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Abstract

This is a qualitative study of the 30-year land claim negotiation process (1963-1993) through which the Inuit of Nunavut transformed themselves from being a marginalized population with few recognized rights in Canada to becoming the overwhelmingly dominant voice in a territorial government, with strong rights over their own lands and waters. In this study I view this negotiation process and all of the activities that supported it as part of a larger Inuit Movement and argue that it meets the criteria for a social movement. This study bridges several social sciences disciplines, including newly emerging areas of study in social movements, conflict resolution, and Indigenous studies, and offers important lessons about the conditions for a successful mobilization for Indigenous rights in other states.

In this research I examine the extent to which Inuit values and worldviews directly informed movement emergence and continuity, leadership development and, to some extent, negotiation strategies. While I originally set out to deconstruct all factors that led to the creation of Nunavut – looking for a model for successful Indigenous movement outcomes – I found the focus of my work increasingly gravitating toward a more detailed study of Inuit ontology and the ways it shaped movement leaders and actors, but also how movement leaders and actors helped shape and define Inuit ontology.

Throughout the Inuit movement in Nunavut, Inuit ontology underwent a reflexive process of canonization resulting in a coherent philosophical framework that can be placed on a par with those emerging from more well-known European traditions. I used the outcome of this process to evaluate the narratives and rhetoric of movement actors on their philosophical constancy.

This case study strengthens the argument put forth by Marshall Ganz that social movement outcomes are directly informed by life experiences, particularly those of leaders. Ganz argues that those experiences were essential in shaping their thought processes, their motivations, their repertoires of collective action, and their extensive use of networks (Ganz, 2000, p. 1005). This particular study of one part of the Inuit movement that took place in Nunavut not only affirms Ganz' arguments, but by looking at the relationship between Inuit ontology and leadership, helps to provide a model for how – at least in this one case – the life experiences of social movement actors directly inform both.

Analysis of the narratives and life stories of over 120 movement participants suggests that the degree to which members of a movement's leadership share common life experiences, experiences working with each other in other contexts outside of the social movement (in this case through kinship ties), and ontological thought or worldviews may determine the degree to which they are able to achieve unity and maintain continuity over time. More specifically, culturally and experientially-rooted common understandings of leadership, common ways of dealing with internal conflict, and clearly defined and effective modes of leadership oriented cultural reproduction helped the Inuit leadership and Inuit organizations remain or appear cohesive for almost three decades.

As with most movements, the core number of actors in the Inuit movement was small; movement continuity did not depend upon recruiting and maintaining large numbers of people. The process of choosing movement members was mostly closed, and therefore far more likely to include Inuit from common leadership backgrounds who shared similar worldviews and were tied to each other through kinship. Many other factors, including those that fall under the more traditional purview of political opportunity frameworks, must be taken into account when

looking at any movement as a whole. However, as this study has shown, far more attention needs to be paid not only to the life experiences of a movement's leadership, but also to the ontological thought or worldviews (shared or divergent) that helped shape or give meaning to those experiences.

NUNAVUT, A CREATION STORY
The Inuit Movement and Canada's Newest Territory

by

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B.A., Texas State University 1988
M.A., George Washington University, 1990

Dissertation

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Social Sciences

Syracuse University
August 2019

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Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge people and institutions that have made this research and this journey possible.

First I would like to thank my sponsors from Syracuse University which include: the Moynihan Institute through the Goekjian Summer Research Grant, the Program on the Analysis and Resolution of Conflict through the Roscoe Martin Research Grant, the Office of the Dean of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs for their Creative Program grants, and finally, my own Department of Social Sciences for a Research Travel Grant. Their sponsorship, together with the Fulbright Fellowship made it possible for me to travel into the field.

Second, I would like to thank the Government of Nunavut – specifically the Department of Executive and Intergovernmental Affairs, the Office of Aboriginal and Circumpolar Affairs, the Department of Media Relations, and the Nunavut Research Institute – for supporting my research by offering me office resources and introductions; the Department of Education; the Department of Culture, Languages, Elders and Youth; the Department of the Environment; and the Department of Justice for their support and guidance. I would also like to thank the RCMP Division in Iqaluit, their CO John Henderson and their fine pilot, for allowing me to jump on their plane a few times to visit communities.

Third, I would like to thank the people at Nunavut Tungavik Inc., most especially Alastair Campbell and John Bainbridge, who worked so hard on my behalf, for allowing me to assist them in their oral history project and enabling me to travel to places that I could not otherwise have visited. I also want to thank all the people in their Iqaluit, Cambridge Bay, Rankin Inlet, and Ottawa offices who were so generous with their time and resources.

