity of the namesake becomes the distinct "Inuit" identity of the name-holder. In this way, the culture is passed on, and much of the culture remains traditional and relevant regardless in which particular community a person lives.

> *The way I understand it is that when I was born, I was given these names: my first name is my grandmother, and a lot of my relatives on my father's side, because I'm named after his mother, call me "grandmother," they call me "Ningiuq(Old Woman) because my grandmother was old, so, they refer to me as "Ningiukuluk", as the "Dear little old lady," And to me, that's an honour rather than an insult, when somebody calls me a "dear little old woman," because they're referring to my namesake. The other four names that I'm given are related to other people. [What] Inuit believe is that the spirits of the people that I'm named after all are in me, I'm supposed to live the way they were seen. I was brought up so that the good qualities of my namesakes are showing through me. I don't have an identity. It's not my identity. It's the identity of the five people that I, that I'm named after* (Interview 9, 10: 27-39).

- ***Elders, A Traditional Resource***

The Inuit Elders in Canada's Northern communities are a cherished segment of the community. Unlike other Inuit communities (Greenland, for example), Canada's Inuit still have Elders living in the community who spent much of their adult lives in outpost camps. While some of the traditional roles of Elders, like counselling, are being lost in the modern community, there has recently been a growing interest in recording the memories of Elders, who speak about life in the outpost camps before Inuit were moved into settlements. Elders have memories of the transition from Shamanism to Christianity, and of traditional stories - many of which have never been recorded, but were told as a way to explain cultural beliefs. Furthermore much of the traditional language is being recorded as well; there are many words that, because they have no place in the modern community, are being forgotten. Collaborative efforts with the Elders in Inuit communities ensure that the older aspects of the Inuit culture are recorded, and passed on to younger generations.

Recording the stories of the Elders, learning and speaking Inuktitut, and incorporating traditional knowledge in the school system are some of the things being done to ensure that traditional aspects of the Inuit culture are being passed on to the younger generations. All of these things, however, cannot fully turn back the tide of modernity, of "southernization."

This chapter examined some of the elements of the Inuit culture that are common to Inuit regardless of where in Northern Canada they live. The Northern environment is one of the biggest factors in the ability of the Inuit to continue practicing some of the more traditional aspects of their culture. While change was abruptly introduced into the lives of the Inuit, they are able to make relatively smooth transitions at this point by practicing

cultural traditions, and speaking with the Elders who have knowledge about the traditional Inuit lifestyle. In using common experience and cultural beliefs, the Inuit are able to create a strong Inuit identity which covers all communities in the North. The following chapter discusses some of the challenges the Inuit are facing.

CHAPTER 5
MAKING COMPROMISES IN TWO WORLDS

The women spoke about "bridging" the "two worlds" together, and used terms such as "harmony," "uniting," and "balance." Despite the efforts at uniting the "Inuit Community," there are still challenges in Iqaluit in terms of adapting to Southern expectations while trying to incorporate traditional cultural expectations. In the new Inuit community this endeavour is crucial to the survival of a culture that depends on modern technologies and advances as much as any modern culture. In the previous chapter I discussed how the Inuit have managed to create an "Inuit community" that crosses geography. Maintaining some of the more traditional aspects of their culture is often challenging in Iqaluit. This chapter examines some of the challenges that the Inuit face in maintaining a balance between the traditional and the modern.

Keeping a balance in the modern Inuit community can be difficult, even with technological innovations. While it is difficult to keep that balance, however, it is a fallacy that the Inuit do not have a certain degree of control over the direction of the changes in their community (Iqaluit), or communities (the "Inuit Community"). The situation in Iqaluit, and indeed in many Northern communities, is that there are dual social expectations placed on the Inuit. On the one hand, traditional Inuit culture dictates particular expectations from individuals and family, and on the other, the increasingly dominant Southern/European influence dictates yet other expectations. It is difficult - if not impossible - to avoid this feeling of having to live in two worlds that was expressed by the participants. Inuit must reconcile traditional roles and expectations with the new social reality. Many of the women

stated that any sort of compromise that is being made is rather one-sided. The effort, according to some of the women, seems to be coming solely from the Inuit of Iqaluit, rather than the "other" culture. This one-sidedness was discussed at length by many of the women who claimed that most of the Southern (White) people who come to Northern communities only do so to make money, and associate only with other Whites.

Compromise in the community results in separating the various elements of their lives; keeping one area of their life distinct from another, instead of finding a happy medium where both traditional and "modern" (i.e. Southern) can exist together, in a new form. Home and work, for example, are quite separate not just in nature, as one would assume, but also in the way tasks are perceived and performed. Having to live in a new social reality where technology and a wage-based economy are important has meant some drastic changes in how the Inuit community is able to express cultural values and relationships with others.

Balancing

Without exception, the participants described their community as divided. While some women said that the goal is to bring both cultures together, other women stated that they are comfortable living in two distinct cultures, and two very different communities within Iqaluit. All agreed, however, that it is a challenge to bring both elements of their community life, Northern and southern, together.

When talking about their community, the women used words such as "balancing act" "living in both worlds," and "bridging two worlds" and "compromise." They expressed the conflict between wanting to hold on to traditional aspects of their culture while enjoying modern technological advances. One woman expanded on that by saying that while she

chooses to live in a bi-cultural community, she is not prepared to ignore her Inuit culture; nor is she prepared to follow traditional ways of living if they do not have relevance for her:

> *you know, I try to really get into what was the traditional way, and does it still have a context in today, or if it doesn't, how can we just go with, in keeping with that* (Interview 6, 10: 1-4).

One woman stated that many individuals, families, live a traditional life in their homes, but then when they are out in the community, say at work, or among other cultural groups, they interact quite differently (Interview 5, 5: 8-11). Traditional Inuit values are often left in the home:

> *. . . the way I act personally in the office and at home is very different, and my relationships and the dynamics of those are very different. Ah, it's like I'm two characters. Well there's, even in the office because you really have act [the way] your supervisor expects you to act, and what-not, but in my, in my home and my community, there's different ways of [acting], and I'm more comfortable with those. There's no false pretenses with my friendships. I don't want to generalize, but I think [Inuit] people are just more laid back* (Interview 6, 5: 33-41).

Often participants spoke to me about the past, and living in outpost camps in a "romantic" way; as a severe contrast to life in settlements. Whether the fond recollections are due to present-day socio-economic pressures, or because of current efforts to reconcile Inuit tradition with modern living is unclear; perhaps it is a mixture of both. Certainly, not one of the participants lived in one "state" (traditional or current) or the other in its pure form. The participants told me that they lived in a world in which they took advantage of modern amenities, while trying to either revive, or keep alive, many traditional elements of the Inuit culture. This means that in the winter people take their children out on the land and teach them how to hunt. Parents tell their children stories about the "old ways," or send their

children to live with their grandparents for a season to learn traditional Inuit activities such as hunting, sewing, cooking, or speaking Inuktitut:

> *I try to encourage my son to go out hunting more often especially with my parents, even if they're not here, he usually goes to Pangnirtung like, during Christmas, or go with some relatives I have here, go out hunting. I think, I really think he should learn how to hunt and survive on the land. And my girls, I try to encourage them to learn anything from my Mother while they're in Pangnirtung, and they have some sort of projects in schools like a sewing group, or stuff like that, I encourage my children to go to them* (Interview 8, 8: 25-32).

Like other societies that have experienced rapid modernization, the Inuit are relatively close to their past. As noted in the previous chapter, they still have Elders with experience in the traditional way of life which means that the younger generation is not completely separated from the traditional past. So although there are many issues facing contemporary Inuit communities, attempts at reviving and maintaining the culture are possible. While currently Inuit are living in a more southernized, modern environment, they are still able to perform traditional activities out on the land where they, or their parents, were born:

> *. . . we're so close to our, our heritage, because we can go out on the land, and we might be on the Ski-doo, but we're hunting still, and I think that's why Aboriginals are still very . . . hook line and sinker with their traditions* (Interview 6, 22: 27-30).

Thus, one of the reasons that the traditional culture can be maintained in the modern community (i.e., Iqaluit) is that people are never very far from the land, or from the harsh realities of the Arctic environment.

While often stressful, the women realized that living in Iqaluit means having to combine the cultures so that the various members of the community can interact more

smoothly.

> *I try to make balance of White people's culture, Inuit culture, I try to make that balance like 50-50. If I only go [to] one side, it won't be in line with a lot of people [who] work here. I have to put . . . 50-50 cultures to use so this way we could be a lot better together - working together* (Interview 3, 3:10-13).

> *We are just taking a second look, "Okay, maybe we do need to keep these things," along with many new things that we are facing. So we are trying to keep both; but take what is best from both, and how can we, how can we implement them? How can we work so we have both of them? Not both, 100 percent of each, but maybe 50 percent of each* (Interview 4, 12: 1-5).

It is understandable, then, that living in a community where life is separated into two different forms of social interaction can become frustrating. The participants recognized the pressures they feel living in Iqaluit. One woman described her frustration with not only having to live in a community where Inuit are expected to live in "two worlds," but also with how outside images and standards of beauty and acceptability are having an effect on the Inuit community:

> *[W]e are expected to know all about our culture, know all about our language, know all about the traditional way of sewing, way of doing this, way of doing that, and at the same time we are expected to know everything the Southern way of lifestyle. You are expected to have a good comprehension of English, you are expected to perform jobs, you are expected to either go to school, hold a job, do everything the Qallunaat's way, if not you are some kind of . . . a little . . . slow up there. So there's a lot of pressure for myself to hold jobs, to hold education, to do what is community right, what is Intuit - from the Intuit perspective "right," and what is from the Calanthe perspective "right," so it is very easy to get lost. You can easily get lost by starting to think if you're getting some, too much pressure and if you're not rock-steady in your own . . . you get pulled in all kinds of directions, and just lose your sense of direction* (Interview 4, 7: 40-43, 8: 1-8).

Southern expectations of femininity, and/or feminism are also filtered into the Inuit community and become issues for the Inuit community:

> *We are expected to be like any Southern woman - "super women." All the media that is promoting this, "this is the right way to look," we don't look like Barbies. Our bodies were adapted to live up here, we are short, fat Intuit women and we could survive up here with this short, fat Inuit woman kind of body, but the image that we get sent all the time is this thin, tall kind of . . . being who would have frozen to death in no time up here. Just to mention one. All the pressures that we have to deal with in today's world, you have to be up to date on them . . .* (Interview 4, 8: 8-16).

Clearly, the traditional ways of survival are now almost completely negated by the comforts modern technology has offered to Inuit communities. As with many cultures, the relationship between the environment and cultural identity is becoming blurred. Where the traditional way of life required a symbiotic relationship with the land, currently "making a living" does not necessarily require traditional skills such as hunting, or sewing. Incorporating parts of the traditional lifestyle is becoming more of a conscious and deliberate effort rather than something that occurs rather naturally. While older generations generally define being Inuit as something inseparable from traditional activities that always involved the environment in some manner, they also admit that there is no way to return to the past. Inuit are discovering that there are other aspects of the modern community that can enhance the lives of Inuit community. Finding a place for the new amidst the old remains a challenge, but one the participants state is necessary.

A "New" Inuit Community

Without exception, all of the participants agreed that while it is challenging to maintain the balance between traditional values and expectations and the Southern culture,

it is not impossible. In fact, most of the women stated that much of the Southern contributions to their community *enhances* their lives. It is not about throwing away one culture in favour of another, they said. It is all about balance.

