"POOR IN MY SCHOOLING NOT MY EDUCATION"

VOICES OF INUIT WOMEN ON EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY REALITIES

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Abstract

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VOICES OF INUIT WOMEN ON EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY REALITIES

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This study examined adult education programs in Nunavut from the perspective of 11 Inuit women living on Baffin Island, placing this analysis within the greater realities of their lives. The interviews were contextually based in an investigation of the literature on the history and current situation within Nunavut. Findings on adult education include critiques that speak directly to policymakers as well as the women's perceptions of motivational factors, barriers and benefits to the programs. Realities from the perspective of these women were found to be based in the here and now with a primary focus on survival. Findings also indicate that this community is undergoing shifts and challenges within both gender and cultural identities. For Government of Nunavut (GN) policy to effectively represent the context of Nunavut communities, more work must be done in acknowledging and seeking to better understand these realities from the perspectives of Nunavut community residents.

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Chapter One

Introduction

In April of 1999 the map of Canada underwent a fundamental change. The Northwest Territories were divided down the middle and Nunavut was created. Some said this territory was a long time coming and was a cause for much celebration. For example, Nungak (2000, p. 142) states, "Nunavut is already a proud credit to the jurisdiction that has discovered the courage to accommodate it. It is sure to strengthen, and not weaken, the so-called 'fabric' of Canada." Others were more cautious and spoke of the uncertainty that Nunavut society was already facing that would be compounded by global environmental pressures and the transition into a new territory. As Hicks and White (2000, p. 31-32) state:

> In recent decades, the Inuit have regained a high degree of control over their lands and experienced widespread cultural and political renewal. They now have what may be a unique opportunity: a chance to create a self-sustaining economy in a region relatively insulated from the intense population and resource pressures that jeopardize indigenous cultures in so many other parts of the world. In this respect, the Inuit represent a 'best case' scenario for indigenous development. And yet the tumultuous social changes, the controversial politics of hunting (the Inuit's primary economic activity), and the uncertainties of resource exploitation in the delicate Arctic environment - all of these factors make the Inuit cultural renaissance still a very uncertain affair. That uncertainty is compounded by global environmental pressures, which are now working fundamental changes in Arctic ecosystems. In both cultural and natural terms, the far north may be on the verge of profound transition.

Many saw the establishment of self-government within the new territory as a solution to the complex problems imbedded in Northern communities of Nunavut. "What will happen now in Nunavut? Inuit have inherited a society full of problems. It has been a central part of the Nunavut belief that Inuit control will solve many problems" (Bratenberg, 2000, p. 214). Some, however, alluded to the fact that a blind belief in how the creation of Nunavut could solve all of the social and economic problems was somewhat naïve and quite possibly unrealistic.

> The visionaries who gave birth to the Nunavut project and then negotiated it into existence did so in the belief that it would facilitate meaningful self-government, sustainable economic development and healthy communities. The challenge of overcoming Nunavut's economic and social problems, however, may well dwarf the considerable challenge of negotiating and implementing the aboriginal rights and 'self-government through public government' arrangements which make up the Nunavut project. And while the creation of Nunavut is undeniably a significant innovation within Canadian federalism, there is no guarantee that it will result in, for example, the kinds of community based interventions needed to curb social pathologies such as suicides by young Inuit males (Hicks and White, 2000, p. 93).

Still others felt that the creation of Nunavut, though not a quick solution to complex social problems is an important step in the right direction.

> [A]ll of these initiatives will have to be mounted against a backdrop of a rapidly growing population, high costs, a shortage of jobs, and limits on the size of the public purse. Yet, the existence of such challenges does not distract from the great sense of enthusiasm and achievement that is focusing and motivating the Inuit and other residents of Nunavut. The creation of Nunavut will not shelter us from problems, but will allow us to make our own decisions about

> how best to confront and take on those problems (Kusugak, 2000, p. 26).

Whatever the varied sentiment around this new configuration of the national map, the truth is that some 25 or so scattered communities across the North, with an indigenous majority, secured the right to self-government and a place in history. That is the pristine picture.

Now, in 2004, five years after its inception, it is time to look more in depth at how Nunavut society is coping with its status as a new independent territory. It is a good time to look more critically at that pristine picture. The creation of Nunavut is set against a backdrop of very recent colonial history with the federal government. Billson (1995, p. 43) makes this clear when she states, "[i]t is as though the Inuit have crossed 5000 years of history in one generation." This history should be acknowledged to better understand the effects it has left on the population. The people of Nunavut are currently still processing the transition from life on the land to a number of scattered, isolated communities and settlements to a grouping based on shared policy and infrastructure as well as the recent history of a colonial relationship with the federal government. The new territory has been through a whirlwind of political change and has been left to cope with the ramifications of such fast paced change.

This political change has left this society reeling with complex societal challenges. Within a Pauktuutit published work on Inuit women's views on

contemporary issues (1991, p. 6) there is a description of this changing nature of Nunavut society, with a focus on the resulting social upheaval.

> Inuit society is vibrant, changing, yet deeply rooted in traditions and values of earlier times. Change has permeated every area of life, yet the culture and language remain strong...It is not surprising that a certain level of social upheaval has accompanied the many changes in northern life...The suicide rate among Inuit youth is many times greater than that of Canada as a whole, and of non-Aboriginal youth in particular...there has been an increase in problems related to lack of money: unemployment and the high cost of food and housing were not problems in the traditional economy... Relationships between men and women, husbands and wives, parents and children, have also undergone a great deal of stress, for roles within a family are no longer clearly defined.

During this transformative period in the society existing in the Northern communities of Nunavut, the unique combination of past, present and future bring with it a threat of many challenges but also offer much opportunity. Examining the threat and presence of difficult challenges and the potential and presence of opportunities within Nunavut, this study seeks to better understand the realities that exist in the communities of Nunavut.

The notion of the North as a cultural wasteland seems to be a common misperception of those who have yet to discover its beauty. Misunderstanding the people and the place has been a common theme in writings about the Arctic.

> In the 1950s and 1960s, when journalists first discovered the Arctic they would come up and interview a cop, a teacher or the local government administrator...Somewhere in the article a familiar line usually appeared. They almost never failed to refer to the Arctic as a "wasteland where nobody lives". I couldn't understand this because they obviously saw us. Even as a young boy, I was annoyed that

> these guys thought of us as nobodies or that we somehow did not qualify as human beings (Amagoalik, 2000, p. 138).

In a way this ignorance has become almost symbolic of the oppressive relationship that has existed between the federal state and its Northern citizens. "While Southern Canadians have an important stake in Nunavut, the north remains a mystery to most Canadians and that in spite of the tax dollars the Canadian government has put into asserting Canadian sovereignty in the north" (Purich, 1992, p. 4).

Doing research in the North put me in a unique position of understanding how the Inuit and Nunavut are still ignored and misconstrued by the rest of Canada. Throughout my research, I encountered this ignorance first-hand. At one point, before my research began, I was sending a package to Nunavut and had to justify to Canadian postal services that it is a new territory and is in fact still constitutionally part of Canada. I was amazed when I celebrated my first Canada Day up North and watched a CBC special depict a Canada from coast to coast to coast without once acknowledging Nunavut—and this in the first year after its birth as a new territory! After completing my research, and in the lengthy process of writing up, there were many times when I had to justify or explain to various people how I felt Nunavut, though cold and isolated, had much to offer the rest of Canada and had a beauty all its own.

> If those same journalists and social scientists were to come to the Arctic today, I suspect they would write quite different stories. They would understand now that the Arctic is not a wasteland...They would discover that a stubborn culture still thrives...They would also

> discover that the Inuit have staggered but not fallen...perhaps they would write that this bunch of nobodies are doing some remarkable things in their distinct homeland (Amagoalik, 2000, p. 139).

In this thesis, you will read of challenges currently plaguing Nunavut. You will also read of the strength the Inuit are using to work at overcoming such challenges.

Focusing primarily on Inuit women's voices, stories and lives, this thesis explores the inherent complexity and transformational nature of Nunavut society. After spending approximately a year in Nunavut, working, conducting research interviews, being an active member of a particular community, visiting and openly listening to the varied voices that I was privileged to listen to, I set about to write this thesis focusing primarily on Inuit women and adult education.[1] For the purposes of this paper I present my own view on the realities of Nunavut, framed by my readings on the area as well as by the perspectives of those who shared their world with me.

Arriving and working in a small community on Baffin Island in the summer of 2001, I noticed that the community reality, which I was observing and partaking in first hand, was not in alignment with government policy and infrastructure decision-making. At this time, I was going through the entrance process for my graduate degree at the University of Guelph. As I prepared to enter the program, I started thinking about potential areas of research in Nunavut. I noticed particularly that there seemed to be certain gaps in the

[1] Please see Appendix A for a listing of adult education courses discussed within this thesis.

educational services provided and the satisfaction of those in the community with those services. Deciding to try to focus on this education in Nunavut for my research, I heard from Inuit women around me of particular barriers and difficulties in accessing and participating in adult education. In particular two stories instigated my interest in this area. One story was of a woman who was quite upset that she had had to drop out of high school because of the arrival of her first child. Though she longed to go back to finish, she knew she probably wouldn't and she felt torn with the decisions she had made during those final years of high school. The second story was of a woman who had had to stop pursuing an adult education course because the placement of the course itself had actually switched communities. Though the administration would have offered financial aid to move this woman in accordance with the movement of the course, she was not able to move due to a number of factors, including the presence of an abusive ex-boyfriend in the new community and the reality of five children who she couldn't afford to leave or bring with her.

Returning to school in January after again visiting the community over the Christmas break, I set about to draft my proposal for this research. I found a study by Kenny that looks at a very similar topic but which is much more extensive, looking at Aboriginal women across North America. The lack of voice of Aboriginal women in policy is mentioned in this study as being common across Canada. "Most often, policies were recommended and not implemented, and women did not recognize their own voices in the policy documents that

were produced" (Kenny, 2002, p. 1). Kenny (2002, p. viii) also endorses the strong view that for policy to start accurately reflecting realities and to incorporate true voice, studies and literature must be primarily based on voice and must be presented as such. "Often, policy recommendations regarding the lives of Aboriginal women are literature based. Studies that keep the voices of Aboriginal women as the primary source of recommendations are extremely important to ensure decolonizing processes." The notion of voice was also mentioned in a study by Zellerer (1996, p. 340) who focussed her PhD research on violence against Inuit women in the Eastern Arctic. "Government officials and policy makers must understand the realities of communities, truly listen to women and offer a meaningful partnership in the struggle to end wife abuse." Also of importance to this research was the reminder from Kenny (2002, p. 5) of the diversity of experience and the need to not generalize and paint all women with one brush. Rather, that each woman is unique. "[G]eneralizing Aboriginal women's experiences with respect to education and work does not accurately reflect the diversity and uniqueness of their experiences...[f]urthermore, the work and education experiences of women in other communities may require a different focus in terms of policy revision and development."

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The Government of Nunavut (GN) has declared that within the strategic plans for Nunavut's future, a representative workforce is a high priority, where Inuit

will fill 85% of the jobs within the public sector by the year 2020. One particular GN objective to attain this goal is to increase Inuit training and development. There is little progress thus far however in accomplishing this goal. This study aims to point out that one of the primary reasons for such minimal progress is that there exists a gap between policy that is written by the government and realities that exist in the communities of Nunavut. In addition, within training policy for Nunavut there is a lack of consideration of gender. As Kenny (2002, p. 11) states, despite the fact that these policies fail to consider gender, they clearly impact women in Nunavut communities. "Although there is no specific reference to Aboriginal women, many of these sections impact the way employment procedures and hiring practices affect the women in these communities." With the aim to explore aspects of the gap between political and community realities in Nunavut, motivated specifically by the lack of consideration of gender within training oriented policy, this study examines in particular Inuit women's perspectives on community realities. Within the literature some studies have previously examined Northern education. Other works have critically examined adult education in the North and still other important papers have presented Inuit women's perspectives on their role in society. There exists a gap in the literature however of studies exploring adult education from the specific perspective of Inuit women. Without a thorough understanding of Inuit women's views on educational access and opportunities, there is a risk that educational policy and programs will not address gender

differences and will not allow for the integration of both genders into the future of the new territory.

RESEARCH GOAL

The goal of this research is to elicit and present Inuit women's perceptions of their educational opportunities.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1. To describe Inuit women's perceptions of the enabling factors motivating and supporting their participation in adult education.
2. To identify Inuit women's perceptions of barriers that prevent or interfere with their participation in adult education.
3. To identify Inuit women's perceptions of benefits attributed to participation in adult education.

QUALIFICATION

After beginning my research interviews I discovered that this goal and these objectives relating to adult education had to be situated within the larger realities of the lives of these women. My research was therefore conducted with this goal and these objectives in mind but always holding fast to the recognition that I was interested in where adult education was situated in relation to the lives of the women I interviewed. Throughout the process, therefore, the richness of the

lives of Inuit women formed the tapestry of this study and adult education is a portion of this greater whole.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This thesis is significant as it voices Northern based perspectives on Northern issues. In addition, framed around Inuit women's stories, this study provides a space for these voices to be heard by an academic audience where they are often marginalized and excluded. Drawing upon interviews with 11 Inuit women, this study pulls out collective themes within the stories but also allows for individual voices and personal stories to be heard by the reader.

METHODOLOGY

A complete description of the methodology of this research can be found within chapter 3. A short description below however provides an introduction to the research and a simple overview of some of the dilemmas, challenges and triumphs that were a part of the process.

THEORY

Basing the research that I conducted within the wider world of theory was very important to me. The development of my goal and the objectives of my research evolved along with the process of conducting the research interviews. With every new evolution of my goal, I explored various theories on research methodologies, feminist methodologies and methodologies used in the past in

the North. When I was finished conducting the interviews themselves and in the beginning stages of writing up, not wanting to omit the theory that I ended up not using, I decided to incorporate my process of examining a variety of theoretical perspectives within the thesis text. Calling this my theoretical rationale, I explore my process of choosing and rejecting various research theories. Within my theoretical rationale, I first examined objective and rational research methodologies. I then explored the literature on purely subjective studies. Finally I settled on a research perspective that tried to integrate both objectivity and subjectivity.

Within the specific area of feminist methodologies, I came across theories that spoke of dilemmas and challenges particular to feminist research, some of which I faced myself. Within the chapter on methodology, in addition to looking at some feminist perspectives on research within the theoretical rationale, I also review some of these theories' attempts to reconcile dilemmas, often a part of feminist research and feminist cross-cultural research.

INTERVIEWS

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 11 Inuit women living in one community on Baffin Island in Nunavut. The focus of the interviews was originally on the women's perceptions of adult education programs. After meeting and introducing the women to the goal of the research and after reintegrating into the context of the community of research, I soon learned that to better understand the women's perceptions of adult education I would have to

explore the greater realities of their lives. With this realization, the focus of the interviews broadened greatly. Material covered within the interviews became: family life; work; experiences with violence; views on Inuit culture; perspectives on the government and the establishment of Nunavut; observations on change in the North; notions of gender and cultural identities as well as the original focus on perceptions of adult education programs.

CHALLENGES OF CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH

1. There existed a disparity between my perception of time and that of many of the Inuit within the community. Other authors have also noted the difference in the concept of time in Inuit society. Brody (2000, p. 139) speaks of it as a function of once being a hunter-gatherer society. "Anthropologists have pointed out that hunter-gatherers focus on the present... [T]he difference between peoples for whom gratification is instant and those for whom it is postponed, is inseparable from hunter-gatherers' relationship to time. If the focus is now, then the past and the future circle events rather than define them." I learned very quickly that I had to readapt my notions of time and try to understand this concept of time, how it is often used within the community. Although some interviews did end up being scheduled at a certain time and place, often the interviews were scheduled approximately and a certain flexibility was needed that allowed for more relaxed and informal meeting times and

locations. I made myself as available and accessible as possible during the times that were more likely to be good times to meet with people and I visited a variety of locations around the community (including the community hall, the elementary school and social services) in order to visit and meet up with different people and to be available for potential interviews.

2. In addition, moving beyond the Western notion of a scheduled meeting time, I also found that I became very proactive and somewhat creative in arranging interviews and I began to better understand the concept of 'visiting' that many Inuit seem to subscribe to. Adapting to the different norms that the Inuit use to meet with each other I also found that I had to move beyond some 'polite pretences' that are a norm in Western society. Initially I had to somewhat force myself to feel comfortable with situations that are not 'polite' down South. (i.e. walking into homes when the door is not answered)
3. I found that I also possessed a certain set of assumptions that framed my way of interacting that was different from the manner of dialogue that the Inuit women used with me. I found that my way of interacting and discussing was much more linear, searching for a purpose to the conversation or an answer to the question. The women, in contrast, tended to have a more circular way of speaking. Annahatak (1994, p. 12), an Inuk woman from Northern Quebec, speaks to this nature of

interacting as she describes to a colleague why she has not completely elaborated an idea for an article she wrote. "We don't put in everything; we give good hints and let people think." At the beginning of the interviews I had not developed any skill in this manner with regards to learning to listen and allowing flow within the dialogue. As the interviews progressed I did learn to allow for more space within the discussion, more silence within the dialogue and I found that this allowed for more complete answers to questions and more in depth insights into the participant's perspective. Listening back to the tapes of the interviews, I still find however that with all of the interviews there are times when I should have allowed for more silence in the dialogue. I believe that this would have allowed for even greater depth and greater completeness in the ideas articulated.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

1. The timeline for the research was short. I conducted the interviews during a four month period and spent the previous two months (and other visits to Nunavut) familiarizing myself with the community and the context. As the research consisted of semi-structured, in depth interviews that dealt with personal and sometimes painful stories, I felt limited to the number of participants. I felt to do justice to the stories the number of women interviewed had to be low enough to facilitate a sense of

familiarity and understanding in my relationships with the participants. Originally I had wanted to interview far more women (30 participants) and I had wanted to visit three communities in total. The number of communities used was also limited by the factor of time available for the research. I felt that understanding the context of two other communities would be far beyond the time that I had allocated for this research.

2. The number of communities used within the study was also limited by funds for travel is extremely costly in the North.
3. The participants were limited to Inuit women within the community. Though I was also interested in understanding the perspective of Inuit men on adult education, I found that initially women were more comfortable speaking with me about the nature and content of my research than men in the community. It wasn't until my returning visit in March of 2003 after the initial interviews were conducted when I found that Inuit men in the community were also comfortable speaking with me about the different aspects of my research.

Chapter Two

Review of the Literature

THE VISION OF NUNAVUT

When Nunavut was established in April of 1999 it was held up by many as a pristine vision of what an Aboriginal majority could accomplish through dedication and perseverance. In fact, with such a collective emotional sentiment around the creation of the new territory, it was hard to see beyond this pristine picture at the time. Nunavut was still dream-like and though some pragmatists questioned how the dream could become a reality, most people in the North and elsewhere let themselves be caught up in the pristine vision of the new territory. There was much excitement, hope and optimism for the future. "These are exciting times in Canada. The country is being redefined...exciting developments are occurring in Canada's North" (Purich, 1992, p. 1). The realization of this dream through the creation of Nunavut meant that the Inuit would finally have a chance to control their own affairs through self-government.

> It's really difficult, when there are so many pressures for globalization, to want to make those arguments for being distinct...I always explain it as wanting to have our self-government aspirations recognized, ones that promote public forms of government in which other people can participate, but in which there will be room for us to grow as a people, by enhancing our language and culture, our

> traditions and values, and incorporating some of our laws into the justice system so that the system applies to our own people (Kuptana, as cited in Mitchell, 1996, p. 438).

It was an amazing accomplishment for an Aboriginal people who had seldom fought loudly for their rights but who had quietly waited patiently for their time to come. It was an event that allowed the Inuit to take matters into their own hands and answer to a responsibility that they felt acutely.

> We were never taught what to do if you're caught in between, but we have managed to cope with it. I think we're just trying our best. But what is our best if we don't really do something about it? We have to act together in most communities. But maybe when we get our Nunavut. The reason we are really fighting for our Nunavut is because I think it's about time. We're getting tired of people running our lives from down there. It's time to yell out and shout, 'We've had it!' It's been too long. We've been letting things run ignorantly, when *we* know what the problems are (Pudlat, 1990, p. 20).

"[T]he quest for Nunavut is more than mere words and numbers...The dream of Nunavut is one which is not going to be forgotten or forsaken" (Purich, 1992, p. 5). Although those who saw the ideal vision could sense the concrete reality beckoning around the corner, for some time the creation of Nunavut was allowed to ride on the emotionality of a dream come true.

POLICY: AN ESCAPE FROM REALITY

Out of the Nunavut dream, flowed many expectations on the specific vision of the new territory. In particular, the expectations specified a very unique and alternative form of government. Within the context of the dream, the workforce

would be an Inuit majority and the working language of the government would be Inuktitut. Purich (1992, p. 2-3) speaks to this when he states that:

> If Nunavut comes to fruition as a result of the current negotiations, in ten to twenty years the result will be a province run and controlled by Inuit, where Inuktitut will be the language of the government and where Inuit concerns will be the dominant ones. While the Inuit have insisted that this proposed government will be a public one, serving the interests of all the eastern Arctic's people, in reality, with over 80 percent of the area's population of Inuit origin the government cannot help but be an ethnic one.

Following the dream of self-government and the high expectations that many placed on the creation of Nunavut, policy was written to provide the foundation to enact that dream. Though the workforce looked nothing like the vision, the GN, as well as other Inuit organizations released a number of documents outlining strategic plans and management initiatives for the attainment of self-government and self-determination. A particular initiative regarding Inuit training and development can be found nestled within these plans and initiatives. Within a report on the state of Inuit culture and society published by the Nunavut Social and Development Council (NSDC), now part of Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI), it is stated that "[t]he issue of employment in Nunavut is one of educating and training the working population for the available jobs and business opportunities" (NSDC, 2001, p. 16). Furthermore, the report goes on to state that "[t]he territorial and federal governments must ensure that required training programs are made available to prepare Inuit for these opportunities" (NSDC, 2001, p. 16). Priority objectives within the Bathurst

Mandate[2] echo those made within the NSDC report. "A government-wide effort to support training and learning for a Nunavut-based workforce [is] one of the two primary commitment's of this mandate" (GN, 1999, p. 7). Though the government does not have an Inuit majority and though it does not have a working language of Inuktitut, policy was written in a manner as if those goals would be easily realized within the next few decades. According to policy, Inuit who represent approximately 85% of the Nunavut population are to have a government and civil service representative of the ratios in the population by the year 2020 (Department of Human Resources (GN), 2000, p. 4).

Adding to the continuation of policy answering to the dream, through the establishment of a decentralized government across the new territory within the years following Nunavut's birth, the GN dedicated itself to developing a plan of governing that encompassed Inuit traditional knowledge (known as Inuit Qaujimajatuqangiit or IQ) first and foremost. Within policy documents, the GN is to encompass the concept of IQ. As defined by the IQ Task force (2002, p. 4), IQ encompasses a broad worldview or perspective in approaching Inuit life in the Northern communities of Nunavut. "Though we tend to think of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit almost exclusively as traditional knowledge, it is more properly defined as is: The Inuit way of doing things: the past, the present and future knowledge, experience and values of Inuit Society." Within the newly

[2] The Bathurst Mandate is a government strategic plan for the first five years of Nunavut. "The Government of Nunavut has developed this detailed plan with the help and inspiration of many people and organizations across the Territory. The origins of the paper are in the first Cabinet retreat at Kimmirut. Later the ideas were discussed at Baker Lake in June and then finalized in August 1999 at Bathurst Inlet" (GN, 1999, p. 1).

established government of Nunavut, during the first years of the government, all sectors were to incorporate IQ into their mandate.

Contrasting strongly with the pristine vision of the new territory and subsequent policy, the community realities experienced in the homes of the people of Nunavut are hardly dream-like. For example, Hicks and White (2000, p. 89) state that:

> To the outside observer it must seem like there is no end to the depressing statistics: over two thirds of Nunavut residents 12 years of age and older smoke (compared to less than 30 per cent nationally), almost three-quarters of all Nunavut mothers smoke during their pregnancies, Nunavut's rate of tuberculosis during the 1990s was more than eight times the national average, sexually transmitted disease rates are 15 to 20 times the national rate, and Nunavut's suicide rate is six times the national average.

Recognizing the existence of a disconnect between that which is written from the dream and that which actually exists in the communities, the vision of Nunavut and policy created from the dream must be deconstructed and the realities of life in Nunavut must be better understood.

Within this review, I show how Nunavut policy is failing to adequately represent and answer to community realities, raising the question why this is so. Furthermore, I look briefly at what measures are being taken by policy-makers to remedy the situation. Through a lengthy review of the literature on Nunavut I set the context of this study by acknowledging the community realities existing in Nunavut. Within this review a historical perspective on the North is explored, a brief review of literature on education in the North is accomplished and to

further contextualize the presentation of realities as expressed by Inuit women themselves, I then examine the representation of Inuit women in the literature.

DECONSTRUCTING THE DREAM

Policy development relative to community realities remains in a dream-like state. The training initiative to be accomplished by the year 2020 is just not progressing as easily in reality as it is so deftly written on paper. The goal of adult education in the North transforming the Inuit population into a fully trained and ready workforce for the "brave new future" is just not being accomplished. As Mitchell (1996, p. 389) states, "the education system in the North has not achieved its expected success due to the failure of the state to live up to capital's universal promise of 'a job.'" She goes on to say that "[i]t's not that there are no jobs in the North. The problem is that they are filled by non-Inuit." This is highlighted by Bell (2003, p. 2) when he states that:

> As of December 31, 2002, there were 2861 jobs within the GN's departments and boards. Only 950 were held by beneficiaries, about 40 per cent of the total. That's down from the 42 per cent recorded in March, 2001...This means even in the extremely unlikely event that every remaining vacant job were to be filled by a beneficiary, the number of Inuit working for the Nunavut government would rise to only 1400—slightly more than 50 per cent of the total...the long-term goal of a workforce in which 82 per cent of the employees are Inuit remains a utopian fantasy.

As Bell makes clear, the training initiative is not progressing and presently it is having the opposite affect as the number of Inuit within the GN workforce is falling not rising.

Many of the reasons for the failure of this policy can be explained by examining a particular identity dichotomy[3] that is setting up quite a unique challenge for the GN. Distinctiveness versus homogeneity is a particular dichotomy for the Northerner, most notably for those who are Inuit, who live in a very distinctive locale within a wider Canadian whole. This dichotomy sets up a challenge for the identity formation of the individual. In the case of the Inuit, the choice is between being Inuk and being Canadian. Factors affecting an Inuk's decision on identity have been affected through the long history the Inuit have had with the Canadian state. "I wish we'd count in Canada in Parliament: we don't even seem to exist for the Prime Minister. I don't even like to see myself as Canadian now—just Inuk" (Annie as cited in Hawkes, 1989, p. 1). What Northerners, Inuit or non-Inuit alike, feel to be their individual identity make-up is inherently personal. What is most critical to the future of this territory and this examination of government policy is where the GN sits on the continuum of Canadian versus Inuk. In some ways the GN possesses a uniquely Inuit nature and in some ways Nunavut is living within the dominant structure and political culture of the larger environment of Canada as a whole. As defined by Hicks and White (2000, p. 30-31):

> Nunavut is and will remain very much part of the Canadian federation. Moreover, although important operational and design features will distinguish the Government of Nunavut from those of

[3] There are two distinct cultural identities within Inuit identity, as defined within my interviews. One is a Qallunaat (Southern/Western/White/National) culture and the other is the traditional Inuit culture. As further defined by my interviews, they tend to exist as two poles of a hypothetical continuum of identity and are often referred to in opposition to each other creating the cultural identity dichotomy.

> other territories and provinces, Nunavut will be a fairly conventional jurisdiction within the Canadian context. Nunavut will be different by virtue of its strong Inuit majority and its focus on the survival and development of Inuit culture, but its accommodation of Inuit aspirations will take place squarely within the four corners of established Canadian forms of government.

The choice to be uniquely Inuit versus the choice to be a smaller piece of the larger Canadian whole sets up a very clear dichotomy for the GN. The either/or nature of this scenario puts the GN in a challenging position. One would hope that the government would not have to choose between one and the other. One would hope rather that it could accomplish both through a balancing act, the unique self-government structure representing an indigenous majority on one end of the pendulum and the need to "fit in" and be Canadian on the other. As outlined by Dahl, Hicks and Jull (2000, p. 14), however, even in the early years of the creation of Nunavut, it was a popular belief that the GN could be only one or the other.

> Can Inuit best re-build, maintain, strengthen, and expand their society and culture through their new political and legal arrangements? For many Inuit that question will be insulting—after all, isn't it better for Inuit to make decisions about Inuit society than for white outsiders to do it? Nonetheless, many sceptics will fear that by 'opting in' to the political systems and culture of the contemporary industrial world, especially in a country like Canada...Inuit have already taken a decisive step in abandoning the strength and core values of their culture.

Through the process of opting-in to a bureaucracy that is fundamental to any government structure, some say that it is impossible for the GN to represent an

indigenous people's traditional beliefs and knowledge while simultaneously answering to the Canadian constitution.

Currently it is clear that this is exactly the conundrum the GN is in. Within the current functioning of the GN, there is a leaning towards the "Canadian" form of government and a leaning away from a uniquely Inuit one. "Does Nunavut represent a new type of political economy or is it merely a changing of hands on the same old levers of power and on the keys to the cashbox" (Dahl, Hicks & Jull, 2000, p. 13)? As these authors hint, the GN is not an alternative form of government. Instead, they note, it's just the same old type of bureaucracy with different people holding the reins of power. The GN resembles a government anywhere else in the world. Instead of possessing a uniquely Inuit nature, it possesses a dominant institutional and corporate culture.

> A corporate culture is the spirit, values and motivating forces that guide an organization and reflect its understanding of its role in society. It is usually formulated by those in charge of the organization—those at the top of the hierarchical structure. At the present time the Nunavut Government has a corporate culture...it does not reflect the Inuit Culture (IQ Task Force, 2002, p. 13).

The dominance of the corporate culture is due in large part to the highly influential bureaucracy adopted from the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT). Because of the necessity for the GN to move from a stand still to a run in a very short amount of time directly after Nunavut's creation, the model of the GNWT was initially used as a starting point. "They 'borrowed' a

model of public government from the Northwest Territories...Former GNWT civil servants designed the organizational structure for the new government. Almost all of the financial and management information systems have been transferred over from the GNWT" (IQ Task Force, 2002, p. 6). In fact, not only was the bureaucratic model the same-old but in the haste to have a start-up government fully functioning in a short amount of time, senior staff members were brought over to the GN with the model from the GNWT. "[A] significant number of the employees—especially those in the most senior management positions—transferred over from the GNWT or came from a background of work with the federal and provincial governments" (IQ Task Force, 2002, p. 6). An Inuk woman within the Draft Site Report for Kenny's (2001) study (Purdon, n.d., p. 13) further elaborates this point. "[E]ven now that Nunavut has happened and is still evolving, we have Qallunaat directors in the government departments and still a lot of Qallunaat managers in many organizations following southern-based policies and not understanding the needs of the people." So in the particular case of Nunavut, in the initial years of its creation, not only is the bureaucracy same-old but so it seems are the people holding onto the reins of power.

Rather than incorporating Inuit traditional knowledge and working to represent Inuit culture, the Nunavut government has not encompassed IQ and in no way resembles a unique and alternative vision of a government that it has laid out for itself in policy documents. As expressed by the IQ Task Force (2002, p. 1),

in their lengthy report written on the subject: "We discovered that, although most departments are involved in cultural-related and language-related activities that we applaud, they are generally failing to incorporate IQ in a significant way into their departments. They are not sure what IQ is or how to incorporate it into day-to-day workings of their departments." Reason for the failure of the government to encompass IQ rests on the issue that the GN has not been built slowly and thoughtfully into a uniquely traditional form of government, but has been thrown together haphazardly from a "same-old" bureaucracy with a corporate culture. Because of the prominence of the corporate culture within the GN, as stated by the IQ Task Force, in terms of IQ incorporation the GN is going about things in a backward manner. Instead of incorporating itself into the Inuit traditions existent in communities, the GN is attempting to squeeze traditional culture of the Inuit into the corporate bureaucracy of the government. As the IQ Task Force (2002, p. 1) outlines:

> We think there is a basic underlying problem. It is addressed in the following question.
>
> Should the Nunavut Government try to incorporate the Inuit Culture into itself?
>
> or...
>
> Should the Nunavut Government incorporate itself into the Inuit Culture?
>
> We think the Nunavut Government should incorporate itself into the Inuit Culture. This requires a radical shift in government's present approach. It means redefining the relationship between the

> Government of Nunavut and the Inuit Culture and re-thinking the role of IQ in this process.

Though this adoption of a pre-existing model and this failure to adopt traditional knowledge systems allowed the GN to begin the process of addressing some of the major challenges facing the population of Nunavut, it also allowed the bureaucratic culture to thrive which subsequently impeded the growth of Inuit culture and the role of the Inuit within their own government.