I cannot possibly capture in words any fair expression of my gratitude to the following individuals: Jack and Carolyn Anawak, Jack Hicks, Marion Love, Cathy and Cam McGregor, David Omilgoitok, Hugh Lloyd, Mary-Ellen Thomas, and Nora Sanders who have given me so much support and guidance.

Most of all, I would like to thank those who have taught me the most about Inuit leadership and values: John Amagoalik, Naulaq Arnaq, James Arvaluk, Simon Awa, Betty Brewster, Mary Cousins, Tagak Curley, Leah Idlout and her family, Piita Irniq and his family, Bobby Kadlun, Rhoda Karetak and her family, Jonah Kelly, Meeka Kilabuk and her family, Rosemary Kuptana, Meeka Mike and all her family, Catherine Pilakapsi, Paul Quassa, Louis Taparti, Thomas Suluk, Lucien Ukallainak, Shiela Watt-Cloutier, Mary Wilman, Siobhan Arnatsiak-Murphy, Ruben Komiapiq, and all of the amazing people who have shared and continue to share their lives and their stories with me.

Last, I would like to thank my partner Andrew Hirsch; my peer committee: Sanjukta Mukherjee, Cheryl Spear, and Diane Swords; and most of all, my beloved mentors: Vernon Greene: head of my department; John Burdick, my intrepid advisor; Susan Wadley, Richard Loder, and Hans Peter Schmitz, who all have supported me in more ways than I can say, and Frances Abele for keeping me on course in a way that honors those for whom this is written. Finally, I would like to thank Linda Tettamant for all her assistance editing

Any errors, mistakes or misrepresentations in this work entirely my own!

Qujannamiik!

In Memorium

In loving memory of my parents, Dr. Edward B. Dobbins and Rosemary Dobbins, my grandmother, Myrtle Payne Patterson, and my mentors and Elders: Mary Cousins, Celestino Erkijurk, Mark Evaloadjuk, Michael Freedman, Jonah Kelly, Meeka Kilabuk, Jose Kusugak, Leah Idlout-Paulson, Cheryl Spear, and Lucien Ukullainuk.

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Figure 1. Map of Nunavut communities. Map by permission of Nunavut Government and Resource Canada.

Table 1: Nunavut Community Name Meanings



Kitikmeot ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ

Official Name	Inuktitut Name	Inuktitut in Syllabic	Meaning of Inuktitut	Former Name (if changed)	2006 Population
Bathurst Inlet	Kingaok	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	'the nose,' refers to a hill		0-19
Bay Chimo	Umingmaktok		'like a muskox'		0-10
Cambridge Bay	Ikaluktutiak	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	'fair fishing place'		1,477
Gjoa Haven	Uqsuqtuq	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	'place of plenty blubber'		1,064
Kugaaruk	Kugaaruk	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	'a river flowing through the community that is used for fishing and to supply water'	Pelly Bay (Arvilgjuaq)	688
Kugluktuk	Qurluqtuq	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	'place of moving water'	Coppermine	1,302
Taloyoak	Talurjuaq	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	'stone caribou blind'	Spence Bay	809



Kivalliq ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ (formerly 'Keewatin')

Official Name	Inuktitut Name	Inuktitut in Syllabic	Meaning of Inuktitut	Former Name (if Changed)	2006 Population
Arviat	Arviat	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	'bowhead whale'	Eskimo Point	2,060
Baker Lake	Qamanittuaq	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	'big lake joined by a river at both ends'		1,728
Chesterfield Inlet	Igluligaardjuq	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	'place with few houses'		332
Coral Harbour	Salliq	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	'large flat island in front of the mainland'		769

Rankin Inlet	Kangiqliniq	ᑲᐱᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	‘deep bay/inlet’		2,358
Repulse Bay	Naujaat	ᑲᑭᑦᑭᑦ	‘nesting place for seagulls’		748
Whale Cove	Tikirarjuaq	ᑲᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	‘long point’		353



Qikiqtaaluk ᑭᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ (formerly ‘Baffin’)