The changes occurring in the Inuit community happen as the Inuit culture is faced with the Southern culture and it's impact on the Inuit community:

> *. . . people who have lived here for a long time and . . . the people that come to this community like the Qallunaat, and other people from different various communities . . . because there are so many people coming in to one place that we're comparing things to each other, and copying other people's lifestyles, and we're using those, adapting those, and using our own as well. So, we're using, adapting Qallunaat lifestyles and different lifestyles from various communities* (Interview 5, 4:3-10).

Repeatedly women stated that they can keep both the old, traditional values of the culture, *and* make use of the southern advances that may better their lives. Participants used phrases such as "having the best of both worlds." Finding a way to live with both the old and the new without feeling torn remains a problem. Part of doing that is implementing southern technology and culture; those things that enhance their way of life, and making it their own:

> *I'm welcoming the electricity, the heat, the oven, the microwave, the television, radio, everything, I'm welcoming all the things that will enhance my way of life, as long as it's not detrimental to my survival. So when . . . we are not trying to go back to the old ways. We are trying to keep what was actually really good that we just threw away for something that was not at all from us. We are trying to keep what is good* (Interview 4, 11: 34-39).

Women with children stated that they wanted their children to feel comfortable in both "worlds," which included learning English, and possibly moving down South for further education so that when they returned to Iqaluit, they would be able to find a decent paying

job of the type that is often filled by Southern-educated whites.

Bringing together different concepts of community, and bringing together different cultures also has an effect on the community of Iqaluit in that the Inuit culture itself is faced with *having* to change in order to survive. The changes in the Inuit community and culture were not initiated by the Inuit themselves, yet they have to deal with the challenges that these changes have presented. All of the participants stated that - when there is balance - this evolution of the Inuit culture and community is something that is natural at this point, and quite unavoidable. The Inuit community was described as "evolving" continuously:

> *I think we are doing a okay balancing act. It's not the greatest, but we are doing whatever we can to survive, and who we are. And, I don't see anything leaving out the other or cutting out the other, sure, we are evolving to something that we have sort of no choice to get into in order to be in order to survive. You know, these days it costs a lot of money to live up here for one thing, so you really have no choice but to have a job, because a hunter will not make that much . . .* (Interview 2, 14: 5-11).

The changes in the Inuit community also require balance so that both the Inuit culture and the dominant Southern culture can work together:

> *we're moving toward a newer culture. It doesn't mean you don't have a culture anymore? We are just evolving to a newer form of culture. Our traditional culture which the Elders calls it, the traditional culture for many reasons, obviously since we can't keep living like that, and we can't keep that culture, so myself and people my age are helping to form a new culture in language. With the Interpreters Translator program we keep developing new terms, at the same time trying to keep the traditional words, but many of the traditional words we cannot use, because they're describing a Southern way of life. Right now I, I need new words for tape recorder, or remote control, microwave, all those other things and new way of thinking, new way of thoughts, and we keep developing that, and we take it on as part of our culture. And you label it, neo, new culture, whatever it is, but it is still the same. It won't be, in 100 years they will look back at it "So how was this culture like?"* (Interview 4, 4: 23-36).

Most of the participants stated that it would be "foolish" to expect their culture to *ever* be the way it was prior to Southern influence. According to the women, that is not the goal. Instead, they are embracing the changes that enhance their lives :

> *we cannot try to stay in the same thing, like everything will always be changing. It would be a mistake for me to try to keep things the way they were 30 years ago because we cannot go back 30 years, to 30 years ago. That was, the life was like that back then. We have a different life. Let's try and make it as best as we can, but use what we can use from then to today but with today's lifestyle as well . . . to me it would be a losing battle if I try and make everything the way it was 30 years ago, 40 years ago, because life was very different back then* (Interview 9, 12: 26-33).

Technology and Communication in the New Community

The women talked to me about "communication" as it relates to the differences between White and Inuit methods of communication, but more frequently they used the concept of communication as it relates to how Inuit interact with one another; most specifically, how families, or kinship groups communicate with one another. Later I will discuss some of the challenges Inuit communities in the North have in terms of available communication technology.

Communication is becoming more challenging for Inuit communities; even when families live in the same city. The change in family dynamics means that families are not always up to date on the newest happenings. The kinship group is larger, and involves more people outside of the immediate or extended family.

Northern communities, especially larger ones like Iqaluit, are becoming more technologically advanced. The rate of growth and technological advancement in the North

does not parallel that of the rest of Canada, yet it does represent another great change in the structure of the Inuit community. There are still challenges, however, in this aspect of community development. Smaller Inuit communities do not have the same access as does Iqaluit, and so find themselves lagging behind in that respect. Furthermore, even larger communities have difficulties affording the high cost of technologies such as Internet and phone services. Steps are being taken to make sure that technology is accessible at least in some small way, but until the costs are less of a barrier, Inuit will remain behind at least in this one area of community growth.

The introduction of Southern technology into Arctic communities has had a remarkable impact on Inuit lifestyle. Electricity, radio technology, telecommunications, television, and now, more recently, the Internet have all entered the social reality of the Inuit rather abruptly, with a short transitional period. As a result, new ways of living, working and relating with one another have developed. With each technological introduction there was remarkable change. From the fur trade to the computer age, Inuit have had to find ways of adjusting in a world that will not stop for them to catch up. Because of the transiency of larger communities like Iqaluit, communication is more important than ever. The challenge for Inuit communities is to integrate southern conceptions of modernity into their own lives while still maintaining their cultural heritage.

- ***History of Inuit Involvement with Modern Technology***

  The Inuit have a very short history living with modern technology:

  I play with my E-mail because I'm still very far behind, I was born in North

> *Greenland, I can still remember the stone huts that I slept in, with traditional lamps, and no electricity. Only one White person I ever saw was a researcher who my father was helping. That was it. The only kind of apple we ever saw was years after we had moved to South Greenland when Santa Claus came with this apple; this funny person dressed in red. So I can understand that some people would be a little bit far behind* (Interview 4, 10: 1-9).

Even shorter is their active role in the production and communication of technology. For years, telecommunication was not geared to an Inuit demographic. The interest by the federal government in economic activity was the primary impetus of creating access to telecommunication in the North; and when communities were more isolated, and less likely to be economically interesting, there was less likely to be a system put in place. The needs of the Inuit were of no concern at that point. The technology of the time was geared to serving missionaries, trading posts, and government officials (Koebberling, 1990, 19). Inuit interest in participating in technology was ignored. To many, Inuit are seen as quite uninterested in technology and communication. The notion of the isolated Inuk in an environment quite distinct and removed from southern science and technology is a common one. Furthermore:

> (t)echnology is a social product which comprises the ideological and social values of the people involved in its creation and its expansion. As such, access to it may be affected by the practices and social values of the social group that controls its development. The social distribution and uses of technology are class and gender oriented. Different classes may have different access to a technology moreover, members of a single class, with equal access, may encounter different limitations in the use of a technology according to their gender (Martin, 1991: 173).

While the issues of gender and technology in the North differ from those elsewhere, it

remains the case that Inuit have had to take control of the technology in their communities in order to make it culturally relevant and enable them to use it to their advantage in an increasingly competitive wage economy.

Especially in larger Northern communities where the level of transiency is so high, the need for communication technology has increased. As mentioned previously, only one of the ten women with whom I spoke was originally from Iqaluit. Most of the women who had moved to Iqaluit from other smaller communities did so because of employment opportunities. This means that usually, there are family members in the home community, and often the family is spread out all over the North and South. Because a sense of community is a traditional concern for Inuit, maintaining communication with friends and family is of utmost concern:

> *. . . because we now live in different communities, all together. I have a brother in Arviat, and a sister in Coral (Harbour), and you know, we can't all live in one community now. I live in Iqaluit, but we talk on the phone, we get together every once in a while, but we're all still looking after each other* (Interview 10, 1:43-45, 2: 1-2).

Inuit do not have access to the same telecommunication services as do Southerners, and the need to be able to communicate personal and business needs is of utmost importance. Unfortunately, the costs of expressing those needs are incredibly expensive; many people in the North go without telephone service. For example:

> the Inuit have not been successful in getting services at affordable prices. The average Northerner spends more than three times as much for toll service as does the average southern customer. The gap in average monthly toll charges has increased rather than decreased. At the same time, the relative economic situation of native people has not improved. As a result, telephone penetration is lower than in the southern regions because many people cannot

> afford the service. Yet they remain more dependent upon the technology to obtain essential services and use it for business purposes (Koebberling, 1988: 26).

This problem extends, obviously, to Internet usage as well. Internet fees can average to approximately 35 cents a minute. And with fewer Internet Service Providers (ISP's) in the North than in the south, choices such as payment packages do not exist. There is a distinct problem, then, with access of technology in the North. Furthermore, the further North one goes, the less access and the more costly the technology is.

There have been, however, initiative programs created that somewhat solve this access issue. The understanding among those involved in community access programs is that communication technology is a right not a privilege. Especially in a competitive economy which relies heavily on technology, it is increasingly important for Inuit to remain on top of changes and advances.

Schools such as the Leo Ussak Elementary School in Rankin Inlet, NT, are taking steps toward educating children and the world about the Internet savvy of the Inuit. Leo Ussak was the first school in the territories to have a Community Access Centre. They call the centre "Igalaaq" which is Inuktitut for window. One of the objectives of the centre is to allow access to computer technology, regardless of the resources that might otherwise be found in the community. Community Access Centres (CAP), however, are not popular (yet) in the more isolated communities. Some of this may have to do with the ISP's perception of a lack of demand for the technology in these areas. Support for the Internet, for example, would not be financially feasible for individuals in those communities because telephone

access alone is costly.

Still a concern for the Inuit and modern technology revolves around the language issue. Software developers have recently started creating Inuktitut fonts, which allow the Inuktitut-speaking individual to communicate using syllabics. In addition, hardware components such as keyboards have been designed to accommodate the Inuktitut-speaking individual. In a society that speaks more English in the working environment, however, it is difficult to say just where the direction of these culturally relevant additions will head.

It is important to remember that one of the big differences in the advent of modern telecommunications, for example, between the Inuit and Southern Canada lies with the way it was introduced into their everyday lives. For the Inuit, the technology had already existed for quite some time. While both groups had to make adjustments to accommodate new technology, the changes for Inuit were more drastic. Because of the isolation, the geographical distance between where they live, and what they see on television, or learn about on the Internet, there is always a chance of perceptions being destroyed:

> *. . . and it's okay to objectify a woman . . . if you see it on tv and . . . There was an incident where a young kid had gone down to Montreal to go to the hospital, and it was his first time in the city, and he was really disappointed that it wasn't like it was in the tv. And that really disappointed him. Everything is glamourized the White society is superior, and you know, they can do this, you know, they can get away with so much shooting and killing, and abusing and violence, but this little boy was really disappointed, "how come it's not like the TV"? you know, "where are the guns?"* (Interview 1, 14: 33-44).