The GN is failing to operationalize in a meaningful way the plans it had laid out for itself in original policy documents. Instead, it is a very typical looking bureaucratic structure. Many of the reasons for the failing of the training initiative fall to this failure of the GN to properly reconcile and balance the identity dichotomy between being uniquely Inuit versus being part of a larger Canadian whole. A scenario mentioned by the IQ Task Force (2002, p. 8) exemplifies this:

> Consider this. The Nunavut Government can hire a southern uni-lingual English-speaking civil servant, who has never seen the North, to fill a deputy-minister position in a department, and that person will be fully functioning within a couple of weeks. Why? Because that person is quite familiar with the institutional culture of a public government...But the Nunavut Government cannot hire an intelligent, literate, uni-lingual Inuktitut speaking Inuit leader, who has lived in Nunavut all his or her life...while the Inuit person may have significant skills and training, they are not the right kinds of skills and training required to survive and work effectively within the dominant institutional culture.

This initiative is sitting within a wider world of governance that is choosing the Canadian end of the spectrum over the Inuk end instead of balancing the two.

Because of this lack of a balance between the two cultures, many Inuit are finding it difficult to find a job within a government structure that is supposedly built on principles of self-government.

The IQ Task Force report is one of the first reports that I have seen that dares to mention that things are not as they seem within the GN. While there may be some within the GN that believe that much progress still needs to be made in achieving the goals laid out in those brave early policy documents, there are very few attempts to really move into a thorough examination of the complexity of the problem. Often when this government is faced with mistakes or problems the more common response is to ignore the problem or implement a short-term band-aid solution that holds little promise of being effective in the long-term. One example is the proposed response to the failing of the training initiative in March of 2002. Realizing that the jobs within the government could not be filled by Inuit because there was a significant lack of requisite skills within the population, the government proposed to lower the standards of the job descriptions. As described by Bell (2003, p. 1), "[t]he government of Nunavut has endorsed a bold new way of evading reality...review and rewrite about 800 GN job descriptions. The purpose is for Inuit beneficiaries to get government jobs...[i]n plain words, the government wants to change its job descriptions by dumbing them down." Rather than looking more critically at what skills the population does have and figuring how those skills might fit within the requirements of the workforce or better implementing training programs to meet

the skill requirements of the job descriptions, the GN proposed a quick-fix solution and continued to work around the problem. While either of the first two solutions would have been preferable and effective in the long run, the ideal solution would have been for the GN to look more thoroughly at why the Inuit population that it is supposed to represent doesn't fit in to the government workforce.

The current realities of Nunavut are far from the initial pristine vision that was held up for so long as real. As Ernerk said, "[t]here's not much point in having Nunavut if we have to hire Southern professionals and administrators to run the government," but that is exactly how the Nunavut civil service is currently being run (Ernerk as cited in Purich, 1992, p. 12). As outlined by the IQ Task Force, the disconnection between policy and reality is set in place through a dominance of an institutional culture within the GN. This institutional culture is impeding a true incorporation of IQ into the government and a true plan to implement the training initiative to accomplish Inuit self-government. Current measures to increase the number of Inuit within the workforce are at the very least a band-aid solution to a complex problem and at the most a clear insult to the future of Nunavut and the Inuit people. For policy to be truly effective Nunavut community realities must be recognized and understood. The remainder of this paper will look at some aspects of Nunavut community realities, including a review of the history in the North, a look at the varied

opinion on education in the North and a review of the representation of Inuit women within the literature.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF COMMUNITY REALITIES

> Writing about only one element of Nunavut is like trying to study a flower by examining only one petal (Qitsualik, 1998, p. 1).

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Through my fieldwork attempting to understand Inuit women's views on adult education, I realized that one can't simply look at adult education independent of their complex lives. Instead I had to work at understanding the bigger picture for smaller pieces to come into focus. Adult education is connected to and can't be separated from the particular nature of Nunavut society as a whole. In this way I found that to better understand Inuit women's perceptions of adult education programs, I had to seek to understand the larger realities of their everyday lives, noticing where these realities rub up against adult education, noticing where they don't and attempting to understand the implication of the gaps.

The realities that exist in the communities of Nunavut are complex. As will be presented within the findings section of this study, the expression of these realities through the voices of Inuit women is similarly broad and complex. To better understand the words that will later present Nunavut realities through the perspective of Inuit women, a contextual base must be provided. The lengthy

history of the Inuit people and the historical creation of settlements and communities across the North must be reviewed. Furthermore, the colonial relationship between the Canadian state and the Inuit people and its implications for life in the North must be considered. An examination must also be done of the nature and speed at which change, motivated mainly through the colonialist interest and programs of the federal state, has moved across the North resulting in some confusion in identity for the Inuit people. Understanding adult education in the North (or any specific aspect of Nunavut society for that matter) requires a complete acknowledgement and probing into the factors that have affected this society historically from the time the Inuit moved across the land in hunter-gatherer groups to the context of today's settled communities.

First, exploring the nature of the historic relationship the Inuit people have had with the federal state, it becomes obvious that as this history progressed a dependency was created. As Purich (1992, p. 3) stated in his forecasting of Nunavut, there exists a definite need for federal financial spending on the North. "Current economic realities are such that in the immediate future Nunavut will not be financially self-sufficient and will have to be supported by Southern Canada to a greater extent than any have-not province." This dependent relationship between the federal government and the North which is existent today is certainly not a new one. The longstanding history that the Canadian state has had with the North has existed for the better part of the 20th

century. Federal interest in the North was sparked mainly after the Second World War, during the Cold War years. As Brody (1975, p. 30) states:

> The Second World War ... significantly altered the nature of southern concern with the North, creating strategic and new nationalistic dimensions. In the international climate of the cold war, all land was seen to have a place in the balance of forces and hypothetical logistics, while national integrity assumed a vigorous new importance. Thus the Eskimos' future was involved in forces as remote from their own lives as national security at a time of international tension. The post-war situation revived Canada's colonialist activity and the expanding economy of the times provided the means for it.

Reasons behind the federal interest in the North proved to be numerous, ranging from sovereignty issues, to extraction of resources, to humanitarian concerns. As McLean (1997, p. 13) summarizes:

> In the decade following 1945, several developments sparked a massive intensification of Canadian government activities in the North. First, concern for asserting Canadian sovereignty over the Arctic was heightened by the unilateral establishment of American military bases in the region during the Second World War. Second, changing military technologies gave the Arctic greater strategic significance during the Cold War. Third, government intervention increased throughout Canada, as various "welfare state" measures were introduced...Finally, improvements in communications and transportation made Arctic regions more accessible, and a popular notion emerged that Northern resources would be the engine for Canada's future economic growth.

This "humanitarian" concern, as McLean goes on to state, was largely a reaction to high profile criticisms made by American military personnel and Canadian journalists of the living conditions of the Inuit (McLean, 1997, p. 13). Brody (1975, p. 30) notes this humanitarian motivation, but speaks of it as emerging from a United Nations discourse on the welfare state: "A growing humanitarian

concern, represented internationally by the United Nations, encouraged governments to use national wealth to improve the lot of their less advantaged citizens." However, as Mitchell (1996, p. 107) states, concern for the Inuit people was most likely the lowest on the list of reasons for state intervention in the North. "The state's interest in the Arctic had previously been directed more to the extraction of resources and the assertion of sovereignty than the well-being of the people who lived there." This national interest in the North instead was largely a colonial interest. As Brody (1975, p. 18) states:

> Canadian interest in the eastern Arctic had a typically colonial aspect: land and people were incorporated into a growing political entity without regard to the people's own wishes. Eskimos would indeed have found it hard to express wishes in the matter, for they had heard little of the institutions and less of the nation that was carrying out the process.

Amid forces beyond their control and reasons outside their understanding, the Inuit were swept very quickly from a nomadic lifestyle within which they controlled their own destiny to one that was under the control of the federal government. As Hicks and White (2000, p. 46) state, "Inuit ruefully discovered that although they had always governed themselves and exercised stewardship over their lands, a foreign and little understood entity called the Government of Canada was now, without their consent or agreement, to control their lives." This while federal intervention at this time occurred mainly under the guise of humanitarian concerns, it was truly motivated by political and economical interests of a colonialist nature.

The colonial relationship between the state and the Inuit at the time was maintained by three primary parties: the traders at the Hudson's Bay Company, the RCMP and the missionaries. As Mitchell (1996, p. 87) explains, these three agencies controlled the North for the early part of the 20th century. The "traders, missionaries and police [were] a community of interest that dominated from about 1920 to 1960 and had a symbiotic effect on indigenous practices." As Brody (1975, p. 21) goes on to state, the dependent relationship they created with the Northern citizens was certainly not a new phenomenon. It was existent even during the whaling era. "Dependence upon the Hudson's Bay Company and other traders was not, of course, the beginning of Eskimo dependence on Whites' society. In many parts of the Eastern Arctic, the whaling industry had already transformed many features of traditional life." Due to the close dealings these parties had with the Inuit through their mutual goals, the control they held over the lives of the Inuit was more insidious. "These institutions - the churches, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Government of Canada itself - were determined to exercise an hegemony over the minds and lands of the Eskimo" (Brody, 1975, p. 15). Though the three institutions did not intentionally work together, they did have a mutual goal and this decidedly aided in its attainment.

> The traders, police and missionaries constituted a joined - if not joint - endeavour: the incorporation of the Eskimos into the mainstream of southern life. Although the field-work was carried out by rugged individuals, who may well have had curious ides of their own about what they were doing and who may well have believed that the purposes of the three institutions were separate and irreconcilable, their purposes and methods neatly dovetailed. Such a combination is

> familiar enough in the history of colonialism, but rarely in that history can the alliance have been so complete (Brody, 1975, p. 15).

Through following mutually beneficial but not identical paths, together these three institutions carried out the overriding colonial interest of the Canadian state in the North.

Achieving an influence over the hearts and minds of the Inuit, the missionaries played their part in the colonialism in the North by controlling the Inuit through forced religious practice. Operating under the motivation to convert what they saw as heathens into truly reborn Christians, "the missionaries sought to establish a moral serfdom" (Brody, 1975, p. 23). As Brody (1975, p. 24) goes on to explain, "they linked the material condition they saw with a mental condition they imagined." The missionaries held fast to racist beliefs and acted as if they were bestowing the "savages" they imagined the Inuit to be with virtues that only the missionaries possessed. "[G]odliness, cleanliness and an abundance of other-world virtues were seen as a package deal offered to the heathen through conversion" (Brody, 1975, p. 23). Controversy in the literature exists over whether these conversions were accepted readily or resisted quietly by the Inuit. McElroy (1977, p. 75 & 74) states that though there was initial reluctance, the Inuit accepted Christianity fairly easily, particularly because the missionaries brought with them medical supplies and services. "Despite opposition by shamans and the initial reluctance of Inuit to adhere to the missionaries' moral proscriptions, the Christian religion gradually became fully

accepted and is now an important institution in every Baffin Island community." "[T]he missionaries never faced direct or organized opposition to their activities, perhaps because the Inuit valued the medical supplies and rations dispersed by the missions." Mitchell (1996, p. 101), however, is a bit more sceptical at this ready acceptance and states that though overtly the Inuit were practicing Christians, they may have quietly held their traditional beliefs closer to their hearts.

> Although conversions were widespread, it is probable that Inuit did not abandon their beliefs as easily as it might have appeared. Stefanson was convinced that "the instant Christians were merely pretending to take up the white man's religion while at heart they held to their traditional beliefs". Even though, after 1930, most Inuit were baptized and, in arctic Quebec at least, "no shaman dared to proclaim himself as such", it appears that, far from being eradicated, shamanism merely went underground...Inuit had learned to be covert about their beliefs.

As Brody (1975, p. 24) states, however, whether or not the Christian faith was initially accepted swiftly or not, it is a fact that Christianity became the most popular faith in the Northern communities.

> Yet the Eskimos of the Eastern Arctic readily became at least token Christians and, by the 1950s, the large majority of Eskimo camps had accepted Christian teachings, and most families observed the principal Christian rites. One important reason for the Eskimos' acceptance of the ministrations of missionaries and the attention of other White colonial agents during this critical period was their poor physical health.

Whether or not Christianity in the North began as initial tokenism can never be known for sure. What is clear is that the missionaries played a role in the colonial relationship the federal state had with the North by pressuring the Inuit

to adopt the Christian teachings which was linked to the provision of health services and supplies.

While it was the missionaries who aspired to save the soul of the Inuit, it was the traders who radically altered the economy by shifting a subsistence economy to a market based capitalist economy. "In the space of a few decades, this alliance succeeded in delivering the capitalist mode of production to Inuit" (Mitchell, 1996, p. 87). Brody (1975, p. 21-22: 22-23) explains this transformation in greater detail, attributing a greater dependence on the Southern markets and a change in the focus and behaviour of the hunter as large factors in this economic transformation.

> The permanent trading posts created different degrees of dependency. The traders systematically encouraged Eskimos to spend more time hunting the animals with skins most highly prized in the southern market and to spend less time hunting animals that merely offered a supply of food. This shift in hunting sometimes left the Eskimos hungry, and it created a need for new equipment with which to trap. The imbalances that accompanied this shift were in some measure rectified by exchange: the hunters-become-trappers traded skins for food and new equipment, and thereby their dependence upon trading posts became acute.
>
> By the late 1930s and throughout the war years, the economic plight of the Eskimo trappers was serious...Once the people living in hunting camps were short of basic foodstuffs, a trader could effectively dictate his will to individual families by extending or refusing credit at the store...In regions where game was not abundant or in a bad season, this practice might lead to starvation.

Through such hunting practices creating grim health conditions for the Inuit, coupled with the availability of health services and supplies by the missionaries, by the middle of the 20th century dependency on the three agencies and thereby

on the federal government was total. "It is hard to know exactly when the deterioration of health among Eskimos living in the camps made their economic and social dependence on trader and missionary acute, but by 1950 that dependence was virtually total" (Brody, 1975, p. 26).

Funding from the federal government, a leading factor establishing the Inuit's dependency on these three agencies, forced the formation of settlement communities across the North. Sovereignty interests meant that the federal government had a higher motivation to secure settlement across the North then it had concern for those people who were being forced to live in them. "They were encouraged—some say they were forced—to move into settlements" (Purich, 1992, p. 42). It was in the forcing of the Inuit to remain in the communities where the police acted out their role in the colonialism of the federal government. As there was a distemper epidemic in one community's sled dogs, the RCMP decidedly wiped out the dog population across the North by killing any dogs in the Baffin Island communities that were running free. This event killed off the Inuit's major form of transportation and left those without Southern transportation immobile for some time which aided in the establishment of permanent communities. As Tippett (1994, p. 143) explains:

> The Inuit had little choice but to adopt this new means of transportation. In 1962 the dog population in Pangnirtung had been decimated by a distemper epidemic. And in Cape Dorset, Arctic Bay, and other settlements on Baffin Island, the imposition of a law preventing dogs from running loose caused the canine population to drop in an equally dramatic fashion. If the dogs ran free, they were destroyed.

Though this event is still controversial in the North today with regards to the exact reasoning over the killing of the dogs, at the time it left the Inuit very confused.

> [W]hen we got to the settlement, we sort of got confused. Our dogs were shot (our dog-team was our only transportation) because the RCMP didn't like the fact that they were loose. We never used to tie down the dog-team dogs. You tie them down and they'll lose their muscles. So we tried that in the settlement, and the RCMP didn't like it because many families lived in this town at that time. The RCMP went around and shot all our dogs (Pudlat, 1990, p. 19).

Furthermore, it increased their reliance on snowmobiles—Southern methods of transportation, it left them in need of money to buy different methods of transportation and thereby furthered their dependence on the institutions of the federal government.

In forcing the settlement of these communities through these means the federal government sought to achieve the goal of establishing sovereignty across the North, but it acted mainly under the guise of providing social services to the Inuit.

> Establishment of these communities symbolises how, even very recently, the Canadian state controlled Inuit life in fundamental ways...Even more tellingly, many Inuit did not settle in these communities entirely willingly, they were coerced by the government to move into central locations so as to facilitate the delivery of public services such as health and education and also so that they could be assimilated into southern Canadian ways (Hicks & White, 2000, p. 47).

There is some concession in the literature that this humanitarian interest in the health and welfare of the Arctic's residents ran alongside that of a sovereignty

interest. "These new social services were partly caused by a growing awareness in southern Canada that the northern natives were severely deprived and lacked the medical, educational and other facilities seen to be the necessary conditions for equality, freedom and a competitive place in the nation's life" (Brody, 1975, p. 30). But the predominant notion was that this interest was merely an excuse to exercise control over the North and its citizens, and that this motivation remained unchanged before and after the settlement period.

> [I]t would perhaps appear that exploitative agencies were displaced by supportative ones. But there is a fundamental continuity between what can be termed the pre- and post-administrative periods. Whites in the North have always been intent on causing change; in realizing these changes, they have dominated the Eskimos, and they continue to do so (Brody, 1975, p. 31).

In fact, it was settling the Inuit into permanent communities across the North that gave rise to social problems that still exist today.

> For Inuit culture, the most critical turning point thus came with their largely involuntary resettlement from tiny nomadic bands into communities that now range from 250 to three thousand people....The far reaching impacts of resettlement have come into focus thirty years after the Inuit were moved in from the camps. We are only now beginning to appreciate the social repercussions that followed as their independence converted into welfare dependency overnight...Although the government eventually controlled widespread starvation and tuberculosis, few Inuit now live well by either their own standards or those of the southern Canadian provinces (Billson, 1995, p. 106-107).

Settling the Inuit into permanent communities across the North fulfilled the state's desire to maintain control over part of its country that was being threatened internationally in sovereignty struggles. For the people who were

made to settle there, however, it set them on an unfortunate path that they are still trying to recover from today.

As White Southerners were often the agents fulfilling the colonial desires of the federal government in the North, a racial tension was inevitably established in the settlements. As Brody (1975, p. 31) states, "[t]hese several causes brought more Whites to the North, giving the Eskimos more contacts of all kinds with the south." The increase in the number of Whites in the North was distinctive from the pre-settlement days where very few Whites actually lived among the Inuit.

> Remarkably few Whites have ever gone among the Eskimos simply to live. Early traders, the first missionaries, even some whalers, did live among or near them to trade, to evangelize or to hunt, and some of them stayed so long, or returned so many years, that they might well be called resident. These men occasionally took Eskimo wives and had children, and no doubt some of them gradually came to feel that they were almost Eskimos. But most did no such thing. They lived at the edge of society, distanced from it by their purposes, by their life-style and by their central interest in transforming rather than adapting to the peoples they encountered (Brody, 1975, p. 14).

Because of the meeting of the two very different cultures and also because one was set up to be significantly superior to the other, a racial tension was created. "The collision of cultures that began with early explorers like Martin Frobisher in the sixteenth century and continues today through the invisible waves of television has resulted in both loss and hope" (Billson, 1995, p. 98). The racial tension, established along with the creation of permanent settlements in the North, is still strong in the communities in the North today.

With this very clear exploitation by the federal state and within much of the dealings the Whites had with the Inuit, one must surely wonder why the Inuit did not resist strongly. The distinctively superior position given to the Whites in the communities was often based on a quiet fear that gripped the Inuit in their dealings with a people that had often wanted only to dominate their culture. Using the example of children leaving the camps for schools, Brody explains this fear as 'ilira.'

> [T]he word ilira...is used to refer to the fear of ghosts, the awe a strong father inspires in his children, and fear of the qadlunaat [white man]. I often heard Inuit speak about their agreement to their children being taken away from their homes in camps, and being put in schools far away. This taking of children caused much heartache to Inuit parents, who are famous for their intense attachment to their children....Yet when this happened, Inuit seemed to accept the process. When older men and women told me about the grief the boarding school program caused them, I asked many times, 'Why did you not complain? Why did you go along with it?' The answers repeatedly made use of ilira, fear, awe, a sense of intimidation (Brody as cited in Hicks & White, 2000, p. 47-48).

Brody (2000, p. 45) goes on in another work to explain this fear as a direct result of colonialism. "The word ilira goes to the heart of colonial relationships, and it helps to explain the many times that Inuit, and so many other peoples, say yes when they want to say no, or say yes and then reveal, later, that they never meant it at all. Ilira is a word that speaks to the subtle but pervasive results of inequality." In fact this fear was more prevalent than any type of resistance on the part of the Inuit in response to the Southerners who were moving into their culture and their land. As Vallee states, in comparison to other indigenous

groups facing assimilation, the Inuit possessed a remarkably low level of resistance.

> Compared with many other indigenous groups which have been subjected to pressures of change from an overpowering industrial society, the Eskimos are remarkable for the absence among them of individuals and factions with profound material and emotional vested interests in the status quo...Most of the older people we encountered are resigned to the changes and do not actively combat them (Vallee, as cited in Mitchell, 1996, p. 139).

As Mitchell (1996, p. 139-140) went on to note (quoting from Vallee), some of the reasons for this lack of resistance have to do with the pragmatic and present-oriented attitudes that many Inuit possess. "The pragmatic, present-oriented ('existentialist') attitude of Inuit inhibited resistance. They did not 'have a profound vested interest in their old way of life' nor did they have a 'clearly formulated hostility' to the newcomers." Peter speaks of this low resistance as a direct result of a society so worn out from promises unfulfilled that it carries a highly apathetic tone.

> This lack of resistance is not due to lack of interest and concern, but it exists because of the lack of access to voicing these concerns in a manner which would be noticed and responded to adequately by the governments and business community. It is demoralising and is eating away at the emotional and mental well-being of too many Inuit. In the minds of many Inuit the promisingly bright future painted for years by the territorial and federal governments has been a big illusion and instead has betrayed and used them (Peter, as cited in Hicks & White, 2000, p. 52).

Mitchell (1996, p. 389) going on to ponder reasons for low resistance in Inuit society hints at a more covert and prolific domination of Southern culture and speaks of apathy created through socialization into the dominant culture.

> Socialization into the dominant ideology, serves to neutralize resistance. Children are taught appropriate practices from an early age, all the more compelling for being delivered in Inuktitut by Inuit teachers, and social control is mobilized at various levels of coercion through social workers, police and courtworkers to compensate for the inevitable deficiencies in socialization.

Indicated within the literature, however, this lack of resistance on the part of the Inuit may be starting to change. "Inuit organizations, like their memberships, have always favoured negotiation over confrontation. However, there is a growing sense that this may be changing" (Pauktuutit, 1991, p. 37). Mitchell (1996, p. 413) explains these new forms of resistance in much greater detail.

> There are three modes of resistance being exercised by Inuit: (1) non-confrontational, by which I mean efforts to conserve language and folkways; (2) confrontational, which includes public protest, a seldom-used mode of resistance but one that has the potential of escalating when other modes fail; and (3) politically organized resistance, in which I include land-claim negotiations and regional, national and international pan-Eskimo movements. This last has been the typical strategy of Inuit leaders in response to a perceived sense of increasing powerlessness.

Within the period where the police, the missionaries and the traders reigned supreme in the Arctic, the Inuit were brought from a life on the land and forcibly settled into permanent settlements. At this time, they possessed a very low level of resistance to the forced changes that were taking over the way of life they had known for so long. Now as the Inuit are taking an interest in political affairs, they are slowly starting to build new ways of resisting further change to their lives.

The prevalence of two cultures within Inuit society, however, has set up a very unique challenge for the formation of identity for the Inuit individual and has led to some identity confusion. Individuals are faced with growing up within Inuit families holding fast to traditional beliefs and language but are highly influenced by the larger community that has embraced Southern methods of living.

> The Inuit have been plunged into the value system of a culture light years away; soap operas and sitcoms compete with drum dancing and traditional games. They have been stripped of their identity as nomadic people of the land and brought into permanent settlements...that boast prefabricated houses with indoor plumbing and electricity. The outside world has impinged on Inuit life in every conceivable way—from birth control to Nintendo—creating important changes in how women and men live, work and relate to each other in the twentieth century (Billson, 1995, p. 98).

This pervasiveness of the Southern culture amid the Inuit culture that has remained a permanent fixture of Northern communities has meant that the Inuit individual is torn between one and the other culture and often ends up embracing both, possessing a double culture. "Without question, we live in two worlds: we still hunt for our food but when we get home, we can cook it in a microwave oven and eat it in front of the television" (Flaherty, 1994, p. 8). In her discussion of this double culture, Tippett (1994, p. 144-145) attributes it not only to the presence of the Southern culture in Inuit society but also to the ever present comparison made by many Southerners between the realistic Inuit to the stereotypical image of the Inuit.

> The Inuit feelings of anomie, of belonging to neither one nor the other culture to the point of living in between the two, not only arose from the attempt by southern Canadians to re-make the Inuit in their own image. It was also a product of the southern Canadian's relentless comparison of the Inuit to the stereotype of the happy-go-lucky, uncomplaining, and self-sufficient 'Eskimo' that they had created in their films, photographs, memoirs, and through other media...while some Euro-Canadians sought to make the Inuit like themselves, others were content to leave them in the wilderness.

Wenzel elaborates further on this dichotomy by reviewing its presence within the long history of research in the North. Wenzel defines the poles of the dichotomy as the "acculturation" belief and the "adaptationist" belief, where the first represents the belief that the Inuit are losing their culture and the second being that the Inuit are adapting to change. Wenzel (2001, p. 37) concludes that over time these concepts are inappropriately used in opposition to each other. "One preliminary conclusion is that these two concepts, like those of tradition and modernity, have been, and still are, generally used in misplaced opposition to each other." This misplaced opposition on Inuit identity is said to define policy, research and is also a belief of the non-Inuit public. The prevalence of the double culture contrast in Inuit society has been largely a result of the longstanding colonial relationship that the federal government has had with the Inuit. It sets up a very unique challenge in the identity formation of the Inuk individual, often leading to various forms of identity confusion.

The Inuit have faced other identity challenges that are also in large part attributable to the colonial history they have had with the federal government. Starting in the early years of the state's interest in the North, identity of the Inuit

was very clearly low on the list of the government's priorities as agents at the time established a simple but highly exploitative system of numbering and tagging individuals to keep proper records of births and deaths of the Northern indigenous population. As Hicks and White (2000, p. 50) explain further:

> Perhaps the best illustration involves that most central element of identity: names. Government bureaucrats who had trouble understanding and keeping track of complex Inuit naming systems issued all Inuit with discs imprinted with identification numbers - known as 'Eskimo numbers', or 'E-numbers' - that were to be used in dealings with government in place of their names. Inuit were instructed that 'Every Eskimo should have a disc bearing his identification number. Do not lose your disc. You will need it to obtain the King's help.' To this day, many Inuit still know their 'E-numbers' by heart.

Further confusion of identity was a definite result of the movement of the Inuit population into permanent settlements. This move and the subsequent transition in the economy to one that was capitalist established a very clear class system within the Inuit population furthering identity confusion among the Inuit. This class system was non-existent within life on the land and many are struggling to find their place within it or outside of it today.

> Life in the communities and (partial) integration into the wage economy also brought about economic differentiation among Inuit and development of a class system. Various forms and gradations of class groupings among Inuit can be discerned according to their role in productive practices, their participation in traditional or wage economies, their status as independent commodity producers, state workers, petty capitalists and the like. While such class divisions do have relevance to social and political developments, they do not yet represent the defining socioeconomic dynamic within Nunavut society. In part this is because the Inuit economic elite remains relatively small, as does the Inuit middle class, and in part it reflects

> disinclination among Inuit to think in terms of - or identify themselves with - class perspectives (Hicks & White, 2000, p. 51).

As some authors believe, the indigenous ruling class may have in fact been purposefully created by the state and in this way may be aiding to act out the state's colonial interest. As Mitchell (1996, p. 407) explains, "the state created an indigenous ruling class to help it accomplish its project of appropriating the forces of production." This new class system and the prevalence of 'others' within Inuit society has established a very clear group identity among the Inuit. As Mitchell (1996, p. 134) notes, this group identity was one that was also non-existent on the land and wasn't formed until the Inuit started signing treaties with the federal government in groups. "Inuit did not perceive themselves to be a distinct ethnic group, nor were they officially recognized as such until the 1970s when the necessity of signing treaties with them made definition of the category urgent." With the need for this group identity occurring more and more throughout the history with the federal government, the Inuit eventually began to see themselves as a collective, ignoring differences that once established very clear distinctions between sub-groups. As Mitchell (1996, p. 134) goes on to explain:

> They might not have thought of themselves as a unified population, but Eskimos were treated as a distinct kind of people by outsiders who entered into economic relationships with them. Former affiliations, loosely based upon extended family groups, were considered inconsequential, and many Inuit found themselves shepherded into artificial communities formed around trading posts where their productive activity was governed by outsiders who assumed authority...the forces of collectivization were difficult to

> resist, and in spite of differences - people of the seal, the inland people, etc. - that had previously been acknowledged, Inuit were treated, and began to perceive themselves, as a unity distinct from 'others.'

This group identity is definitely a part of Inuit society today. Some are even calling it an Inuit nationalism. As Hicks and White (2000, p. 51) explain, "the social and economic change wrought by contact served to differentiate Inuit from non-Inuit and to emphasize commonalities among Inuit, resulting in what has been termed 'Inuit nationalism.'" In addition, the move into the settlements and the subsequent switch to wage employment had a major influence on the transition in gender roles and identities within the Inuit population. As Billson (1995, p. 108) explains, "[w]elfare dependency and geographic isolation contribute greatly to the confusion of gender roles and the struggle for a new definition of both ethnicity and gender. With the move to government-created settlements, the way of life and the roles of men and women also began to shift." Although the roles of both genders have changed with the transition into communities, in particular this change has fundamentally altered the role of the Inuit male and greatly added to their shift in identity formation. As Billson (1995, p. 109-110) states:

> Both male and female roles have shifted dramatically with the decline of traditional culture. Since resettlement, clearly defined gender roles have faded. Moving from a hunting economy into the settlements jeopardized the male role. The Inuit increasingly depend not on what father can bring home from the hunt but on wage labour...The women's role has diminished less dramatically...Women are more likely to complete high school, get a steady job, and (increasingly) to be the major provider for their families. This role reversal and other

> factors have resulted in frustration and a loss of self esteem among Inuit men and contributed to higher rates of alcohol and drug abuse for males.

Throughout the long colonial history the Canadian government has had with the Inuit, many projects have been implemented in a manner to leave both individual and collective Inuit adjusting to major role shifts and confusions with identity.

The affects of these shifting roles and subsequent identity confusion has led to furthering the social problems in the North that originated when the Inuit were forcibly settled. "Especially in the North social problems are symptoms of the rapid change that throws culture off balance and threatens identity" (Billson, 1995, p. 107). As Hicks and White (2000, p. 92) further elaborate, current social problems in the North are reaching crisis proportions and are quite extensive, affecting many areas within Inuit society.

> [T]he territory's new government, Inuit organizations and Institutions of Public Government face enormous challenges: a young work force with high levels of unemployment and dependence on social assistance, low (but rising) educational levels, high costs for goods and services, inadequate public housing, poor health conditions, and escalating rates of substance abuse, violence and incarceration.

The fundamental shifts to the various roles and identities in Inuit society have furthered social problems, which originated in the move from the land to the settlements. Without a true dedication to understanding the history and realities that are behind such challenges in Inuit society, the problems will continue on the path to crisis levels.

Within this section, the representation of the Northern community realities within the literature has been acknowledged. As reviewed, historically the state has had a colonial interest in the North and its citizens. The missionaries, the RCMP and the traders were the primary authority groups used to carry out the agenda of the state in the North. These three agencies forced the settlement of the Inuit into communities across the Arctic, fundamentally altered their economy and sought to gain control over their hearts and minds through conversion into Christianity. Facing the change that accompanied the move into the settlements and the influx of these multiple interests in the North, the Inuit initially showed some calm resistance but mostly reacted with a quiet fear, called 'ilira' in Inuktitut. Resulting from the sweeping change across the North are the social problems still existent today and a multi-faceted confusion in Inuit individual and collective identity.

EDUCATION IN THE NORTH

Education in the North has been examined from many different perspectives and opinion varies within the literature. Further establishing the context of this study, it is important to review these perspectives in the literature on education within the North.

As is the case with other policy issues within Nunavut, the vision of education within the North is much more easily expressed in policy documents than it is operationalized in the context of the communities. As Maguire and

McAlpine (1996, p. 220) state when speaking of the specific community of Arviat (once part of the NWT and now a part of Nunavut), though there is an increasing recognition locally aligning with sentiments expressed in policy documents that education will strengthen Northern communities there is also some local resistance against this idea because of the longstanding colonial history within the North.

> Many of the policy documents and the public rhetoric in the NWT articulate a commitment to education as a shared responsibility. There is increasing awareness among many residents of northern villages of the value and potential of education to strengthen Aboriginal communities. What might this mean at the local level when many members of such communities have had few formal experiences of schooling or blame schooling for stripping them of their language and culture?

Stairs (1988, p. 223) also speaks to this resistance when she states, "formal education is not only alien to Inuit culture but, as initially transposed from the south, is in direct conflict with indigenous modes of transmitting knowledge across generations." In fact, education in the North is a prime example of one of the colonial projects of the federal government. Some authors speak of this project as occurring under the best of intentions. As Annahatak notes (1994, p. 14), "[i]t was the Canadian Federal Government, with the best of intentions, who built the first schools in the north around the late 1950s and early 1960s." These sentiments don't supersede the fact, however, that this activity coupled with the movement into the settlements was one of the main activities instigating change in the North. Maguire and McAlpine (1996, p. 221) noted this within their report

on Arviat. "[E]lders recall that community schooling did not get under way until the mid-1960s. They remember decades of government and/or church-dominated education geared to assimilation and the silencing of voices in Inuktitut." During this time, the federal government tied Inuit children's schooling to welfare payments and made it mandatory for children to attend, attempting to "persuade" Inuit families to move into settlements.