Official Name	Inuktitut Name	Inuktitut in Syllabic	Meaning of Inuktitut	Former Name (if changed)	2006 Population
Arctic Bay	Ikpiarjuk	ᐱᑦᐱᑦᑭᑦ	‘the pocket’		690
Cape Dorset	Kingnait	ᑭᑭᑦᑭᑦ	‘mountains’		1,236
Clyde River	Kangiqtugaapik	ᑲᐱᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	‘nice little inlet’		820
Grise Fiord	Ausittuq	ᐱᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	‘place that never thaws’		141
Hall Beach	Sanirajak	ᑲᑭᑦᑭᑦ	created for DEW line		659
Igloolik	Iglulik	ᐱᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	‘place of houses’		1,538
Iqaluit	Iqaluit	ᐱᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	‘place of many fish’	Frobisher Bay	6,184
Kimmitut	Kimmitut	ᑭᑭᑦᑭᑦ	‘heel’, name of a rocky outcrop	Lake Harbour	411
Nanisivik	Nanisivik	ᑲᑭᑦᑭᑦ	mine (closed)		0
Pangnirtung	Pannirtuq	ᑲᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	‘place of the bull caribou’		1,325
Pond Inlet	Mittimatalik	ᑭᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	‘place where Mittiima is buried’		1,315
Qikiqtarjuaq	Qikiqtarjuaq	ᑭᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	‘big island’	Broughton Island	473
Resolute Bay	Qausittuq	ᑲᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	‘place with no dawn’		229
Sanikiluaq	Sanikiluaq	ᑲᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ		Belcher Islands	744
Alert & Eureka	Government intelligence gathering and research stations, respectively, on Ellesmere Island.				

Introduction

The Boil and the Banana

One morning in 1946, Mary's father woke up with a boil on his neck. Ordinarily a boil does not change someone's life, but this one changed Mary's. Even though almost 50 years had since passed, on the day that she told me this story she seemed to recall it as if it had been yesterday. We sat on the side stoop of her home in Iqaluit, Nunavut in Arctic Canada. Mary and I each cradled our cups of tea in our hands, the steam rising almost solid in the crisp air. Together we looked out across her small barren yard, barren that is except for one "tree." It is a tree made mostly out of iron. Any newcomer to the community might think it some bizarre contraption upon which to hang clothes to dry, or that it marked the home of some metal sculptor who specialized in linear abstracts. But no, as all Iqaluit knew, it was Mary's "tree." That well-known and sometimes lamented landmark of "Happy Valley" served as a fond reminder for Mary of those parts of her life that she had spent living in the *South* – that place below the tundra where trees actually grow. While there is a good story behind that iron tree, and of course another good story about how "Happy Valley" got its name, on this day Mary chose to tell me about her father's boil. Being both a gatherer and teller of stories, I quietly sipped my tea, stared out at her tree, and opened my ears and mind to listen.

"It was a beautiful morning," she says, wearing a grin that must have been twin to the one she had worn as a small child. With twinkling eyes, and a tug on her thick beautiful braids that have long since turned white, she nods remembering.

"Beautiful," she repeated in her soft voice. It was the kind of voice that, filled with curiosity, still sounded youthful. She took a deep breath and looked at me, "You know, the kind of day that most hunters would want to be out on the land? He would have been hunting too, my

father, but because he had this boil that was bothering him, he decided to take me fishing instead. I don't know why he decided to take me, but I was glad he did.

"We started out, but then it seemed like there weren't many fish near the shoreline, so my Dad headed the boat out of the bay, toward the open water. We had just cleared the last cliffs of the point when I saw them. There they were, sitting in the water; three great, gray monoliths.

"I was scared at first, but I tried to relax when I saw that my father knew what they were. As we got closer I saw they had people on them; they were all men, dressed all over in white. They were leaning over all the top railings, staring down at us. When they started waving, my father said, 'Let's go closer.' He told me that they might throw something down to us if they came alongside them."

Mary's father drew his boat closer, and sure enough the men began to pitch things over the side; each one splashed with a plop as they landed all around the tiny boat. She and her father laughed as they fished the brightly colored things out of the water. "Fruit," her dad said, nodding. He handed her one and said, "Go on, eat it. It's good."

Mary took it, bit deeply into the yellow tube-shaped object, and immediately spat it out! "Ppbbbt! Yuck!" It was the most bitter thing she had ever tasted.

"No Mary," her father said kindly, showing her, "you eat the inside, and throw the outside away!"

Thinking back on it after having spent a lifetime in education, Mary remembered her first encounter with Americans fondly. It had been a superb day; filled with adventure, learning, bitter moments, and sweetness. She didn't know it then, but that fishing trip changed Mary's life. War and the perceived necessity for global security, both physical and economic, had made the world smaller. The first Americans Mary ever met had been sailors in the American Navy; the

three monoliths had been United States (U.S.) destroyers patrolling the Arctic waters. These particular *quallunat* (outsiders) had been friendly, but their fruit was bittersweet. Mary learned military ships were at large in their fishing waters. Their presence in the Arctic signaled a time of change as the world transitioned from world war to cold war.