- ***The Fairy Tale of Inuit Naivety***

For the most part, Southern Canada is ignorant of the Inuit lifestyle. Many still have

the romantic notion of the Inuit as a docile and friendly people who are naive and innocent. The reality of the compromises Inuit have been making are not so apparent. One woman I interviewed likened this ignorance to a fairy tale; the romantic image of the naive, unspoiled "Eskimo" living a quiet and gentle life away from the hectic life of the south:

> *I don't think anybody has asked me specifically about being an Inuit woman - it never gets to that point . . . It's always . . . they only focus the questions on their idea of an Inuk woman their, a lot of the questions are very limited to what they think, because they have preconceived notion so their questions become very limited to that. So it, a lot of the times we have to explain, I have to explain as well, we don't live in snow houses anymore, right? We have computers, my son has E-mail, my children go to school everyday, I hold jobs, I have to, I have my own business, I have to do this, I have to do that, and it's too much to have that dream shattered of this, nomadic hunting kind of cute smiley Inuit who should not be poisoned by all this technology, right? So, maybe . . . their idea of how far we are in the development, when we say that we are this far and we are competing on the same level, it's too much. So I think they'd rather keep their little safe notion of this traditional* . . . (Interview 4, 9 6:19).

Noted by one woman was her perception of how uncomfortable "outsiders" are when they are confronted with the reality of the changes in Canada's North:

> *but what about Cinderella. If she had killed her own mother, that witch, and she actually stole the step-mother's clothes that wasn't actually given to her by this imaginary thing from the pumpkin thing, and she was actually stealing from her step-sisters, and she was actually beating them up . . . like our picture of this very innocent human being - how could she do that? It's shattered. No please go back to the original story because that's so sweet and wonderful, that's just shattering an image. And I think that just plainly happens when you're too technologically advanced, you're supposed to be still in the stone age and hunting and gathering, you cannot be . . . this. And very often when people who come to take pictures of us come in today, 1999, come today to the North, and they want to see you in your traditional clothes, and they want to depict a picture as traditional as possible, to what they consider 100 years ago, 50 years ago, because that's the image they want to keep . . . And that's how they want to picture them. Which is pretty sad. Because we cannot keep standing still while the rest of the world keeps going.*

> *It's like they want us to stop moving and just hang ourselves on the wall . . . That's it. The rest of the world can keep going, you know* (Interview 4, 10: 36-43, 11: 1-9).

Increasingly, the Inuit are being encouraged by their government to take on active roles in research and communications. Promotions to that effect can be found in places like the Nunavut Research Institute, and the schools. I made note of a poster while staying at the N.I., which illustrates this desire for Inuit involvement:

> *Poster at the entrance of the Research Centre: Photograph of an Inuit man, woman, and four children: a boy, two girls, and a baby. The woman is holding the baby in her amouti looking back at him/her, and the boy, crouching near her, holds a microscope. There is something yellow on the glass slide under the scope (wild grass?) The two girls are standing over, and crouching near the man, the girl crouching has a magnifying glass aimed at a piece of moss which is sitting in her hand. She is laying on top of white fur which is covering a portion of the ground. All of them are dressed in traditional furs, and skins. The caption reads: Take a Closer Look! Science is for Everyone. At the bottom there is credit for the photograph - an individual with the Government of NWT, and thanks to the family (from Rankin Inlet) who posed for the photo* (Field Notes, August 31, 1999).

Inuit communities are working hard to demolish the fairy tale. It has proven difficult because tied up with the fairy tale is the perception that technological advancement means a loss of what it means to be Inuit. The Inuit identity is tied closely to the land, and to other Inuit. What technology provides is enhancement to that which they already are:

> The reproduction of social boundaries and space in Cyberspace does not indicate an emergent loss of culture. In fact, claiming that this technology should be avoided would be naive and patronising. The anti-sealing campaigns of Green peace in the 1970's and 1980's represent such a ridiculous type of argument. Inuit are no less Inuit because of the technologies they use (Christensen, 2000: 26).

- ***Inuit Agency and Technology***

In much the same way women have been overlooked in discussions of technology, so have Inuit been ignored as active participants. Women have indeed been active in the production and development of technology:

> it seems that researchers have implicitly accepted Cockburn's (1986[25]) claim that men have a monopoly over the development and use of technology. This implies that women are passive witnesses to technological development and accept the uses of technology that men create for them. Analyses of household and reproductive technologies, for instance, like those of communication technologies, are generally empty of analyses of women's participation in technological development. Although these studies discuss such important issues as the impact of technology on women's lives and on the household . . . they rarely look at the other side of the relationship: the influence of women's practices on the development of technology. Moreover, relatively little thought is usually given to the political-economic development of the technology (Martin, 1991: 3-4)

As simple as it would be to view the Inuit as only "receptors," or vague participants of modern technology, the fact remains that increasingly, they are becoming much more involved. Inuit communities now rely on a wage-earning lifestyle; there has been little choice but to become involved if they want to become, and remain competitive in the job market. One woman described the change in the Inuit lifestyle as having shifted from "caveman to space age[26]" in the last 50 years. The comparison of the traditional, Inuk pre-Western technology as being a "caveman," is merely to suggest the complexity and the severity of the

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[25] Cockburn, C. "The Relations of Technology: What implications for theories of sex and class." In R. Crompton and M. Mann eds., *Gender and Stratification*, 74-85. Cambridge, UK: Polity 1986.

[26] Interview 2, p 15:27-28

changes the Inuit community has experienced in a very short time-frame.

The Inuit have been involved in media production since the late 1960's, particularly with CBC North. To this day, CBC North Radio and Television are an integral part of Inuit communities; large and small. Inuit have taken steps to ensure that they are heavily involved in the production, and presentation of Inuit-related media that is broadcast throughout Northern communities, and in Southern Canada as well. The Inuit have had a very close relationship with CBC Radio since it was introduced into Northern communities. It remains a very important communication tool; one that allows communities (families and friends) to remain informed, and up to date on a myriad of issues relating to their communities. One woman I interviewed had this to say about CBC radio:

> *I think one of the key things that CBC radio has done is, in, in, in this society up here, that we maintain the Inuit language. And we have exposed culture, Inuit culture, in many forms because we have tons of stories of, you know, traditional stories of what has happened. I think we are doing a very important role in keeping language and culture* (Interview 2: 13-17).

Radio has been used by the Inuit as a medium of cultural preservation. With it, those who might not be heard have the opportunity to express their opinions. This means that Elders can come in to the studio, be interviewed from home, or over the telephone, and share with the community. In a community as large as Iqaluit, CBC North Radio tightens the bonds with the traditional Inuit lifestyle, and with the past:

> *well, I've heard this, I've heard an Elder on the radio talking, when people were saying that we need to make sure that we teach the younger generation, not just the younger generation, but the generation like mine, because we need to keep our, keep our culture, and teach them how to sew, how to survive on the land, stuff like that, and he said that although we can't, even if we teach them everything, and they learn how to do everything we can't*

> *live, like , 1940's, 1930's, we can't live like that anymore, we can't, we just have to adapt to the change that we've got, that we have today. And, although we can keep the new stuff like Nunavut and how to govern our own territory, but we also have to remember where we came from, and we should preserve, or keep our way of how Elders lived, not Elders, but Inuit people lived 50, 60 years ago. Because we have to know where we come from, and how they survived, and if certain families didn't survive, we wouldn't be here today* (Interview 8, 13: 21-34).

Furthermore, the more Inuit control the media and technology in their communities, the more culturally relevant it becomes.

- ***Technology and Traditionalism***

One of the positive consequences of modern technology in Northern communities is how it can be used to promote and educate other Inuit as well as non-Inuit, about the culture. Technology can be used to further the careers of artists, for example, who may otherwise find it difficult to find buyers. The challenge is to either become immersed in a social world that is nothing like the traditional Inuit lifestyle, or to find a way to incorporate the new with the old. In all of my interviews I asked the question: What do you think of those who would say that the Inuit are seeking for the best of both worlds? The response I got was invariably the same. Yes, they answered, we want the best of both worlds. And why not? One woman stated:

> *. . . we didn't have this choice. We're not choosing to hang on to the past, and live in, in, in all the amenities of the day. This is our daily constraint. I don't necessarily want to go back a hundred years and freezing my ass off in an igloo. I like central heating, thank you. But, but at the same time, I know the hurt my community's going through, and I want to solve that* (Interview 6 19:26-30).

The Inuit reality is that technology is a very important part of their daily lives. With all of the

complications it may bring, it also allows for a very modern notion of competition and feeling "connected." Now that the technology is available, it is there to stay:

> [p]erhaps the most obvious closure or psychic consequence of any new technology is just the demand for it. Nobody wants a motorcar till there are motorcars, and nobody is interested in TV until there are TV programs. This power of technology to create its own world of demand is not independent of technology being first an extension of our own bodies and senses. When we are deprived of our sense of sight, the other senses take up the role of sight in some degree. But the need to use the senses that are available is as insistent as breathing - a fact that makes sense of the urge to keep radio and TV going more or less continuously (McLuhan, 1997: 67-68).

Still another woman expressed the stress of constantly having to accommodate her daily life as a translator/interpreter and a traditional mother:

> *all the pressure that we have to deal with in today's world, you have to be up to date on them. News, on the E-mail, (says in a quiet questioning voice,) how do [you] use E-mail? How to interpret, to take on this job, to take on that job, to raise our kids. I don't even stop to think about it, because there's so pressure to do well* (Interview 4, 8: 15-19).

Neil Blair Christensen, who did a study on Internet habits of Inuit says that the trends of "Arctic Web pages" show that instead of losing a distinct Inuit identity, the content reveals a strong attachment to cultural ties:

> A little more than one quarter of the respondents felt the Internet would make us all more alike, but one half of these respondents responded that the Internet effect promoted culture. They were also among the overall majority of 71 percent to state that Inuit culture is important on Arctic Web pages. Cultural globalisation is no fata morgana, as the world is becoming more alike. Through the speed of information and the diffusion of knowledge we are daily living in a world reflecting happenings in a much larger, faster and more comprehensive way, than previously known to us. . . . However, if we investigate the current Arctic representation on the World Wide Web, we find strong cultural contents and symbols in many of the Web pages related to the region (Christensen, 2000).

It is not so much a matter of tradition or technology. Rather, Inuit are trying to incorporate the best of both worlds. Recent attempts to cultivate language preservation, and a traditional knowledge curriculum proves this. In many Arctic schools, children are, on one hand learning from a traditional perspective, and on the other, connecting to the World Wide Web, and becoming technologically advanced. It remains a challenge to bridge the two worlds together in a way that makes sense.

- ***Gender and Technology: Divisive?***

While Southern technology in Inuit communities has been positive some aspects (i.e., communication, and employment), it is also true that the rapid introduction of such tecnhology has also created conflicts. Ursula Franklin states:

> [i]t should be evident by now that there is no such thing as just introducing a new gadget to do one particular task. It is foolish to assume that everything else in such a situation will remain the same; all things change when one thing changes. Even the introduction of a dishwasher into a family's life changes their communication and time patterns, their expectations and the ways in which the family works together (1990, 102).

The changes Inuit have experienced in the last short while have been enough to create distinct social concerns about living a "double life;" where the traditional lifestyle has been brought together with the complexity of modern technology, communications, and the information highway. In a more broader level, this results in roles being broken down, as technology takes over the way in which the Inuit live their lives.

Traditionally, Inuit men hunted, and provided food for the family. Women stayed in the camps with the children and the Elders, and cared for the family by sewing and providing

meals. This, of course, is a very loose interpretation of all of the roles men and women carried out; but in essence, roles were clearly defined, and understood. With the advent of a wage-economy, roles changed. Men have been left behind as women have moved into the economy, and have become familiar with technological advances in the work place. Some women I spoke with expressed this change as confusing for men.