> I went to school. I had to go to school because I was ordered. We were still in the camp when the government came to our parents, and they told us, 'Your children have to go to school.' My parents had no choice. And if we didn't go to school, we wouldn't receive family allowance (Pudlat, 1990, p. 18).

Many of the symptoms of this longstanding colonial history in the North and fast paced political change across the North are apparent within the present realities of Northern communities and present a challenge to making educational policy truly effective. High unemployment, young populations and many young parents as students characterize the current reality in the North. Maguire and McAlpine (1996, p. 220) describe such a reality in Arviat, "[t]his hamlet of 1,325 has 80% unemployment and a community population of which 50% are under 16 years of age...[a]dolescents here are both present students and potential parents of future students. In some cases they are parents themselves."

Now with Western (Southern) culture a constant presence in the North, people in Northern communities are moving between traditional and Western cultures on an everyday basis. Many Inuit are looking to both preserve the first cultural identity while also learning aspects of the second. As Maguire and

McAlpine (1996, p. 220) state, again discussing Arviat, "[m]embers of this hamlet are moving back and forth between Inuit and Qallunaat traditions at a time when movement toward self-affirmation, defining and preserving an Inuit identity, and educating children for the 21st century are fundamental concerns in the NWT." Because of the presence of two cultures within communities in the North, future promises of appropriate and successful education include discussion on education that possesses aspects of both cultures. Within the specific context of Nunavut, the GN is to encompass the concept of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ), which is a term in Inuktitut used to denote the traditional culture of the Inuit. This notion of the GN encompassing IQ has been mentioned in detail previously within this study in the discussion of training policy but to briefly review: all government departments are to encompass this concept and are to work at including Inuit traditional knowledge within their structures. In this way, educational policy within Nunavut has been established to set Nunavut education up as an example of a type of education that combines both Inuit and Western cultures. Whether such culturally appropriate education is occurring within Nunavut and other Northern societies is an investigation beyond this study, however it is important to review that many authors are looking at this type of education. In the introduction to an edition of the Peabody Journal of Education dedicated to indigenous education, Lipka and Stairs (1994, p. 1), discuss the new types of schooling that strive to balance cultures. "The new ways of schooling emerge from indigenous peoples' struggle

to balance the two great purposes of being full participants in the contemporary world while living out their essential identities as Indian, Eskimo, or Aboriginal." Furthermore as Maguire and McAlpine (1996, p. 222) note the 1983 Inuit circumpolar conference general assembly also subscribed to this notion. "The 1983 resolution...affirms that the goals of Inuit educational systems are to prepare the children for life based on values and skills from Inuit culture and western culture." In another article Stairs (1994, p. 64) proposes that this type of education moves beyond a balancing of the two cultures to a fusion into a "third cultural reality" itself. As she states, "indigenous schools serve as sites of negotiation between cultures in contact, and in the process become themselves unique 'third cultural realities.'" Stairs (1994, p. 65) also notes that there still needs to be much investigation into this type of education. "Much work remains to be done in understanding the many factors of community uniqueness which underlie this wealth of variations in indigenous educational designs." Other authors move beyond this notion of indigenous education encompassing two cultures altogether and dismiss the notion that this education is realistic, stating that it is based fundamentally on assumptions and that for the student it actually serves to add to the complexity of future choices and reduce future options. As Henze and Vanett (1993, p. 116) state "[t]he metaphor of teaching students to 'walk in two worlds' is frequently used to describe the goals of education for indigenous groups in United States...We argue that walking in two worlds not only masks the complexity of choices faced by Native Alaskan and American

Indian students, but also reduces their options." Maguire and McAlpine (1994, p. 227) also go on to concede that within the North itself, a solution to an education that balances or integrates the two cultures within Northern communities is still unresolved. "How best to meet the need and reconcile the tensions between Aboriginal learning traditions and Westernized institutions of schooling is unresolved." Furthermore, a recent quote by an Inuk woman in the Draft Site Report for Kenny's (2001) study (Purdon, n.d., p. 11) highlights that there is still much work to be done in creating a more culturally appropriate education system.

> Workplaces are run as they would be in the south so therefore a lot of the time they are set to fail. The biggest fatality of that is the drop-outs of our schools because the schools are southern based, southern imported without really taking into account that they are not in the south. Things could be done differently but those questions are never asked. Things are just done as they would be done in the south.

Though these authors, the GN and the communities in the North are taking steps seeking to better understand education that balances or integrates both the Inuit and Qallunaat cultures, there is still work to be done learning how to effectively implement these types of programs into Northern schools.

Adult education programs in the North are also facing challenges of a similar nature. Rather then struggling with how to balance the two cultures, adult education programs seem to consistently operate under the dominance of the Southern culture. As an Inuk woman expressed (Kenny, 2002, p. 50), "[o]ur courses at Arctic College are very southern oriented and still very much based on

the English language...[t]hese things have to be changed instead of having to be allowed to carry on forever." As McLean (1997) elaborates in great detail, adult education programs in the North are not only operating under this dominant culture but are also potentially serving to 'Westernize' and objectify the Inuit. Adult education programs were formalized in the 1970s. This is when McLean believes that the conversion of the North into a "modern" society started to occur (McLean, 1997, p. 15). As McLean (1997, p. 12) explains, through the establishment of administration records, curriculum and grading standards, the Inuit began to adopt Western notions of individuality and became objectified both to themselves and to the state through adult education projects. "Adult education was materially constructed as an individualizing field of social experience in the Arctic through a series of administrative and programmatic interventions which began in the late 1940s." Mitchell (1996, p. 382) goes on to further problematize this modernization of the Inuit stating that they eventually began to measure themselves against Western models of success. "Measuring success in terms of the Western model, Inuit believe more than ever that they *need* the white man's education." Literature and opinion on adult education, therefore, clearly presents the perspective that the Inuit culture needs to be better integrated into delivery and ideology behind these programs and furthermore, some authors state that potential risks of not doing so are great (i.e. increasing the Westernization of the Inuit).

Aiding to establish the context of this study, literature on education in the North was examined. Literatures on both adult education specifically and education more generally were explored. As reviewed within this section, many feel that the influence of Western (Southern) culture in the North is creating a challenge for both adult education and education more generally. Within the broad world of education in the North, authors spoke of this challenge as one of effectively balancing or integrating the Western culture with the traditional culture of the Inuit. In the more specific field of adult education in the North, the influence of Western (Southern) culture was discussed more clearly as a direct threat to the survival of the Inuit culture.

LITERARY REPRESENTATIONS OF INUIT WOMEN: BRIDGING THE GAPS

After setting up the contextual basis of the North to understand the representation of the disconnect between the political dream and community realities of Nunavut, and briefly reviewing education in the North, I now move on to explore more specifically the representation of Inuit women in the literature. As Billson (1995, p. 125) states, "[m]any Inuit women point to 'losing our culture' as one of the most important problems they face...The Inuit have not completely lost their culture, but it certainly has changed in confusing and dramatic ways." The aim of this literary depiction of Inuit women is that it will further aid to contextualize the voices and subjectivities that are presented in the

findings section of my study that speak to some of those "confusing and dramatic" changes in Nunavut.

Within the literature, many authors point to the fact that Inuit women have been inadequately represented and demeaned historically. Mitchell (1996, p. 3) excluded an examination of gender relations from her in-depth work on the transitional nature of Inuit society on the grounds that data on gender was non-existent for the pre- and early contact period. Zellerer (1996, p. 48) noted that there was very little inclusion of gender in literature analyses of the North, and that when included, Inuit women were demeaned and represented inadequately. Reason for this misrepresentation was said to be a function of the research. As Zellerer goes on to say, "[t]here are gaps, a questionable male bias of some ethnographers, and conflicting perspectives." Other authors indicated further possible reasons for such misrepresentation. Thomsen (1989, p. 1) noted a lack of feminist ideology in the North, indicating one possible reason for the historical exclusion of Inuit women from texts written on the Arctic. "Generally, Inuit women have not applied feminist strategies as a means of securing representation and influence in Canada." Other possible reasons include the consistent lack of female representation politically in the history of the North. As Goo Doyle (1989, p. 1) noted, "Inuit women's representation is still fairly limited...[g]enerally, Inuit women hold less than 20 per cent of board and executive positions." This sentiment was echoed by Hawkes (1989, p. 4), who broadened this example of misrepresentation out to that of all women. "Inuit

women share the plight of women worldwide, in that they are not adequately represented in government and non-government structures. Thus, they do not have an equal say in decisions which affect their lives."

With the establishment of the first national Inuit women's organization, Pauktuutit in 1990 however, Inuit women are beginning to voice their concerns more loudly. With this change, the misrepresentation in the literature is also starting to change. As Thomsen (1989, p. 2) stated, "now that Inuit women have their own national forum in Pauktuutit, the situation is changing." Through a strong commitment to Inuit women and the issues of these women nationally, this organization serves to unify a population that is physically isolated. "Pauktuutit, the Inuit Women's Association of Canada, continues to engage in public education through such mediums as workshops, radio, booklets and other written publications" (Zellerer, 1996, p. 49). There are a number of studies I found in my research that respectfully depicted Inuit women and wherever possible used Inuit women's words to depict their own reality. In addition, Inuit women are beginning to write about themselves on a number of different issues. The creation of the national organization, Pauktuutit, has significantly altered the representation of Inuit women and has significantly increased the number of Inuit women voicing their own concerns on various issues.

An example of the misrepresentation in the literature is the discussion of gender relations in the traditional life in the camps. Historically this discussion has been quite controversial and very badly documented. As Mitchell (1996, p.

3) says, historically there is a very poor record of exactly how Inuit women were treated.

> There are a few references in the literature to the effect that women were treated as property, but this is not a safe assumption to build upon given the superficial nature of the observations as well as conflicting evidence that women exercised rights over property and were not excluded from the role of angagoq (shaman), a role that allowed the incumbent some ascendancy over the group.

As Billson (1995, p. 101) states, there are many reports that indicated unbalanced gender relations and roles in traditional camps. "Many outsider reports of traditional Inuit culture depict a highly male dominant household in which men make the decisions and women obey orders. Men hunted and women stayed close to the camp. Some argued that women were completely dependent on the men for survival." As Billson (1995, p. 98) also said, Inuit elders, and particularly Inuit women, have sought to correct these mistaken reports by indicating that the unequal relationship between genders portrayed by many outsider reports are false. Rather, each gender held a distinct role but both shared in the overall goal of survival. "Although the Inuit sharply delineated men's skills and women's skills, the survival imperative ensured a fairly equal relationship grounded in reciprocity and mutual respect. Women's work was different, not inferior." Reimer (1996, p. 80) goes on to make a similar claim on traditional gender relations in Inuit society, saying that roles were not identical but mutually supportive and in the division of these roles women were considered to be "keepers of the camp."

> In traditional society, the sexual division of labour was clearly defined according to cultural convention. Moreover the work that Inuit men and women performed was equally vital in terms of overall group survival. In broad terms, labour was divided between men as keepers of the land and women as keepers of the camp.

Much of the literature has further rectified the discussion of past gender relations in the camps by comparing and contrasting them with reports of relations that accompanied the transition into the settlements and those that are present today. Reimer (1996, p. 83) states that while on the surface the transition into settlements looked to completely alter gender relations, when one looks more closely both genders possessed a distinctive role with a shared focus on survival for the future.

> On the surface, it appears that settlement life has turned gender roles upside down. For instance, a second generation woman observed that women seem to be taking a 'superior' position over men in terms of wage employment. At a deeper cultural level, however, the interviews reveal a continuity of the traditional division of labour. Many Pangnirtung women who hold full-time wage employment provide the cash resources necessary to allow husbands, sons, brothers and fathers to provide country food resources for the immediate and extended family. There remains a clear gender pattern which places the Inuk woman at the centre of settlement life (wage economy) and the Inuk man at the centre of life on the land (informal economy).

Pauktuutit (1992, p. 37), in contrast states that a move into the settlements and life in the communities today have seriously altered gender relations although traditional values remain strong.

> The roles of men and women in traditional Inuit society were much more defined than they are today. For example, men were responsible for hunting, women for making warm clothing, and both of these activities were valued because they were crucial to the

> survival of the family. Today, male-female roles are less clear: food and clothing can be purchased in stores and both men and women can work for the money to buy life's necessities. We are in a period of transition where traditional values remain strong, yet the conditions of daily life are greatly altered.

Mitchell (1996, p. 4) also speaks of this change in gender relations, in particular of altered power dynamics that accompanied gender relations in the past and now more recently. "[T]here is some new thought that, publicly deferential and privately influential, Inuit women might have wielded considerable informal power, which they have recently begun to exercise more overtly. Having come out of the closet as it were, they are now playing a prominent role as leaders." Billson (1990, p. 46) makes a similar case, using the example of arranged marriages. "One choice that contemporary Inuit women can make for themselves is that of a marriage partner. This was not until relatively recently." Now that Inuit women are having a larger say in their society and through the facilitation of Pauktuutit, Inuit women themselves are playing a large role in rectifying misrepresentations of traditional life in the literature. In one report released on Inuit women's views, Pauktuutit (1991, p. 11) used a large number of Inuit women respondents to try to accurately portray traditional life and changes to this life in the move to the settlements.

> Women traditionally cared for their families in both the camps and the settlements. In the camps, women also sewed the clothing and the tents that kept their families warm and dry, and there appeared to be a mutual respect for the contributions that both men and women made to the family's survival. The basis for this mutual respect may be one of the things that both men and women lost in the move to permanent settlements. In the communities, families had access to

> pre-built houses; this with the availability of store bought food and clothing and the increased reliance on money undermined the significance of traditional work such as sewing, hunting, fishing and trapping. This does not mean that traditional activities are no longer considered important and valuable, for they are, but they are no longer the only means by which a family can survive.

By possessing a personal history and thereby a recent memory of the transition from the land into communities, many Inuit women are able to most accurately compare and contrast gender relations existent today with those of the past.

> Following the move to permanent settlements, women seem to have maintained their responsibility for decision-making within the home and family. However, there is not complete agreement with regard to the decision-making role of women in the early days of the communities. A number of women maintain that the men initially took over community decision-making. Women gradually became involved through their work on local committees, particularly those committees which are seen as dealing with issues falling into women's traditional realm of influence—education and health committees (Pauktuutit, 1991, p. 10).

Through both researchers showing a higher respect to those they interview in the North as well as through the increase in Inuit women's own accounts of their history becoming more common, depictions of the history of and changes to gender relations in the North are possessing a higher integrity and are more accurately defining life up North today and in the past.

Some of the issues currently plaguing the North, such as family violence, have been quite difficult to talk about but with the support of Pauktuutit, among Inuit women even silences on these types of issues are becoming less common. Many attribute this increased empowerment on the part of Inuit women to the

increase in the role they are playing in decision-making bodies at the community level. As a report from Pauktuutit (1991, p. 12-13) indicates:

> At a societal level, women want more equality, more public awareness of the issues they feel are important, and a greater say in decision-making. At the community level there is a need for support services specifically geared towards meeting the current needs of women—day care, services for battered women, counselling and support for women with alcohol problems. A number of the responses also included reference to training programs. One woman mentioned the need to develop job training programs for unilingual Inuktitut-speaking women; another wanted to see training centres on Inuit culture, language, arts, sewing and crafts.

Out of the difficult issues that are currently plaguing Nunavut society, family violence is most certainly one of the most challenging that is affecting the largest number of women. "The family violence problem in Northern communities is a difficult and complex issue. We all know it happens, but solving it will be a long-term undertaking" (Sammons, 1990, p. 123). As Zellerer states (1996, p. 141) in her thesis on the issue, "Inuit women of all ages, backgrounds and occupations are abused." From her report Zellerer (1996, p. 140) found that "[r]espondents referred to violence against women as 'epidemic', 'rampant', and 'an everyday occurrence.' As there exists a gap in the representation of Inuit women historically in literature on the Arctic, Zellerer (1996, p. 48) notes a similar trend in literary accounts of family violence in Northern communities. "With respect to violence against Inuit women, there is very little published material and fewer research studies, particularly for the Canadian eastern arctic." However, again with the support of Pauktuutit, Inuit women are starting to speak out even on

this difficult issue. "Inuit women and women's groups have begun the painful process of breaking the silence surrounding violence" (Zellerer, 1996, p. 48). Within the process of breaking the silence, many Inuit women are reassessing if family violence was a problem of the same proportions in Inuit traditional life on the land and in the camps. As Reimer (1996, p. 88) states, "[m]ost first generation women agree that family violence was extremely rare when they lived on the land in the Inuit way; if it existed, it was considered despicable." As one Inuit woman expressed, violence was not a part of the traditional culture, mainly because culture at that time didn't have to reconcile such complex social problems that are more a function of modern Inuit society. "We say traditional, but was it traditional? If you look back at our culture, assault wasn't traditional. There wasn't a lot of wife beating out on the land, because there weren't all the social pressures" (Daisy, as cited in Billson, 1990, p. 152). Zellerer (1996, p. 149) however found that the violence was not totally lacking from traditional society. As she states:

> Billson argues that "rates of spousal assault have skyrocketed" in Inuit communities...It has been assumed that the abuse of indigenous women began only after colonization, the move of Inuit to permanent settlements, and the resulting cultural breakdown. My study provides some evidence from interviews to the contrary.

Though some of Zellerer's respondents stated that violence did occur in pre-settlement days, many noted that specific types of violence have increased with the move into the settlements (Zellerer, 1996, p. 151). "There were different opinions about whether there is more violence today compared to the past.

Some respondents argued that the incidence of sexual and spousal abuse has increased" (Zellerer, 1996, p. 153). Others, however, stated that though it does seem like violence has increased with the move to the settlements, in fact violence only appears to be worse as people are communicating more on this issue than in the past. "Many respondents believed that the amount of violence has not increased, arguing that abuse may appear to be worse only because, unlike the past, people are now talking about it" (Zellerer, 1996, p. 154). Inuit women respondents noted that the increase in use of drugs and alcohol may be the reason for the increase in violence from pre-settlement days to today. "Many of the women associate alcohol and drug abuse with violence in families, either as a cause, a contributing factor, or as one of the reasons there is more violence today than in the past" (Pauktuutit, 1991, p. 28). Reasons for violence in today's Northern communities are not isolated to substance abuse but it is, however, often attributed as a contributing factor. As Billson (1990, p. 154) states, "[s]heer strength is a source of power for men and is perceived as being a significant reason that men assault their partners. Often the power imbalance—and the violence—is aggravated by abuse of alcohol and drugs." Other reasons for abuse often fall to emotional causes. "Others insist that disagreement is the central cause of assault; alcohol is usually but not always present. Jealousy is frequently cited by Inuit women as an important factor in spousal assault" (Billson, 1990, p. 155). "Compared with Inuit women, Inuit men are seen as not being in touch with their feelings, or open about them; so instead of communicating with the

women in their lives, they strike out in a release of frustration and tension" (Billson, 1990, p. 155). Zellerer (1996, p. 340) found in her lengthy study on the topic that reasons behind the prevalence of violence in Inuit societies had to do with the lack of infrastructural awareness and care on the issue, in particular a lack of sanctuary for the women. As she states, "I argue that key contributors to the high levels of violence against Inuit women is the lack of immediate and effective sanctions against violence and a lack of sanctuary for abused women." In her criticism on infrastructural awareness, Zellerer (1996, p. 340) goes on to criticize the lack of support for Inuit women by the legal system in the Arctic. As she explains, "[t]he courts have miserably failed Inuit women, as they have failed women in other jurisdictions, for women are not protected nor are sentences effective." A justice report, released through Pauktuutit (1993, p. 35) makes a similar claim that the high incidence of violence is largely attributed to a lack of necessary infrastructure.

> The RCMP has a responsibility to be aware of the realities of battered women's lives. Without this knowledge and awareness, the RCMP cannot respond effectively to the needs of victims of violence. Victims cannot be blamed for not leaving abusive situations. Such attitudes leave victims vulnerable and contribute to the abuse rather than ameliorate it. Until the necessary infrastructure is in place to provide for a safe place where women can receive the necessary counselling, support and protection, many women will not leave the violent home, nor should they be required or expected to do so before they can receive adequate police protection.

Such family violence is but one prolific problem that has been largely influenced through the change in the lives of the Inuit and through subsequent identity and

role confusion. With the establishment of Pauktuutit, Inuit women have begun to take new steps in the direction of overcoming such complex problems in their society. Though complex barriers still exist in the alleviation of such challenges, the path to overcome has begun to be carved out for the future.

The purpose of this section in the literature review was to examine how Inuit women are currently being represented. As was reviewed, Inuit women have been historically misrepresented in the literature. With the creation of the national organization on their behalf, however, Inuit women are becoming more adept at voicing their concerns and more ingenious in their methods of confronting the problems that are affecting their lives and the communities around them. In addition, with the move from the camps into the settlements, Inuit women are playing a greater role in determining the future of their communities. As Billson (1990, p. 152) states, "[w]hen Inuit families moved to the settlements, females seemed to adapt more easily to the new life. Today they are more likely than men to complete their high school educations, to obtain and hold jobs—and less likely to develop problems with alcohol, drugs and crime." Though there are still fundamental problems that are currently affecting their society, family violence being the main one focused on in this review, now with the increase of Inuit women in prominent positions within the new territory Inuit women are in an ideal spot to slowly steer their communities to a bright new future. As Goo Doyle (1989, p. 1) says, "Inuit women have an intimate knowledge of the conditions in their communities. They have always been the

doers and shapers of Inuit social affairs and the keepers of cultural values." It is my opinion that because of this intimate knowledge of the realities existent in the communities it is necessary that these women be listened to by the GN and other decision-making bodies in the move to propose a vision for the future of Nunavut. Now that a base has been established outlining the context of community realities and the depiction of Inuit women in the literature, it is time to listen to how these realities are expressed through Inuit women's voices.

SUMMARY OF THE CONTEXT

The creation of Nunavut provided opportunity for Inuit to reclaim and lock in an alternative, clear vision of the future for their people. Following the fact that the GN more clearly resembles a typical government in Canada as opposed to one that is uniquely Inuit in nature, many of the Inuit in the territory of Nunavut are not finding jobs within their supposedly representative government and are in possession of little agency to affect change. My observations on context, and subjective reality tell a different story of Nunavut, one in which the pristine picture presented in policy documents seems to be falling apart. This society is currently not on the path to "rebuild, maintain, strengthen and expand" the North and its culture but caught in a state of almost paralysis at the immense challenges facing individuals, communities and the territory as a whole (Hicks and White, 2000, p. 14). Within the review of the literature providing a summary of the Northern political situation and covering the history of community

realities in the North, the reasons behind the dismantling of this picture have been stated outright. Community realities are based on a very recent colonial history. They are still undergoing profound change and there are a number of very particular racial tensions emanating from this history of colonialism and change that are establishing conditions for a questioning of gender role as well as individual and collective identity. What follows is the threat of great crisis and challenges of a social nature.

Further setting the context of this study, literature on education within the North was reviewed briefly. Upon reviewing the literature on both education and adult education in the North, it was found that the influence of the Western (Southern) culture is creating challenges for both education and adult education respectively. Within education generally, authors spoke of possible integration and balance of the Qallunaat and Inuit cultures although challenges exist in developing a consensus on how to properly introduce such new forms of learning into the education system. Authors discussing adult education more specifically discussed a potentially more serious challenge that the influence of the Western (Southern) culture into adult education programs is Westernizing society and objectifying individuals in the North.

Also examined within this review of the context of this study is the literary depiction of Inuit women. As reviewed, with the creation of Pauktuutit and with the move into the settlements Inuit women are continuing their legacy of quiet strength and are becoming more adept at playing a larger and more

prominent role as leaders within their communities. Reviewing the place of Inuit women within Northern communities provides a contextual base to the voices presented in the findings section of this study. In addition, their possession of such a prominent place in Nunavut society, as reviewed, qualifies Inuit women's voices as ones that should be listened to by GN policymakers.

Chapter Three

Methodology

THEORETICAL RATIONALE AND GOAL DEVELOPMENT

Over the past few centuries, some perspectives have presented a grim prognosis for the Inuit to the rest of the world. As Charles Francis Hall, an American Explorer, after visiting the Frobisher Bay area in 1861 was cited as saying (Dahl, Hicks and Jull, 2000, p. 91), "[t]he days of the Inuit are numbered. Fifty years may find them all passed away, without leaving one to tell that such a people ever lived." Intellectualization of the North has now come full circle as those speaking of the potential future of Nunavut critique such doomsday forecasting. "Hall's prediction proved far too bleak, and the Inuit of Nunavut survived both contact and colonisation. While the last century has been tremendously difficult, they have endured" (Dahl, Hicks and Jull, 2000, p. 91). As noted by Brody (2000, p. 143), however, this fatalistic perspective is still circulating today and is one to be wary of. "Fatalism and impatience are recurring attitudes when intellectuals, politicians and journalists speak about the destiny of hunter-gatherers or indeed, of any other indigenous societies." Because of this long standing intellectualization that has run parallel to the history of the North, I spent a great deal of time establishing a clear theoretical rationale for my study. The

theoretical rationale evolved concurrently with the development of the goal of my research.

Finding much in the literature that spoke of the objectification of Inuit, as well as that of women, I originally set out to give voice to Inuit women's subjective realities as they presented them to me. Returning from the fieldwork portion of my study, however, I was greeted with a new perspective from the literature whereby I realized that a focus solely on subjective realities meant the readers down South would be greeted with very little contextual understanding for the voices that I heard. In addition, this focus solely on subjectivity would risk potential "navel-gazing" and circles of introspective thought leading nowhere in particular. Moving into the theoretical positioning of wanting to ground the subjective voices I heard within their own context provides a more objective perspective on the stories with the goal of creating a more meaningful study. To accomplish this I have used a multiplicity of different theories at different points throughout the development of my thesis. For this section, I have laid out how my own process moved from the desire not to be "too objective" or "too subjective" with the hope of integrating the two.

For some time now positivism, often equated with objectivity in research, has been the dominant research paradigm in the social sciences. "In scholarly circles, where 'rigor' reigns, the terms objective and objectivity still carry the stamp of acclaim and acceptance" (Jansen and Peshkin, 1992, p. 682). Within studies of human beings, the objectivist stance fosters an unequal exchange

between researcher and those being researched whereby the lives of the researched are the sole items under analysis. "[O]bjectivism...the stance often taken by researchers in attempts to minimize, or make invisible their own subjectivities, beliefs, and practices, while simultaneously directing attention to the subjectivities, beliefs, and practices of their research subjects as the sole objects of scrutiny" (Roman, 1992, p. 556). As explained by Rosaldo, this research perspective has as its main tenets non-bias, impartiality and detachment on the part of the researcher. Rosaldo goes on to explain however, how these concepts are illusive and serve mostly to squelch researcher responsibility in situating their role in power relations inherent in these relationships. "[T]he detached observer epitomizes neutrality and impartiality. This detachment is said to produce objectivity because social reality comes into focus only if one stands at a certain distance...the myth of detachment gives ethnographers an appearance of innocence, which distances them from complicity with imperialist domination" (Rosaldo, 1992, p. 168). Because of the unequal power relations and the impossibility of achieving the non-bias so pivotal in this approach, unwavering support for objectivist research has waned within the past decade or so. Feminism has been one of the main perspectives promoting the movement away from such approaches. "Feminists (and others) have argued that being objective and value-free is not only impossible, since we all carry experiences and values that shape our vision and interpretations and since, by virtue of our presence as outsiders, we intervene in the normal flow of life, but it is also

undesirable" (Wolf, 1996, p. 4). "[M]ethodological writings in sociology and anthropology have also articulated a deep scepticism about methodological vantage points that colonize, or objectify, the subjects of one's research" (Lal, 1996, p. 185). The notion of one authoritative truth, a strong tenet of the positivist era is also becoming a dinosaur in research practices of today. As Rosaldo (1993, p. 21) states, "[t]he truth of objectivism—absolute, universal and timeless—has lost its monopoly status."

An outline of why the objectivist approach should be rejected provides the foundation for my theoretical rationale. An objective approach within cross-cultural relations, such as that taken within the history of photography of the Inuit, can greatly distort the image of the subject and in the end, serves to objectify rather than better understand. Much of the early photography of the North promoted the Inuk in whatever manner suited the photographer.

> [T]he photographic image of the Inuit that southern Canadians saw in religious, government and scientific publications in popular magazines, and in Arctic memoirs and adventure stories up to the middle of the twentieth century was that of the anonymous, ever-smiling, child-like, and above all uncomplaining "Noble Savage" (Tippett, 1994, p. 10).

The well-known German anthropologist and geographer Franz Boas presented an objectified image of the Inuk to the South when in 1888 he allowed staged pictures of his assistant and himself posing in caribou clothing in a studio in Minden to be published in a Smithsonian Institution report in substitution for his original film which he had lost on his trip up North (Tippett, 1994, p. 3). Within

the history of the photography in the North, the Inuit were often portrayed in whatever light that would enhance the photographer's reputation. Speaking of explorers that ventured North and published their reports down South, Tippett (1994, p. 5) says "[v]isual documentation of what many perceived to be the soon to vanish "Eskimo"...provided their publications and their performances with a sense of urgency...to show that they could miraculously survive though this was in large debt to their indigenous guides went largely unacknowledged." Tippett (1994, p. 6) goes on to say that "to present the indigenous peoples of the Arctic as superb cartographers, navigators and hunters rather than in line with conventional thinking, as "happy-go-lucky," sporting folk, affectionate to their families...would have diminished the author's own heroic accomplishment." During this time, pictures of the Inuit were also often of the mug shot variety. Tippett (1994, p. 8) states this variety of photo was for either the physical anthropologist taking these pictures for the "head and shoulders, front or back or full face and profile" or for the missionaries, who "placed photos of criminal looking 'heathen' Inuit alongside photos of smiling Inuit who had been 'saved.'" These pictures served to present the indigenous of the Arctic as lacking in distinctiveness and individuality and invariably served to objectify them. "All of these photographers looked for sameness not difference, types not individuals. By so doing they put their Inuit subjects firmly into the sub-category of 'the other'" (Tippett, 1994, p. 8). This visual objectification continued on with the popularity of Robert Flaherty's 1922 film *Nanook of the North*, whose hero was

presented as a "Noble Victim" as Flaherty overused his artistic license and romanticized the Inuit and their way of life (Tippett, 1994, p. 10). Within the history of film and photography of the Inuk, very little has been done to present a realistic image of the Inuit to the South. Instead the Inuk image has been objectified and manipulated over and over again to line up with whatever whim fancied the photographer at the time.

Research in the North has tended to follow along the same objectifying lines as historical photography. This is evident through comments from researchers who are working to empower women through their work with Pauktuutit. "A lot of the women's past experiences with researchers who fly into the community to do their studies...[i]n those instances, Inuit women were interviewed and questioned, confined to the role of research "objects," and the researchers did little to dismantle the status accorded to them in this hierarchical relationship" (Archibald and Crnkovich, 1995, p. 117). The goal of my research at this stage in the development of my theoretical rationale was to simply avoid such blatant objectification.

The rejection of objectification as the basis to my study is also rooted in McLean's (1997) work in which he argues that adult education administration and curriculum practices have historically served to further objectify the individuality of the Inuit. McLean (1997, p. 3) sees adult education as an individualizing project that is being used as a vehicle for the moral regulation of the Inuit by the Canadian state. His argument follows that the concept of

individuality, a "natural and universal condition of humanity" as conceptualized in the Western world, has been thrust onto the Inuit culture through colonizing processes, such as adult education administration and curriculum design, and through the prevalence of Southerners in the North.

As Stairs (1992, p. 116) states clearly, "Inuit identity is not individualistic in the Western sense." Stairs (1992, p. 119) describes the Inuit conceptualization of individual identity like this:

> It is suggested that Inuit find their identity in a richly detailed and all-encompassing ground and that the process of becoming a mature person is directed toward grounding rather than toward autonomy—a figure-ground reversal of much Western thought concerning human development, for example, Erikson, Freud, and Piaget.

Stairs (1992, p. 117) refers to the Inuit identity conceptualization as "innumarik" ("a most genuine person"). Stairs (1992, p. 117) goes on to say "[b]ecoming innumarik is a lifelong process of developing correct interaction, through both attitude and skill, with people and animals, community and environment." McLean (1997, p. 5) explains alternatively that the "Western models of cognitive and moral development equate maturation and self-actualization with increasing autonomy." A main tenet of McLean's thesis is that the Inuit are beginning to adopt the Western conceptualization of individual identity. Adopting the Western notion of individuality means losing the Inuk identity equivalent "inummarik" along the way (Stairs, 1992, p. 117). This is accomplished through the promotion of the Western notion of individual as "natural" within state organized projects. The primary example of these projects that McLean (1997, p.

6) talks of is adult education. "Schooling constructs: an objectively specifiable individual, known to others through a historically cumulative dossier of report cards, examination results, registration forms." Maguire and McAlpine (1996, p. 233) also noted a similar trend as the answers they received on "school success" within their study of students within Arviat indicated that students had internalized values inherent in the school system. As they stated "[o]ne commonality across all student interviews was a tendency to view school and success in traditional, westernized ways in response to our questions." Maguire and McAlpine (1996, p. 233) went on to speak of the internalization of school system values in these terms,"[the students] appear to have internalized and explicitly repeat back the explicit school discourse as cultural frames of reference for being successful in school that can be linked to the systemic, cultural contexts of mainstream research and teaching practices." The end result of these practices within education and new belief systems which McLean proposes and problematizes is the objectification of Inuit individuality. The Inuit are now adopting Western notions of individuality to the degree where they have become a set of objectified entities. To the state, and increasingly to themselves, they are simply files—lacking emotions and subjectivities. Within the theoretical rationale underlying this paper, these studies provide further evidence supporting the claim that Inuit objectification is prevalent within Southern perspectives on the Inuit, indicating further that this objectification is potentially even inherent within Inuit society.