Later when she had grown into a young woman, Mary witnessed the more profound impacts of the militarization of Arctic upon her people. Fighter jets and other military aircraft making use of the Arctic airspace disturbed caribou migrations, frightening them from their normal routes – directly effecting Inuit hunters’ ability to hunt and provide for their people. Mary is often credited with being the first Inuk to write an open, published letter to the Canadian Government protesting their treatment of the Arctic environment. She wrote about the hunger of her people, directly addressing how the Canadian Government was partly responsible for it. It was a short letter, only two-thirds of a page long. Quite simply, she told them what was happening and just asked them to please stop the overflights. Those who know about Mary’s influence and her life’s work sometimes quietly mention Mary in a way that would suggest she was a very significant “Mother of Nunavut,” the first of a generation that would create a movement and change the map of Canada. However, because she was a very humble woman and very Inuk in her ways, no one ever makes a big to-do about her. This is mostly out of great respect. Inuit society is a communal one in which neither blame nor credit is ascribed to any single individual. Mary wouldn’t want to be singled out, and most people honor that. Even as I write this introduction to share this opening story, I feel a twinge of guilt – made even more poignant and difficult for me because of her passing only a few weeks prior to this writing. I obtained her permission, of course, to tell this story, and it was a story she was proud to tell. But I know in my heart she would not wish me to paint a portrait of her as some great lady. So I will

honor her and just say that she was one of many, both women and men, who saw the needs of her people and understood that she had some unique gifts and the good fortune to be in the right places at the right times to do some good. To her way of thinking, whatever gifts she may have had, came with the obligation to use them for the benefit of her people, and that is what she did – quietly, unobtrusively, behind the scenes, and steadily for a lifetime.

After hearing so many speak of her in the years since I began my research into the creation of the territory of Nunavut, she and I finally met in the *ugloo* season of 2004, the time in late February/early March when seals create ugloos (shelters) in which to give birth to and raise their pups. That spring and the greater part of that year I could often be found on her side stoop. We had taken a personal liking to each other; we found that we had much in common in how we saw the world. It was my great fortune that we became friends.

As she reflected on her life and learned about mine, she would often remind me how important it is to learn from many different peoples and cultures and to pass along that knowledge.. She encouraged me to continue doing it. I took her advice seriously then, and I continue to do so now. While I never formally interviewed Mary for this dissertation, we had many long conversations and she shared many stories with me over the three years that I knew her. Her stories always contained lessons that were relevant to my personal life and pivotal to understanding the work of this dissertation. Of all the stories that she told, however, the one that stands out most strongly in my memory is this one of the boil and the banana. It was the first story she told me, sharing it with me on the very day that we met.

I often think that we meet people when we are ready to meet them, when their presence in our lives will enrich us in a specific way that our life experience has prepared us to understand. Perhaps we seek such people out, or we draw them to us. By the time I met Mary, over a hundred

Inuit had told me the stories of their lives; they had shared many poignant and salient perspectives on the birth of Nunavut. When Mary shared this story with me, I immediately saw this single day in Mary's life as a powerful allegory for the way that the lives of so many Inuit had changed in the last half-century.

In this allegory, the fruit of knowledge is not an apple but a banana. The outside is bitter, but part of it is sweet and you can survive on it if you don't mind the constipation. The banana stands for all that is handed out to a subjugated people from a colonial power. The boil represents the way colonization begins, as a minor irritation that can cause a person to change what they had planned to do for just a single day or sometimes for even an entire lifetime.

Irritations cause people to notice things. In this case, one particular irritation led Mary down a path toward the gradual awareness that others believed they had a greater right to control the waters and lands upon which Mary's people live and depend, and that these outsiders perhaps even believed they were smarter and knew better than her people did about how they should live. When life (or the dominant power) hands us a banana, Mary's story reminds us that it can and should be peeled; if we learn enough about bananas, we can choose to keep the parts that we find useful, and reject the parts that we find bitter. We can choose to add it to our diet, and yet not live on bananas alone.