> *But in terms of let's say at home, and I'm the mother, and I'm taking, I'm working and doing all that stuff, and the father is not, he's unemployed. He may be a carver, or a, a hunter - that's fun, that's wonderful, that's wonderful role model, but if you want your kids to learn to be part of the work-force, especially for boys, they don't have a role model. So, if this continues, I think it will eventually hurt Inuit men all together, because for one they don't have role models to motivate them to be part of the work force. And as a society it's gonna be huge struggle for a long, long time. In the same way as the Western society had, men were out there and, you know, and, of course the boys had role models, so they went out there. And I think it's going to be the same way as , but it's the other way around* (Interview 2, 8: 22-32).

Because traditional Inuit identity is so wrapped up in gender roles, and because these changes have occurred so quickly, there has not been much time for adjustment. By and large, women are the "bread-winners" and more involved with technological advancements and changes than are men.

The paradox for men, however, is that if they can find employment in the wage-based economy, there is less time, or interest in hunting, and providing from the land:

> *I can't really give them . . . all the information that I would like to give them because I haven't experienced a lot of things that my Mother did, so it's kind of hard to - especially with hunting, I can't really take my son out hunting, plus . . . his father doesn't live with us, so it's even harder to encourage him . . . if he can work today and make money, why should he go out hunting when he doesn't even have equipment or a man to take him out . . . it's important to, if he can't work he can at least provide food from, from the*

> *land, and learn how to hunt different animals and providing for his family. If he can't work out in the work-field that we usually work, like maybe in an office, or a constructor, I don't know, at least he can provide from the land. They should also understand (how) important it is, how Inuit people survived only from the land. And, like, when you have a better understanding of where you come from and how they survived, it makes it a lot easier to identify yourself* (Interview 8: 34-43 9:1-13).

Office work now has become a feminized profession, which in turn has meant that the technology associated with office work has become feminized. Although the feminization of employment in the North is not identical to what occurred in the telephone industry as discussed by Martin (1991), it remains that employment termed "office work" (really, an "inside" job) has become the domain of Inuit women, more so than of men. The reason behind this may have something to do with the traditional roles of men and women. According to several of the women I interviewed, traditionally, women looked after the needs of the community, especially when the men were gone hunting. This role has transferred over to volunteer work within the community, and often paid labour. Men's role in the community has been slower to evolve, and many men do not feel a part of this reality. The challenge men face is dealing with their changing role as provider for the family:

> *it's the, it's the people that work in offices, because , they have to justify their roles, like "Oh, you're just an office worker you're losing your 'hunter's touch,' you're losing, you're like a wimp now because you can not stand the cold anymore," k, those kind of things are constantly being thrown at people who work in offices, who have become holiday and weekend hunters who have come some Inuit's eyes, they've flipped over, like, they've flipped over in our way of life; from being outside all the time, to being inside all the time, sort of thing. And, it's the people in their 40's and 50's, who I think have been affected the most by going from outpost camp to settlement life* (Interview 9, 13: 1-10).

It is hard to say how changes in technology will further affect gender roles. Undeniably there will be further changes in not only how men and women relate to one another, but also how men will come to be involved in technology.

- ***Change in Gender Roles***

In general, technology has not been shared equally between men and women. Although in other parts of Canada and North America women have historically been very involved in the development, advancement and production of modern technology, they have not had equal access to it, nor have they been given credit for their involvement. From my own research experience, however, the trend in Northern Canada is that women, most often being the wage earners, have access to modern technology in ways that many men do not. Clearly, Inuit women are far more technologically advanced as far as modern office technology is concerned (Internet, fax, tele-conferencing, radio and television production). This has created particular issues for gender parity for Inuit, especially as it relates to traditional versus modernized gender roles. This is not to say that technological advancements have erased "glorious days gone by," or that the changes were without positive effects. On the contrary; while technology has indeed created some obstacles it has also offered opportunities.

It is important to remember that Inuit are not passive receivers of technological change. They are actively seeking education in technology, and are participants in the production and communication of technology. The stereotype of Inuit as uninterested, occasional "users" of technology could not be more inaccurate. The need for technology similar to that found in the South is becoming more urgent, as people continue competing

for work, moving to larger Northern communities away from family, and wanting to stay on top of current trends in the wage-based economy. Inuit are very much interested in technology, and are active users and producers.

There are particularly difficult challenges for Inuit to contend with. The issue of high cost services for telephone, and cable or satellite means that many of those who live in the North, especially those who live in remote Northern areas, are in effect, disenfranchised. Beyond the challenges that the environment itself presents, the cost of services denies people the right to access information and communicate with others.

Further challenges of technology in the North deal with changing roles between men and women and the matter of combining technology with a renewed interest in maintaining cultural distinction. Traditionally defined roles for men and women are becoming redefined as modernity, and technology advance; creating new meanings for the social world in which we live. In comparison to Inuit women, Inuit men have been slower to adjust to the changes. The traditional role of provider has yet to be redefined in a technologically advanced age. Men need to find their place in a society that undervalues the worth of hunting, and places more importance on a wage-economy, which women currently dominate.

The fear of losing a distinct Inuit identity with the onset of technological advancement is being tempered with current trends in Community Access Programs (CAP)[27] and a traditional knowledge curriculum in schools. Living in "both worlds" has become a reality for the Inuit of Canada's Northern communities. Not wanting to give up cultural traditions, and not wanting to be left behind has meant that Inuit have had to create ways of

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[27]Appendix XI

remaining competitive in the economy, yet still retain a unique, distinct identity. While CAP have been successful in some communities, the fact remains that there are more communities "unwired" than wired. The cost of being technologically savvy has not been overcome; and although services to the North have advanced over the years, there is still room for improvement.

This chapter showed that maintaining a balance between the traditional Inuit culture, and modern Inuit reality is a challenging prospect, but it is being done. While the Inuit are adjusting to having to live in "two worlds," they are also taking control many aspects of community life. The compromises Inuit are making extend to technological advancements. Modern technology has created challenges in terms of community access, changes in traditional gender roles, and the perception of Inuit as naive "receptors" of technology. Inuit are focussing their attention on these challenges by becoming increasingly active in their own community development.

CHAPTER 6
DISCUSSION AND FUTURE POTENTIAL RESEARCH/POLICY DEVELOPMENTS

Discussion

As previously discussed, the literature on community and community change focusses primarily on North American communities that have gone through changes over an extended period of time; certainly time in which adjustments could be made. Canada's Inuit, however, have not had this period of adjustment. The swift changes from homogenous to heterogenous types of community have created challenges within the community of Iqaluit, and in terms of maintaining, or preserving a traditional Inuit culture. It has meant finding ways to view the common traits in the Inuit culture as a means of linking all Inuit, and creating a distinct "Inuit Community" which transcends geographical boundaries. What this research demonstrates is that kinship is no longer the basis of primary relationships, as the growth of communities means having to relate to diverse groups of people with whom there are no familial ties. My interviews shed light on a number of concerns and challenges facing the Inuit in Iqaluit in terms of holding on to the traditional Inuit culture whilst adjusting to introductions such as technology into their communities. The Inuit, however, are not passive. They are very much a part of the development in their communities, and responsible for much of the future changes for Northern Canada.

This thesis has examined some very important issues facing Inuit communities in the North. The rapid social changes that the Inuit have experienced have necessitated the development of the concept "community" where at one time such a concept was not

necessary. The influx of "outsiders" both Inuit and not, has created the need to view the social world outside of the framework of kinship, and has also created the need to reassess traditional values in a contemporary society that marks traditional activities as no longer required for survival. While it is true that all societies experience change in the culture over time, this has occurred in a relatively short time period for the Inuit.

The concept of "community," then, is a relatively new one that was borne out of the sudden gathering into settlements of people outside of the kinship group. The Inuit have created the concept of the "Inuit Community" as a way of addressing a more diverse community of people who share the same historical past, traditions, values and culture. The "Inuit Community" crosses over various geographical locations in Northern Canada, but most certainly requires the Northern climate and landscape as a strong link to the past. Participating in traditional activities and traditions, speaking Inuktitut, and involving Elders in community decisions helps to reinforce the traditional Inuit culture, and a sense of belonging. The distinct Inuit community can continue to thrive as long as Inuit traditions and the Northern environment are linked together.

The Inuit in Northern Canada are faced with having to make many compromises in preserving the traditional culture, and advancing in the modern world. Wage economy and a modern lifestyle dictate that the Inuit hold jobs, and understand Southern technology. Inuit feel that they need to balance traditional cultural values with modern expectations. Living in "two worlds," requires balancing, and integrating both the past with the present. It is a fallacy that the Inuit are passive receptors to the changes in their communities. The Inuit are active in the development of both the technology and community.

Focus of Aboriginal Research and Policy

- ***Many voices***

Iqaluit is a unique city in several ways. The size, and the opportunities offered attract people not only from Northern communities, but from southern Canada as well. The result is that there are many people from many different home communities all with different ideas about what community life is "supposed" to be. As a consequence, it can be difficult to come to a group consensus about what constitutes a "problem" or a social issue and what concerns should be addressed and resolved.

However, while Iqaluit is the home to many non-Aboriginal people, community issues that affect Inuit residents should be addressed from an Inuit perspective in a culturally specific way, a focus on, and from the Inuit community. This requires collective discussion about the definition of "community," how it includes culture, and how it is important as it relates to the Inuit people. As my research indicates, those who come from smaller, more Northern towns or hamlets have different expectations of a community than do those who come from larger Northern communities such as Iqaluit. There are, however, common identified social issues that need to be (and are) addressed and discussed in order to find effective resolutions.

- ***Policy Perspectives: finding common concerns***

Just as defining "community" is a difficult task, so too is resolving specific community concerns. It is clear from interviews that there are several common concerns and beliefs that are tied with cultural identity. Some of these include discussion of a sense of unity, togetherness, and sharing. Concepts frequently used by the women had a group

framework. Community clearly is a representation of group cooperation and unity; regardless of who in particular makes up the community. Change was seen as unstoppable, and irreversible, yet not altogether negative. Many of the women stated that it was not so much the evolution of their culture that disturbed them as the loss of core Inuit values and beliefs. The challenge today for many Inuit is the varying concern with preserving a unique, distinct culture. Many of the women interviewed stated that in general, the younger generation is less interested in capturing a sense of Inuit identity than with adopting Euro-Canadian ideals. Balancing cultural identity with diverse expectation and opportunities outside of the North is difficult and frustrating for many Inuit.

- ***Discussion within the Inuit community***

There are few issues in the Inuit culture that do not include community involvement. The strong link between cultural change and community change was expressed repeatedly as occurring in a circular fashion with change affecting community and vice versa. Because a sense of Inuit community is wrapped up in a sense of Inuit culture, it would be reasonable to approach policy development from the perspective of those who share these core Inuit concerns and beliefs, regardless of the location of their home community. This is not to say that such involvement and cooperation would be a simple endeavour. Both concepts - community and culture - are often elusive, and difficult to express, especially when both change so rapidly.

There must be Aboriginal grass roots involvement in identifying, defining, and resolving social/political concerns. Constant interaction and discussion with federal and territorial governments is necessary in order to keep a level of communication open so that

making changes in social policy is possible. Promotion of existing social programs is necessary in a larger, more diverse community like Iqaluit where channels of authority are not always clear, and where it is often challenging for people to learn about the resources that are available.