Also contributing to the basis of my theoretical rationale—a rejection of objectivist methodology—is Smith's (1990) description on the development of an alternative sociology whereby knowledge is not attained at a distance but through experience in the everyday/every night world with the subject. This theory, based on the conceptual practices of power, seeks to fundamentally highlight that women have been objectified through past sociological practices of research. As the main tenet to this thesis is the notion that the concept of woman is what breaks through the crack Smith (1990, p. 12) sees occurring in traditional sociology, so that experience previously ignored can be heard and listened to.

> We begin by exploring the moment at which the rupture can appear historically. It is explored as an insider's experience, an experience distinctively of women, though by no means the experience of all women. It is, however, an experience organized by the concept of woman as the primary organizer of an emerging political discourse. This concept of woman provides not so much an organizer of experience as an opening in a discursive fabric through which a range of experience hitherto denied, repressed, subordinated, and absent to and lacking language, can break out.

Objectification of women is particularly evident in the fact that the world itself is bifurcated. Within this bifurcated world, women are said to have two ways of speaking.

> We women have two ways of speaking...Consequently, we end up with a split relationship to language: there is the under nurtured woman's voice, badly heard outside what my mother always called a "man's world," and the other language, the one we try to speak in order to bridge the gap (Scott as cited in Smith, 1990, p. 3).

Objectification of women is also evident in the fact that the place and space taken up by men and women within this bifurcated world is gender organized.

> The suppression of the local and particular as a site of knowledge has been and remains gender organized. The domestic sites of women's work, traditionally identified with women, are outside and subservient to structure. Men have functioned as subjects in the mode of governing; women have been anchored in the local and particular phase of the bifurcated world (Smith, 1990, p. 18).

Objectification within research occurs when everyday/every night experience is observed from a distance by the researcher (subscribing to the dominant authority of rational research) resulting in the loss of people subjectivities.

> Thus the practices of thinking and writing that are of special concern here are those that convert what people experience directly in their everyday/every night world into forms of knowledge in which people as subjects disappear and in which their perspectives on their own experience are transposed and subdued by the magisterial forms of objectifying discourse (Smith, 1990, p. 4).

From this perspective, Smith (1990, p. 12) argues that what is needed is an alternative sociology. "I needed to work out methods of doing sociology...that would not make worlds that exist only in texts, that would not forget the site of experience, the presence of actual subjects, and the actualities of the world we live in." In this type of sociology, observation occurs through knowing a society intimately through experiencing the same world as that of the subject and by not ignoring our own role in the power relations inherent in that world and particularly in the inquiry. "The only way of knowing a socially constructed world is knowing it from within. We can never stand outside it" (Smith, 1990, p. 22). Research in this socially constructed world must take into account "our direct embodied experience of the everyday world [as] the primary ground of our knowledge" (Smith, 1990, p. 22).

From this basis to my theoretical rationale, the original purpose became simply a desire to avoid the objective perspective on research and attempt an alternative methodology that would involve a more subjective approach. This would mean going against the grain of traditional research where the objectivist stance is much more popular.

> As a concept, subjectivity usually does not stand alone. It is the historically less-celebrated partner of the objectivity-subjectivity dyad. Although strongly linked, the partners have not enjoyed equal respect and treatment. Objectivity undoubtedly has been the favourite, subjectivity the stepchild (Jansen and Peshkind, 1992, p. 682).

From this new perspective, I set about to voice subjective realities as they were presented to me. As exemplified by this short passage, many researchers forget the important notion that when studying human subjects the primary source of knowledge should be the subject themselves.

> Once during my early years as a social worker, I was working with a male adolescent African American who had problems with learning, problems in his relationships with both parents and peers, and trouble with acting out behaviours. We were in an interview one day during the civil rights riots of the 1960s, and I was called out to respond to an emergency. When I returned, he had taken from my bookshelf a book on adolescent development. He read a passage to me and asked if these books were where I learned about him. My positive response led to a lesson I have not forgotten. "If you want to learn about me, you had better learn it from me" (Leigh, 1998, p. xi).

Using such a perspective as a guide, my interviews were conducted under the motivation of voicing subjective realities, the second stage in the development of my theoretical rationale.

As I quickly learned, after revisiting the literature upon my return however, a sole emphasis on subjectivity also has its faults. "If distance has certain arguable advantages, so too does closeness and both have their deficits" (Rosaldo, 1993, p. 169). Faults of subjective work involve the lack of a contextual basis to the research as well as the potential for over-emotionality and useless introspective thought. As stated by Roman (1992, p. 556) this type of research is "unmediated by the historically specific analyses of the underlying structures, material conditions, and conflicting sets of unequal power relations." Smith (1990, p. 23-24) speaks to the potential useless circles of thought that can result from this type of work.

> When I speak of experience I do not use the term as a synonym for perspective. Nor in proposing a sociology grounded in the sociologist's actual experience am I recommending the self-indulgence of inner exploration or any other enterprise with self as sole focus and object. Such subjectivist interpretations of experience are themselves an aspect of that organization of consciousness that suppresses the locally situated side of the bifurcated consciousness and transports us straight into mind country, stashing away the concrete conditions and practices upon which it depends. We can never escape the circles of our own heads if we accept that as our territory.

The key study that prompted me to move beyond a solely subjective theoretical perspective is the primary work of Jean Briggs called *Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family*. Some authors speak of this study as a pivotal work rejecting the notions of positivist research:

> Jean Briggs worked without Weberian pretensions. In conducting her fieldwork, she did not try to elevate herself to the dignified heights of science as a vocation. Instead, she used her own feelings, particularly depression, frustration, rage, and humiliation, as sources of insight

> into the emotional life among members of an Eskimo group in the Canadian Northwest Territories (Rosaldo, 1993, p. 176).

This work is also a prime example of how a study focussed only at the subjective level has the tendency to provide little more than an over-emotional journal-like account. Rosaldo is complementary to Briggs work initially, he goes on to mention that though Briggs was able to perform ground-breaking non-positivist research, she had a focus solely on her emotions and because of this tunnel vision, lost sight of the context she was in. "Briggs was able to perceive the cultural shape of emotions with fine insight, but remained relatively blind to the material differences that divided her from her hosts" (Rosaldo, 1993, p. 179). As a result of this over-emotionality, Briggs greatly risked offending, annoying and inconveniencing 'those in the field' who were gracious enough to speak to yet another anthropologist. In fact, as summarized by Rosaldo (1993, p. 178), Briggs' emotionality overtook her and it ended up greatly affecting the relationship between her and her hosts.

> Briggs makes her own depression central to Never in Anger. Her final chapter comprises an eighty-two page case history, depicting the relationship between the ethnographer and her informants as it moved from covert conflicts, through more overt ones, to being shunned. Initially she was treated as an honoured guest, an adopted daughter...Later, she became like a recalcitrant child who oscillated between helpless dependence and mutinous independence. Finally, she suffered the ultimate sanction and was ostracized because, as one Eskimo said in a letter, "she is so annoying, we wish more and more that she would leave."

When one reaches this level of emotionality on the part of the researcher and this level of inconvenience to those being researched, I believe that the study itself

does much to discredit research in the future in the same area. In fact Briggs (1987, p. 9) herself has critically revisited this work to draw lessons for future research.

> I went North originally in 1963 with a strong bias against any universal theories of human nature...Of course I did *not* rediscover the world from scratch. What happened was that when my intended study of the social relationships of shamans fell through for lack of acknowledged shamans, I fell back on looking at interpersonal relationships in general. And since my own relationships with my Inuit family were extremely problematic, I paid a good deal of attention to those. Looking back now, I think that my first view of Inuit interpersonal relationships—the one you will find in *Never in Anger*—derived from my first field problem: how to figure out what was wrong in my relations with Inuit.

When one reaches this level of subjectivity, the focus of the research becomes the researcher herself and there is a risk that very little insight is gained into the context being studied.

In this description of the theoretical rationale for my research, I have outlined how this rationale has developed in line with my goal. As I started to conceptualize the research process, I set about to ensure that I was not acting to further objectify a people who had often been misrepresented. My goal then developed with the sole purpose of voicing subjective realities of Inuit women. Finally with a full acknowledgement of the discussion of the problems inherent in highly subjective work, my goal became to ground the realities of Inuit women's lives within the wider context in which I heard the women's voices. In this way I strived to formulate an approach that would truly integrate Inuit

women's subjective voices into the wider Nunavut context that can be seen objectively.

There is much support for an integrated objective/subjective theoretical approach in the literature. Many academics are moving forward from such a black and white view of methodologies and advocating integration. One place where this is the case is within feminism. Speaking of Maria Mies, some researchers working with Inuit women tried to incorporate her model of "conscious partiality," to contextualize the subjectivities and lives they were encountering, as well as their own.

> Mies rejects the claim that it is possible to be objective and value-free in social scientific research. She proposes replacing objective or "spectator knowledge" with "conscious partiality," which is achieved through partial identification with those being studied. Conscious partiality views research "objects" (in our case, Inuit women) as part of a bigger social whole, and also views the researcher (white feminists) in this way (Archibald and Crnkovich, 1995, p. 114).

Kirby and McKenna (1989, p. 130), in their review of researching from the margins, speak further to this integration through a description of inter-subjectivity and critical reflection on context. "Giving priority to inter-subjectivity and critical reflection on the social context throughout the analysis ensures that we are able to hear and affirm the words and experiences of the research participants and at the same time be able to critically reflect on the structures that influence the actualities of their lives." Smith (1999) also does much to advance the notion of integration as she outlines in depth in *Writing the Social*. Talking about moving beyond postmodernism, she expands on her notion

of alternative sociology to promote her view that subjectivity be linked to the wider world. Smith (1999, p. 117) states that through shared discourse, objects within the world are coordinated and named through the interaction of subjects. "Naming objects is a three-way relation; not just subject-object, but subject-object-subject. It is this three-way relation that constitutes objects as social." Smith (1999, p. 128) goes on to elaborate how through shared interaction and discourse and through integration of subjectivity and objectivity, knowledge becomes coordinated and common.

> I have presented an account of reference as an interactional sequence relating object and word in a practical process of telling, finding, and recognizing. This is a social act implicating more than one consciousness; *each participant could perceive things differently; their perceptions are coordinated in it.* Knowledge joins consciousness whose perspectives are necessarily divergent, giving us what can be *known as known* in common.
>
> Telling the truth is an active coordination of people's subjectivities in a social act and presupposes difference...Truth and knowledge are grounded in the foundational moments in which the social comes into being through language and through the sensory ground which human organisms share. Through these *together*, individual experience becomes hooked up to a world known in common and is radically and forever transmuted. Referring to an object is a social act, performed in actual settings of people's activities.

Looking at this integrated approach in a less theoretical manner, Gertz elaborates on how within research fieldwork, this integration of subject and object means being both engaged and analytic. "[F]ieldwork, where 'one must see society as an object and experience it as a subject,' virtually requires the fusion of 'two fundamental orientations toward reality – the engaged and the analytic into a

single attitude'" (Gertz, as cited in Rosaldo, 1993, p. 173). Finally, to conclude and come full circle, rejecting the notion of objectifying photography, Charles Gimpel strove to represent the Inuit he saw through images that integrated both their subjectivity and the wider context in which they were living. His work was brought to my attention by an Inuk woman living in the community where I conducted my research. Seeing many of her relatives and friends in the pictures, she showed much pride and happiness with the realistic manner they were represented in the photographs. These sentiments were echoed in the book by Kov Parr "[h]e was not just trying to tell a story in his photographs, but showing something that was just there" (Parr as cited in Tippett, 1994, p. 15).

With this type of focus my goal moved from the original purpose of voicing subjective realities to hearing and listening to the subjective realities and then placing it within the wider context of Nunavut to better understand the women's perspective and to provide the reader with a greater meaning to their words by linking these voices to context. Moving forward with this type of integration of subjectivity to an objective locale, my aim became to present as realistic a view as possible of the voice and context that I was privy to. In this final stage of the development of this theoretical rationale, I came across some inspiring words from Brody. Speaking of his work with various hunter-gatherer societies across the world, he defined his conceptualization of relevant realism and went on to explain how one goes about accomplishing such an approach.

When modernists, touting themselves as realists, talk of the North there is a decidedly fatalistic tone in their prognoses of the future for the societies that live there. Others, not subscribing wholly to this pro-development perspective, are often labelled as romanticists.

> These people are bound to change run the discouraging arguments, sure to disappear. Impatient fatalists say that whether or not aboriginal life was ideal, the present reality is that hunter-gatherers...are on a remorseless journey into Euro-American modernity...Resistance to these inevitabilities is therefore an irritating irrelevance. Instead of attempting to hold back the inevitable, those who care about the well-being of ancient and doomed societies should advocate the full participation of indigenous peoples in the modernisation process. This bundle of arguments endorses the "realist" position; the rival view is duly stigmatized as romanticism (Brody, 2000, p. 143).

As Brody explains (2000, p. 144-146) however, it is those who hold the stigmatized romantic perspective that have often listened carefully to the people in such societies and heard in great depth the contradiction, complexity and beauty that the people are living with. This view, labelled unfairly as romantic, is often the most relevant kind of realism.

> The underlying story is clear enough. One kind of economy and culture overwhelms another. The realities of this, the pain and dismay to which it gives rise, and the attempts to find accommodations and alternatives—these are what anthropologists hear about in immense and painful detail. To report this, and to work with or for those in despair, is not to be romantic so much as to be in touch with the real...To insist that all changes are some form of "development" does not oppose romance with realism. Faith in progress is itself a kind of religion...[A]nthropologists who have worked in hunter-gatherer societies repeatedly celebrate the humour, gentleness and everyday equality they find there. To celebrate the qualities of a system, and to identify the many ways in which the system secures a successful relationship between people and their

> lands, as well as among the people themselves—this is to identify the real, not perpetuate the romantic. Nor is it romanticism to express concern about a system's decline, to convey people's dismay about being dispossessed, to affirm their rights to keep their lands, languages and customs. On the contrary: to avoid these concerns, or to write about a people without expressing their achievements, priorities and fears, is misrepresentation.

When one takes into account the complexities, contradictions and realities of the people and place that one is theorizing about as well as one's own, it is possible to become in touch with place and people in a most relevant kind of realism.

RESEARCH DILEMMAS

Before venturing up North to conduct interviews I took a course on women and development where I was exposed to discussion around feminist approaches to research. This reading grounded how I approached my research and gave me a feeling that I did indeed possess a role in researching the lives of Northern women. Through a review of the literature on feminist methodologies, I encountered many different viewpoints. The perspective that I was interested in pursuing and using primarily to guide my methodology was the literature that spoke of inherent dilemmas throughout the process and ways of overcoming or at the very least, reconciling those dilemmas.

Some feminists have recently questioned outright if there is still a place for fieldwork. "Although feminists have been at the forefront of experimenting with strategies of co-authoring, polyvocality, and representation as a way of confronting or changing power differences, academic feminists have tended to

maintain control over research projects...rarely empowering the women they study" (Wolf, 1996, p. 3). Despite the view that fieldwork often falls beneath earth-shattering empowerment for women being researched, these same feminists have concluded that fieldwork is still a meaningful pursuit for a variety of reasons.

> Despite my conclusion that truly feminist research based on certain feminist principles may not be possible, it is not time to abandon ship. Fieldwork is still a useful and important process that challenges fieldworkers to witness, record, and try to understand vastly different and often harsh conditions; it opens vistas to their readers and students, worlds to which they/we would not otherwise be exposed (Wolf, 1996, p. 3).

Finding meaning in such a questionable pursuit is said to be dependent on the researcher's abilities to confront and reconcile dilemmas inherent in the research process.

Power differentials are one of the main areas where dilemmas within such research are encountered. "Fieldwork as a research method poses particular challenges for feminists because of the power relations inherent in the process of gathering data and implicit in the process of ethnographic representation" (Wolf, 1996, p. ix). Many of these dilemmas are encountered when the researcher ignores fundamental issues such as differences in race. Racial differences and subsequent power differentials are often swept under the carpet. "Some white fieldworkers tend not to acknowledge that they too bear race" (Wolf, 1996 p. 10). These power differentials are existent even when the researcher is of the same race as those she researches. "[E]ven when the researcher's gender, language,

culture, nationality, and race match those of her subjects, class differences usually prevail if the researcher is studying rural poor or urban working-class people" (Wolf, 1996, p. 11). This has caused a gap in this type of research that is just now starting to be addressed. "The difficulties of focusing on race, particularly for white researchers, has created silences and gaps that need to be addressed, despite the discomfort" (Wolf, 1996, p. 10). Other researchers warn that such a contrast in race and power creates potential exploitative situations within the research process that the researcher must always be aware of. "Mie's postulates form the basis for an argument that feminist researchers working in social and cultural environments different from their own must be cautious about the exploitative nature of their relationship with those being researched" (Archibald and Crnkovich, 1995, p. 120). Such power and race differentials within the research process often become wider scale dilemmas when the wider world reading completed reports and papers, don researchers with "expert" status. "[T]he fact that we were even considering writing this paper opened up the possibility of being publicly acknowledged as experts of some sort" (Archibald and Crnkovich, 1995, p. 105). With this easily attained status, Archibald and Crnkovich (1995, p. 113) are very clear to point out how the researcher can inappropriately, yet easily, slip into the role of representative of a group of people that they do know something about, but are certainly not a part of. As they go on to state, it is the responsibility of the researcher herself to be aware of such potential exploitation and avoid it outright. "[T]here is still a

danger that the role of intermediary or translator can be seen as, and become, the role of a "representative" of the organization. An outsider who crosses this line and sees herself as "representative" is, in our view, exploiting her relationship with the women with whom she shares her research work." These researchers were also labelled with special status by others in the rest of Canada because of their ability to communicate in English versus their research participants, Inuit women whose primary language is Inuktitut. "While Inuit women take pride in the fact that language thrives in the north, the rest of Canada sees their inability to speak English or French as a weakness or a problem: literacy, for example, is measured by the ability to read and write English or French, not Inuktitut" (Archibald, and Crnkovich, 1995, p. 106).

Overcoming such dilemmas in the research process is very difficult, if not impossible. "The search for a way of writing about our work that does not lead to donning the mantle of expertise has been challenging" (Archibald and Crnkovich, 1995, p. 106). Instead, what many of the feminists writing about their own dilemmas stated, was that dilemmas must be encountered head on and acknowledged. In this way, best attempts are made to begin to reconcile dilemmas dependent on differences that are silenced.

There was much opinion on how to go about encountering such dilemmas. Of pivotal importance and mentioned by a number of authors was the need to look for similarity and ways to connect with research participants but under no circumstances to forget to recognize and respect difference.

> Although feminist scholars might easily accept that only women can fully and truly understand other women, this "epistemology of insiderness" and somewhat essentialist view overlooks questions of difference...As awareness of class, racial, and ethnic diversity has increased, the discussion has broadened to "standpoints," since there clearly is no single standpoint for women of racially and ethnically diverse backgrounds (Wolf, 1996, p. 13).

> Over time we have gained an intimate knowledge of the issues facing Inuit women, identifying as women, with many of them, yet always being aware of our differences. Many of these differences are based on our cultural backgrounds, but others are rooted in the fact that we are members of the dominant society, a society that has perpetuated racism and inequality in its treatment of Inuit (Archibald and Crnkovich, 1995, p. 115).

Many authors spoke of moving beyond the researcher insider/outsider dichotomy to reconcile dilemmas that are encountered from setting up such a black and white categorization of researcher role. "Some believe that as outsiders, they have better access to local secrets because of their neutrality" (Wolf, 1996, p. 15). Although an outsider is sometimes privy to special relationships and information because of their neutrality, many advocate moving beyond the insider/outsider dichotomy. "Some feminists say they felt they were neither an insider or outsider but both simultaneously, in large part due to either their complicated position of having a dual identity or to their position as an academic, trained in the West" (Wolf, 1996, p. 16). In this way, authors are stressing the importance of moving beyond this dichotomy and leaving it and its complications behind.

> Instead of the paradigm emphasizing a dichotomy between outsider/insider or observer/observed, I propose that at this historical moment we might more profitably view each anthropologist

> in terms of shifting identifications amid a field of interpenetrating communities and power relations. The loci along which we are aligned with or set apart from those whom we study are multiple and in flux. Factors such as education, gender, sexual orientation, class, race or sheer duration of contacts may at different times outweigh the cultural identity we associate with insider or outsider status (Narayan, 1995, p. 672).

The first step to moving beyond dichotomies and outside power differentials is to acknowledge that they fundamentally exist. "[A]s long as the researcher makes the decisions about the topic of research and how to conduct it and write it up, she holds that power, and most feminists do hold those reins of power, from conceptualizing to writing" (Wolf, 1996, p. 19). Moving forward to reconcile dilemmas set up through such differences in status for researcher and researched is to focus on quality of research and seek out ways of connecting with participants. Many authors spoke of using the base level of woman to woman as a connection. "[O]ne's positionality as a woman is crucial in gaining knowledge and understanding of other women" (Wolf, 1996, p. 13). There was, however, caution mentioned on only using this level to connect and not acknowledging difference. Other authors, in particular Narayan (1995, p. 676), spoke of the potential multiple levels of identification upon which researcher and researched can use to connect.

> Even as insiders or partial insiders, in some contexts we are drawn closer, in others we are thrust apart. Multiple planes of identification may be most painfully highlighted among anthropologists who have identities spanning racial or cultural groups. Yet, in that we all belong to several communities simultaneously (not least of all, the community we were born into and the community of professional academics) I would argue that every anthropologist exhibits what

> Rosaldo has termed a "multiplex subjectivity" with many cross-cutting identifications. Which facet we choose or are forced to accept as a defining identity can change, depending on the context and the prevailing vectors of power.

After acknowledging power differentials and seeking out connections, final reconciliation of dilemmas inherent in feminist research methodologies is accomplished through honing the focus of research into the quality of the relations between researched and researcher. "Instead what we must focus on is the quality of relations with the people we seek to represent in our texts: are they viewed as mere fodder for professionally self-serving statements about a generalized Other, or are they accepted as subjects with voices, views and dilemmas" (Narayan, 1995, p. 672-673).

METHODOLOGICAL PROCESS

RESEARCH IN COMMUNITY

When I encountered such dilemmas in my research I chose an exploratory methodology to aid in their reconciliation. The exploratory nature meant that my perspective and agenda would not have to be the sole determinant of the questions in the interviews. This was particularly helpful as the research designed originally in the South did not fit with the women's lives. Allowing the interviews to flow in a semi-structured manner meant that I heard the realities of the women I interviewed in the way that they each wanted to tell their reality to me. Approaching the interviews in this manner meant that I learned much more

about these women, about the contrasts between Southern and Northern culture and society and about my own voice/belief system then would have been possible through more structured approaches. Once I experienced this realization, I abandoned my research predetermined plan and let it evolve through the process of my living in this community, of my relationships with these women and through my reconciliation of my role as both graduate student/researcher down South and Heather up North.

Formulating my proposal down South before venturing up North to conduct the research in the summer of 2002, meant the development of methodology, goal and objectives was based on a "hypothetical" reality. Though I had visited the North and lived in the community within which I was to conduct research prior to that summer, development of my proposal was still out of context and therefore difficult to follow once I arrived. From the original proposal I developed in the South, the number of women interviewed (as well as the number of communities used) was substantially scaled down. Only one community was used and 11 women from this one community were interviewed. Along with the scaling down of the number of participants was the movement away from the original goal with a clear focus on barriers, motivational factors, costs and benefits of adult education programs in the North.

I was motivated to conduct research listening primarily to Inuit women's voices and later situating these voices within the greater context of Nunavut.

The focus on voice guided the structure of my interviews. Rather than using a direct question and answer model, I approached each interview with the idea to conduct a semi-structured interview. I felt that before I could understand a complex content issue such as adult education, the women and I had to spend quite a bit of time positioning ourselves. Solomon points to this when she states, "[y]ou spend all this time with what sounds like chit-chat, but it is not chit-chat. It is really establishing who you are, and I think that is very important" (Solomon as cited in Leigh, 1998, p. 60). Contacting women to be interviewed varied for the different interviews. Some heard that I was interested in talking with women about their realities and came to talk with me at my home. Others were contacts from my participation in government work in the community or volunteer work at the school. Still others I met through a sewing circle I was a part of. And some I met walking from the store to home with my groceries.

The interviews took place in the period of September 2002 and December 2002. Eleven interviews were conducted and all were tape-recorded and transcribed. Some interviews were conducted in my home, others took place at the homes of the women being interviewed and some were conducted in a private room at the health centre. Prior to the interview, each woman signed a consent form that was provided in both English and Inuktitut.[4] For the interviews themselves, I prepared a sheet of questions.[5] We followed this sheet

[4] For a copy of the consent form, please refer to Appendix B. Note: This form was also provided in Inuktitut when given to the research participants.
[5] For a copy of the interview questions, please refer to Appendix C.

where appropriate and delved off into other areas whenever either of us wished to.

TRANSCRIPTION PROCESS

Returning South, I once again delved into the literature on methodologies. I felt that the women interviewed were satisfied and comfortable with the fieldwork that I had completed in the North but I was less clear on how this research would fit into the academic environment down South. I felt I was under the obligation to really validate and justify the 'semi-structured' research that I did and how it could fit within the traditional structure of academia. I wanted to find other examples of this type of emerging research where obligations to the academic world are not primary. I was searching through this literature while I simultaneously transcribed my research.

The original transcription took me approximately four months. During this transcription process, I transcribed everything that the women had said and tried to include nuances of facial expression and tone of expression within the final transcribed products. This brought me back and forth between Nunavut and Guelph every day which was a very strange sensation and the most emotional part of the research process for me. It was clear that I had to answer to two worlds and I didn't know exactly how to do that. I felt insecure in my abilities to reconcile these two obligations. Finally in March of 2003, the transcribing portion of the research was over. I felt paralyzed, however in my

abilities as a researcher. I felt that I had no clear role in the whole research process. The stories I had collected were not my own. The voices I had collected were not my own. The subjectivities I wanted to express were not my own. I didn't understand where I fit in. I was very protective about the need to express subjective realities in a way that did not undermine the subjectivities that were expressed and yet I was very insecure that simply voicing subjective realities had any validity to those who had shared their stories with me or the academic world. Before I returned to Nunavut at the end of March 2003, I started to reflect on the manner of my research and how it could be meaningful. How could it voice realities and allow those realities to be heard? And be heard by whom? For what purpose?

RETURN TO THE NORTH

Arriving back in the North, I was very unsure as to the whole point of the process. I returned the interview transcripts to the women. I visited with them and found out about what had changed in their lives. I reintegrated into the community and spent time generally hanging out with all sorts of various people and learning all sorts of different perspectives on all sorts of different issues. The contrast between my double role as researcher and as community participant was never so apparent and I still hadn't reconciled those two roles. As I left to return South in April, I was still unclear. In June, I attended a *Students on Ice* presentation at a conference on environmental learning. A teacher had gone

North with a group of Southern students to visit the Arctic. As I sat listening to the descriptions she made of the North and the people there, I felt awkward as part of the audience. People were talking and asking questions of the teacher who had spent two weeks in Nunavut. They quizzed her and held her up as an expert on Northern realities. From this experience I realized how over the time I had spent in Nunavut how much I had become informed of the Northern world. I realized that though it wasn't my reality or my home and though I didn't feel like an expert, that I had informed myself of Northern realities quite thoroughly and that what I needed to do to move beyond my paralysis was to integrate the subjectivity that was voiced to me with my opinion and perspective on the objective contextual realities that exist in Nunavut.

ANALYSIS AND WRITE-UP

Finding much literature to support the development of this theoretical rationale, this decision moved me into the new goal which allowed me to look at adult education in the greater context of the women's lives and the creation of Nunavut. This decision alleviated my paralysis and throughout the summer I began my analysis of the transcribed interviews and I wrote a very clear outline of the vision I saw for the final written product.

The analysis of the transcribed interviews consisted of a total reading through of each interview 7 times. After transcribing the interviews, I then went through each one using the computer and saved the quotes that I felt I would

possibly use and cut out the excess words and notes that I felt I wouldn't use. From this process, a list of bibbits was created for each woman. The lists of bibbits were coded three times before I felt comfortable enough with my coding to move on to the use of quotes in the text. To begin the coding of the bibbits, I read through each woman's list of quotes and placed a qualifier/description beside each bibbit. For the third read-through of the bibbits I coded according to theme (Major challenges, Violence, Adult Education, Family, Survival, Relationships, Gender, Change, Age/Generation, Outside Reality, Money and Work, Double Culture, Critical Voice), sub-theme (a different listing for each theme) and noted a third "feeling code" if the bibbit was related to a specific feeling. For the fourth read-through of the interviews, I used the codes and my general knowledge of the quotes to place the bibbits into five new categories and according to five highlighter colours, highlighted the lists of bibbits (Crisis, Why crisis, Change to gender role, Survival, Adult education). It wasn't until this third coding which involved highlighting and the fifth read-through of the bibbits that I began the write-up of my findings section. For this first attempt at write-up I began with a section on Challenges and Ways of coping as well as the Introduction section. Portions of these original section write-ups are used in the final text. At this point I left the data for a few months and returned to the write-up of the other sections of the thesis. Finally in November of 2003, I returned to the write-up of the analysis and drew up a second outline for the findings section. At this point I went through the list of bibbits for the sixth time and

using a hard copy of the lists noted which quotes I was planning to use in the final write-up. With this read-through I wrote out a brief description for each quote on a pad of paper. For the seventh read-through I re-typed each quote into the final findings section adding in the hand-written description of each quote creating the running paragraph description of quotes as found in the findings section. While working through the findings section, I added in the interpretations and conclusions that were occurring to me concurrently and finalized the write-up.

Chapter Four

Findings

INTRODUCTION

> Daily life in any northern settlement presents myriad faces of conflict between old and new, young and old, alien and native...Who would ignore the ferment in today's northern society would deny the very existence of that society (Georgia, 1982, p. 11).

When I began my research in a small Arctic community on Baffin Island, I was well aware of the conflict that existed within the society in which I was living but I was less sure of how that conflict would play out in my research. I began with the primary goal of better understanding adult education in the North, and in particular Inuit women's perceptions of that education. When I broached my purpose to Inuit women in the community, I was greeted with puzzled, wary looks. 'What's a perception?' It wasn't until I started my interviews that I realized that my goal and objectives needed some major modifications. What I heard through my interviews is complex. Through sharing in this complexity, I soon learned that my research was going to take a turn. Within the interview process, the women discussed their lives with me and brought me with them as they shared their realities. Experiencing their world on this level, I realized that

before attempting to understand their notions of adult education I would have to come to a better understanding of what was more central to their everyday lives.

Within the presentation of these findings, I feel it is important to first come to a better understanding of each individual woman before venturing into a description of her thoughts on adult education and the greater reality of her life. This chapter, therefore, begins first with a section that introduces the women before proceeding into a discussion of their perceptions of adult education and their lives. The examination of adult education programs includes a review of the women's past education as well as a presentation of their views on barriers, motivations and benefits of adult education. Going on to explore the larger context of their lives, presented within the findings is a look at colonialism and change, challenges and coping strategies and finally a lengthy review on the concept of identity.

The following presentation of the lives of these women speaks to their individual celebrations and challenges but also offers some communal vision of the future of their society. I have chosen to represent what I heard in a manner that attempts to allow you, the reader, to experience the complexity and beauty of the issues in Nunavut on all its levels by presenting the voices as I heard them. Issues have not been teased apart. Merging of English and Inuktitut has not been excluded. Contradictions have not been reconciled and grammatical corrections have not been made to fit into academic language.

THE WOMEN

It's ok, we've got enough light. Just go ahead then I will start understanding. (4-18)

At 18, L is the youngest of the women I interviewed. She is transitioning from childhood into young adulthood. "Well, I had a great childhood. Growing up just hanging around. Hanging out with my friends and not worrying about school and work. That used to be fun" (1-2). Although she had a very happy childhood, she is starting to crave the independence and responsibility that comes with being an adult and has started adult education programs the year directly after she has graduated from high school. In the interview, she expressed this independence with a strong drive to succeed. "I want to do it myself" (1-1). Contrasting this attitude with that of laziness, L talks of the motivation behind her drive to work hard. "I don't like to keep myself just lazing around and not doing anything. It just bugs me and I get tired of it" (1-1).

A is a shy and quiet woman who works at the health centre in the community and loves her family very much. As a child she was also shy and loved spending time with her grandmother. "Well I was a shy kid and I didn't stay out much when I was young. I was shy when I was young so I just stayed home most of my young time" (3-15). "Growing up with my grandma but she passed away when I was young. Well, I liked it when I staying with her and she was loving and caring grandmother so that was important for me. I liked it when I was around her" (3-17). At the time of the interview she was excitedly waiting to move into a house with her children. "Right now, I'm living with my parents right now but we're waiting for, I mean we're waiting to get a house but they're still working on the house. Right now I can't wait to get a house of my own" (3-14-15). Although she has lived away from the community for some time for both high school and adult education courses and enjoys living in the bigger community, she loves her home community very much and misses it when she is

away. "It's my hometown and I like it. Well when I was staying in Iqaluit I liked it because I find I had something to do and a place to stay. And I kind of liked being there but I didn't stay there for long so I came back" (3-15). Discussing her future she said, "I don't want my life to be rough or something like that" (3-15).

Spending a few years down South and recently moving back to the North, Q is readapting to life in her small arctic hometown. "This is where I am. And it was hard, you know, adjusting back to small town all over again and settling in and not knowing what to expect" (9-62). Now that she's back home her primary focus is looking after her new baby girl but she has always wanted to become a nurse and still hopes to have the opportunity to follow through on that dream. As she said when asked what was important to her, "get money. Just take care of my little girl. We still haven't completely settled into our apartment. Settled in and get back to work and it's still on the back of my mind to go back to nursing school" (9-61). Returning from living down South gave Q a unique perspective on the apathy she has noticed in the community which she shared during the interview. "I just saw too many of my friends doing that, you know? Yea, just saying I'm bored there's nothing to do here and I was thinking you know there is a lot of things to do" (9-63). Finishing up the interview, she spoke of how she really enjoyed having the chance to share and chat. "I haven't talked in ages like this, you know? Not gossiping. Talking general with what you think. I haven't done that in ages with anybody at all...I miss that, you know? Talking intense or just chatting away, whatever you want to call it—about life in general" (9-70).

Age-wise, P is almost an elder and was the eldest of the women I interviewed. As she says, "before I used to go out all the time but right now I'm getting elder. I'm just being more home. From school to my place...you've been my house, so quiet up there" (2-8). P has some concern with the fact that she is getting older, and commented on how fast the years are passing by. "Right now what's

important for me not getting too old. I don't like getting old. It's really hard...I don't want to getting old, like old lady but...it's going so fast" (2-9). Despite her view that she is becoming an "old lady," she is still a very active member of the community and teaches full-time. She loves the children she teaches very much. "Right now I'm teaching...and also they're cute. They can talk what they want to say" (2-3). With regards to the interview, P expressed concern that others who had done research in the community had taken the words that Inuit had said and twisted them into lies. Speaking of my research, she said simply that if it wouldn't be like that, it will be a good thing. As she says, "before when we read published books from the North...we find out from the other people...from the Qallunaat people when they read the book about the North, they lie. When we read it we find out they lie. If it won't be like that for Inuit...it will be something" (2-13).

Growing up in Iqaluit, M had a complicated childhood. "I had a very complicated growing up life" (4-18). "As a very young person, I started noticing probably two years old or something like that trashes of my lifetime a bit" (4-18). She spoke fondly of participating in Girl Guides as a relief from the complications she had at home as an adolescent. "It was my heaven time cause I growing up as an adolescent I was having a hard time growing up as an adolescent due to the alcohol problem with my family" (4-19). "To tell you the truth going to Girl Guides and Brownies...I learned to see myself I guess—what a person I am and all that" (4-20). When asked what was important to her M spoke of her immediate family. "My husband who I'm married to 25 years now and I'm being with him for 27 years now, so I'm staying here with my husband and my family, my children" (4-18). Also important presently to M was establishing a Girl Guide organization in the community so the girls could have a place to go to have fun with their friends and gain self-esteem for the future.

"The goals are being...trying to get...finally around a Girl Guides stuff and all that. I'm glad for that. I hope it will go on a lot better" (4-19).

S spoke fondly of the importance of her family within her interview. Speaking of her parents, who are now deceased, she mentioned how growing up they supported each other. "I was there when they needed me and they were there when I needed them but usually I never asked for anything. I just watched closely and maybe learn a little?" (5-24). Going on to further discuss the importance of family, S spoke of how her immediate extended family also help each other in times of need. "When I ask for it, when I ask for help they'll pitch in. My husband's family they help each other out a lot, whenever one needs something they help out" (5-27). Also important to S was a focus on the survival of her immediate family and her new position within social services. "My family is important to me and probably my job cause that puts food on the table" (5-24). Having recently ended the abuse in her life, S had a new perspective on her life and this was also a main focus within the interview. "When I took the abuse, I used to question my parents like not ask them questions...why the hell did they landed here? Eh? But I don't think like that anymore. I like it here. I have lots of friends here" (5-27). "Yea, I'm empowered. I'm empowered now" (5-30). Finally summarizing her thoughts on the interview, S said "I feel comfortable in every word I say. I'm not comfortable when people are trying to make me look bad—that's when I'm not comfortable cause I haven't done anything bad" (5-31).

Introducing herself, K spoke of the recent changes within her family that now meant she was a widow and a single parent. "I'm a single parent. I have children ages ranging from 25 to 12 years. I'm a widow. So my little big family's been going through a lot within the last year. Their father was murdered...over a year ago" (6-31). Going on to discuss her dreams for the future, K spoke mainly of education for her children. "I dream that—I still have two kids in

school, eh? (Three actually, including my grand-daughter). My dream is to see them graduate cause my first three didn't make it and my second dream is that they will all fly on their own wings and be independent. That will make me feel like I did something right raising them" (6-32). At the end of the interview, K expressed a sense of relief. "Thank you for having me. That wasn't so bad! (laughs)" (6-39).

Initially T spoke mainly about the fact that she was adopted out to her grandparents as a child. "First I'm adopted. I grew up with my grandparents so my sisters would be my aunts" (10-39). She spoke of how she felt lost without an immediate family because of this situation. "I'm caught in between like they see me as their sister. For me I feel that way always. So then the way I see it—it's like I'm just somebody and if I get to be with my real family, I feel behind. Ela—I feel lost" (10-39). Going on to further discuss her family, talking of her children T spoke of how she wanted to raise them differently than the way she was raised. "I want to raise my kids not like I was raised" (10-40). "I think I overprotect my kids or I try to put them in a perfect world but things turn twisted and you want things to get going really good" (10-40). T was going through a variety of challenges at the time of the interview. Hinting at her struggles with her confidence because of these challenges she said "I try and be nice to everybody but there are days that I can be nobody" (10-43). Speaking later on her adult education courses, she expressed a philosophical perspective on the world. "I just wish I could keep up with the world, eh? (The world's going too quickly?) Yes, and we have to be right there with it or you're going in the wrong direction" (10-41).

When asked what is important to her right now, E responded "need to be more of a mother-type like my mum says" (7-45). Introducing herself, E talked mostly of her daughter. "She's just a year old. Keeping mum busy. She's going to be

two February. Hoping for little brother or little sister but sometimes...I think two is too much. She's starting to say a lot of things I say" (7-45). E was pregnant with her third child at the time of the interview and was thinking of adopting this child out as she had with her first child. "Well I'm not sure sometimes I feel that it's tough to have two...also in other hand, I think it would be good if she grew up with another one. Yea, I really haven't made up my mind yet" (7-50). Speaking of the research and how it would be potentially broadcast on the radio, E said "a lot of women will probably feel important and noticed when you announce that. Like a lot of women feel not noticed at all—like in government or you know? They don't feel important or something like for the world or something but I feel we are so important" (7-50).

Introducing herself to me, Y spoke of her childhood and the fact that she was born in a Styrofoam igloo. Styrofoam igloos were brought into this community around the movement into settlement time. "I was born in a Styrofoam igloo and I have lived here all my life...I'm not sure who they belonged...but this Styrofoam igloo it used to be so out of place that's why I think I remember it and I was told by my mother that I was born in one" (8-51). Also in the interview, Y told me how her Christian faith framed her perspective on life. "I'm a Christian...born again Christian. I'm not really planning way ahead, okay? What I do is take a day at a time. I don't plan for the next day, I let God take that—control that. Even if I plan for the other day I might not be alive next day so I don't really looking forward" (8-53). She held a similar philosophy when she was younger, although at this time this perspective was not framed by her faith. "I didn't think much either. I just let life itself...happen" (8-56).

N and I met for two lengthy sessions. She had recently been through a very difficult period where she had faced a number of challenges and she used the interview sessions to discuss the period at length with me. She had brought

forward a sexual harassment complaint at her work and had subsequently lost her job, her home and was forced out of the community. "I lost everything one time. I'm working back on it after my wrongful dismissal. I lost everything" (11-84). Also in large part due to the situation, her son had recently committed suicide. Because of this N was carrying heavy guilt and grief. "It's very crunching for me. I mean even soul crunching for me. My soul reaches out for my son and my heart—my whole being. I miss him so much" (11-85). Despite the struggles she was facing day to day, N had regained her focus on survival. "We'll survive" (11-84). Speaking of how young she feels and how she's changed over the years, N also shared her perception of herself. "I even forget I'm 37—I sometimes think I'm 25. Honestly I still feel young but my body tells me not so anymore. But I'm still the same person maybe even sharper—less confused—more nicer to myself" (11-88).

ADULT EDUCATION

CRITICAL VOICE

During some of the interviews, women spoke with a critical voice about education within the community at both the elementary, high school and adult education level. These thoughts are important to hear. They stand on their own but all possess a critical nature and all are aimed (although some not directly) at policymakers. Discussing their thoughts on children's education within the community, both Y and T expressed how they thought the education system was weaker then elsewhere. "Hey, I think it's a weak education...every time they go out somewhere else to go to school it's always lower...one grade lower always" (10-42). Y expressed her thoughts in more depth.

> I strongly believe nowadays that education doesn't teach as much as they used to in my year. They're streaming now. Like if the student have trouble learning, he have to follow his age group regardless of what he had learned. That student doesn't...even know how to read or write but he have to follow his age group. That I don't call that teaching. It's not teaching...I don't think you're supposed to fool around with education (8-52).

Going on, both of these women were also critical of different aspects of adult education. Discussing the offering of a course on prenatal nutrition, T mentioned how she felt the course was always the same material and therefore a waste of money. "I went out...twice for the prenatal but it's always the same course. You get to know—I mean—after a year you go to same course it's still the same thing it's waste of money. That's what I think" (10-40). Y's criticisms of adult education were aimed more generally at the manner in which educators were selected.

> I would look at educators. I would say DEA (Department of Education Authority) hires educators that's where they should look at that person who they're going to hire to make sure that they're eligible for teaching like if they just pick someone from this community because they're English not because of what they do but because of the skin is white they hire them and I don't like that...I'm not really looking at the race now but I want someone or DEA to hire someone who can teach regardless what their colour is but if they're going to teach...they should hire educator who's got more experience teaching (8-58).

Also speaking with a critical voice, some women spoke of the GN training initiative. Q stated that there is a need for patience on the part of policymakers and an understanding that it won't be accomplished overnight.

> I think they have to get Inuit back to school first before, you know, cause you can't just throw in a person into work and they don't know

> what they're doing, you know? Train them first and it's going to take time. I think it's going to take two years before they can...I don't see it happening at all right away like that. Like be real about it. A lot of Inuit are not high school graduates at all. Be real about it. And motivation—takes motivation (9-65-66).

N also spoke of the training initiative. She discussed how the establishment of Nunavut almost created an unnecessary political correctness about the workforce make-up.

> I think that before it became Nunavut it wasn't really an issue where who works, how many percent...where they came from or who they are but I believe that there should be a balance because Qallunaat came. When Inuit were still living out on the land so I think they should share everything, everywhere. I mean in the workplace too. If transportation needed one position and it wants their Southern knowledge and it wants the Inuit culture and traditional knowledge, if I was the boss I would hire the Qallunaat and Inuit to work together but of course the budget isn't like that so therefore for me, it's like my view...if I was the only Inuk in that building then I still would feel comfortable because I can speak to anyone Inuk at another office through phone or communicate through fax and then I would feel safe because there's a Qallunaat who can solve a problem for me...not solve a problem for me...but teach me how I can do certain things because I haven't gone to university. I didn't go to university so the workings standards that require so much knowledge (11-76).

Providing herself as an example, N went on to express how she felt training is a logical and necessary step before undertaking a new job.

> I think that would be really great because we don't always know what we're going to do unless we're trained and once we're trained then it's up to us. Are we going to carry through what we want to do as a career or do we want to go for more school and then go back after a year completed for that certain position I think it would be really great to learn more about your career, the choice you made. I mean the choice made by another person would be up to the person so if I wasn't teaching anymore and I wanted a certain position, I would want to go for training first before I went through that or if I already

> knew some issues that go with the job and I would apply for it and ask if during my job if I could have a workshop or something or even create one after 6 months or so (11-77).

Q went on to say that for the Inuit people, training was a way to gain back what had been lost. "That's the only way that you can get your things back that was taken away from you. It's to get your...go for training. Go for something" (9-66).

PAST EDUCATION

Experience with education, previous to adult education courses, was in the form of federal day schools run by the government or missionary schooling. The primary language used in the schools at this time was English. It wasn't until the 1970s when Inuktitut was brought into the classrooms in the Eastern Arctic. "When I went to school, I was taught English right away and the little Inuktitut that was being taught was when I was maybe in Grade 7 or something different" (6-33). Many of the women I interviewed, who went to school previous to that time, learned to read and write Inuktitut from their bibles at church. "I've never had learned Inuktitut before other than reading along at church with the Inuktitut prayer books and stuff so the syllabics that I learned was from reading and following along at church" (6-33). This was also the case with M. "I went to school from kindergarten to grade 8 and ½ I guess, all in English. Somewhere in high school I started learning my Inuktitut but from kindergarten I taught myself to learn to read from the bible...and how to write Inuktitut from the bible" (4-20).

In her past education, P made it clear that though all the teachers were Qallunaat, there was a strict policy of no talking in the classroom, no matter what the language. As she states, the strictness in the classroom prevented learning.

> In school that time we didn't learn because we had to be very quiet. We never had to say a word in school before when I was in school. No! We didn't taught in Inuktitut. We didn't have to say English or Inuktitut. We didn't have to speak in school unless we have to. Can't speak out for when we speak, when we talk out, hit by a teacher. There was nobody Inuit that time when I was in school (2-5).

Many women had to leave their high school and earlier education because of reasons outside their control. Some women became mothers during their high school years and dropped out of school to mother full-time. E spoke of this trend generally: "Although a lot of women quit or drop out cause they have reasons like having kids or something...having to help families support, you know? Financially at least" (7-49). And this was the case for E personally as well. "I feel education is very important but I feel too old going back to school—being a mum. But I feel too old being a mum, going back" (7-45). S also didn't finish high school because she had children. As she says, "I went to school but I didn't finish it. I went up to Grade 9 and from there I met a boyfriend and I had kids" (5-23). "No I never finished Grade 9 cause I got pregnant. No, still in Grade 9. I was 17 years old" (5-25). Some spoke of the lack of options available to them to continue their high school education when pregnant or needing to care for children.

> I went back after he was born but I quit again when I had her. I was still going to school until I left for maternity leave. I kept going to

> school. I still had [morning sickness] but I didn't go when I was sick like I kept calling I can't come. They knew cause this was the second time I was having my baby...one of my classmates would bring me my homework if I can't make it they'll give it to someone close or at the school they bring it to my teacher. Well that was fine but I was nursing I had no way of going back and she was just a newborn just before the exam. I always had to feed her. I had to do my Grade 11 exams so I could finish but I couldn't do it cause I couldn't do it at home and I couldn't take her to school. I asked if I could go to the library to take her too but it was always booked for other students. She was too young to go to daycare cause they only go at three months (7-45).

Other women had to leave their elementary or high school before completion due to other factors beyond their control. A, having to leave the community for high school, was unable to stay away from her family for that length of time and eventually dropped out not completing grade 10. "They were sending—I mean when I was young—the highest grade they could take here was grade 9, so they had to go out to complete grades 10 to 12 so they sent me out when I completed grade 9 but I couldn't stay there so I just came back and dropped out of the school. Couldn't stay away from my family" (3-16). Y left school after Grade 6 because she had Tuberculosis, a disease that is still present in Northern Canada, though it is virtually non-existent down South. "In those days we would do federal day school and I only went down to Grade 6 and I ended up in the hospital for over a year so I missed out—of Tuberculosis" (8-54). P left school after grade 8 because she was needed at home as a babysitter. "When I was growing up for my school, I only went up to grade 8 because I was babysitter. I'm the oldest. I'm the oldest in the family and I have 18 sisters and brothers so I

had to baby-sit. So my mother stopped my schooling because she was working" (2-4). Many felt frustrated when their education was cut short. As P went on to say, she had once had a dream to become a doctor. Having to drop out of school so early there was very little chance of attaining that dream.

> So, I've been talking—sometimes I talk to my sisters, if my mother didn't put me to babysitter, if she left me in school for until I go up to grade 12...sometimes I tell my sisters—I would be a doctor. Because that time the nurses want me to go for nursing course and I was a teacher. I said no because I'm a babysitter. Three times the government wanted to go for nursing course, if for one I was...16. So my mother...keep saying no. Ai, sometimes I'm mad at my mother. To me, to me maybe I would be a doctor. For sure I know but I didn't finish my grade 12...Mmm sometimes I think I'm disappointed in my self (2-10).

Two of the women I interviewed did finish high school. Q talked of how happy she was to be one of the first in the community to graduate. "I did my high school here and graduated here. I was one of the first five to graduate. It was awesome—yea I had an awesome time" (9-64).

BENEFITS

Many women spoke of how taking adult education was a benefit to their lives. "Everything was seeming to be easier...happier" (10-41). "Made me feel pretty good about myself for one thing and it did improve my situation trying to get a job cause I earned quite a few credits" (6-35). "The fact that I completed the course made me feel pretty good...for my self esteem it was a big boost" (6-35). N, struggling with the recent suicide of her son found hope from taking a course.

"(What did you use for hope to get through it?) I went to school for two years at the Nunatta Campus in Iqaluit...Each course would change every three weeks so we would do different things. So it was quite exciting and really eager to go on to the next course was another way for me to see hope" (11-72). Having other children as well as working part time, while attending, N also found she learned a lot of time management skills. "During my course I learned a lot. I learned that being in college and trying to work part time job and being a mother and looking after yourself is...you really have to manage the time frame and I happen to do it and going to meetings so I was able to study" (11-82). N also spoke specifically of how learning the content of the course was beneficial.

> I've taken certain courses such as typing...and the course itself on the making of the Nunavut and also we took a course on Intergovernmental Affairs and other things that could sharpen any skill that we had, or even learn new skills that we didn't have so that's removing barriers by learning new things and in that way there's more confidence. I experienced that (11-79).

This was the case for other women also. T spoke of how she had found a course on community development interesting and went on to elaborate on what she had learned. "That was very interesting. It was interesting. When you have to fix up something there's a lot of people who can try and fix it and then all the things that needs to be done. Fix it up and there's no one to do it" (10-40). S had taken a number of different courses where she had learned a lot. Of primary importance to S at the time of the interview, was the fact that she had recently attained a course on nutrition which directly applied to her new job as

nutritional coordinator for pregnant women and new mothers. "They just taught us how the nutrition's all about and pregnant women. How they should be treated and how they should treat themselves...so that's going to be something new to me when we start the project next week" (5-25-26). This course also gave her a new perspective on nutrition for her family and after completing it she altered her children's diet to be more nutritional. "I used to buy a lot of junk food for my kids but I buy nutrition food for them instead after I took that course" (5-27). She showed pride with the fact that many of the certificates she had attained were for courses that were for women. "And I also got three other certificates for women" (5-25). One course S spoke of, she was not a participant in but she had learned a lot from it just from helping as an organizer. "There was this course that was here—that just played in town was sexual abuse something course but that was just my job to greet people there at the meetings was at the place I worked. So I kind-of organized it but the real guests were there too eh? I just helped them put tables, greet them, just welcome them but I was also there" (5-25). Speaking finally of how education can help her life, S talked of a course on early childhood development that she had missed out on, but that her sister had taken.

> Probably would help a lot cause I would know children. Like my sister took this course eh? And she was saying this kid is being mistreated or this kid is being treated nice just looking at them. She could tell just by looking at them. This so probably would have affected my life a lot if I took it—took the course. I mean she could tell whatever this kid was being mistreated or being treated well. She

could tell just by looking at them after taking this course. She said that course changed her life (5-26).

MOTIVATION

All of the women spoke clearly of the various factors influencing their motivation for the courses. Motivation to take adult education courses was very simple to S. "It was offered to me so I took it. Maybe I took it because I needed something different" (5-26). E also had a quick answer for why she took adult education. "I needed something to do" (7-46). With L there was a strong drive to succeed that provided the motivation for her participation in an adult education program. It was important for her "just to keep on going to school. Finish that program and then if I finish, find out something to do" (1-1). Being a young participant in adult education, at 18, she also showed a strong independence in her drive to succeed. "I don't know. I want to do it myself. Not getting really help from my parents or anyone so I'm doing it to myself so I can keep myself busy" (1-1). For L success was defined generally as a "job" and she used this as motivation to take adult education. Stating her reasons she said "maybe it would help me in the future like in the office work and stuff to get more experience. How to do things. If I apply to a GN or if I apply and then if I show them that my certificate maybe it could help me to get that job easily. Maybe, I don't know" (1-1). K also referred to the attainment of a job in the explanation of her motivation to adult education. "Knowing some day that I'm

going to get a job and knowing that I don't have education level that is required to get a job today. I knew that if ever there came a time that I had to apply for a job—other than being a cashier at the store—I wasn't going to go anywhere with the low education that I had" (5-34). A was motivated to attend courses through her love of children. Finding that she enjoyed working with children, she took a course that taught her more about children which she was hoping to use later for further work with children. "Well I was working at the school before and I liked it so I decided to go to the course so I did. I liked working with the kids" (3-16). P had taken an extensive number of adult education courses within the Nunavut Teacher Education Program (NTEP). As she said, her reasoning for dedicating herself and her time to teaching is because she loves Inuit people. "I really love Inuit people and want to teach them that's why" (2-10). From this basic motivation, P saw the reasoning behind her education as quite simple: the number of Inuit teachers is dropping and she chooses to help fill that gap. "I have a choice. So if I want to go, I have to go...It's my choice cause I want to really finish so I go every three times a year because...I want to learn and I want to be a teacher because...last time there's only few Inuit teachers. So that's why I'm taking my courses" (2-6).

BARRIERS

Life sometimes presents difficulties that are almost a barrier to life itself. Some of the women I interviewed were faced with some of these difficulties. Struggles

with life are inevitably also a barrier to learning. For N this was very much the case. "At that time when I was in school it was that time too that I lost my pride and joy and it was very difficult at the same time growing up and grieving because some of the courses also consist of child rearing. So I took child rearing right after...three weeks after I lost my son" (11-80). K had blocked out a portion of her life from memory because of the trauma that she had suffered with regard to the murder of her husband. When I asked about adult education, this was her initial response. "That's the thing—the things that happened recently in my life they're kind of gone. I remember more of the things further in my life—further back in my life. Maybe because I was going through so much trauma within the last year" (6-34). Going on she talked of how problems in her personal life forced her to take a year or two "off" from school or work. "I couldn't handle it because there was so much going on in my personal life so I decided to take a year off from there...There was just too much. I couldn't handle it" (6-35). M experienced some jealousy from her husband. This jealousy affected her ability to attend an adult education course which was a barrier to her learning and she never completed the course. However, she was able to attain work which she enjoys and her husband's trust is growing. "(Do you remember why you took it?) That I will get a good job but I never got to finish it. (Because of family problems?) Yes...jealousy. He understands why I'm working...helping him out and to get my money for my self once in a while and he's supporting me with that. I've noticed he's putting a bit more trust on me" (4-21).

The physical distance of many of the education courses is a barrier to education. "I really wanted to go to management studies and I thought that would be good for me but this time when they offered it, it was in Rankin Inlet but with no housing so I didn't even bother this time" (7-46). Taking the courses away from their home community often means leaving behind family for extended periods of time. S had missed out on an opportunity to take one course she really wanted to take because she would have had to leave the community and her parents were both ill at the time. "The one I was supposed to take...for early childhood development last two years ago but I didn't go cause my parents were sick and I didn't want to leave them. I had the chance but I didn't go" (5-26). As A makes clear, education in another community puts a strain on personal relationships. "When you move out of your community to another community I think the couple should really support each other cause that was my problem too. My husband was staying here and we were staying there so I couldn't take it" (3-16). Furthering her challenge with education in other communities was the cost of living A faced in the new community. Though she was provided social assistance, with four children living with her at that time it was not enough. "It was hard for me cause they only paid us once for social assistance but called student financial assistance so it was hard for me to stay there. Depending how large the family—once a month—so that wasn't enough for me with four kids" (3-16). These barriers prevented her completion of the course. "No I didn't complete the course. It would make a change if I completed" (3-16).

P, who has taken a number of education courses away from home, has had to make various accommodations within her life to make participation in education possible, although she says that often the time away from her family is not too difficult because she is usually busy anyway. When she took short term courses she went away alone and saw her family on visits and for longer courses her family traveled with her. As she says, "just me for two and a half weeks but in 1993 I take my family because it was one year and then in 1997 I was by myself. I left my family because my husband was working at the school and I really had to finish my courses so I had to go so I left my family. It wasn't really hard because a lot of work. Always busy but my husband used to come to Iqaluit once a month. Sometimes I come here on long weekend (2-4).

University education requires travel much further away than another Northern community. Many women that I interviewed dreamed of university education. Here N speaks of how her experience with college and a visit down South to a university prompted her dream to one day attend.

> Oh yes! I would grab the chance if I did because I have an idea now how the time frame going to college. The bus. Going to be up early and these stuff because I was in college and before I used to travel and I really admired this lady—an Inuk lady she was in Montreal when I was there for holidays and she was in university so I saw the dorm and the university and I think I would just fit right there. And I still think about that dorm sometimes. It's a dream to me. If I could go to university I would. I think it's exciting (11-81).

None of the women had attended university. For many, this was because of the distance. "It'd be hard. My mum's getting pretty old, big family here although I

think I can live away from here but not that long" (7-47). Answering a question about attending university down South, L stated that it "would be hard to live away from your family and friends that are close to you" but she didn't totally discard the possibility as she went on to say that "but then when you tell yourself that you're going to go back to your community and then to your family so maybe..." (1-1). K expressed similar sentiments about the chance that she would ever attend university down South. "Down South no. If I was all alone and I didn't have children, yea! Sometimes I think like that. I know I'd be okay and I know I'd be able to do it, well at least try if I didn't have to drag half of my family with me or if I had a spouse or some other significant other to help me out I'd know I'd be okay...I know I can do it" (6-35).

Adult education courses start with a test which determines into which course an individual will be placed. As A noted, "at first I had to do something like a test, a written test here before I went there so they accepted and I went and so stayed there a year and a half" (3-16). Sometimes logistical factors such as these tests determine which courses are offered in which community and which course the women get placed in. "I had to take exam first in order to decide where I fit the best because I wanted to take interpreting and translating course but I didn't get that. I don't know why" (11-78). The impersonality of these decision making factors, through a test or through a number count creates a barrier to desired education. For E this was the case. She was interested in a particular course called management studies and she ended up being placed in a

job entry program because there weren't enough people interested in the management studies. "I was applying for management studies in Arctic College but there weren't too many people who applied for it...like there was not enough and so they automatically put me to job entry program cause I was only one of the few people who applied for management studies. They asked me if I wanted to go take job entry so I just agreed" (7-46). Often, these logistical factors mean that the women miss out on courses they really want to take.

> I was sort of disappointed when there was only few people who applied for it because I was interested in it even when I was still in school cause it was taught when I was still going to high school...I thought it was interesting and I said I'm going to apply for that...maybe next year or something but not going to be...even taught here...usually in another community (7-46).

Q also faced a barrier to her education because of logistical reasons. Always wanting to be a nurse for as long as she can remember, Q was able to finally take the course that was offered in Iqaluit. "That's all I've ever wanted to become is a nurse" (9-65). Once she was in the course the funding for the whole program was cut and she was forced to drop out without completing it. "I passed but they cut off funding so I couldn't go back to school. Not enough money I guess and that program they cut that off. The whole program and...so I said that's too bad, you know?" (9-62). After the initial funding was cut the program was brought in again but by that time Q was just about to start another course down in Ottawa. "And then just before I was leaving from here to go live in Ottawa, Arctic College wrote to me and said 'hey, do you want to come back here and

start the program again?'...This was like a week before I left to go to Ottawa'" (9-62). Now she has a baby and is working full time. She would still very much like to go back but it would be more difficult now. "But timing...I don't know. It's hard. No, I love my little girl—no regrets there but that's also putting my nursing school on hold. It's getting harder for me to go back to school. And I'm not getting any younger but they say you're never too old to learn but I wanted to do it when I was younger" (9-62). Watching others now who did go back, Q is disappointed that she didn't. "And now two of my old classmates are almost done at the nursing school. They went back and they're almost done" (9-62). "I just lost my interest in schooling. I was disappointed, you know? Cause that was my ambition...There was no other thing that I wanted to go for so I was like really disappointed...Why start this program when you're going to disappoint us? Got my hopes up and then they were shot down" (9-64).

Language also presents a barrier. The courses are taught in English and for many in this community English is still very much their second language. "It gets really hard because I'm not very good English but I can speak English but I'm not really good" (2-4). "It was really hard because I didn't know my spelling. It was hard. Yea, I had to try my best all the time. Try to catch it, when the teachers—our instructors—talking, when I had to listen very carefully all the time" (2-5).

Most of the women have children and some are also the sole care-takers for their children. As with earlier education, I expected this factor to be a main

barrier to attending the adult education courses. Once it was decided that the courses would be taken, as the interviews indicate, however, many felt that they were given viable options for the care of their children when they took adult education and it was not considered a main barrier to adult education. K explains how she was able to attend the courses because of the options provided for her childcare.

> When I first went to adult education my second child was only a baby then and I could—the only reason why I went is because back then it was ok to bring your children so I brought my baby because I was breastfeeding her. And then the next time I went to another upgrading program I had two small children who went to school. By then daycare was here. It was at another section of the high school or the elementary school so by the second time that I went to another upgrading program...daycare was provided. Subsidized daycare (6-34).

Others also mentioned how subsidized daycare or subsidization for alternate care allowed for their participation in courses. "My daughter was in school. The arctic college subsidized the daycare" (10-41). "They subsidized child care. Either she went to daycare or local babysitter. They would pay me to pay for the babysitter or the daycare" (7-46).

COLONIALISM & CHANGE

> We've changed a lot because a lot of change. I've been here a long time and I was born here. Change, change, change a lot (2-8).

P, who is almost an elder, has seen the community she has grown up in go through much change throughout the years. As she says, the first change that

she was aware of was how the community grew from an initial sparse population.

> Yea, I was born here. I've been here all the time in this town. Yea, when I was growing up there was nobody to play with. I was by myself. I didn't go out except when my parents are out so I was out. When they were in, I was had to be in. There was nobody here. When I was growing up we were four. Four small ones: me and my brothers. They were here. We were three families—no four families. We were four and then I was getting older, we were eight, nine—we were more (2-4).

She noted further change in the way the community looked. It went from an Arctic wilderness to the settlement it is today.

> Yea I have seen it change a lot—a lot. I don't know...houses...I remember my father used to...trapping here around and I used to pick the blackberries and blueberries from here. Around here and elsewhere and then we used to get the water from here. The river here just down beside the coop...They said around in [this community] the water was best under here. Best one in [this town] and now we don't get it here anymore (2-8).

M also noticed the change from a sparse scattering of homes to the community it is today. "This town when I first came here it was a very small town and well less houses. There were a lot less houses, has changed a lot" (4-21). K spoke of this population growth as a problem. "It's growing too much, getting too big. I prefer that we stayed as a small community. It's...growing too fast...and the birth rate is just too much. The bigger the community the more they demand of stuff" (6-36). P went on to note changes she observed in the sense of community over time with this population growth. Using the example of the children she

teaches at the schools, she speaks of the loss of closeness within the community as a whole.

> (What about the community?) It's gone. Changed now because...it's getting...looks like we don't know each other anymore because we are too, maybe we are far from each other...like distance. If today I'm teaching and there's primary students, I don't know about the kindergarten students because we don't see them...They just stay in class...And also the high school here are far away from the elementary school so when they go we can't know them anymore. Sometimes I say 'what's your name? Qinouvit?' and I taught them before (2-8).

Noting one particular aspect of change, a few of the women spoke of the recently obsolete practice of arranged marriage in their interviews. Some women had arranged marriages themselves and described the decision around their marriage to me. As A explained, when she went through the process of her arranged marriage she was quite young and was fearful. "At the dance he was coming after me but he asked my parents if he could have me as a wife. At first they said no to him and they said no. I guess they didn't want him. But he keeps coming back and coming back to me like as if he really wanted me and they said yes. At first I was scared but...I was 15 years old" (3-15). P describes how she met her husband and the various people who gave their permission for her to marry.

> (When did you meet your husband?) That time I didn't met him. That time because they were outpost camp? Everybody was outpost camp that time. Back then. It was around 1965-66, they'd start coming here—everybody. He had to tell my parents he wants to marry me so I didn't know. But I met him. But I know him...but he not told me I look...now he has to ask my parents for permission from

> my family. My mother and my uncles. My dad too. My family, they had to agree. They decided (2-5).

S spoke more generally of arranged marriages as a thing of the past and noted in particular women's lack of choice in the matter.

> Back then they didn't have choice. The guy who wanted the lady...ask his parents...and his parents would ask that lady's parents and they agreed...they would...That was before any of this changed. It's changed a lot but nowadays we can just choose who we want but back then in those days only the men choose and if they liked that lady in particularly, they would ask their parents that they want that lady and then...the parents would go ask her parents and if they agree they would set the wedding date (5-28).