- ***Key concerns identified***

The pressing issues of the Inuit in Iqaluit are much the same as those of other Aboriginal groups throughout Canada, but with the additional concerns relating to the increasing sense of isolation from opportunities that are offered elsewhere in Canada, like a university education and employment. Some of the concerns discussed in this research were the following: the need for community programs which are aimed at identifying Inuit needs for housing and employment, the development and modification of social programs (welfare, and various forms of counselling), specially designed educational programs which focus on Inuit "lifestyle" skills (hunting, sewing, cooking) and a stronger emphasis on Inuit education which clearly acknowledges the need to preserve the language, and learn about the history of the Inuit. As well, while there are programs in place that focus on the specific needs of Elders and children, they are few in number but are an integral part in achieving community cohesiveness. Underutilised, or under managed social programs combined with an uncertainty of what programs are being offered serve only to create a wider rift between members in the community, and cause further worries about the direction of the Inuit culture as distinct and unique.

- ***Involvement in research and policy / Aboriginal orientation***

In recent years, there have been many changes in the ways research is carried out in

the North. Northern researchers must now fulfill the expectations set out in the Ethical Principles for the Conduct of Research in the North, created by ACUNS, and involve the community in which the research is taking place. Additionally, efforts are being made to garner interest in the Inuit community itself to conduct research. The purpose of grass roots research is to become closer to the needs, concerns, and interests of the community, thus discovering appropriate means of expressing and resolving issues. Encouraging development in research and policy from within will further strengthen the community and its members. Making research and policy culturally relevant lends to a sense of ownership and independence, thereby strengthening a sense of community togetherness; a distinct, Inuit standard.

- ***Developing policy: Examine what works***

An important consideration in creating policy which affects Aboriginal communities is looking at positive aspects of community life instead of focussing solely on the specific problems, or "dysfunctions" of the community. The women with whom I spoke all expressed a concern with the direction of research done in the North (specifically by non-Aboriginal researchers), and in the negative stereotypes attributed to Aboriginal individuals and communities. One woman told me that she was hesitant to speak with an non-Aboriginal researcher, because past experience had taught her that only the negative aspects of life in the North, and of Inuit people in general, would be remembered or considered newsworthy. She added that all of the positive, and unique characteristics of the Inuit culture are usually glossed over and minimized:

I think we have these problems everywhere, but when it comes to Inuit, where

> *everyone knows everyone, or a small community so you can see it more directly that when it gets hard. Because then it looks hopeless, or then it looks like a majority, so a lot of people just buy into that majority, and then they buy into it that this is cultural identity.* (Interview 6, 17: 13-18)

This means that when studying Inuit community and recommending policy measures, there must be discussion of existing structures, models and methods of community resolution practices which are effective. The notion that the Inuit culture in general is in need of "saving," or of restoration ignores the fact that there is much in the culture that is positive and functional.

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[28] I was given a hard copy of the ACUNS Ethical Principles by the Northern Scientific Training Program (NSTP).

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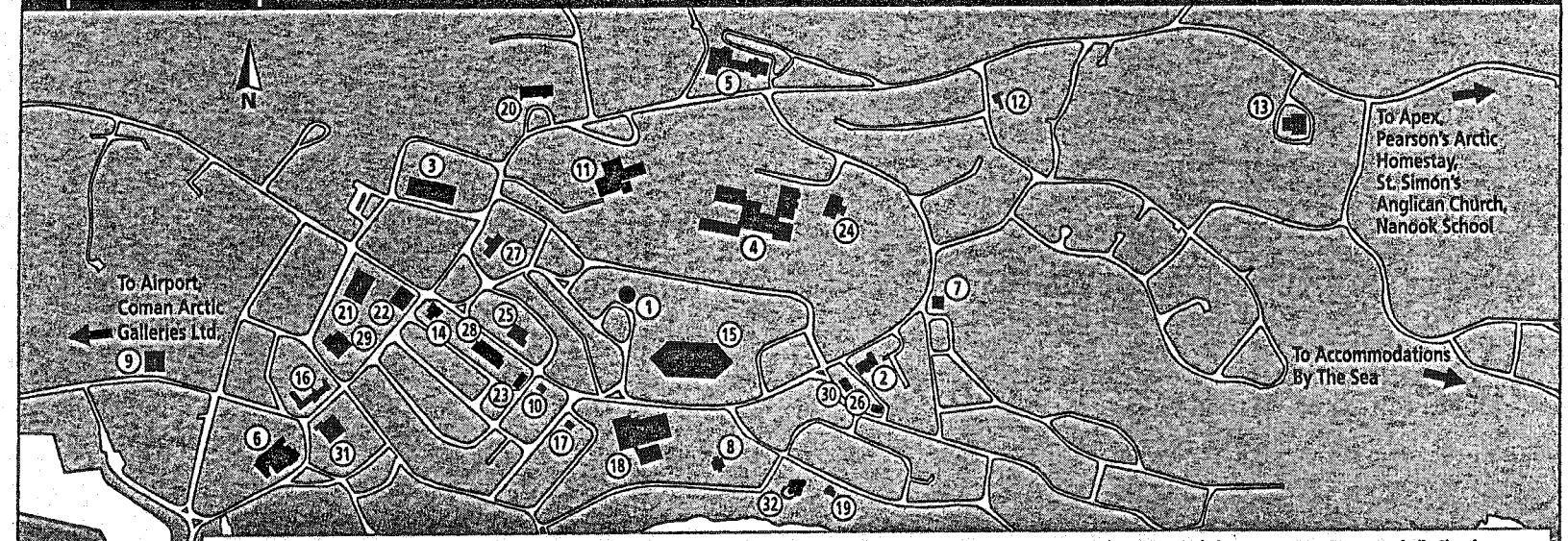
APPENDIX I

MAP OF IQALUIT[29]

[29]Soubliere, Marion. (man. ed.) (1998). The Nunavut handbook: 1999 commemorative edition. Iqaluit NU: Nortext Multimedia Inc. 413 pp.

Iqaluit Street Map



Key to Map Locations

1 Anglican Cathedral
2 Arctic Ventures
3 Arena and Town Office
4 Astro Hill Complex: Theatre; Regency Frobisher Inn; D. J. Sensations; Iqaluit Swimming Pool; Mary's Movie Club; Valupharm Drugs
5 Baffin Regional Hospital
6 Discovery Lodge Hotel
7 D. J. Specialties
8 Elders' Facility
9 Fantasy Palace
10 Grind and Brew
11 Inuksuk High School
12 Iqaluit Fine Arts Studio
13 Joamie Ilinniarvik School
14 Kamotiq Inn Restaurant
15 Nakasuk School
16 Navigator Inn
17 Northern Country Arts
18 Northern Store
19 Nunatta Sunakkutaangit Museum
20 Nunavut Arctic College
21 Nunavut Legislative Assembly Building
22 Parnaivik Building: includes Arctic Creations; Coffee Shop; Department of Sustainable Development (or RWED, until April/99)
23 Pentecostal Church
24 Police (RCMP)
25 Post Office; Bank of Montreal
26 Quick Stop Convenience Store and Coffee Shop
27 Roman Catholic Church
28 Royal Bank
29 Royal Canadian Legion
30 The Snack
31 Toonoonik Hotel/Inns North and Tununiqmiut Arts and Crafts
32 Unikkaarvik Visitors Centre: Includes Nunavut Tourism; Library

APPENDIX II

ACUNS Ethical Principles for the Conduct of Research in the North [30]

1. Researchers should abide by any local laws, regulations or protocols that may be in place in the region(s) in which they work.
2. There should be appropriate community consultation at all stages of research, including its design and practice. In determining the extent of "appropriate" consultation, researchers and communities should consider the relevant cross-cultural contexts, if any, and the type of research involved. However, incorporation of local research needs into research projects is encouraged.
3. Mutual respect is important for successful partnerships. In the case of Northern research, there should be respect for the language, traditions, and standards of the community and respect for the highest standards of scholarly research.
4. The research must respect the privacy and dignity of the people. Researchers are encouraged to familiarize themselves with the cultures and traditions of local communities.
5. The research should take into account the knowledge and experience of the people, and respect that knowledge and experience in the research process. The incorporation of relevant traditional knowledge into all stages of research is encouraged.
6. For all parties to benefit fully from research, efforts should be made, where practical, to enhance local benefits that could result from research.
7. The person in charge of the research is accountable for all decisions on the project, including the decisions of subordinates.
8. No research involving living people or extant environments should begin before obtaining the informed consent of those who might be unreasonably affected or of their legal guardian.
9. In seeking informed consent, researchers should clearly identify sponsors, purposes of the research, sources of financial support, and investigators responsible for the research.
10. In seeking informed consent, researchers should explain the potential beneficial and harmful effects of the research on individuals, on the community and/or on the environment.
11. The informed consent of participants in research involving human subjects should be obtained for any information-gathering techniques to be used (tape and video recordings, photographs, physiological measures, etc.), for the uses of information gathered from participants, and for the format in which that information will be displayed or made accessible.
12. The informed consent of participants should be obtained if they are going to be identified; if confidentiality cannot be guaranteed, the subject must be informed of

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[30]ACUNS

the possible consequences of this before becoming involved in the research.

13. No undue pressure should be applied to obtain consent for participation in a research project.
14. A community or an individual has the right to withdraw from the research at any point.
15. On-going explanations of research objectives, methods, findings and their interpretation should be made available to the community.
16. Subject to the requirements for confidentiality, descriptions of the data should be left on file in the communities from which it was gathered, along with descriptions of the methods used and the place of data storage. Local data storage is encouraged.
17. Research summaries in the local language and research reports should be made available to the communities involved. Consideration also should be given to providing reports in the language of the community and to otherwise enhance access.
18. All research publications should refer to informed consent and community participation, where applicable.
19. Subject to requirements for confidentiality, publications should give appropriate credit to everyone who contributes to the research.
20. Greater consideration should be placed on the risks to physical, psychological, humane, proprietary, and cultural values than to potential contribution of the research to knowledge.

APPENDIX III

RESEARCH LICENSE

Nunavummi Qaujisaqtulirijikkut / Nunavut Research Institute
Box 1720, Iqaluit, NT X0A 0H0 phone:(867) 979-4108 fax: (867) 979-4681 e-mail: sicnri@nunanet.com

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH LICENCE

LICENCE # 0102099N-A

ISSUED TO: Anita Lynn Connolly
Department of Sociology
University of New Brunswick
1259 Route 2 Hwy
Maugerville, NB
E3A 8K5 Canada
(506) 357-7547

AFFILIATION: University of New Brunswick

TITLE: The Impact of Rapid Change on Traditional Nunavut Family and Community Values

OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH:
This study examines the impact of rapid change on traditional Nunavut family and community values. It looks at women's techniques of heritage preservation such as recording and relaying of traditional stories and the production of traditional clothing, art work and "country" cooking. The significance of the study is its potential contribution to policy development. By identifying the issues related to Aboriginal independence and the role of women in heritage preservation, we will be better able to understand both the difficulties facing arctic communities and the strengths women, in particular, bring to the generation of "home grown" strategies to nourish a culturally rich environment. In addition, it is expected that the study will spark debate among other communities around the world in which women are also seeking to maintain and preserve their traditional culture.

DATA COLLECTION IN NT:
DATES: August 15, 1999 - September 31, 1999
LOCATION: Iqaluit

Scientific Research Licence 0102099N-A expires on December 31, 1999.
Issued at Iqaluit, NT on .

Bruce Rigby
Science Advisor

APPENDIX IV

LETTER OF INTENT

Dear Participant:

My name is Anita Connolly. I am presently doing research for a M.A. thesis in sociology. My topic of interest concerns the role of Inuit women in heritage preservation. I am here in Iqaluit to talk with Inuit women about their culture, and what they think about a "distinct" Inuit heritage. Since there have been so many changes in northern Canadian communities, I would like to know ow Inuit women in Iqaluit describe the present role of women in the Inuit culture, and what they believe it means to "be" Inuit.

The interview, along with community observation, will take place over a three month period. Questions, concerns and suggestions about the direction of this project are encouraged at all times both during my stay in Iqaluit, and afterward. This project is very much community-oriented, and as such, details will be available to everyone who is interested.

This project would not be possible without your voluntary participation, interest, and sharing. I sincerely appreciate the time you have set aside for this interview, and assure you that at all stages of this project, from the interview to the thesis completion, the information you give me will not in any way be altered, or used in an unfavourable manner. Furthermore, your identity in this project will remain anonymous, unless you indicate otherwise.
After the interview have been completed, I will hold an informal discussion with the community about the project. I will also make the completed thesis available for the community, and I will provide - upon request - individual copies to all those who are interested. Your anonymity, however, will be protected at all stages of the project, unless you have consented to be identified.

If at any stage of the interview you decide not to continue, or if after the interview you change your mind about your participation, you can be assured that all information you have given me will e withdrawn from the project, and that no explanation for such a decision is required. The taped interview will be available for you to keep, as will the thesis upon it completion.

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact me.

Anita Lynn Connolly

Thesis Supervisor: C. James Richardson

(867) 979-4660 (while in Iqaluit)
E-mail: anita_357@yahoo.com

Name:

Signature:

APPENDIX V

LETTER OF INTENT: INUKTITUT

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P.O. Box 4400
Frederiction, N.B.
E3B 5A3
Department of Sociology
ᐅᖃᓪᓚᐅᑖ: (506) 453-4849
ᓱᑲᔪᒃᑯᕈᑖ: (506) 453-4659
ᖃᕆᓴᐅᔭᒃᑯᑦ ᑐᕌᒐᖓ: anita_357@yahoo.com

ᐱᐅᓯᑐᖃᒥᓂᒃ ᐊᓯᐅᔨᔭᐃᓐᓂᖅᑎᑦᑎᓯᒪᔪᓂᑦ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐊᕐᓇᐃᑦ ᐃᖃᓗᖕᓂ, ᓄᓇᕗᒻᒥᑦ

ᐊᓂᑕ ᑲᓄᓕᒥᒃ (Anita Connolly) ᐊᑎᖃᖅᐳᖓ. ᓯᓚᑦᑐᖅᓴᕐᕕᐊᓗᒃᑯᓐᓂ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕈᑎᓕᔭᖕᓄᑦ ᐱᔪᓐᓇᐅᑎᑖᕋᓱᐊᖅᑐᒍ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕈᑎᖃᖅᐸᓪᓕᐊᓕᖅᑐᖓ ᐃᓄᓕᕆᓂᕐᒧᓪᓗᑯᓂᒃ. ᐱᔪᑎᖃᓗᐊᖅᐳᖓ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᕆᓂᐊᖅᑕᕐᓄᑦ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐊᕐᓇᐃᑦ ᐱᐅᓯᑐᖃᕕᓂᖏᑦ ᐊᓯᐅᔨᐃᖅᑕᐅᑦᑕᐃᓕᓗᓂᖏᓐᓄᑦ. ᒫᓐᓇ ᐃᖃᓗᖕᓃᑦᐳᖓ ᐃᓄᖕᓂᑦ ᐊᕐᓇᓂᒃ ᐅᖃᓪᓚᖃᑎᖃᕈᒪᓪᓗᖓ ᐃᓕᖅᑯᓯᑐᖃᖏᓐᓂᒃ ᐱᔪᑎᖃᕐᓗᑎᒃ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᖃᓄᖅ ᐃᓯᒪᖃᕐᓂᖏᓐᓂᒃ ᐱᔪᑕᐅᔪᒥᒃ "ᐊᔾᔨᐅᖏᓐᓂᐅᔪᒥᒃ" ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐱᐅᓯᑐᖃᕕᓂᖏᓐᓂᒃ. ᑲᓇᑕᐅᑉ ᐅᑭᐅᖅᑕᖅᑐᐊᓂ ᓄᓇᓕᖏᓐᓂᒃ ᐊᓯᔾᔨᕐᓂᖅᑕᖃᐅᓚᐅᕆᓕᖅᑎᓪᓗᒍ, ᖃᐅᔨᓇᓱᒍᒪᓪᓗᒍ ᖃᓄᖅ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐊᕐᓇᐃᑦ ᐃᖃᓗᖕᒥᐅᑕᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖃᕐᓇᖅᓯᕐᓂᖏᓐᓂᒃ ᐅᓪᓗᒥᐅᔪᒥᑦ ᐊᕐᓇᐃᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᕐᓴᓕᐅᒃᑕᖏᓐᓂᒃ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐃᓕᖅᑯᓯᑐᖃᖏᑦᑎᑐᑦ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᖃᓄᖅ ᐅᒃᐱᕈᓱᖕᓂᖏᓐᓂᒃ ᑐᑭᖃᕐᓂᖓᓂᒃ ᐃᓅᓂᕐᒥᓂᒃ.

ᑕᒪᒃᑯᓄᑦ ᐱᔾᔪᑎᓄᑦ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᐸᓪᓕᐊᓂᐊᖅᐳᖓ, ᓄᓇᓕᖕᒥᐅᓂᒃ ᑕᑯᔪᓪᓕᐊᓂᒃᑯᑦ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᖅᐸᓪᓕᐊᓗᒥᑦ. ᑐᓴᕐᓯᒃᑎᑦᑎᓪᓕᒪᒃᐳᖓ ᑕᒪᑐᒨᖓ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᕆᔭᒪ ᒥᒃᓵᓄᑦ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᒪᓂᕈᕕᑦ, ᐃᓱᒪᒋᔭᐅᓂᕈᓂᒃ ᐅᖃᐅᔾᔨᔪᓐᓇᖅᑎᐊᖅᓗᖓ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᖃᐅᖅᑐᒃᑲᓂᕈᑎᒃᓴᓂᒃ ᐅᖃᐅᔾᔨᔪᓐᓇᖅᑎᐊᓇᓗᖓ ᖃᐅᔨᓕᖅᑲᓗᒍ ᑐᕌᒐᖅᑎᑦᑎᐊᓂᖅᓴᐅᓇᔭᕐᓂᕐᓄᑦ ᑕᒪᑐᒨᖓ ᐊᐱᖅᓯᒃᑎᓯᒪᓄᑦ ᐃᖃᓗᖕᓂᑦᓗᖓ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᕆᔭᕋ ᐱᐊᓂᒃᓯᒪᓕᕐᓗᐊᕈᒃ. ᑖᓐᓇ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᕈᑎᓄᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᒃᓴᕆᓂᐊᖅᑕᕋ ᓄᓇᓕᖕᒥᐅᓂᓪᓗᓂᖃᓪᓕᕆᓐᓂᐊᖅᑐᖅ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᓯᒪᔪᒃᑯᑦ ᓇᓗᓇᐃᖅᑕᐅᑉᐸᓪᓕᐊᔪᑦ ᑭᒃᑯᐃᓐᓇᓄᑦ ᖃᐅᔨᓗᔪᓄᑦ ᐱᔭᐅᔪᓐᓇᕐᓂᐊᖅᑐᑦ.

ᑖᓐᓇ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᕆᔭᕋ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᕆᔪᓐᓇᕐᓴᓪᓚᐅᖅᑎᑕᕋ ᐃᑲᔪᕈᓐᓇᐅᖅᑎᑦᑯᔾᔨ, ᐱᓇᓱᒍᓕᐅᖅᑎᑦᑯᔾᔨ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔭᔾᔪᓂᒃ ᖃᐅᔨᑎᑦᑎᔪᓕᐅᖅᑎᑦᑯᔾᔨ. ᐊᓯᐊᒍᒃ ᖁᔭᓕᒪᓂᒃᐳᖓ ᐱᐊᕝᕕᓴᖅᑎᑦᑎᔪᓇᓕᐅᕐᔨ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᓐᓂᔾᔪᓄᑦ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑕᐃᒪ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᑎᒪᓇᕐᓂᐊᖅᐸᔾᔨ, ᑕᒪᓐᓇ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᐸᓪᓕᐊᕐᔪᑎᒋᓕᐅᖅᑕᓄᑦ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕈᑎᒋᔭᐅᓄᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᐸᓪᓕᐊᓂᖅ ᐱᐊᓂᒃᓯᒪᓕᖅᐸᑦ, ᑕᒪᒃᑯᐊ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕆᓕᐅᖅᑕᓯ ᖃᐅᔨᑎᑕᐅᓕᐅᖅᑎᓇᓯ ᐊᓯᔾᔨᖅᑕᐅᔪᓐᓇᖅᑐᑦ ᐅᓕᕈᓐᓃᑦ ᖃᓄᑐᐃᓐᓇᖅ ᐊᑐᕈᑕᐅᔾᔪᓐᓇᕐᒪᑦ ᓈᒻᒪᒋᕈᑕᐅᓇᔾᔭᖅᑐᒃᑯᑦ. ᐊᒻᒪᓗᒃᑲᓂᖅ, ᕿᓇᐅᕙᒃᖄᖅᐱᑦ ᑕᐃᑯᓂ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᓚᐅᖅᑐᒥᑦ ᑭᒃᑯᐃᓐᓇᓄᑦ ᖃᐅᔨᑎᑕᐅᔾᔪᓐᓇᕐᓂᐊᖅᑐᑦ, ᑭᓯᐊᓂᓕ ᐃᓐᐱᑦ ᓇᒻᒥᓂᖅ ᖃᐅᔨᔭᐅᑎᑐᒪᒍᕕᑦ ᕿᓇᐅᓂᕐᓂᒃ ᐱᔪᓇᕐᓂᐊᖅᑐᓂ.

ᐊᐱᖅᓱᕐᓂᖅ ᐱᐊᓂᒃᐸᑦ, ᑲᑎᒪᑎᓐᓂᐊᖅᐳᖓ ᓄᓇᓕᖕᒥᐅᓂᑦ ᐱᔪᑎᖃᕐᓗᖓ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᕆᔭᒪ ᒥᒃᓵᓄᑦ. ᐊᐱᖅᓯᕆᑎᒥᓪᓗᒍᖅᑕᐅᓄᓪᓗ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓂᐊᖅᑕᖃ ᐱᐊᓂᒃᓯᒪᓕᖅᐸᑦ ᓄᓇᓕᖕᒥᓄᑦ ᐱᔭᐅᔪᓐᓇᕐᓂᐊᕐᓗᑎᒃ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑭᒃᑯᐃᓐᓇᖅ ᓇᓂᓯᕗᖅ ᐱᔪᒪᓂᕈᑎᒃ ᐱᑎᑦᑕᐅᓇᓂᐊᕐᓗᑎᒃ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᓯᒪᔪᓂᒃ ᐊᐱᖅᓯᕆᑎᒥᓪᓗᒍᖅᑕᐅᓄᑦ. ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᓂᕈᕕᑦ ᖃᓄᐃᓕᐊᖕᓴᐃᑦ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔭᐅᓕᐊᒃᑲᓐᓂᖅᑎᓪᓗᒍ ᑭᒃᑯᑐᐃᓐᓇᓄᑦ ᖃᐅᔨᔭᐅᑎᑕᐅᔾᔪᓐᓇᖅᑐᖅ, ᑭᓯᐊᓂᓕ ᓴᕐᒥᓂᖅ ᐊᑎᓕᐅᕆᕕᑦ ᖃᓄᐃᓕᐊᖕᓴᐃᑦ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔭᐅᖁᓇᒋᓐᓂ ᖃᐅᔨᑎᑕᐅᔪᓇᕐᓂᐊᖅᑐᖅ.

ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᑎᓪᓗᑎᑦ ᓯᓚ ᑲᔪᓯᒃᑲᓂᕐᓂᕐᒪᔪᐊᓐᓂᕐᓂᕆᕕᑦ, ᐅᓗᓂᐊᓐᓂᑦ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᕙᓪᓕᐊᓂᕈᕕᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕆᓗᖅᑕᓕᒪᑎᑦ ᐲᖅᑕᐅᖁᔨᕐᒥᑦ ᐱᖅᑕᐅᔪᓐᓇᕐᓂᐊᖅᑐᑦ, ᐅᖃᓕᐊᖃᕐᒥᓗᑎᓗ ᖃᓄᐃᓕᒪ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᓐᓂᖅᓯᑎᑦ ᐲᖅᑕᐅᖁᔨᐊᖅᓴᓂᒃ. ᓂᐱᓕᐅᖅᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᐊᐱᖅᓯᕆᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐱᔪᓐᓇᕐᓂᐊᕐᒥᔭᑎᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᑕᐅᕙᓪᓕᐊᔪᑦ ᐱᐊᓂᒃᑕᐅᒃᐸᑕ ᐱᔪᓐᓇᕐᓂᐊᕐᓗᑎᑦ.

ᐊᐱᖅᑯᑎᒃᓴᖃᕐᓂᕆᕕᑦ ᐃᓯᒧᑲᐅᑎᖃᕆᑦᓱᖓᓂᑦ, ᐅᖃᓕᒫᕆᔭᐅᑦᑎᐊᖅᐸᖓ.

ᐊᓂᑕ ᓕᓐ ᑲᓂᓕ
(ᐃᖃᓗᖕᓃᑦᑐᖅ)
ᐅᖃᓪᓚᐅᑖ: ( )

ᐊᐱᖅᓯᕆᑕᐅᔪᓄᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᑕᐅᕙᓪᓕᐊᔪᓂᒃ ᑲᒪᔨ: ᓯ. ᔭᐃᒥᓯ ᓇᓴᓴ

ᐊᑎᑦ: ______________________________
(ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓗᒍ)

ᐊᑎᓕᐅᕈᑦ: ______________________________

APPENDIX VI

LETTER OF CONSENT

I have been fully informed of the objectives of the project being conducted. I understand these objectives and consent to being interviewed for the project. I understand that the location of the interview is entirely up to me, and that I may have other individuals of my choosing present during the interview.

I understand that my participation in this interview is entirely voluntary, and that I may choose - without explanation - to withdraw my participation, along with all information I have given to Anita Connolly. I also understand that, if I wish to withdraw from the study, I may do so without any repercussions. Any and all data that I provide will be withdrawn at my request.

I understand that steps will be undertaken to ensure that this interview will remain confidential unless I consent to being identified.

Participant's Name:
(*please print*)

Participant's Signature:

Witnesses Signature:

Date of Consent:

Researcher's Name:
Anita Lynn Connolly
University of New Brunswick
Department of Sociology
Telephone: (506) 452-4849
Fax: (506) 453-4659
E-mail: anita_357@yahoo.com
(While in Iqaluit): (867) 979-4660

APPENDIX VII

LETTER OF CONSENT: INUKTITUT

ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᒧᑦ ᐊᑎᓕᐅᕈᑎ

ᑐᓴᐅᒪᑎᑕᐅᑦᑎᐊᖅᐳᖓ ᖃᓄᐃᑦᑐᓂᖅᓂᖓᓂ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᕆᑕᐅᔪᓂᒃ. ᑐᑭᓯᒪᔪᖓᓗ ᑕᒪᒃᑯᐊ ᖃᓄᐃᓕᐅᕆᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐊᒻᒪ ᐊᑎᓕᐅᕆᐊᕐᒥᑦ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᔾᔪᑎᒥᓂᐊᖅᑕᕐᓂᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᖑᔪᒧᑦ. ᑐᑭᓯᒪᔪᖓ ᐃᓱᒪᖅᓱᖅᑐᒪ ᓇᓂᓗᐃᓐᓇᖅ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᓐᓇᖅᑐᒪ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐃᓱᒪᖅᓱᕐᒥᒃᑯᒪ ᕿᓇᓗᐃᓐᓇᖅ ᐃᓄᒃ ᑐᓴᕋᓱᒡᒍ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᑎᓪᓗᖓ ᐱᔪᓐᓇᖅᑐᖅ.

ᑐᑭᓯᒪᔪᖓ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᒪᒍᒪ ᐃᓱᒪᖅᓱᑎᒋᐊᖃᖅᑐᒪ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᖃᐅᔨᒋᐊᖅᑲᐅᒃᑐᑦ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᑎᓪᓗᖓ ᓂᖅᑲᕈᓐᓇᖅᑐᒪ, ᑕᒪᒃᑯᐊᓗ ᐊᓂᑕ ᑲᓇᓕᒧᑦ ᑐᓴᐅᒪᑎᑦᑕ ᐲᖅᑕᐅᔪᓐᓇᖅᑐᑎᒃ. ᑐᑭᓯᒪᓕᖅᐳᖓ, ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕈᑕᐅᔪᒥᑦ ᐃᓚᐅᔪᒪᔪᓐᓂᕈᒪ ᐃᓱᒪᖅᓱᕐᒥᒃᑯᒪ ᓂᖅᑲᕈᑎᒥᒃᓴᖅᑐ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕆᒥᐊᖃᖅᓯᒪᓂᖅᑐᒍ. ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᑎᓪᓗᒍ ᑲᑎᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᓯᒪᓕᐊᓚᐅᖅᑐᑦ ᐲᖅᑕᐅᒐᔪᒃᑐᑦ ᐲᖅᑕᐅᔪᓐᓇᕐᒪᑕ.

ᑐᑭᓯᒪᔪᖓ ᑕᒪᒃᑯᐊ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᑎᓪᓗᖓ ᑭᓇᐅᓂᖓ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᑎᑕᐅᒋᐊᖃᖅᖏᑦᑐᖅ ᑭᒃᑯᐃᓐᓇᓄᑦ, ᑭᓯᐊᓂᓕ ᐅᕙᖓ ᓇᓗᓂᖅ ᑭᓇᐅᓂᖓ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᑎᑕᐅᒍᓐᓇᖅ ᐊᑎᓕᐅᕐᓗᖓ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᑎᑕᐅᔪᓐᓇᖅᑐᖅ.

ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐊᑎᖓ
(ᑎᑎᕋᕐᑎᐊᕐᓗᒍ) ______________________

ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐊᑎᓕᐅᕈᓯᐊ: ______________________

ᐊᑎᓕᐅᖅᑎᖓᓄᑦ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔨᐅᔪᖅ: ______________________

ᐅᓄᖓ ᐊᑎᓕᐅᖅᑎᖓᓄᑦ: ____________

ᖃᐅᔨᓴᖅᑎᐅᑉ ᐊᑎᖓ:

ᐊᓂᑕ ᓕᓐ ᑲᓇᓕ
University of New Brunswick
Department of Sociology
ᐅᖃᓚᐅᑎᖓ: (506) 452-4849
ᓱᑲᔪᒃᑯᕈᑖ: (506) 453-4659
ᖃᕆᑕᐅᔭᒃᑯᑦ ᑐᕌᖓ: anita_357@yahoo.com

(ᐃᖃᓗᒃᓂᑎᖓᓄᑦ ᐅᖃᓚᐅᑖ: ( )______ ______

ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕆᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᑕᐅᓂᖓᓄᑦ ᑲᒪᔨᐅᑉ ᐊᑎᖓ:

ᓯ. ᔭᐃᒥᓯ ᓇᖁᖁᖅ
ᐅᖃᓚᐅᑖ: (506) 452-4849
ᓱᑲᔪᒃᑯᕈᑖ: (506) 453-4659

APPENDIX VIII

INTERPRETER CONFIDENTIALITY

As an interpreter of this interview, you understand that you are privy to personal information that the individual being interviewed may way to keep private. The relationship between the interpreter and the individual being interview is one of trust, and as such, the highest level of confidentiality much be maintained at all times.

Should you wish to obtain a copy of the transcribed interview, or the completed research project, please call me at (867) 979-4660 until the 5th of December, 1999. After that date if you wish to get in touch with me, you may do so at (506) 452-4849 (work), or (506) 357-7547 (home).

I thank you for your support.

Sincerely,

Anita Connolly

I understand that my participation in this interview is one of a confidential nature. I will preserve the privacy of the individual being interviewed, and will maintain confidentiality at all times.

Interpreter's Name: Date:

Signature:

APPENDIX IX

ETHICS

Currently, the standards of Northern research require thorough comprehension of particular ethical issues. These issues are centred on making research in the North more Northern-centred, and relevant to the needs and concerns of the community.

Researchers who have an interest in gathering data in the North must guarantee that individual research projects take particular sensitivities into consideration. This means that while preparing a project proposal the researcher must indicate what measures will be taken to ensure all information gathered is done so in an ethical way: while it's being collected, and while it's being disseminated keeping in mind the focus of various research organizations such as the Nunavut Research Institute. This is not so different, perhaps, from social science projects in general, but add to the usual process of ethics awareness the tenuous relationship between the southern researcher and Aboriginal community and you get one nervous student; thrust into a field where the relationship between researcher and the Inuit community has been developed out of the traditional assumption that research is all about discovery; dissemination; and professional accolades by peers. A very one-sided process where the participants were viewed as sources of information; not as partners in discovery.

Excerpts from Interview About Research/Researchers

Because Iqaluit is the centre of much change; and because my entrance into the community came on the heels of the formation of Nunavut, I soon learned that it would be more productive if I selected women who hadn't been "interviewed to death". Even still, most of the women I interviewed had at one point been interviewed before by Southern

researchers. This is not surprising since the Iqaluit Research Centre is physically attached to the Nunavut Research Institute; the organization that oversees all research done in Nunavut.

Most of the participants, then, had some definite ideas about research in the North, and how it should be carried out. The research process was sometimes described as an "extraction" process, where the Inuit were depicted as the "case studies." One woman told me that all researchers cared about was making money from a project; while the people they interview are themselves struggling financially. Overall, however, research was seen as beneficial; as long as the general caveats were fulfilled, such as keeping the project relevant; keeping the information in the community, and assuring that the researcher made a sincere attempt at listening. In several cases, not only did women tell me that research was necessary - as much of Inuit history is orally maintained - but research done by "outsiders" is good, as it gives the Inuit community a way of looking at themselves from a different perspective. The most important thing for an outsider researcher to remember is that matters of "interpretation" must be attended to; this meant understanding that expression of ideas through language can be difficult, as well as remembering that there are varying cultural perceptions of one's social world. One woman I interviewed told me:

> *For example, in our traditional belief, we believe rocks to be living things. As teacher, I have been taught, rocks are seen as non-living things. But in my culture, they are considered living things. Rivers are living things in our culture. Rivers and creeks. They're considered living things. If I tried teach that in the school curriculum, they're not seen as that. So, uh, if I said "Rocks are living things," and the researcher comes and said "Well, they have a very simplistic way of looking at things," and you know, this and that. They put their own terms into what I have said, which makes my, what I said look so stupid and small, and you know, it just, that kind of thing. So that's*

> *something that we've often talked about with people that come and do research in the North, just knowing how to ask questions that will show a full picture (instead of being so narrow) Yes (right), and not being open to understand what people are saying from their questions.* (Interview 9 14, 37-42 15, 1-29)

In short, most women were receptive to my presence as a researcher, and were eager to share their time, and opinions about their culture. The key phrase here, is "sharing of ideas," which means the researcher must be prepared to actively listen.