P went on to speak of the fact that the need for her to officially marry was decided by the missionaries. "So that time, in 1960s, we didn't have to say no to anybody. We had to say yes. Yes all the time. If they are older then us, we don't have to say no. We have to do as the olders said. So the minister told what to get...maybe about three months and then we got married. Because the minister was wanting us to get married" (2-5).

At this time the Inuit were used to others exerting control over their lives and making decisions for them. K defines lack of choice as being a prominent feature of the rapid change in the North. "Rapid change. There's a word for it I can't remember what it was, intercultural whatever you call that thing like the rapid change of new stuff. Like they were introduced to schools and like they had no choice well most of them didn't have a choice. I didn't have a choice" (6-32). In her discussion of the change in the community, P also mentions how the RCMP killed the sled dogs and how skidoos soon became the main form of

transportation. Going on to discuss how she could afford to buy a skidoo as they were cheap, P also mentions how these were hard times for other people who weren't employed at this time. "Then the government killing the dogs and I remember when skidoos were very cheap. Mmm if you want to buy a skidoo costs only $700 that time. I was working, if not it must be hard. Only few people were working that time in 1960s and the food was very cheap" (2-12). P went on to describe the match box houses which many families were forced to live in upon their move into the settlements. They were given under the promise that rent would be fixed. As P notes, this promise was soon broken.

> When the houses coming eh? In 1960s. Only matchboxes, they call them. Mmmm they had a heater...only stove not heater. Only stove, that's it. And they said, the government, they give the houses that time I remember. There's going to be no rent. Maybe they said it's going to be only up to $50 not more than 60. It's going to be like that in North—forever! Not anymore (2-11).

P went on to tell me about her E-number which she didn't see as a form of control but rather as a manner to organize which speaks to the passive manner the Inuit accepted the change that was forced upon them from others.

> Yes, there were numbers, yes. My number was 87 10 21 (laughs). I used to be good because I know my number. I didn't know we had to have number. We didn't know. We thought it was good. I don't know, maybe. We didn't have last names before when I was growing up, we didn't have last names but only the first name. Then they put the numbers to everyone. We had little tag, yep (2-5).

M also remembers the dogs being killed and the change that came over her family with the move to the settlements. "It was the RCMP I know...for the dogs

cause the snowmobiles weren't really reliable. But they all shot them down—down—in that time" (4-22).

> I remember my father's main transportation being shot...dogs. We were moved to that town. They were offered a job—my father—and I guess they fell for it and they were given houses, not really insulated houses. And I guess as they started working, they started making their income, I've noticed my father bringing home and all that—giving us home meal—with meals and clothing. Then gradually started going down as I was growing up, started noticing less and less and less of everything. And I guess I was so ashamed of my parents for their drinking problem, I started avoiding home. Staying away from them because I was hungry for the decent meal or decent clothes. I was really ashamed. I guess I was really ashamed of my parents (4-20).

CHALLENGES & COPING STRATEGIES

The following story was recounted to me by one of the women I interviewed. The morning before our interview we were on the phone confirming where we would meet. She was cooking her breakfast and as she was speaking with me on the phone, she accidentally dropped the pot she was holding and it shattered. The pot shattering jogged her memory of a dream she had the night before. Later, she recounted the dream to me.

> Remember when we were talking this morning? Pot broke? After I hung up and when I looked at the pot again, I remembered my dream. I dreamt that there were broken glasses all of a sudden in my mouth and they were really fine glasses like thin fine glasses and they weren't just broken but it was so fine...if this was the glass and it tore, it broke and then there's fine etches that are thinner and thicker then the others. They're different? So I was chewing and I was somewhere. I didn't see the building but I was with somebody and that person didn't have identity. I was chewing meat and then when I was chewing the meat it turned to glass, broken glass in my mouth. So I had to stop. I mean totally freeze. If I made a wrong move or if I

> moved my tongue a little bit sideways, upwards, downwards I could have gotten a cut so I was very, very careful removing and even the way I opened my mouth I had to be very careful in everything. So I was removing glass from my mouth and I would even look at them and they were broken and I didn't cut myself. It was because I could see them in my mouth before I even took them out so I had to visualize that. I could see them in my mouth and if I even dared to move my tongue even just tiny bit I would've gotten a cut so I was just like very carefully that I didn't move them with my tongue. If the glass was here then I would so carefully take it and carefully remove it and it was like removing glasses from my mouth. Broken glasses and I took them all out. I know I didn't get a cut, I could feel the etches (11).

The nature of story telling to enunciate a moral is common within Inuit culture, as is this circular way of speaking versus the more linear manner that is more common in the Southern culture. I believe this story illustrates how Inuit women have encountered challenges in their lives because of the amount of change their society has been through within the last century. It is symbolic of how the women visualize their challenges and set about to find solutions. There is full respect that the challenges are like shards of glass and that they contain all the potential harm that those shards of glass represent. They are embedded in society. They attempt to cut and tear at the social fabric of Inuit communities and work to become further embedded. The problems are at first so overwhelming that the only reaction is to freeze and stop all action so that the problems do not worsen. Eventually, however, a process is initiated to set about to remove these barriers. Overcoming these challenges occurs very slowly and very carefully so that as little harm as possible is done to the individuals, families and communities involved in the process.

All of the women I interviewed have had to face some of these challenges in their everyday lives. Fundamentally they see themselves as the caretakers of their society and thereby they often meet these challenges with strategic ways of coping and a will to survive. In this section, you will hear of the challenges that Inuit women in my study encounter in everyday life. I then explore some of their coping mechanisms they have when faced with these challenges.

DRUGS & ALCOHOL

> Many of the contemporary problems caused or exacerbated by alcohol abuse and unemployment were manageable or non-existent when virtually everyone lived in small camps of a few families each (Billson, 1990, p. 43).

A common theme among the interviews is concern about the challenge that drugs and alcohol are creating for the community. As Q said, "I think that people here are into drugs a lot and that's one of the negative things that I find here. You know that drags them down" (9-63). Q went on to say that many are using drugs because it provides an escape from the realities of their lives. "I think everybody needs to wake up here, you know? And face the reality. That's what I think because they're just following whatever, you know? They're not really stepping into anything new...I see a lot of people doing drugs" (9-65). P commented on how the amount of drugs and alcohol in the community had changed over the years. "I see terrible, yea sometimes it's good. Lot of change. That time when I was growing up, I didn't see like drunk people and there was no drugs. Now I'm sorry about this. Sorry about this" (2-12).

The problem of drugs and alcohol is linked to many of the other challenges facing the community. K thought that this problem is linked to fast population growth in the community and mentioned that within the population the problem was both one of excess and one of lack. As she says, "there's too much alcohol and drugs, too much violence, there's too much of ela, there's too much of not enough of anything and the community's growing so fast and I don't like that. It's growing too quickly, it's too much" (6-36). E saw the problem of drugs and alcohol as directly linked to violence. "There's a lot of alcohol related violence here" (7-50). Y similarly, linked the problem of substance abuse to violence and mentioned that there is almost an expectation that violence follows excessive drug and alcohol use. "I don't know if it's got to with sniffing...like if a person sniffs as an adult your mind is not all there. So with alcohol, like if you're going to have a good time, drink it quietly. Don't get mad. Nobody does that. They strongly believe that you have to end up fighting when now...alcohol, drugs, sniffing" (8-60).

There is concern that drugs and alcohol are affecting all ages and all members of Northern society. E expressed particular concern for the children in the community. Stating her perspective on negativity in the community, one major one is "young kids doing drugs already and smoking and staying out too late past curfew" (7-47). Q expressed a similar concern for the children, but saw the parents as the ones with the more common drug problem. "I see a lot of kids,

their parents doing drugs and they're just roaming around while their parents are doing their own thing" (9-63).

Some women, however, struggle with the problem themselves. "So I don't just try and smoke my head off. It's in my body too much. I did stop for three or four days. I have to be straight up for a while, you know" (10-43)? T, struggling with the problem herself felt that her kids were the inspiration she needed to keep the problem under control. "My kids. My only kids that's who keep me straight up, so it's keeping me standing. It's only my kids" (10-43). In her interview, Y mentioned an earlier time in her life when drugs and alcohol were a personal problem for her. As she went on to explain this cycle of drugs and alcohol led to a deep depression and eventually an attempt at suicide. "When I was told not to drink, I used to party. I was told not to stay out late, I didn't come home till mid morning. And my parents tried to talk me out of doing ugly things. I didn't listen and I thought I was having a great time but it started to get darker and darker and heavier and heavier. Like you're holding something on your shoulders but you don't see it? (8-54)." At the time of the interview, Y was still struggling to keep the drug and alcohol addiction out of her life. "Alcohol and drugs, they intend to get in between him and me like I don't want to take that anymore because of my past like I refuse. What he would say is that I would accept it from someone else not from him but he would start accusing me like if I refuse him" (8-59).

SUICIDE

Another challenge that the women in this community face is that of suicide. These thoughts on suicide affecting the lives of the women I interviewed speak to the helplessness that is felt when others attempt and the sorrow that overcomes those that are left behind. M spoke of the difficulty her family has had coping both with the suicide of her son and more recently with the attempted suicide of her nephew. "I lost a son before his 18th birthday. He committed suicide down in the outpost camp. The reason why we moved back here was my oldest son wasn't coping well with that" (4-20). "Recently we've been having a little bit of problems with our young, younger ones cause just two nights ago my husband's nephew just tried committed suicide. Oh it was just terrible. He's doing okay. Also we're fine otherwise as a family" (4-18). N lost her son to suicide during a particular challenging period in her life. She had been wrongfully dismissed from her job and had also lost her home through the whole process. She recounted the case with me at length. "The change that took over me was when I lost my job. I was working at the high school here and I lost it. I lost my son. I lost my job. I lost my home. I lost my sense of community and it was quite bad for my health and state I was in. Yes and so I had nervous breakdown but I took care of myself" (11-71).

> I was suddenly dropped...like a hot potato. Honestly. When my son got involved that's when I spoke up and this is a sad fact that at the bell Monday, I was told to leave. I was told that I could not talk about another co-worker that way. There was no investigation. Nobody came. I was just let go. Me and my son. I was sent out (11-84).

> I was hidden out until they all left. I came back. Press the bomb. They knew. They knew that I was working and they tried very hard to cover their tracks and say that they took the proper steps. Nothing was done whatsoever (11-88).

As she faced these challenges coupled together, she was cast into a deep pit of depression. Her sorrow was total. "It was a big shock when my son left us. I was in shock. I just hear things but I couldn't respond. Complete shock" (11-88). "I felt like I was in the dark. I felt like I couldn't improve again after I lost my child. I wanted to hang around quitters and those who are really lazy and ignorant and really don't care how they start out with the day. It felt like I belonged there" (11-74).

MONEY AND WORK

Many of the women I spoke with struggled with a variety of money issues. Some spoke of the difficulties in finding and maintaining a job. "If I started that's when I could say I could have a future. "I'm on social assistance. I don't want to be but I have no choice" (8-57). "If I start working or if I start something. (What's blocking you from doing that?) My low education or not enough, I don't know—this kid. You know, it's hard being a single mum" (10-42). As S stated discussing her present employment, "I finally got a job that I could stick to" (5-23). Similarly, E noted that though she was able to attain a job she had always wanted, she had problems maintaining the work schedule particularly after she found out she was pregnant. "Well I got the job I wanted—like always wanted

at the government but I had problems" (7-46). T spoke of the fact that she felt badly not working. "Right now I don't feel good cause I know I can work and I'm just sitting home" (10-39). She had attempted to gain employment but was discouraged because in the government sector she had been turned away and she felt that in other areas around town they wouldn't hire her. "There's only one place I want to try that's the government. But here, around elsewhere, they hire same people" (10-40). She expressed to me the struggle she was having with her self esteem having to wait for welfare payments. "I'm not working. I have nothing right now. I'm just waiting which is...makes me feel like I'm losing my self esteem cause I can do better than this. Waiting—just waiting for my allowance. Just waiting for welfare. Like that sucks. It sucks" (10-41).

Often when the challenge is a lack of money, it was coupled with other challenges in the community. As evidence, S spoke of the complicated factors weighing on her every time she had to find an affordable place to leave her children when she was out of town. Speaking of the dilemma she was faced with when deciding which family to leave her children with, it is obvious that she felt trapped in a no-win situation.

> I don't want them being with my brothers or I don't want my kids being with his relatives or with my relatives cause sometimes when my kids are with his mum they would see violence cause sometimes there's a little violence in that family and in my family there's a little starvation. Like they would have nothing to eat. Cause it's hard living in this town, eh? I take my kids on child care most of the time when we leave out. So I just get social services to care for them and they will stay at my place cause foster caregiver stays over at my place too (5-26).

Another woman was going through the process of deciding how many children to have which was largely based around issues of money. "Sometimes I think two is too much...got to keep my family living. Sometimes it's pretty hard" (7-45). "Not having to stretch money and Dad having to have a second job. But I don't want any more than two for my own" (7-46).

Others, who were employed, spoke of money struggles also. Though they hold a fixed income and are not feeling the same reliance on the government for welfare, they face a very high cost of living that very few can adequately afford. P after stating her criticism of the broken promise the government made with regards to fixed rent prices in the 1960s spoke of her present struggles with the high cost of living in the arctic.

> If you are employed, if you make a lot then it's hard now. That's why I bought the house...my rent $1500 a month and then electricity plus $500 a month. I almost can't afford for my family to feed. I cannot afford to heat that, cause the house is very old. It's really cold in winter time so you fill up the electricity and heat...so hard to watch my lights, yes and my heat (2-11).

M also spoke of this high cost of living, stating that this was one of the major reasons behind her attaining employment—to help her husband with the rent payments. "(Do you find working is important to you?) Yes, cause I'm helping a lot with my rent right now, so the rent is so high here" (4-19). K, also one of the employed women I spoke with, saw the cost of living as a large barrier and likened it to an endless cycle of never having enough. "The high cost of living up here is just one big barrier cause most of the time the money that I do make,

most of the time it goes to paying the rent, paying the bills, power bill and scavenging enough to get some food on the table" (6-36).

Some of the women stated that starting a family earlier limited later options for school, work and life. This was the case for E. "I needed to start my family later, that I could have finished school" (7-45). N also spoke of the trade-off between having a family and working.

> I've always worked since I was a teenager and so I've always secretly admired people in certain positions and how they've worked and what it takes to be where they are as professionals in certain positions but then I started family young so therefore my life seemed to have stopped for a while. I stopped dreaming. It was so much out of control, the way I see it because I was young, naïve and believed in fairy tales type of things and I thought that I dreamt a lot. It just never really happened that way (11-71).

> If I wanted to minimize my goals and so on, I could. For example, I did when I had started a family with kids...then I stayed home even though I really was a go getter. I wanted to go out there and work instead of staying home but then I wanted to nurture my kids at the same time and so even though I was at home having babies, I'd still go out there and apply and so I would get a job and so I would hire a babysitter (11-81).

Along the same trend, many of Q's friends were envious that she had waited until 28 to start her family. She was happy that she had waited until she was older to start her family. "I'm glad I did that and no regrets that I started this late because I've had a couple of old classmates coming up to me and they said I envy you because you're so young you have no children. I wish I took the steps that you took—that you are taking. (Living your life first before starting a family at your age.)...I'm very happy too" (9-63).

There was a common theme that women who were single or in non-supportive relationships had the double burden of being sole provider for their children. T who is a single mother, supporting two children expressed the fact that she was the major supporter for her family. She went on to note that the "little support" she attained was more than most single mothers expected. "I know I have to work. I get very little support from their dad, ela, which is a lot cause lot of people don't get that" (10-40). K, who was a recent widow, was similarly the sole supporter for her family. When asked what she saw as the major role women within Inuit culture, this was what came to mind. "I, being the breadwinner of the house is the only thing that comes to my head" (6-37). S who had recently instigated a change in her relationship with her husband, managing to end her struggle with domestic violence as well as motivate him to gain employment noted the prospect of having money for herself for the first time in years. "I've been buying everything myself, eh? Now I get to spend my own money while he's supporting his kids. I never have any money for myself but all I've been doing is helping" (4-29).

Some also saw the issue of money challenges as being fundamentally an infrastructure problem. M, who saw the issue from this perspective, spoke of the fact that the growing population in the community was not being supplied with adequate housing. "With our growing population also I've noticed that shortage of housing now. Shortage of housing now...in their houses some families are in very large quantities, eeeh number of people, yea" (4-21). Along the same lines

of seeing the problem as primarily a lack of infrastructure support, P was critical of the fact that there is not a bank set up in the community, which she explained to be one of the main reasons that a lot of the money made in the community was not staying in the community. "I have a mortgage of my own. Before I thought, I'm not going to buying house when I was growing up but I have a house of my own...I've been trying to (*convince*) maybe the co-op to have a bank here because a lot of money is going out...lots of money here in [town] and we don't have a bank here" (2-9).

VIOLENCE

Violence is another challenge faced by many of the women I talked to. N describing her perspective on violence paints a picture that is dark and complex. "I think violence is a barrier to communication and that violence is ugly itself. It's just dark and mind boggling and I know there's levels in violence" (11-85). Y describes a similar image of violence, going on to state that it is an unwanted part of the society she lives in. "I find it ugly. I find it stupid. I find it's not worth going through. I don't like it. Nobody needs to go through that because you can talk, because you can understand, right? Like violence doesn't need to be needed" (8-60).

Some were quick to point out that violence was a problem for both women and men in the community. "It takes two people to get into that

violence" (10-43). Elaborating on this point K says that it is women who more often misuse the system.

> But there's a but in there for me because some of these women misuse the system. They know they're being protected and who often goes to jail? Their assaulter. But most of the time the person they assault, the person that assaulted them were being assaulted too. By the women? Like you understand what I'm saying? Like sometimes the system is being misused by the women knowing that the women are protected more. And that's not fair and it doesn't fix things. It often leads to separation and people killing people, stuff like that (6-38).

Similarly Q states that abuse of men is also common in the community and that misconceptions exist that men are not abused. "Relationship wise as a couple, I see too much abuse...But behind closed doors, too, I know that some of my guy friends are being abused too. It's more like, well wait it can't be. A women hitting her boyfriend, that is not right, you know? Abuse is not liked in any form...no matter who does it" (9-68).

Many of the women I interviewed, however, expressed to me that violence was a personal challenge in their everyday lives. These women were at different stages of meeting the violence they experienced in their lives. Some shared with me their experiences of this violence.

> First relationship I got into when I was 19, I was being abused...had to send me out. I've dealt with cops. I've learned a lot of things...from being abused but it was really scary cause I've never seen it happening to my parents. I've never seen my father going into my mother. Now it could kill. It could kill if...you could believe in violence and you know get lost and I could lose lot of self esteem. I was on medication. That scared me...they hid me here and there (10-44).

Some further shared their experience of ending the violence in their lives and the feelings that arose in them through such a process. As N shared, ending domestic violence is an individual process and a personal struggle that every woman who faces this violence must work through for herself. Here she talks of her struggle with ending the violence in her life.

> You either pretend that it's not happening to you and you just perform your best or you talk about it and deal with it and learn how to be safe. So I believe I'm an expert on being a victim and that I'm learning to live with it and that I'm learning not to live with it. I'm learning to live with it that means I'm working on the scars and I'm learning not to live with it which means I'm going separate ways (11-85).

S, who had very recently ended the violence in her life also shared her process. "I took the abuse long time...for long time...my life, achoo! When I was being abused physically, I wished that there wasn't any men in the world. That way we would—we us girls—won't take it. That's how I felt. And I hated all the men in the world because I was being treated badly" (5-25). "I get really mad eh? All those years taking the abuse. I sometimes get mad at myself. Why didn't I just leave? Why didn't I just leave when I was being abused? I don't know why I never left. Maybe it's because I love him. (Maybe you were scared?) I was probably scared" (5-30). In recounting how she confronted the violence in her life, S alluded to the fact that while violent, her husband behaved like a robot and his emotions could be controlled. Now after ending the abuse he no longer behaves like a robot. S has regained a freedom from abuse through

communication. Her story speaks to the complexity of deep seated emotions, power and control exerted by both parties within an abusive relationship.

> Like I can click on any number. Ela back then before any of this started happening, eh? The recoveringness started happening I could click on any button, like he was a robot to me. I could make it mad. I click on mad and he would get mad and if I click happy, I would make it happy. I knew how to press every button with his attitude. Sounds silly but it happened to me. I could make him angry just like that. Make him happy just like that. I try to make him angry by clicking mad but...he's not a robot anymore! I think it was me who changed him. I was talking to him about violence, about life, about how being treated. I think he realized that life is not a game cause he was playing with my life and I think I realized that I am not a toy. I'm not a punching bag. I think we both...Ela—how do I say? He was mad most of the time, eh? And I tried to make him happy but I would never satisfy him. He changed by himself I guess, with a little help from me (5-30).

After ending the abuse, S also noted a big change in her husband. "He finally got on his feet Heather. He's been sitting there clicking that stupid remote for over ten years" (5-26).

Others went further to recount personal experiences with sexual abuse in the community. "What do you call it, sex discrimination? (Sexual harassment?) Yes. I don't like that. I have never liked that. I have worked in different jobs. That's one big problem I don't like. I don't like that" (8-55). Still others are presently coping with day to day violence and are still silent on this issue. Some women are consciously hiding and staying away from the violence in town. As A said, "if I see violence, I will...walk away from it and not bother or not getting involved in it. Yea, if I see violence, I walk away and stay out of it if my family's not involved. Yes, I stay away from it" (3-17). Knowing this, I was careful when

discussing my research around the community. As T made clear, when asked if I should share the purpose of my research on the community radio program, some women still exist in a state of fear and confusion around issues of violence and are thereby still hiding from the forces of violence governing their lives. As T said, the airing of a radio broadcast on the purpose of my research would have been difficult "for some certain people, people who are really hiding it, you know? There's a lot of women are hiding. That's how I see it. Once they lose, they're on the go, you know? They're just learning what the world is going on" (10-44). Within the interviews, some terms were used that spoke very generally of a tension at home. I soon learned that these terms were most probably being used to mask the violence that was existent in homes.

> So much was going on in my personal life...there was just too much going on in my personal life (6-35).
>
> Well, we're currently separated right now (3-14).
>
> I'm currently separated (11-70).
>
> I was having a family problem a lot, like as if I was tied down too much. Agi!! (4-20).
>
> (How common is violence against women in this community?) I hardly see it. I don't go out much (3-17).
>
> It was just my problem with my husband. I don't know about other people (5-27).

The variety of experience with violence that these women shared with me speaks to the high level of it within the community.

There was agreement among some of the women that violence is endemic to Inuit culture and some expressed hope that this would change with future generations. As K says, "it just always has...[existed]...I hate to say this but even before alcohol or drugs were ever introduced...it was...it's in every culture right? And it was in Inuit culture too" (6-38). N discussed the presence of violence in the traditional Inuit lifestyle at length, but went on to say that the current generation of Inuit disapprove of violence and don't want it as part of their lives.

> Inuit believe that some violence is part of their lifestyle because in the past men did that freely to their wives, to their partners so it's not unusual for them but for us it affects a lot. I'm sure those who went through it and saw it openly and freely think it's ok and yet there's something not right. In their right mind that it's not healthy. (You feel the older generation it was almost...) more openly and freely...(part of the culture?) Yes and that's their business. You cannot simply go and tell them to stop. That's that. But here it's like, we don't like it. Our newer generation totally disapprove...I myself do (11-75).

Many were concerned with how violence affects children in the community. "The thing is I think our kids today think that it's normal and it's not. I just think that what you see is what you learn and what you learn is normal for you. And that's sad but it's not normal" (6-38).

> I see little kids...like these kids shouldn't see any violence with their parents or they shouldn't be assaulted, you know? Abused. So they won't be so angry when they grow up because they were mistreated and then if they would become violent people, they could become more violent people or feel they don't need to live at all cause they lived with so much violence (7-50).

Women faced with personal domestic violence were primarily concerned with how that violence was affecting their own children. "If my husband and I were to separate, I would leave him with nothing. I would take my kids. Probably stay in the house or get out" (5-27). "I believe that safety comes first in our home so that's why I'm where I am today and it wasn't easy" (11-71). One particular case of sexual abuse was exhibited on young children in the schools and many women discussed this one situation of abuse and the subsequent affects to the rest of the community at length.[6] "There are a lot of guys in town who were I don't like to say it but child molested. They had so much anger and they can get so violent like some of them. They even say I have this anger problem. I don't know why I get so angry. They need people. Guys like that, they need help" (7-50).

> I'm more confused because in this settlement what I see is anger because of Ed Horne victims. And I want to help them out somehow to help the other relationships cause they're younger than me and I want to help some kind of relationships. They're not all there. What I mean is they got together without talking and then this anger. Like they get together with their girlfriends without getting to know exactly what they want in life and I see that a lot and it's kind of sad but you have to help them out in a way. Verbal talk, verbally, quietly (8-59).

> Silent barriers that can relate to the schools by teachers abusing children and that has happened. And that has become a barrier which

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[6] In February 1987, Horne received a six-year jail sentence for eight charges involving 24 boys he molested between 1983 and 1985 in Kimmirut and Cape Dorset. After Horne served that sentence and left Canada to work in Mexico, more than 50 men in Sanikiluaq, Cape Dorset and Iqaluit came forward to disclose that Horne molested them between 1973 and 1982. After pleading guilty to another 20 sex offenses Horne received a five-year jail sentence, imposed Sept. 14, 2000 (Bell, 2002, p.1).

> has been bad. (A barrier to what?) To just going to school and learning. A lot dropped in the past. So much. My age and younger, they're suffering the consequences of abuse in schools, so that became a barrier. Which is really sad that it had happened and they weren't talking because of the fear and threat that only a child knows (11-83).

Sexual abuse and other violence becomes a cycle, whereby violence perpetuates more violence. As L states, "sometimes when they have a problem they go around and take it out on someone or something like that so sometimes [it is] a really big negative in this town. Like if that person was mad or something like that and going around the town and then he or she sees someone doing nothing to that person and then they hit them or something like that" (1-2). Similarly, Q says that violence becomes a cycle. As she says, people become abusive when they have been exposed to abuse earlier in their lives. "It's because they've been abused and because they've been around abusive people. That's what I think, because they themselves have been abused or seen it. It's what you learn at home" (9-68).

GUILT AND HELPLESSNESS

In the face of some challenges, particularly that of suicide, for a variety of women a strong sentiment of helplessness came through in many of the interviews. In the admitting of these feelings of helplessness, many also showed a sense of guilt. Speaking of the suicide of some of her friends, L states "I had a lot of friends who were around me and my family and after that we were like we can't do anything about it" (1-1). Going on to express her wish that she could have

done more L mentioned her feelings of guilt over the suicide of some of her friends. "Okay, when you see your friends like they don't look like they have problems when they're not talking about it and stuff and then, you know, they commit suicide and you think to yourself 'oh, I should've talked with that person more' and stuff like that so you have to get over it too. Like try not to think about it and then...(it sort of goes away?) Yea" (1-1). P held similar sentiments with regards to the challenge of drugs and alcohol in the community. Discussing how this problem is growing, P goes on to express the guilt and helplessness she feels when struggling with how to communicate and help others with addiction. "Right now I can't think about it. I don't know how we helping working together...we just watch and do nothing—the people who doesn't take drugs. We just sit there not helping the students" (2-12).

SILENCE

> There was a calm silence. The kind of silence that is both soothing and frightening; the silence of the Arctic, and of the Inuit, and of those whom they choose to allow in (Minor, 1994, p. 56).

Using terms to mask violence and hiding from it contribute to a silence around these challenges in the community. There was much talk on silence in the community around such negative issues. "I find it's really negative when there's too much silence when bad things are happening such as drugs and alcohol and I think gambling is negative too" (11-75). Speaking of reasons behind violence, S recognized the silence in others. In the next breath, she exhibited the silence.

"It's because they won't talk that's it. They're not talking. They're just not talking...It was just my problem with my husband. I don't know about other people" (5-27). Also speaking of domestic violence, N noted the trend of silence. "There's women who prefer not to talk about it and live it" (11-85). She spoke of this silence as a conspiracy. "It's personal and yet it's like people don't really talk about it. It's like people I think know why too but we don't just talk about it. It's like a conspiracy of silence and it seems to me that some people don't really want to discuss it" (11-71). Further discussing the silence, N expressed that leaders are even silent on negative issues. "It's not thought to be solved by people in power. That the community leaders are silent. So that's very negative and so I think it starts from there" (11-75). N also noted the personal aspect to the silence and also spoke of its universality.

> (Was the community silent about it?) For a long time. Some still are. I know that but that's their choice. I cannot force them or ask them to please come forward and talk about it so that they will do less harm to themselves but still that's very individual based deficient. It's really sad but it's not just here in our town. It's universal, I believe so I just know that from what I've learned and heard about that it happens everywhere (11-83).

In another reference to this silence, K discussed how violence is hidden. "There's too much of it...and too much of it is still hidden in the cupboards and too much of it is still being used at home behind closed doors, especially in man and woman relationships" (6-38).

The silence was often attributed to fear. "It could be anything that stops them. Fear—I know fear is number one to me. I know my world is full of fear

and now it's full of challenges and I chose to be this way and I'm still on a journey" (11-86). Y discussed this fear and the reasons for this fear in depth.

> They're scared for their lives. That's what they're scared of. Being scared of being murdered because they've been threatened that they're going to be murdered, right? I was threatened before. I'm still here. The gun has been pointed at my forehead and I'm still here and I'm still going to be here. Women here are convinced, they're led to believe, that they're going to be murdered. That they have no choice but to stay with the guy...like some women here are brain washed. Close to it though. By their boyfriends...they get out of that relationship I think they believe that they're not going to be liked by another man. I think that's another problem. Yea, I think that's what they're scared of (8-61).

She went on to link this fear to shyness. "The people are scared of saying to other persons...they're shy to tell other people their point of view of their life or their whole environment almost or embarrassed or they think that they're going to make a mistake of something but I just tell them don't be shy. Voice your concerns" (8-60). Q also linked this fear to shyness as well as to a lack of resources. "I think some people are just afraid to step up, you know and have their say...out loud. Like I know some people have an idea of what they want to become...and they just say it quietly but if they say it out loud and be proud. It's a shyness and lack of resources. They don't know where to turn" (9-65). N also discussed how communication was necessary for change. She went on however to describe the difficulties of confronting this silence in the community and mentioned how, though the interview provided an outlet to discuss the fear and silence, in different circumstances we could not discuss it so straightforwardly. "I think if people started talking and speaking up it would change...some are

really scared to speak about it. So I'm really freely talking about it because it's just you and me. I wouldn't feel comfortable with other women or men listening to us because I know most really don't like to face it...I wouldn't feel comfortable talking about it or the negativity" (11-76).

COMMUNICATION

Although silence was discussed at length, many also spoke of the growing communication on violence and other difficult issues in the community. Speaking of domestic violence, Q stated: "Maybe because it's more open about it now. They're speaking about it now cause women are finally sticking together and saying, 'hey, why should we be quiet about this?'" (9-68). S also noted the growing trend of communication. "We talk now. Like we used to be quiet all the time but we talk now...there used to be a lot of violence in town but they're talking it out...like their family problems" (5-25). She went on to state, however, despite this recognized trend that around negative issues there is still a need to "[g]et it out in the open. Talk to them" (5-28). As N stated, "I think it's also a matter of speaking up and standing and sticking to your ground" (11-83).
L also spoke of the need for an increase in communication, particularly for the benefit of better understanding others and their problems. "I guess talk to more people that would have helped them. Help to get through the things they have like problems. You have to talk to people to understand them—who they are" (1-3). P also expressed how she tries to talk to others, particularly with regards

to drug and alcohol addiction. She makes clear that through communication she's not trying to force them to stop. Instead she tries to prompt them to think about the consequences of their decisions. "I try to talk to the students sometimes. Try to think...not to tell them to stop but try to tell them...try to let them think about it. What it affects the family. What affect the student" (2-12).

SURVIVAL AND INNER STRENGTH

Many of the women showed strength in the face of the problems numbing the rest of their families and the larger community. Often emerging from this inner strength was a strong will to survive. Many talked of their own personal will to survive. "Getting through. Surviving. Surviving what has happened within the last year is my only one focus at the moment" (6-31). E spoke of the focus on survival as a fundamental role of women. "Being a woman like being a good mum...surviving the family, you know? I feel women are as important as men, even more important" (7-47). This will to survive was also spoken of in relation to overcoming fear in the face of domestic violence. "It's too sticky but I survived. That's what I like to see and know myself as, a survivor. A lot of women go through and...I chose to separate and I know that it's never easy whether it was a good or bad relationship" (11-71). "My fear? I don't have any fear. I overwhelmed my fear...I'd say about 6 months ago. From my husband. He used to be abusive and I took the abuse cause I was afraid so I'm not scared of him anymore" (5-24). "I couldn't take it anymore cause I had enough

problems. I had enough. Mmm that was it and I feel I can do anything now. I'm not scared of anything. Yep, I conquered my fear" (5-25).

Inner resolve of individuality used to break out of unhealthy patterns within the society was another expression of this inner strength. Q offered many thoughts that expressed her inner strength in this way that were inspiring. "It's always up to the individual in case of what the person wants to do. If you just think about it you're not going to go anywhere but, if you take an action that's the only way you're going to get somewhere" (9-62-63). "There are people who are like, just because my parents did it, doesn't mean that I have to. You know, some people are sort of like individuals, where some people follow their parents' footsteps and abuse. It's what you make of yourself. It's the choices you make for yourself" (9-68). Also breaking out of unhealthy patterns, N discussed how she reframed her challenges by altering her perspective. "I had a concrete wall before and it was mounting and I said 'hey' to myself, 'what are you going to do about it?'...From experience...have asked myself if there's a problem such as work or at home, then that means there's an opportunity coming up. I don't know what it is but it's going to direct me in some way and how am I going to apply myself to those" (11-78).