Keeping the knowledge in the back of my mind that research projects must be relevant to the community, I hoped that my project would be regarded as such. However, almost all of the women I spoke with on the perception of research and researchers told me that they feel that research on their lives is important, and provides useful insights. Furthermore, several of the women told me that research done by "outsiders" is often advantageous in that it allows for alternative descriptions of their way of life: allowing for the opportunity to teach about "how it really is."

Preparing for Interviewing

The mission of the NRI is to "provide leadership in developing, facilitating, and promoting traditional knowledge, science, research and technology as a resource for the well-being of people in Nunavut." Recognizing that the focus is directed at the "well-being of people in Nunavut," and not on the research and the researcher is a positive step for Northern communities in taking initiative and control of the information that comes in and out of their environment. In fact, the emphasis is directed at encouraging research in Northern communities, and as much as possible, by local researchers. Recently, the desire

has been to redirect research away from pure and unadulterated academia for it's own sake, and move it toward useful, interesting and meaningful research projects that will be shared with the community itself.

There has been a huge leap from the days when researchers freely took advantage of Northern communities and of the individuals who participate in research, to the strict regulations considering confidentiality and participatory methodologies. The movement from one to the other is a reflection of independence, the desire by Aboriginal communities to be a part of the research process; and to assure it maintains it's cultural relevance. This has caused a rift among researchers. On one hand it is considered a positive step toward involving the community members in research that reflects their lives. On the other hand, some researchers believe that too much community involvement can harm or slow the progress of a research project, as frequently projects are halted until the community, or a group of individuals (anyone, really) feels comfortable with the direction of a study.

Informed Consent: Consent Forms

Given that consent forms assure the participants protection, my experience proved that forms themselves may not be necessary. I was expected to follow strict regulations partly to protect me from any "quirks" that may occur in the process. Assuming that everyone signed the consent form, I was safe, and had my "bases covered," so to speak. Having the women sign the consent form almost felt like I was attempting to release myself from responsibility after the fact. While I do not argue that consent forms also protect the participants, in this particular case where the relationship between researcher and participant is at best strained, the volume of documents that were required often served to put a further

strain on the ease with which an informal conversation could be had.

Most of the women I spoke with made time for me by readjusting their schedules, or fitting me in when they had a spare minute. Except for the Elders with whom I spoke, most women were not paid to speak with me, and in a town that is frequently under scrutiny, I considered myself lucky to have the opportunity to interview anyone. I became increasingly ill at ease then, when at the beginning of each interview, I had to dig out the stack of papers I had organized prior to the interview, and began distributing them as the situation warranted. In any given situation I was handing out anywhere from two to eleven documents, depending on the language in which the individual wanted the consent form and "Objectives," forms, and whether or not there was an interpreter who had to sign the "confidentiality form," and also be in receipt of the other forms given to the individual I was speaking with. This process took at least five minutes to complete, and there were many instances where I looked up to see a raised eyebrow or a shaking head. I found that any amount of trust or comradery that had developed prior to doing this was affected. More than once I found the "Objective" form turned upside down with doodles on the back side. Each and every time I handed out the forms I began with "I know this is a pain, but would you look this over and sign it?" It was an artificial setting; amplified when I had to spend more than 5 minutes explaining the purpose of the forms to Elders, or those who spoke little English.

Most of the participants were anxious to talk about their experiences. There was a level of trust involved in the process of sharing experiences and it was taken for granted that because I asked, I was sincerely interested. Having to distribute the large number of papers prior to beginning the interview put somewhat of a dent in the relationship, and had a definite

impact on how the interview followed through. Not only because it seemed an artificial break in the interview, but also because the consent form has the implication that you, the researcher, do not fully trust the individual you are speaking with. It cannot be denied that the guidelines of research in terms of ethics exist for the protection of the researcher, the community, and not least the participant. However, informed consent as I experienced it was only distracting. Protection can be established and assured in a much less diverting manner.

As it turned out, not everyone signed the consent form. In one instance, the woman I spoke with looked at the consent form with great mistrust, claiming that her daughter had informed her not to sign "a single thing." I'll be honest - her refusal to sign the consent form threw me into a tailspin. I knew that according to the "rules," I needed to have one signed in full consent form in hand before beginning the interview. Already this individual did not trust me. Her feelings on researchers were not favourable, and I spent a large part of the interview feeling incredibly uncomfortable as I struggled with the perception of myself as "just another researcher out to make a buck, and to exploit the Inuit." However, with the help of an interpreter, I assured this participant that I was still very interested in learning from her, and that she was most welcome to keep a copy of the project's objective. By the end of the interview, she was incredibly relaxed with me; showing me photos of her family, telling me that I closely resembled her oldest daughter. Before leaving, I notice that the copy of the project's objective was half-hidden under a phone book. I have no doubt that it was likely only quickly glanced at, then possibly discarded. Simply put, the paper work that preceded the interview was of little interest or concern to this participant, and most others.

My Feelings About Doing Research in the North

Prior to doing a literature review on the area of Northern research, I was unaware of the "politics" involved in gathering data in a Northern community. I grew more and more concerned, and more than a little nervous about entering the field when I read the "*Ethical Principles for the Conduct of Research in the North*," and learned more about the growing separation of the past blind acceptance of empirical research from the more recent independent research. My fear revolved around how I would be perceived; a Southern researcher.

In the beginning stages of interviewing, I found myself apologizing for my presence. In one case, when the interpreter translated my concern that the Inuit community would see me as a "quick in and out" visitor because my stay was so short, I was met with almost 2 solid minutes of laughter. Then, when the mirth died down, the interpreter translated to me what the woman I was interviewing said:

> *There are a lot people, White people not like you. You just asked me a question, what do my culture want to keep, what are the things I like. Because you're the only one of, the only one who asked me that question, that's nice.* (Interview 3 14, 27-39).

I soon relaxed in my role of researcher, and appreciated the willingness of the participants to share with me often intimate details of their lives. I showed a genuine interest in the topic, and this was reciprocated by candour.

My only regret was, as I mentioned, spending so much time worrying about how I would be perceived once I pulled out the official-looking forms that somehow dragged us

down to the academic level, if only momentarily, and redirected our attention from a time of sharing and learning. More dialogue needs to occur between researcher and participant about the research process itself. I am not sure what the future is for issues such as informed consent or licensing in the North; but I do believe that there should not be such a stringent expectation that each and every participant sign form after form so that the researcher is protected. I do not think it is beneficial to the research process to focus so much time and energy on "covering our bases." If I were to repeat this research, I would stay away from the consent forms, and have an oral statement on tape; indicating that the goals of the project were understood, and agreed upon. Giving the participant a form which includes our intentions and contact information, and is finished off with a personal signature tells them that protection is taken seriously. It is my belief that certain traditional research practices can create a wall between the researcher and participant, thereby complicating any possible positive relationship of trust and comfort, and furthering the distinction between "we the people," and "you, the researcher." It was a part of my methodology that did not quite mesh with my intention to be as unobtrusive as possible. Again, if I were to repeat the research, I would concentrate on oral consent rather than written.

Because I'm interested in a participatory action approach to research, I'm glad I paid attention to the participants' desire to share in the learning process. As an ethnographer, I'm pleased that I chose to learn from the discovery process; and for approaching the field as naively as I did. I now know that entering a field with the pretense that you are the expert is arrogant, and leaves little room for personal discovery. It also opens up the environment so that the participants feel they can teach the researcher, which allows for interesting

dialogue and discoveries.

APPENDIX X

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: GUIDE[31]

1. What is your name?

2. Tell me about where you were born.

3. What can you tell me about your childhood?

4. With which parent did you spend the most time? What did you learn from him/her?

5. What does it mean to you to be Inuit? How would you define your experience as an Inuit person? What about as an Inuit *woman*?

6. How do you view your culture? How would you compare it to other culture?

7. What can you tell me about your culture? If you were to write a book about being Inuit, what would you write about? If your audience were non-Inuit what would you discuss?

8. What kinds of activities do you consider to be distinctly culturally Inuit? What can you tell me about your participation cultural activities?

9. How do you feel about preservation of your culture? What kinds of things that are "distinctly" Inuit do you feel must always be preserved?

10. How do you perceive the community in relation to the Inuit culture?

11. Describe the changes that have occurred in your community. How do you feel about the changes in your community?

12. How is the Inuit culture passed on?

13. Tell me about the relationship between Inuit and non-Inuit living in your community.

14. What can you tell me about the roles of Inuit men and women?

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[31] The questions here are only a rough guideline of what was asked during the actual interview; specific questions depended on each interview. In addition, the questions were developed during a period of time my research interest was focussed more on techniques of cultural preservation.

15. What do you think lies in store for Inuit society in the future? How do you see the Inuit culture changing?

16. What do you feel about outsiders coming into your community?

17. What do you feel about researchers coming into your community?

APPENDIX XI

ACRONYMS AND INUIT ORGANIZATIONS

ACUNS - Association of Colleges and Universities for Northern Studies. ACUNS is a voluntary association that links universities, governments, and scholars who are interested in Northern studies and research.

Inuit Heritage Trust: IHT was formed in 1971 by the NTI, and represents those Inuit from Qikiqtaaluk, Kivalliq and Kitikmeot. IHT is concerned with the preservation of the Inuit culture. Several key focuses include place naming, oral history as told by Elders, archaeological sites, and traditional knowledge.

Inuit Tapirisat, or Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami: This national Inuit organization, translated means "Inuit are united in Canada." ITC was founded in 1971 to provide an environment where Inuit could gather and discuss specific concerns and issues about Inuit rights, policies, and social realities. Many Inuit felt that although the Indian and Eskimo Association (IEA) existed to promote research in Aboriginal affairs, and to create political awareness, they needed a unique organization that dealt specifically with Inuit concerns.

IRC - Iqaluit Research Centre (both the IRC and the NRI are in the same building in Iqaluit)

NRI - Nunavut Research Institute

NSTP - Northern Scientific Training Program. This program affords university students the opportunity to do northern research by providing research grants. The program is managed by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (**DIAND**). The program attempts to fund several hundred students across Canada each year. In 1999 I was awarded a grant of $4,000 to do research in Iqaluit.

NTI - Nunavut Tunnagavik Inc.: NTI is responsible for issues concerning Inuit land claims, and looked after Inuit welfare during the development of Nunavut by making sure the terms of the NPA (Nunavut Political Accord) were followed.

Pauktutit Inuit Association: Pauktutit is a national non-profit association which is concerned with the rights of all Inuit women. From the Pauktutit web site: *"Pauktutit is the national non-profit association representing all Inuit women in Canada. Its mandate is to foster a greater awareness of the needs of Inuit women, and to encourage their participation in community, regional and national concerns in relation to social, cultural and economic development."* [32]

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[32]http://www.pauktuutit.on.ca/about/main.html

QIA - Qikiqtani Inuit Association is a non profit organization, which keeps the interests of Inuit at the forefront. QIA is concerned with benefits and rights of Baffin Inuit.