Inner strength and a focus on survival of the family and community were often driving forces behind many of the women's desire for children to stay in school. Often problems were envisioned as a big negative entity and education was offered as a very clear and important solution. "What do I find good here?

Education for kids" (5-28). "For this community I think if there was less dropouts there would be less negativity. Yes. So education is the key, I think in many ways" (11-75). "I want the students to stick to the schools and that's all and that's the only way they can support themselves like if they stay in school and graduate and so they won't have any problems or anything like if they try to get a job or something?" (3-15). "Education. Education is the best prevention to anything. For example, like with AIDS, the best prevention is education on AIDS, right? Same thing, I say, the same with everything, violence, rape, sexual abuse, spousal abuse and all the other good things. And the only way to learn about that it to people talk about it (6-38).

In some cases this inner strength was in the form of empathy. Particularly around the issue of confronting domestic violence, I sensed that individual empowerment was slowly emerging to the creation of a collective consciousness.[7] As various women started to slowly confront their own personal fears on the issue they were starting to encourage other women to do the same. "I feel bad for the ladies that are taking the abuse. Like I took the abuse and probably someone felt bad for me too and when I stood up for myself now I can feel bad for those ladies who won't stood up for themselves. I get really mad sometimes, when I see someone, some guy, or heard some guy's done bad to his

[7] One example, not documented in my interviews but which I was told about upon my return in March, was the fact that two of the women I interviewed were looking at combining their programs of healing around violence. Y, who worked at the women's shelter told me how she and another woman in town, who helped with the running of healing circles around negative issues, had realized the mutual goal of their organizations and were thinking of combining the programs. In this way, women from the women's shelter would be encouraged to attend a healing circle and discuss issues around violence.

wife. I mean that's bad" (5-27). Now that she has confronted the violence in her life, through communication, S hopes to help others. "I'm happy to say all this cause I can help, cause I feel I can help anyone with family problems. I feel I can talk to them or I feel I can make them talk to me with their problems cause I've been through it and I know I can help people with it. I know now I can help people by talking" (5-30).

A sense of humour was also a common expression of inner strength, used to cope with difficulties that are affecting individual women and reframing their perspective on their challenges. Speaking of her hopes for the future, K said "hopefully lots of money! No, I'm just kidding" (6-31). Although P showed concern with growing older and surprise that the years are passing so quickly, she also uses humour to face the reality of her years. "My life right now? I'm getting too old every day. Agi!! (laughs)" (2-3). Speaking at the end of the interview session, N explained how her sense of humour helps her to maintain a positive perspective on life, despite its many challenges.

> I felt safe because the sense of humour always goes with it. I like to be...even though I was in a session, seriously talking but then I would be scared if there was no sense of humour or like at the end of the session if I'm not able to laugh at or something. I'm scared then. I'm afraid that my situation's hopeless. So there has to be something good in it. I mean I don't want to be serious all the time although I like to be taken serious too sometimes when I have personal issues that I have to deal with (11-84).

In many cases, strength was apparent as the onus was placed on the individual to take care and stop the erosion of the Inuit culture. As L states

"some people are losing their traditional culture and I want to keep myself...my culture. I try to speak Inuktitut all the time to my parents and people around me so I can keep my language and I try to do different things like throat singing or play Inuit games. Stuff like that" (1-2). P also was motivated to preserve Inuit culture. Though she has participated most recently in formal adult education programs pursuant of her Bachelor degree, before taking this education she felt it was important to learn the traditional Inuit culture. As she explains, she did so by living out on the land and learning from her husband.

> I live in an outpost camp for three years...I didn't know about the outside of [the community] so my husband wanted to teach me, how to be outside from [town] if I'm going to be a teacher...He says...if I want to be a teacher...to teach Inuit students, so he teach me first...On the land. So he teaches me to survive. How to handle when it's very cold and I learn. And then I go back to school and then working at the school again. So I learn...today I can teach...Before I was teaching and I didn't know...like you guys because you never been out...It helped me a lot...I was just family...learn support my husband. What he's doing because I didn't know, so he teach me everything. It changed my life. Better...a lot better (2-10).

Y also spoke of the importance of preserving the Inuit culture. She thought that the Inuit culture could be learned in conjunction with the Qallunaat culture but it is important to first learn Inuit culture. "I strongly believe that you should learn more in English you're your own culture – both. But if you learn your culture first, I strongly believe that you can learn English faster if you learn properly and your own language" (8-52). Similarly, P talked of her motivation to go and help another community where they were losing their language at a faster pace than in the home community. "I'm thinking about myself, maybe I go to Iqaluit to

teach to help more teachers in Iqaluit, Inuit teachers, because they lost the language" (2-7). She also talked of how she only allowed talking in Inuktitut at home. "They try to speak more English at home, so I always say 'no, only please speak Inuktitut. We're at home if you want to speak in school just speak English in school.' I know because I've been in school so many years...mmm I know what's going on" (2-7). Also speaking of the need to preserve the Inuktitut language, Y spoke how the language is becoming a slang that is hard to understand. "Nowadays they have some kind of a language we don't understand. Like you have a slang language...so is Inuktitut which I don't understand at all" (8-52). K felt that Inuit culture was well on its way to being lost but similarly that the Inuit still had a chance to preserve the Inuktitut language. "The thing that we can at least preserve is the language. I always try to correct my children when they speak in Inuktitut. At least I know a little bit more than they do—their Inuktitut. So I often tell them that if they're going to try to speak in English that I prefer that they explain it in Inuktitut even if (*especially if*) they're amongst Inuit" (6-32).

IDENTITY

Transition from life on the land into settlements and the influence of the Southern culture moving into Inuit communities are creating various challenges and changes to identity. Within the interviews it was obvious that questioning around the issue of identity has arisen within the areas of gender, culture and in

relation to the nation. Many also spoke of a change of attitude within the community that is quite prevalent in the population today. The change of attitude is documented in this section as many of these changes in attitude are linked intrinsically to factors of identity confusion.

GENDER IDENTITY AND CHANGE TO GENDER ROLES

When asked about gender identity, Y had a very clear and interesting explanation. Speaking of the difference between female and woman, male and man she spoke of the ability to do traditional tasks as warranting the designation of man/woman but otherwise said that one was "only" a female or male.

> As being a woman, to be honest with you I'm just a female. As a woman I would say I would know how to sew, I would know how to sew sealskin, which I can't do. I have never tried it. I can't sew caribou skin. I would say that's a woman. I would say I'm just a female. I would say there's a big difference...Since I can't bore any more children, I wouldn't say I'm a woman. I have the body of a female but I can't look at myself as a woman because I can't sew those things on my own (8-58).

> I would say if a man goes out hunting and brings the game in and do all the stuff like in the old days they used to, if he does it on his own without any helping hand from anybody, I would say he's a man. But if he doesn't do those things, I would just call him a male (8-59).

When asked about the identity of women in the community, others also spoke in relation to traditional tasks but many went on to elaborate on changes to this definition. S initially spoke of the ability to take care of things as the primary role of a woman. "Being a woman means being a woman. A woman should be a woman. Take care of her kids. Take care of her husband. Take care of her

parents. Take care of whatever has to be taken care of" (5-29). Going on to discuss changes in women's role over time, S was quick to use humour to exemplify how the present role of women varies more presently than when her mother was younger.

> My mother was a housewife, all her life she was a housewife. (So how come you decided not to be a housewife?) Housewife? I don't know—maybe it's not in my blood. (laughs) Ela, I'm a good mother, I cook, I bake, I clean. (Do you see yourself as a housewife?) Yea. Sometimes. I prefer to work than work at home probably. Sometimes I ask my husband if we can get a maid but we can't afford it (laughs) and I have my girls to help me clean up the place (5-23).

A immediately talked of the task of sewing when the concept of woman was asked about, but was quick to mention that some women don't spend all their time sewing. "Well looking at my mother she does most of the sewing when she's staying home when she's not working. I know some women who sew, I mean staying home sewing all the time but some women aren't like that too" (3-17). P, also equating the notion of women with the traditional task of sewing for the family held a lot of pride as a woman, but she also showed a desire to do tasks that were traditionally thought of as male tasks. "Being a woman, I'm proud of myself because I can sew. I can teach. Sometimes I want to be a man because I want to go out fishing, making house" (2-9). E had a similar desire to also do traditional male tasks. "Sometimes I want to follow him when he goes out hunting. There are only sometimes I can go...No girls go hunting, you know?" (7-48). P went on to discuss how her pride as a woman falters when her abilities at sewing, particularly those used to make traditional clothing, are

compromised. In her case, her sewing ability has been compromised by her eyesight worsening with age. Likening the ability to make kamiks for her family to being able to properly provide for them as she believes an Inuk woman should, she loses pride in herself when she can no longer do those tasks.

> But sometimes I'm not proud of myself because I don't make kamiks...I don't make kamiks because I have very poor vision. Mmm sometimes I feel sorry for myself. (Why is it very good to make kamiks?) Because I need kamiks so I can make kamiks so my boys should have two each. How come they doesn't have more than one? And they're comfortable like they're not wet, they're not too dry. When you wear them they're just perfect (2-9).

Discussing the role of men in the community, many noted the lack of male role, although many also spoke of the fact that many men are carvers in the community. Speaking of the lack of male role, in relation to her earlier designation of woman/man and female/male, Y said "if he's just going to walk around town in the settlement instead of going out to hunt for game, I would say he's a male" (8-59). S also noted the prevalence of men without a role in the community but went on to say how many men carve. "Men...there's few people work for a living, there's more people who just walk around for a living. Ela, most of them do carvings, eh?" (5-29). E had a similar view. "A lot of men carve...work. Although some men don't do anything at all like work or sell things or anything—same with women, you know? A lot of men really want to keep themselves busy too" (7-48). Going on, E described how she felt men were more free-spirited than women. "I think men are more free spirited then women like when their wives or girlfriends stay home with their kids. They like to be

alone with other guys or they like to go out hunting alone, like want to be free but they know they have a family to support" (7-48).

Discussing the differences between men and women, many noted that women work more than men. It became obvious that women are seen as the strength of the community and men seem to currently lack a role in the community. Speaking of the difference between a man and a woman within the partnership of a marriage, M noted that usually dependence was on the woman within a relationship. She went on to use her marriage as an example and also spoke of how sharing and friendship is an important factor. "Difference is that a man really, really depends on a woman for sure as a spouse. As an Inuk I can say that cause it seems like the woman is a hand for the man—a helping hand for a man. I find like that and best friends" (4-22). Others spoke of this trend more sharply. Discussing how women seem to be working more than men, S referred to them as "boys." "I think the women and the men here...I think the women are working more than the boys" (5-29). L also expressed a very strong statement on the trend in gender roles and the change from traditional times. "Like in this century there are more women who are working for their family now. Ela, I see that women are more becoming leaders then men. Like men just stays at home and do nothing. Back in the day they used to go out hunting for their family and then women would stay at home and do housework" (1-1). Also noting this trend, S stated she sees women as leaders within the community. "[This community] is...because of the women working...[It] is [this community] today

because of the women of this town. They probably talk out more, eh? They talk more. They explain more. I think women in [this community] are smarter then men, cause men they only...sit down click that stupid remote and ask for a cup of coffee" (5-29). E also spoke of the difference between men and women this way.

> I feel women are more important—I just do cause we get to have kids. Well I said this before but we get to have kids...keep the family and...I feel we have more social skills than men. Like men don't talk. Men don't really like to talk emotionally or you know? And they need women's help...if I look at the whole town I see a lot of women working, although there are a lot of guys but I feel women are working more than men until they die or something or you know? Until they can't do any more. If you're women are much stronger or something (7-49).

Out of this trend, some women also noted that women are attending adult education more than men.

> I've seem more of women. Ladies here that are going back to school. Like a few of my friends are going back to school now and it's more ladies. But with men they're practically just going out hunting. Which is pretty cool, you know? Keeping your traditions alive and everything. That's what the weekends are for—that's what I think...Go and get your education first...I mean I'm really happy that they're keeping the tradition alive and everything (9-67).

E also noted this. "I feel more women participate in education than men, although there are men who are interested in education but I feel more women are participating more than men" (7-49).

Not all of the women, however, expressed the trend that women are more commonly becoming leaders and men have a lack of role. Speaking of women, T said "I think they may be full time mother but everyone stays home too much. I

think all the women start to suck air. To suck air or I don't know...they have something inside too much or too long" (10-42). Going on to discuss her thoughts on the men in the community, her words had an edge to them. When I first heard them, I thought of the concept of words as weapons as introduced by Belenky et al (1997, p. 24). As they note "[i]n trying to understand the experience of voice for the silent women...[w]ords were perceived as weapons. Words were used to separate and diminish people, not to connect and empower them." T's words reflect speak to this description. "Well I'm a bitch, I can't put all the men down. No, I'm not an easy person. Some can be nice, they can be rude. I don't know. I don't know how men are here. They hunt that's one thing. They're working their asses off" (10-43). Her thoughts on her own gender identity provide some explanation for the distinct perspective she held regarding gender identities in the community. Speaking of her what her identity as a woman means to her, T said:

> It sucks—really. For me—you know what?—I was a boy. They delivered me as a boy. They delivered me in Inuktitut way. My mum had midwife—all Inuit. I was a boy for few minutes! This is one thing Qallunaat don't get...but it do happen. So I always tell my brother I was a man. I don't have to clean up. I don't have to have kids. Actually I think I could do better than being a woman if I was a man (10-43).

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Some women spoke of the life on the land and the traditional culture of the Inuit. "Culture and tradition is quite unique and as Inuit we are just the way we are"

(11-75). K described the traditional life as strong. "They didn't have doctors like we have today. They did have medicine but it wasn't Qallunaat medicine. It was their own medicine. Their family ties were very strong. They had leaders and it was something strong that's all I can say" (6-33). M spoke of the time her family spent in the outpost camp as one where her family learned a lot about their traditional culture very easily. "I noticed that my children they got to know more of their Native eematuk, just by watching they learn...they learn more—a lot more on what we can depend on down there" (4-18-19). Contrasting this with the life in the community, M spoke primarily of the difference in money expenditure. "I seem to be spending more money here then down living in the outpost camp each week" (4-19). Many of the women spoke of the notion of two distinct cultures that are part of their world. Speaking of life on the land, E said "lot of people like it out there and it helps the human mind like...eases their...stress...it helps the body to get out of town" although hinting at the influence of community life she went on to say, "but there's no toilets there, that's one problem and no showers" (7-48). P lived out on the land with her husband for an interim period in the life they shared together. Upon returning to the community, she felt the strong contrast of the two cultures and having spent so much time focusing on one, she felt a sense of loss with the second. As she said, "we were outpost camp for three years and then when we come back I had to start all over again" (2-3). K spoke often of the distinctive two cultures within her interview. Speaking of the traditional culture, she expressed that she felt it

was being lost and she placed the blame for the loss of this culture on herself. "Family connections not as strong as it used to be...and our tradition, our cultural. (You think it's being lost?) It is cause I know my grandchildren won't know what I started to know when I was growing up but I lost it—like Inuit values and stuff?" (6-32). Speaking of this further, she stated that the elders of today are the last elders who possess 'true' Inuit values. "If we want to preserve any of the cultural traditions or stuff we better get on it today because there's only few elders left in [this community]. I'm going to be an elder in the future but what good am I being an elder for Inuit values if I was born in 61? [In] 61, Qallunaat were already here" (6-39). Further expressing the loss of the traditional culture and summarizing the presence of the two cultures, K offered the following explanation.

> I do hope that at least my grandchildren will be able to see a little bit of what's left of the Inuit way. Sometimes when I think about where I was and where I am today...like...scary! It's like when you're in water you slip...you try to put your hand where something solid...but water's not solid, eh? It's like that. (So what do you picture as the water?) The fact that we'll never go back to the Inuit way that our parents lived (6-33).

When asked if she felt a resistance to the Qallunaat culture, K said she also felt that was a part of her now as she had lived it intimately since she was a child. "(Do you feel a resistance against Qallunaat culture or is that also a part of you?) I have to say it's a part of me now because I was introduced to it when I was real young. I didn't know there was a real cow until I saw one on the TV show.

Never seen a cow before until I saw one in TV" (6-34). Speaking of how her attendance in school was a function of the Qallunaat culture, K spoke of her initial lack of comfort but mentioned that she soon adapted. "I thought when I had to get on that first bombardier—it was not a bus then it was a bombardier—I hated that thing for so long. It took me away from home...to a place I don't know...to an environment that I don't understand...but I soon adapt" (6-32). Going on to discuss the two cultures, K also placed herself between them and expressed that she felt at a loss. "Kind of like being caught. I may be an Inuk and I may speak Inuktitut but I don't know all of Inuktitut words, right? And yet I may speak English but I know I'm not Qallunaat so therefore I can't live like one. It's like being caught in some kind of world or generation where you can't be either" (6-33). N also noted the gap between the two cultures. "There's quite a bit of gap between English and Inuit lifestyle so somewhere along the line there's negativeness" (11-75). K stated her reasons for not feeling like an Inuk because she wouldn't be able to survive on the land. "Cause I know I can't, if somebody placed me back about 20 years ago—or 30 years ago—40 years ago—I wouldn't survive. I wouldn't. In my culture I wouldn't survive for sure. I'd probably try and learn but I know I wouldn't survive" (6-33). Also exhibiting her feeling that she lacked an ability to survive out on the land like in the traditional culture, K said "I'm glad I didn't live in an igloo, I would have frozen to death!" (6-32).

REALITY

Some of the comments from the interviews spoke directly to the notion of the contrast between an outside perception of realities within Nunavut and that lived by these women. P commenting on the sadness she feels when she hears how Nunavut is represented to the rest of Canada as a place with terrible problems speaks to the fact that there is a contrast between her perception of Nunavut and that possessed by the rest of Canada. "When I watching TV...it's always something problem on TV and they keep saying 'in Nunavut it's the worst.' Tell me...only sometimes. How come they keep saying such a problem?" (2-13). N further discusses this contrast, using humour to speak of the different characteristic cultural identities in relation to understanding commercials on television. After visiting down South, in particular New York City, she felt she understood more about the Qallunaat culture and subsequently the commercials began to make more sense.

> Honestly when I watch commercials, I think that's way too off the bat. Now I understand. Like picker upper swiffer—that commercial? They really need that! Just because the way they go, you don't have time to clean up or anything...Meeting and crossing the street and lining up. Now I understand the commercials...Most people haven't really travelled so they think that these are funny commercials that were just created for fun. And I say, no they really do need it (11-74).

Attempting to determine if and to what extent the establishment of Nunavut and government politics were part of the individual and collective consciousness within the community, I posed general questions with regards to these issues within the interview. Some of the women expressed a general answer in return.

When asked about her sentiments on the establishment of Nunavut, A replied "I was happy and I was happy for the people to get their land" (3-15). Others had more specific thoughts on these issues. Q spoke of the establishment of Nunavut as the attainment of lost power. "I think it gives the Inuit the power back of what they wanted years ago and it opened their eyes a bit and they said hey, we got denied years ago and we finally have our government back. If we can do that, then I can do anything. Some people are like that. It opened doors for people who wants it" (9-65). N also spoke positively of the establishment of Nunavut and the government, but went on to mention the lack of visibility of the community representative within the community itself. "The government here I believe is on the right track and I think they did create a very beautiful territory...I praise our leaders for their hard work...I wish that our representative was more...I wish he could voice himself out more here" (11-76). Many of the women, when asked about the establishment of Nunavut and the government drew a clear line between their realities and that of Nunavut and the government. They made it clear that these were completely outside their individual realities. When asked about the government Y said "I don't know. I sort of understand our government but not understanding in a way though. The GN—the whole thing: the government of Canada, Nunavut. I'm all confused about that...I never really thought about it or it never really occurred to me what's going on" (8-58). Similarly with regards to Nunavut she said, "I'm still confused with that, to be honest with you cause I'm not into politics...but I'm

happy for my people, well for us. But hearing all these politic things on air, on CBC, I don't really understand that though but if someone explain it properly to me one-on-one I think I would understand...I'm always lost, I don't really listen to that" (8-58).

> The government of Nunavut? I don't know...I really don't care for them. Ela, they do good to me but I don't really...try to see what they work—how they work. I just live day by day without asking questions. I think they're doing really well cause they're doing stuff they never did before like getting people to get together or anything that has to be dealt with. Ela—I really don't know. I don't really care for the government. How they work cause...I don't care how they work. Whatever their problems is their problems...it's not my problem. Ela, I'm happy for them to be there but it's just that I really don't care for what's going on, eh? Ela—I care. I would participate if there was something to be participated in (5-28).

Speaking of the new territory of Nunavut, L states, "I don't really care about it. No, maybe I will in the future like if I really enjoy it so if I want to. I don't know" (1-1). M held a similar view that this was out of her frame of reference. "Achoo. I really don't know. Eeh—I'm not really into that. I get to hear them but...I don't know" (4-21).

OWNERSHIP OF REALITY

Some of the discussion over the establishment of Nunavut demonstrates how the ownership over reality is questioned. As K expressed her thoughts on the issue, she noted how she felt the control over her fate was not within her own grasp and she stood as a distant observer on shaky ground wondering about the outcome. "I thought to myself I hope we know what we're doing. I honestly

thought like that. I actually felt like I was walking on very thin ice. I wonder if we can do this. I wonder if we are going to survive" (6-36-37). P went further in explaining her thoughts on the government but she also makes clear that it sits at the edge of her consciousness. Speaking of the manner in which the land from the Inuit was decidedly converted into crown land she expresses her patience with the developing government and discusses how the NWT is still very much influencing the present government of Nunavut. Underneath this tone of patience, with regards to the fact that it is her "home" that we're speaking of, however, she expresses muffled tones of confusion mixed with resentment at how Inuit land was so easily converted into government land.

> I don't want, back then yea. But I know that's slow. Cause only really starts in 1993 and then 1997...start in Iqaluit...Only 6 years. So far it's going ok. I'm not really...not really though...because there's still the NWT government...law. Like somehow they keep going right now but there's still NWT government cause they new. They're still a very new government. So when they come back they keep saying so we still growing but before that was my home. When I was growing up but I didn't know it was government—how would I say—government policy. It wasn't our land, it was government. Before we didn't know it was the government owned our—the land. I though it was because we didn't have a town here that it was ok (2-11).

T's thoughts on the government express clearly that she feels they are more in control of her reality than she is. "Well the government did a good job on me too. Putting everybody into laziness—putting everybody on welfare or people who don't work" (10-41). Her thoughts on the manner that drugs are controlling the community also speak to this uncertainty over who's owning and controlling

reality. "There's no way I can stop it. It's too big. I don't know. It's eating our money. It's eating everybody's clothes. It's eating everybody's food" (10-42).

IDENTITY CONFUSION

Within the interviews, many of the women expressed the prevalence of the negative concepts of selfishness, irresponsibility, apathy, laziness and loss of respect within the community. As will be further explored within the conclusion of this thesis and briefly discussed in the following interpretation section, I see these characteristics of the community as a reaction to the multifaceted identity confusion that many individuals are facing.

Some of the women expressed how a larger change within the community as a whole has meant that children are losing respect for older ones. P related this change to "all the people right now and look like the students not listening to the parents more than before because before we had to listen to our father and mother when they say. Yea, before we didn't if we had to say no we were scared. Today it looks like nobody scares right not" (2-8). M noticed a similar trend with children in the community. "I noticed that nowadays younger ones, younger children really don't have discipline before, or no respect for older ones now. I've noticed that a lot" (4-18). M went on to show concern over the larger change she observed within families in the community and further discussed how some of these families are promoting this lack of respect seen in children through a lack of communication and a catering to their every whim.

"Relationships between the common-laws they're breaking up, coming back together. Making children and breaking up. It's a lot different now. I've noticed that" (4-18).

> I've noticed other families not respecting other people...the older people, their young children and all that. Ai well the parents are the responsible ones right? We're the responsible ones. We have to talk to our children—what's right and what's wrong. We're not communicating with our children anymore I guess. Probably just trying to keep what they want, what they're asking for (4-21).

K also noted a change in the care given to children within the community but described it more along the lines of irresponsibility. She went on to attribute it to the change caused by the introduction of the Qallunaat culture saying the Inuit lost something through the process.

> Today we as parents we kind-of just want other people to look after our children. Like if I can't handle my child and my child has a problem—who do I go to? Social services. Like back then they didn't have social services, they dealt with it as family. It's okay to ask for help but...I find that sometimes because of the different cultural that we're still caught up in it but I guess, we as Inuit kind-of lost something there that I don't know (6-36).

Speaking clearly of the people of today, calling them the "people of 2000" S mentioned that she saw selfishness as a common attitude in the community. She attributed the selfishness and individualistic attitudes that she observed within the community to the fact that many people today are not living as the ancestors lived. "Things were done in the old days. Your ancestors got you here today and you should live by the way they live" (5-28). "Negative parts of the community is that they're not helping each other anymore. They're living for

themselves. They're not helping people. They used to help each other a lot. Ela, the elders here still will help each other a lot but the people of the 2000, they're living for themselves. That's how I see it" (5-28). Q echoed her thoughts. "What I think sometimes, some people are like very selfish. From my point of view I think this is what people feel—what's in it for me?" (9-66). Also speaking of this attitude change T mentioned how it was affecting the relationship parents had with their children. She attributed it to a lack of respect but was clear that it was not a function of the way they were raised.

> I don't know really. We were raised good. I was raised good...but I don't know why I'm, you know?—why we get to be this way with our kids when we don't have to. And our parents has already disciplined us and fed us and everything. Yea, we have lack of this and that with our kids. I can say that. We don't even send our kids to church. Our parents had respect for us at that age. Some of us don't at all. It's like you brought me this way, some of my age group or younger? To be a better parent like our parents were. Today a lot of us are not good, eh? (10-43).

Q also noticed how this change in attitude was affecting children. As she observed, children were not receiving tax benefits intended for their care. "What I see a lot is when children are getting their child tax benefits, their parents just buy some junk food and give them 5-10 dollars and then say 'hey, here take that, leave me alone.' I see that a lot and that hurts" (9-63). S went on to mention that elders are also starting to follow these individualistic paths. "And as they live...as those 2000 people live themselves...people are following them too. Like our elders, they're kind of following their ematuk—living on their own now" (5-28). Finally, further explaining the prevalence of this individualistic way of

thinking S states that people are driven largely by money now. "There's people not helping their olders anymore. Some of them still do but mostly things are being worked here with money. Like if you ask me to do something, I would ask something in return. They didn't used to...but they do now. Everything has to be paid for" (5-28).

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter has presented the findings of research interviews conducted with 11 Inuit women living in Nunavut. The findings section begins with a short introduction to each woman. With a primary focus on adult education in the North, this study then presents some of the women's perspectives on the adult education programs they have participated in. Within this section, some women spoke with a critical voice on issues of education within the North. All of the women then expressed their perspective on their past educational experience as well as the motivational factors and barriers to these programs, ending with a discussion on how education is beneficial to their lives. Moving beyond the primary goal of the research, it was found that to truly understand these perspectives on adult education they had to be placed within the greater context of the lives of these women. Going forward then to explore these lives, some collective themes emerged and individual stories and experiences were used to highlight personal aspects of these themes. What followed was a discussion of colonialism and change within the North, where many women discussed the

movement from camp to settlement life. Following that, challenges within current Nunavut society were examined from the perspective of these women, where the four main challenges discussed were drugs and alcohol, suicide, money and work as well as multiple levels of violence within the community. Next the various mechanisms of coping with these challenges were explored. Particularly evident from the findings was the contradiction inherent in these coping strategies as both silence and communication were discussed as were helplessness and inner strength. Finally examined at length was the concept of identity. Gender identity, cultural identity and the concept of reality were explored within this section, as was change and confusion within these identity constructs and some results of these shifting identities within the community.

Chapter Five

Discussion

ADULT EDUCATION

Within the interviews, some women spoke candidly with a critical voice about changes that they felt should be made to the education system within Nunavut. It was recommended that standards within the elementary and high school education systems be upgraded to the level seen Canada-wide. Recommendations for adult education policy were that the hiring process of adult educators be based on teaching ability and experience rather than more superficial reasons. As Y said, "I'm not really looking at the race now but I want someone or DEA to hire someone who can teach regardless what their colour is but if they're going to teach...they should hire educator who's got more experience teaching." In the particular case of courses run every year, such as prenatal nutrition, it was recommended that the material taught year to year should build on that from a previous session as opposed to repeating the same content year after year. In addition, some women spoke directly about the government training initiative to increase the number of Inuit within the workforce. One woman expressed the desire that the GN be realistic and patient about accomplishing the training initiative. Another woman expressed how she felt that there should be a balance of both Qallunaat and Inuit within the

workforce. Furthermore, providing herself as an example, she went on to say how she felt training was necessary since she was lacking some skills that she saw as necessary within the government structure. Finally, concluding the section on women's critical opinions on educational issues, Q expressed how she sees educational training for the Inuit as a form of gaining back what has been lost in the past. These thoughts have direct implications for policy. Some are aimed generally at education policy and some speak specifically to adult education policy. Also particularly noteworthy for educational policymakers was the fact that many women interviewed left high school before completion (9 out of 11). Lack of completion of high school was often due to reasons related to family obligations (becoming a mother, needing to care for younger siblings at home or being lonely and homesick away from family and the home community).

Going on to review the original objectives of this study, it is obvious that there is a diversity of motivation for, barriers within and benefits for adult education within the lives of these 11 Inuit women. Many found that education was beneficial to their lives. In particular many noted that they learned a lot from the content of the courses and that completion of courses raised their self-esteem and would aid in the future to gain higher paying employment. Motivation also varied. Some took adult education courses for the simple reason that they wanted "something to do." Others were motivated to take courses as they felt this offered them better opportunities for the future. Noteworthy in

these answers was that many spoke of the future in abstract, vague terms. Though the courses were often seen as beneficial for the future, these future benefits were often defined vaguely as "a job" or "something to do." Some, P in particular, did however speak in concrete definite terms of motivation for education (i.e. increasing the number of Inuit teachers). In the discussion of barriers to education it was found that some of the women discussed barriers that were larger than barriers simply to their education. Many spoke of barriers to life. For example, one woman had recently lost her son to suicide and another had recently lost her husband. Others, however, spoke specifically of barriers to education. The physical distance of the courses was often seen as a large barrier. As choice courses are not always offered within the community, women have to either attend courses that they haven't chosen or they have to travel away from the home community to attend choice courses. This is often at a high cost to these women as many spoke of the difficulty of homesickness when away from their home community. Also creating barriers to choice courses were logistical factors, such as tests to determine placement in courses and cut-offs due to low number counts of participants which impeded some women's participation in courses they desired to take. Also noteworthy is the example of a course being started then cancelled, leaving one woman especially frustrated and discouraged with education. Some women also felt that the fact that the courses are taught in English is a barrier. Finally, it should be noted that though lack of childcare seemed to be a large barrier to women completing high school in their

community, subsidized daycare was regularly provided for women attending adult education courses and there was no mention of this as a barrier to attendance to adult education courses. Lack of essential money and housing for families was, however mentioned as a barrier to education that was taken in another community.

CHALLENGES & COPING STRATEGIES

The challenges affecting the society these women live in were placed within four main categories within the findings section. The four themes were drugs and alcohol, suicide, money and work and violence. The testimony of these women on these issues expresses clearly the gravity and complexity of these challenges. Moving forward from the challenges, the Inuit women expressed a variety of coping strategies to societal challenges existing within their community. As outlined, these coping strategies tended to fall within four main categories also: Silence, helplessness, communication and strength (will to survive). Pulling out these concepts we can see how they consist of two binary contradictory pairs: Silence versus communication and helplessness versus strength (a will to survive). In fact, contradiction was a main function of the lives of these women on a day to day basis. I noticed that fluctuation between contradictory coping strategies happened with each woman depending on the issue faced. For some women, the challenge of suicide was crippling while when they spoke of a similarly difficult challenge of domestic violence, they spoke with strength and a

clear will to survive. Recently losing her son to suicide, N was overcome with grief and helplessness. "I felt like I was in the dark. I felt like I couldn't improve again after I lost my child." Speaking of her experience with domestic violence and having recently separated because of it however, her strength and will to survive was evident as she discussed the situation with me. "I chose to separate and I know that it's never easy whether it was a good or bad relationship but I believe that safety comes first in our home so that's why I'm where I am today." For some, discussing the larger realities of their lives, contradictory statements followed each other within the same breath. "I know my life can be a lot better and otherwise I can say we're doing fine. We're doing okay." "My family's been through a lot within the last year but there's a saying that life goes on so we're doing pretty good." The following thoughts that T expressed on her perspective of the government demonstrate her maintenance of contradictory thoughts on one issue even.

> (What do you think of the government?) They play it smart. They know what to do. (For whose benefit?) Ours—Inuit. Government, you know? They killed all our dogs—not my dogs but Inuit dogs. Some people say for a good reason but it bothered so many people. I heard it happened for their own good but people are not really happy about it. It doesn't bother me cause I never get to have dog teams. Achoo. No—government is good.

These thoughts speak to the inherent contradiction that these women allow themselves to experience everyday as they strive to surmount challenges. Within their coping strategies there exist binary continuums upon which they fluctuate daily. On some issues they are silent, with others they stress the need to

communicate. On some issues they feel helpless, with others they show strength. Many of the women fluctuate between these two extremes on various issues. A will to survive follows the same breath speaking of helplessness. Challenges within the lives of Inuit women are diverse and as demonstrated, coping strategies in reaction to these complex challenges are laden with contradiction.

REALITY

The discussion on reality within the findings section speaks to the fact that many of these women see two distinct realities. One is about Nunavut and the government—which is also seen as the national perspective on Nunavut—and the other is inherently felt by these women. Though the women acknowledge the government and the creation of Nunavut and furthermore that this reality affects their lives, they maintain it remains on the periphery of their consciousness which has as its centre their inherent reality that is more focused in the everyday and the here and now. S's thoughts exemplify how she sees these two realities. There is the government reality which she feels she doesn't understand though she realizes it affects her life and then there is her day to day reality which is more immediate. "The government of Nunavut? I don't know...they do good to me but I don't really...try to see what they work—how they work. I just live day by day without asking questions."

As presented, within the communities there exists a specific reality in which Inuit women live their everyday lives. Managing to hold the notion of the

government and the concept of Nunavut as peripheral to their core focus on survival of their selves, their families, their communities and their culture, there are two distinguishable realities that affect their lives. From this clear distinction, and through maintaining the main focus in the here and now, Inuit women are taking slow steps towards solving and healing from the complex challenges that exist within community realities.

OWNERSHIP OF REALITY

Other statements within the findings speak to the fact that there is an unclear ownership of immediate realities. K expresses her hope that Nunavut be a success, but she expresses it in a way so we know she feels she has no say in the matter. "I thought to myself I hope we know what we're doing. I honestly thought like that. I actually felt like I was walking on very thin ice. I wonder if we can do this. I wonder if we are going to survive." As P states, the ownership the Inuit had over their reality was quickly thrust out of their hands when government moved in and started telling them what to do and that the land they had lived on for so long was no longer theirs. "When I was growing up but I didn't know it was government—how would I say—government policy. It wasn't our land, it was government. Before we didn't know it was the government owned our—the land. I thought it was because we didn't have a town here that it was ok." The quotations from T, speak to the notion that she does not feel in control of her reality. "Well the government did a good job on

me too. Putting everybody into laziness—putting everybody on welfare or people who don't work." Instead she feels that factors outside her control are driving her reality and though she feels contempt at these factors, the feeling of contempt has no direct target and is just a general sentiment. "There's no way I can stop it. It's too big. I don't know. It's eating our money. It's eating everybody's clothes. It's eating everybody's food."

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Quotes within the findings section on cultural identity speak directly to the notion of a cultural identity dichotomy. There is a recognition that two cultures exist. There is a prevalence of feeling of loss (loss of cultural identity) and the feeling of being caught between the Qallunaat and Inuit cultural identities. Feelings of loss indicate a feeling of a lack of true identity and hint at the possible internalization of the forced identity dichotomy. Internalizing as fact that they can either possess a Qallunaat or an Inuk identity and realizing that they are neither completely means that they are trapped between the two without allowing for an identity that is grey and lies along the continuum between the two.

The quotes indicating a forced cultural identity dichotomy between the two cultures also speak to the notion of a true Inuk as being the 'traditional Inuk' who lives on the land. Once the forced dichotomy is internalized any other type of Inuk (i.e. one that is not completely traditional) is seen as not a true Inuk.

Within these quotes is also the notion that these two cultures can be visualized as a double culture, where there is a feeling that they can simultaneously belong to both. In this case the forced dichotomy has not been internalized and there is a freedom to possess an identity that is neither Inuk nor Qallunaat absolutely but rather a grey mixture identity that has qualities of both. In fact, as Annahatak (1994, p. 13) elaborates, viewing the two cultures in this manner allows for the simultaneous beliefs that the Western culture influence is both good and bad for Inuit society. "The contact of two cultures, that of Inuit of my time with the western cultures, has had both positive and negative impacts on the evolution of our society."

Further elaborating on the identity dichotomy or double culture, Wenzel (2001, p. 47) presents his perspective that within reality both identities of the Inuit are always present. He is of the opinion that whichever identity is used to define the Inuit depends on the viewer, not on the Inuit themselves.

> Leaving aside Inuit for the moment, it becomes possible to see acculturation and adaptation not as being in a perpetual "dance of the dialectic," but rather as sides of the same coin. Which face is observed, however, is very much a consequence of the theoretical stance held by the observer. In fact, I suggest that acculturation and adaptation, and the cultural perspectives they represent, connote more about those who employ them than each does of Inuit, because each exactly describes aspects of everyday Inuit life.

Finally, summarizing the paper, Wenzel (2001, p 49) prompts a discussion for future research while indicating that we may be better to consider that the two perspectives form a whole and that if our motive is to seek to understand the

Inuit, it is best to speak with Inuit individuals themselves. "It is that the real action regarding identity is to be found, as it has always been, among Inuit themselves. While the notion of Kabloonamiut and Nunamiut might define very distant poles, where research is most needed is on all the categories that sit between these two extremes." Furthermore, as Dybbroe (1994, p. 48) points out, within the present context of Inuit society, the dichotomy is irrelevant. "Opposing traditional to modern is therefore tautological: any so called traditional way still in existence is found in a present-day context and must be understood in this context. On the other hand, so-called modern ways may represent cultural traditions in dynamic interaction within a global process of social change."

GENDER IDENTITY

It is obvious from the discussion on gender identity that the cultural dichotomy is also affecting some women's perspectives on the definitions of woman/man and on the roles each hold within Nunavut society as some speak of "traditional" characteristics when defining tasks subscribed to gender. Y's view was very clearly affected by the cultural dichotomy. "As being a woman, to be honest with you I'm just a female. As a woman I would say I would know how to sew, I would know how to sew sealskin, which I can't do. I have never tried it. I can't sew caribou skin. I would say that's a woman. I would say I'm just a female. I would say there's a big difference." There are others, however, who did not

subscribe to the dichotomy and discussed how women in the community had shifting roles. "I know some women who sew, I mean staying home sewing all the time but some women aren't like that too." However, though some women discussed the desire to perform "male" tasks themselves, there seemed to be a clear rule that some tasks were not for women. "Sometimes I want to follow him when he goes out hunting. There are only sometimes I can go...No girls go hunting, you know?"

Also noteworthy is how many women discussed the lack of role that men seem to possess in today's Northern society, though many also indicated that men were consistently maintaining their traditional roles of providing for the family through hunting and carving. An Inuk woman quoted within the Draft Site Report for Kenny's (2001) study (Purdon, n.d., p. 7-8) elaborates greatly on the shifts to gender roles observed within this study and speaks of some of its causes and future implications. In particular, it should be noted that the trend of more women participating in education than men was observed within this study.

> There have been advantages for women in Nunavut. Women have been able to get into school, stay in school and get job training. This comes from the old attitudes when the formal education system began. Young men were needed to hunt and help out at home, so they left school early. Young women were more able to stay in school and complete their education. This means that more often the woman is the wage earner in the family, and it is more difficult for men to get jobs. They do not have the education or training that women do. This doesn't mean that women get into senior management positions. Women need more support to promote them into management. Many women can't afford to go into management because they can't

> afford to devote the time that is needed for these positions because of their responsibilities to their household and family. The support systems women need are not there; neither in the institutions, nor in the home, to support women in management positions.

The observations on the shifts to gender roles within this study seem to be similar to Reimer's view that women tend to be the wage-earners while men are more likely maintaining their hunting responsibilities as primary focus. As Reimer (1996, p. 83) stated:

> On the surface, it appears that settlement life has turned gender roles upside down. For instance, a second generation woman observed that women seem to be taking a 'superior' position over men in terms of wage employment. At a deeper cultural level, however, the interviews reveal a continuity of the traditional division of labour. Many Pangnirtung women who hold full-time wage employment provide the cash resources necessary to allow husbands, sons, brothers and fathers to provide country food resources for the immediate and extended family. There remains a clear gender pattern which places the Inuk woman at the centre of settlement life (age economy) and the Inuk man at the centre of life on the land (informal economy).

Within this study, however, there was not the same observation that women are consistently supporting men in maintaining their traditional tasks. In fact within this thesis, the discussions on gender relations seem to indicate that though some men are maintaining their traditional role many women perceive their lack of participation within the wage economy as negative. "With men they're practically just going out hunting. Which is pretty cool, you know?—Keeping your traditions alive and everything. That's what the weekends are for—that's what I think...Go and get your education first." Some women discussing this trend expressed furthermore how in some cases men are not even maintaining

their traditional role. "Like in this century there are more women who are working for their family now. Ela, I see that women are more becoming leaders then men. Like men just stays at home and do nothing. Back in the day they used to go out hunting for their family and then women would stay at home and do housework." The discussion on the lack of role for men within the current society in the North supports Billson's similar observations as discussed within the review of the literature. As Billson (1995, p. 109) stated previously, "[s]ince resettlement, clearly defined gender roles have faded. Moving from a hunting economy into the settlements jeopardized the male role. The Inuit increasingly depend not on what father can bring home from the hunt but on wage labour." Exemplified by the statements of these 11 Inuit women, the jeopardization of the male role in Inuit society has left some women as single mothers or mothers in non-supportive relationships while also being primary wage earners. "I know I have to work. I get very little support from their dad, ela, which is a lot cause lot of people don't get that." This trend sets up a double workload that Kenny (2002, p. 3-4) explains is present within the greater North American context. "Women workers are, at best, referred to as dual-employed with scant recognition for the unpaid home labour of women in child care, housework and family making. Today, nearly half of the paid labour force is made up of women, yet working women with children continue to spend on average 1.6 hours a day more doing unpaid work in the home compared to their male partners."

Through the discussion on gender identity within this study it was observed that this community is experiencing some shifts to gender roles. Some women used the ability to perform traditional tasks to measure gender identities. Others spoke in general of how traditional tasks were shifting in the community. When women spoke, however, of performing "male" tasks themselves they seemed to envision a clear distinction between a "female" and "male" task. In addition a current lack of male role within the wage-economy was very clearly observed from the interviews. Many women spoke of the trend that men are maintaining their traditional role (i.e. hunting or carving) in the community but that many men are not working or participating in education as much as women. As women tend to be the wage-earners in the community, the double burden of paid labour and unpaid labour in the home is another trend that women spoke of within this study.

IDENTITY CHANGE AND CONFUSION

The concept of identity is an existential concept. Discussions on the nature of identity construction and concept can be broad and complex. Elaborating fully on this concept in relation to the Inuit is well beyond the scope of this thesis. As there is discussion on gender and cultural identities within the interviews, however, it is helpful to explore areas of the literature on Inuit identities that speak to certain aspects of the observations on identity within this study.

Many of the observations on identity and confusion or changes to cultural identity found within this thesis have been elaborated on by Dybbroe (1996). In the case of recapturing the traditional past as some quotes within this study exemplify, Dybbroe's thoughts are noteworthy. S in particular spoke to the aspect of the forced identity dichotomy that holds the concept of a 'true Inuk' as one that is traditional. Saying that things would be better if the Inuit returned to how the ancestors lived, S alludes to the idealization of the traditional life of the Inuit. Of course, we must also acknowledge that she may not hold fast to the notion that the traditional life is the only ideal life. It is also possible that she is merely referring to the past to highlight what she sees as positive characteristics that could be used within Inuit culture today. Speaking of the "Inuit way of being," Dybrroe (1994, p. 40) elaborates on this notion by stating how recapturing this traditional Inuit past could lead to a movement beyond the traditional/modern dichotomy. "This knowledge leads a shadowy existence today but may be recaptured as a source for modern Inuit, demonstrating a way of overcoming the false dichotomy of traditional and modern, which denies the Inuit their culture."

Furthermore, Dybbroe (1996, p. 42) discusses the notion of lack of identity and after a lengthy discussion on the existential questions underlying identity and lack thereof goes on to mention that "[h]aving an identity means that you can act on your surroundings." This idea links some of the observations of new negative behaviour observed within the community to the issue of identity

confusion. Many of the women spoke of new behaviours and attitudes, such as laziness and lack of respect, as now being prevalent within the community, particularly among the middle-age and younger generations. Tying Dybrroe's thoughts on an ability to act requiring an identity construct links such observations of these negative behaviours and attitudes to the observation of confusion in cultural and gender identities. Extending this quote further, Dybbroe goes on to discuss an example within the Sami culture, where a lack of identity was also tied to a lack of political action. This notion links together observations of identity confusion with those of ownership of reality being questioned as well as the presence of two realities. In this way, as discussed earlier, there is evidence that the women within this study view two distinct realities (a personal reality and a Nunavut/government reality that is removed from them). As the following quote exemplifies (Dybbroe, 1994, p. 42), it is possible that this lack of control over the larger reality can be linked to negativity within identity constructs.

> Having an identity means that you can act on your surroundings. Individuals and groups, by acting in social situations, impose meaning on them and by so doing exert a degree of symbolic control. If the social relations in which individuals and groups engage are not meaningful in this sense, because people lack political, cultural, institutional, linguistic and educational control, the result may be a negative identity in the sense of the stigmatized Sami...who felt they were only looking on while others worked their country.

Furthermore, Dybbroe (1994, p. 50) goes on to link cultural identity maintenance to the notion of wider symbolic control explaining how Western domination has

ramifications within various levels of Inuit culture. "Not only of an economic and political nature, this domination, as in other parts of the world, makes itself also felt in the very fabric of culture: people's perceptions of self, of the world, their power to think alternatives." McLean's (1997) thesis that includes a discussion of a new individualism among the Inuit also speaks to this Western domination. It also serves to help explain some of the observations within this study on new behaviours and attitudes seen as negative. Many of the women note that change in the North is causing new attitudes within the community. Some of the women mention this aspect of change very vaguely and others refer to it more specifically as caused by the introduction of the new culture from the South. Others mentioned this cultural change another way by saying that things would be better if the Inuit were living the way their ancestors lived. This change, spoken of vaguely or specifically, was often held up as the reason for the prevalence of new negative attitudes and motivations within the community. Many spoke of the new and now prevalent attitudes of irresponsibility, lack of respect, lack of discipline and selfishness. S outlined most clearly that the "change" discussed by many has brought a new focus on money as the driving force of the community. Speaking of this change in focus, S makes clear that this is the reason behind the new individualistic attitudes saying that individuals seem to be out for themselves first and foremost now.

Conclusion

With a particular focus on adult education, this study reviewed the motivation for, barriers to and benefits of this education to the lives of Inuit women. In addition some women spoke directly to policymakers using critical voices and proposing clear recommendations for education policy. For a true understanding of how to address the lives of Inuit women with adult education policy however, this study proposes that the greater realities of their lives must be taken into consideration. It is proposed that policymakers must truly understand Nunavut communities and the parameters within these communities to form policy and provide services that answer directly to those realities. With the goal of better understanding aspects of Nunavut community realities, this study went on to explore: the issue of change in the North; the societal challenges resulting largely from this change; the multiple ways of coping in the face of those challenges; gender identity, gender roles and changes to gender within today's Inuit society; the prevalence of a cultural identity dichotomy also resulting from change in the North; and finally the changing face of reality in the North. In particular the notion of two realities was reviewed and the ownership of reality was questioned.

As discussed at length within the review of the literature for this study, the structure of the GN is based on a Southern model with a corporate culture. Because of this primary focus on institutional culture and through the exclusion of context based factors in forming the government structure, the training

initiative with the aim of Inuit self-government (i.e. 85% representative workforce) is not being accomplished. In addition, as similarly presented within the literature review, currently Nunavut education and adult education programs specifically are Southern based and risk accomplishing Westernization of the Inuit population. From the exploration around these themes it was concluded that adult education policy must move beyond such simplistic notions of training with the sole aim of creating a workforce to a more thorough understanding of the realities that exist in the communities of Nunavut to aid in accomplishing alleviation of social challenges and for the population of Nunavut to move towards a "brave new future." Elaborating on the realities as presented within this study, it was found that a disconnection within Nunavut society exists. On the one hand society is facing a brave new "dynamic" future as represented within policy documents and on the other society is living the realities that exist in the communities of Nunavut. As described, Inuit society is recovering from a recent history of colonialism with the federal government and is currently operating under a non-representative government that possesses primarily a corporate culture. These factors are leaving the society coping with symptoms of change and complex social challenges such as suicide and drug abuse. As explored within this study, Inuit women are working at bridging this disconnect within Inuit society by focusing by and large on the here and now, survival of their selves, their families and their culture, and by possessing and balancing contradictory positions and beliefs in their everyday lives. But in

bridging this disconnect they are faced with gender role and identity confusion resulting from fast paced change that is affecting many in their society and that is held in place through a cultural identity dichotomy and an unclear ownership of reality.

As mentioned by one of the women interviewed, though the Inuit do not traditionally possess education within the normalized sense, they do possess a rich and diverse knowledge. "So us Inuit people...before we don't have education—I mean my ancestors they have no courses but they know everything." The example of her education speaks both to the universality of education as well as to the uniqueness of her life and culture. "I know I'm very poor in my schooling—not my education. I mean because I only go up to grade 8 and I can have a Bachelor." It is my belief that policy must address both the universality and the uniqueness exemplified by this statement that is very much a part of Nunavut today. Accomplishment of appropriate adult education addressing both this universality and uniqueness starts with a true recognition of the realities existent in the communities of Nunavut and the lives of Inuit women.

Recommendations for Policy

- This research represents the perspectives of 11 Inuit women on their educational opportunities within Nunavut. Though it offers a starting point for policymakers to begin creating and implementing policy that respects the needs of Nunavut community residents, it is recommended

that policymakers look further than this thesis in seeking to better understand community realities of Nunavut. It is recommended that policymakers hold focus groups of target audiences (i.e. in the case of the topic of this thesis the target audience is Inuit women attending adult education courses) within Nunavut to better understand realities and to structure and implement policy appropriately. For the purposes of the information discussed within this thesis, here are some initial recommendations that policy makers could use as stepping stones to appropriate policy or as guiding questions for the structuring of focus groups.

- Within this research, many of the women had not completed their high school education and still others had not completed their elementary education. Often the reason behind this lack of completion of basic education was related to the fact that women were needed at home with their children. It is recommended that the high school system would likely have a higher rate of women graduates if there was greater support provided for mothers completing their high school education. Specifically policymakers might be wise to look at providing daycare onsite at the high schools as well as introducing a specific educational program for mothers that recognizes some of the challenges of being a mother and a student (i.e. the need to accommodate morning sickness, different availability schedules due to children's schedules).

- It was evident from the interviews within this research that women are often not able to leave their home communities to attend educational courses in another community. In fact, even those who do manage to leave their home communities and successfully complete education away from home indicated that they would prefer education within their home community. For this reason it is recommended that great effort be put into providing a variety of courses within the various communities within Nunavut and that further effort be made to maintain these courses from start to completion.
- In addition, it is recommended the adult education policymakers recognize that when a course in a community has a low participant number, the few remaining participants are still committed to completing the course. Drastic changes to their educational pursuits (such as course cancellation or movement between communities) leaves participants frustrated and discouraged with education in a generalized sense which invariably creates barriers to participation in these courses and decreases the chances that these participants will complete their courses.
- Discussions within this research indicated that educators for adult education courses were not always selected on ability to teach. It is recommended that hiring processes of educators focus specifically on the candidate's ability to teach and not simply be based on the race of the candidate. It is furthermore recommended that both Inuit and non-Inuit

should be represented within the hired group of educators teaching Nunavut adult education courses.

- As there is some obvious racial tension and disparity within Nunavut, it is recommended that adult educators undergo a cross-cultural awareness training workshop before teaching within Nunavut.
- In addition, it is recommended that a clear vision of adult education within Nunavut be outlined by policymakers on the basis of their better understanding of community realities acquired through discussions and summaries of focus groups with community residents. It would be beneficial for all adult educators working within Nunavut to be working under the same common vision and towards the same common goal. For this reason it is recommended that an understanding of this broad vision and goal of adult education be worked into the initial training workshop for adult educators within Nunavut. Within this overarching vision and goal of Nunavut adult education, it is recommended that there be a particular emphasis on participatory forms of education, experiential learning and emancipatory forms of education.

Recommendations for Future Research

One of the recommendations for future research is that the themes on adult education and community realities discussed within this research be explored

with other Inuit women both in the Arctic and with those who have moved from their home communities to pursue higher education. The community realities as presented from the perspective of the 11 Inuit women within this study touch on the community realities from the perspective of other groups (elders, men and youth) tangentially. One of the recommendations for future research is that more work be done exploring and examining community realities from the perspective of men, elders and youth. Aspects of these realities were touched on within this thesis and can possible serve as potential starting blocks for future research. One area of importance in current Nunavut society is the prevalence of youth suicide in the North. A potential area of future research would be to better understand the factors behind youth suicide in the North as well as to explore potential projects for alleviation of its crisis proportions. Also touched on within this study briefly was the observation of the shifts and threats to the male role in Nunavut society. Another area of future research would be to investigate the perspective of Inuit men on their current and potential future place in Nunavut society as well as an exploration of their perspectives on shifting and threatening factors. In addition, with the focus within this study on the loss of the traditional Inuit culture and Inuktitut language it would be beneficial for future research to investigate how to better integrate culture and language within the Nunavut education system. An example of such investigations could include an examination of the potential role of elders within the classroom. Other future research should focus on government policy makers. In particular how they

view realities existing in the communities of Nunavut should be examined as well as what their challenges in accessing and understanding community realities are. Finally it would be beneficial to pair up such future projects to facilitate an exchange between those in the community and those within the government structure.

Epilogue

Creating a text from research about people and a political territory presents a certain dilemma that is unavoidable: That which is continuously changing and evolving must be documented as if it is a static entity. People and the wider situation being examined evolve and change continuously throughout the period of research. Adding to the changing content, the researcher also moves through an evolving process of discovering, abandoning and working with a variety of theoretical perspectives. The personal lens and subsequent researcher perspective brought to the research can also fluctuate greatly throughout the period of research. For such reasons, within the text of this thesis, I embraced the evolutionary nature of research and attempted to present it as such—highlighting the transformational nature of Nunavut society and incorporating my own evolutions with theory through the presentation of the theoretical rationale.

It is along this vein of reconciling the dilemma of a static entity presenting evolving people and events that prompts this epilogue. After finally submitting a full copy of my thesis to the members of my thesis committee, I came across two sources of information that add greatly to the context portion of this study. Though it is too late to add them into the text itself, I put them here and ask that readers take this information into account when considering the portion of this thesis that examines the context of Nunavut.

Cindy Cowan is the Director, Academic Studies, Trades & Community Programs at the Nunatta Campus of Nunavut Arctic College. Upon hearing that she had useful information to supplement my research, I spoke to her on the phone and she offered an informed perspective on the state of adult education in Nunavut. Recalling the portion of this thesis that examines the gap between the policy and reality of Nunavut, she clarified that this gap exists because there is actually a complete lack of policy-makers considering adult education in Nunavut. Stating that the "department of education is oriented strictly in the direction of K-12," Cowan (2004) made clear that this department is not addressing adult education programs which it is mandated to do. In the face of this vacuum in policy, Nunavut Arctic College "has tried to do what it can to make up for the gap." In fact, as Cowan stated, the college has "recently been criticized for over-stepping" into the political realm as it has tried to lay out some definitions and guidelines to work with. As Cowan went on to say, there is "no [declared] definition of adult education for Nunavut so the college follows the UNESCO definition." When asked about the lack of progress of the training initiative Cowan stated that this was a "complex issue." For starters, she emphasized that "approximately 50% of the Nunavut population lack literacy skills and important attitudinal and motivational skills" for the desired number of individuals to access education that would allow for these individuals to move into the public sector. For this reason, the college has been working hard at developing "community based programming that will alleviate some of the

barriers" that accompany travel to Iqaluit for education. As Cowan made clear, however, until federal dollars start addressing the proportion of the population that is "disenfranchised" and coping with "dysfunctions" within Nunavut society, it is going to be very difficult to achieve the training initiative of representative employment in the territory. In addition, Cowan stated that another major factor influencing the lack of progress of the training initiative is the "lack of reform in Nunavut high school curriculum." As she said, "many were critical of the new Education Act" that was recently released as it failed to address this need for reform, failed to integrate essential "vocational training into high school curriculum" and failed to examine the "high school link-up to college." Finally, Cowan stated that the lack of policy for adult education also leaves a huge gap in the areas of "non-formal learning, informal learning and public education." More specifically, Cowan noted that public education should be a major focus of government to supply the Nunavut population with the tools for empowerment in the way of "public information available to be processed through critical thought" (such as how to vote, knowledge about land claims, understanding the public government system). Highlighting this lack of public education, Cowan feels that the "biggest betrayal [of the lack of adult education focussed policy] is that it is disenfranchising a large group of people."

A second addition to be considered within the context portion of this study, particularly in relation to the discussion of the Southern influenced workforce, is the criticism James Etoolook of Nunavut Tungavik made recently

of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND)'s mismanagement of funds that were part of the land claims settlement. Speaking of these funds, Etoolook (2004, p. A21) states "[i]n 1993, after more than three decades of negotiations, one of the largest transfers of money, resources and power in Canadian history was made to Inuit in Nunavut." His criticism of the mismanagement of funds was linked to the Auditor-General's review of the federal government's recent financial activities. "Today, we expect that trust will be exposed as ill-founded when Auditor-General Sheila Fraser illustrates to Canadians how...[DIAND]...has spent the past decade obstructing the federal government's promises to Inuit and Canadian taxpayers alike" (Etoolook, 2004, p. A21). Etoolook (2004, p. A21) feels that the territorial government is a scapegoat that is taking the blame for the lack of progress of the training initiative and that the real reason for what he calls "the lost promise of Nunavut" sits at a higher level—namely DIAND. As he states, though DIAND blames the territorial government for mismanagement of the transfer payments, in fact the Nunavut government is working with strapped cash and is barely able to cover basic expenditures. Etoolook (2004, p. A21) places the blame for the failure of the training initiative clearly on DIAND's shoulders and speaks of their mismanagement and lack of monitoring of the transfer payments under the land claims agreement.

> Have the lives of our people improved? Has the economy of Nunavut developed? DIAND has no idea because the department has not monitored the effects of the land or financial transfers...A clear

> illustration of the problem concerns the failure to carry out the agreement's provisions intended to increase Inuit self-reliance by ensuring that 85 per cent of all government jobs go to Inuit. Inuit currently hold just 41 per cent of those promised positions, down from 45 per cent five years ago. The government spends upward of $65-million of taxpayers' money every year to recruit the remaining 60 per cent of the work force from southern Canada and to cover the costs of an unemployed Inuit work force. To complete the picture, DIAND has staunchly resisted investing the resources in education and training that would enable Inuit to take up these jobs and end the cycle of dependence.

Finalizing his argument, Etoolook (2004, p. A21) calls for the federal government to truly commit to aboriginal affairs and a fundamental reform of DIAND. "The Paul Martin government has taken a number of concrete steps that should improve communications with aboriginal peoples...[w]ithout major, fundamental reform of DIAND though, the benefit of these initiatives may be lost."

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Appendix A

Adult Education Courses

Nunavut Arctic College Courses 2002-2003 Academic Year
(Note: those that are discussed by participants of this study are in bold)

Nunavut Teachers Education Program
Social Worker
Early Childhood Education
Alcohol and Drug Counsellor Program
Environmental Technology Diploma/Certificate Program
Management Studies
Human Resource Management Certificate
Language and Culture
Computer Technology Program
Media Communications
School Community Counsellor Program
Community Administration Certificate Program
Office Administration Program
Adult Basic Education
Job Entry (Dream Builders)
Community Lands Administration Certificate
Community Support Worker Program
Career Development Certificate
Community Health Representative
Nursing-Bachelor and Diploma Program
Nunavut Aboriginal Language Specialist
Visual Fine Arts and Crafts
Jewellery and Metal Work
Drawing and Printmaking
Small Business Fundamentals for the Artist
Sculpture
Health Careers Access Program
Small Business Fundamentals - Basket/Doll Making
Heavy Equipment Operator (Introductory)
Carpentry (Pre-Employment)
Mineral Exploration Field Assistant's Program
Mine Training (Introductory)
Trades

*Some of the courses mentioned in this study were not offered through Nunavut Arctic College. Some (i.e. the Pre-natal Nutrition Course) were preparatory training courses for jobs within Municipal Social Services. In addition, some of the women did not remember what educational jurisdiction offered certain courses they participated in or attended. The primary focus of this research was not an assessment of specific aspects of Nunavut Arctic College, other institutions offering education or the courses themselves. Rather the main goal of this research was to come to a better understanding of these women's generalized experience of education in the North. For this reason, there was no clear line drawn between formal and non-formal learning experiences and no attempt was made to document formal records of the women's participation in education courses.

Appendix B

Participant Consent Form

Project Title: Women's educational access and participation in Nunavut, Canada.

Description of Project: Nunavut has one main college and 28 community learning centres offering adult education programs for training and development of Nunavut's population. This study seeks to describe Inuit women's perceptions of their access to and their participation in these adult education programs.

Researcher: Heather Moquin
Telephone number: 867-897-8720
Interview Medium_____

"I have been fully informed of the objectives of the project being conducted. I understand these objectives and consent to being interviewed for the project. I understand that steps will be undertaken to ensure that this interview will remain confidential unless I consent to being identified. I also understand that, if I wish to withdraw from the study, I may do so without any repercussions."

Participant:_____
Date of consent:_____
Signature of Participant:_____
Signature of Witness:_____

Appendix C

Interview Questions

I'm a researcher from a University down South in a program that focuses on community development and adult education. I am now working on my thesis for this study, which is the reason I'm interested in interviewing you. I am specifically looking at your ideas of adult education programs in Nunavut, but I'm also interested in understanding you and the life you lead. This tape recorder is here to help me remember how the conversation progresses and to use direct quotes from you. The stories and the experiences you will be sharing with me are going to be kept completely confidential.

I know I've asked you here for an interview, but I want you to know that in fact I'm looking for us to have a conversation on a whole bunch of different issues. I want you to feel comfortable to share your stories with me and if you're interested in how I feel, feel free to ask me any questions you like. I have a list of questions here and we can stick to it or we can just chat about the various issues however you want the conversation to progress. If any question makes you feel uncomfortable please feel free to not answer it.

Introduction

I'm just going to start off with some general questions. How old are you?

Work

Are you working?

Who provides for your family?

How consistent is your work?

Living situation

Where are you living?

Who do you live with?

How many children do you have?

Family

Tell me about your family. (Children, parents, partner.)

Where did you grow up?

With who were you living when you grew up?

Tell me what your life is like right now.

What's important to you?

What stands out for you as being important, when you look back over your past?

Do you look to the future?

What do you see there? Dreams? Goals? Hopes? Fears?

Community life and Government

Have you lived in [this community] your whole life?

Tell me about the places you've lived.

How does [this community] compare?

What are the positive aspects of living in [this community]?

Can you think of any negative aspects of this community?

Do you feel you contribute to the community? How so?

What do you think of the establishment of Nunavut as an independent territory?

What do you think of the government?

How does education of the community relate to government? Does it?

How do you picture the future of [this community] and Nunavut?

Education

Tell me about your education.

What was your final grade completed at school?

Have you taken any courses since that time?

Describe the course to me.

Where was it?

When was it?

Why did you take it?

What was it about?

How did you find the course?

What prompted you to participate in the course? (Incentives)

Did you find you ran into any barriers that made completing or participating in the course difficult?

Has taking that course benefited your life in any way? How so?

Do you feel that there were any costs to your life by taking that course? (If financial) Any other costs?

Did you come across an idea that changed the way you think about things?

Did the course change the way you think about yourself or the world around you in any way?

Are there any particular experiences or stories that stay with you from your education?

Have you considered taking university/college outside the community?

Do you know of anybody from this community who has gone to take schooling outside the community?

What do you think of others who do?

Do they return? How are they treated on their return to the community?

Gender roles

Tell me about the women in [this community].

What does being a woman mean to you?[8]

What jobs do women tend to work at in the community?

What role do women tend to play here?

Tell me about the men in [this community].

What jobs are men doing in this community?

What role do they play?

In general, how do men in this community react to women who participate in education? Women who are working?

Do you think there are important differences between women and men in this community?[9] Tell me about some of the differences.

---

[8] This question was taken from Belenky, et al, 1997, p. 232.

Relationships

Looking back over your life, what are some of the important relationships you have had?

Have you had any important role models in your life?

Tell me about them.

Why have they been important?

Do you have a husband or boyfriend?

Tell me a little bit about your relationship.

Is he supportive of the life you have chosen to lead? Your work? Your education?

Does he work?

Violence

Now I want to ask you about a fairly heavy topic and you can choose not to answer if you feel it makes you uncomfortable to share your feelings on this subject but I'm interested in hearing what you think of violence.

How do you picture violence?

How common is violence against women in this community?

Has violence affected your life in any way?

Conclusion

Now that you've told me a little bit about yourself, is there anything else that you would like to share? Do you have any questions for me?

---

[9] This question was also taken from Belenky, et al, 1997, p. 232.

I'm also interested in having a group of women discuss these issues at a later date. Would you be interested in participating in a group discussion at that point?

To finish up, I would like to thank you for spending this time with me and sharing some of your stories and experiences.