When, like one of her elementary school pupils, I blurted out all these thoughts, Mary's eyes twinkled at me under raised eyebrows. "An allegory?" She repeated. "Do you think so? Really? That sounds so *Southern*. Well I suppose. Maybe. Yes, an academic might just think so at that." She paused to refresh my cup of tea. "Of course, it was really just a beautiful day – when my Dad had a boil on his neck and I got to go fishing." She smiled at me innocently, nodding, "The day that I met my first Americans." When I looked up from my cup of tea again

she was facing away from me, gazing at her tree, but I just managed to catch the big grin that Mary Cousins was trying to hide behind her long round white braids.

Nunavut and the Inuit Movement

Nunavut: This is the name of the northernmost territory of Canada. In *Inuktitut*, the language of the Inuit of Eastern Canada, the word Nunavut means “our land” (Kusugak, 2000, p. 20). For many Inuit the name itself describes why both the territory and the land claims agreement that brought about its creation were necessary; the survival of their people, their culture, and with that a body of knowledge vital to the planet, depended upon them. With government representatives and corporate actors arriving in the North in ever increasing numbers, Inuit were quick to realize they would soon find themselves as outsiders in their own homelands within a society that viewed land as a possession. It was an adversarial position that was not only alien but in direct opposition to their own worldviews, and they had been placed there without their consent. The creation of Nunavut was seen as a necessary step toward restoring the balance, and it was done using the tools of the dominant society – Canadian legal and political processes. These processes, however, required Inuit to frame arguments in terms that outsiders could understand. For some Inuit, therefore, the necessity of using the name “Nunavut” (*our* land – a *possessive* noun) says more about the dominant society than it does about Inuit.

In contrast, academics have argued that the word Nunavut has come to symbolize the process of gaining aboriginal self-government and autonomy through “negotiation and community consultation” (Purich, 1992, p. 13). Regardless of what the name Nunavut means to whom, on April 1st, 1999, the Nunavut Act came into force establishing it as Canada’s third and newest territory. The creation of Nunavut began with a small group of Inuit who had gathered 30 years earlier to create the first Inuit organization. A little more than a decade later the Inuit of

Nunavut had created or were members of more than 15 Inuit non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and were firmly entrenched in negotiations with various partners covering a wide range of issues.

Some describe the activity of the Inuit over this period as a social movement (Gurr, 2000, p. 4), one that extended beyond the borders of Nunavut and involved interaction with and the influence of Inuit from Alaska, Canada, Greenland, and Russia. Others see the creation of Nunavut as its own story, and place it within the context of the continuation of the process of inventing and defining Canada (Molloy, 2002).

The nature of the research. The process of de-colonization has been bloody for many Indigenous peoples, and often devoid of concrete changes in either national policy or political structures within the dominant society. In a geographic region that is inherently dangerous the Inuit created and engaged in peaceful and non-violent processes of political transformation in which they: a) recognized and anticipated the impacts of colonization even as the process was just truly beginning; b) educated and prepared future generations to lead their people through this time of swift change; c) simultaneously negotiated for both internal local services and structures to address the immediate needs of Inuit as well as long term national and transnational agreements that led to the re-shaping of the nation of Canada; and d) implemented a new form of self-government for Indigenous peoples that worked within the already existing parameters of national and regional government within Canada.

This dissertation is a qualitative case study of the participants in this remarkable process of political change that resulted in the creation of the Territory of Nunavut. In this study I focus on the people who were involved during the 30-year period from when Inuit from every region of the Arctic first became aware of the universal challenges they were facing and began to learn

about democratic processes and political organization/mobilization to the year that the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement (NLCA) was finalized, the Nunavut Act was agreed upon, and both were signed. This spans from roughly 1963 to 1993. This study is based primarily on in-depth, open-ended interviews, participant observation, and organically-formed focus groups and is triangulated with documents and radio broadcasts of the period produced by the federal, territorial, and local governments, Inuit organizations, and independent media. Because of the length of time spent in the field (Summer, 2002; March, 2003; January-September, 2004; Summer, 2006; Summer, 2008; and Winter, 2012), I was able to mostly adhere to a collaborative methodology that also served the needs and interests of many Inuit of Nunavut. For example, in a partnership with Nunavut Tunngavik, Inc. (NTI), while conducting research for my dissertation I was able to interview many community members and contribute to NTI's oral history project.

This study explores: how the Inuit movement began in Nunavut, who was involved in it, and how they managed to stay unified and focused for that length of time. It also seeks to discover how they overcame internal conflict, which strategies they used in dealing both with their own people as well as with outsiders (i.e., the territorial government, other Indigenous governments, the Federal Government of Canada, the general population of the dominant society, and the media). More specifically, it is a case study of Indigenous social movement cohesion and leadership development.

Meeting the definition of a social movement. Helpfully, Charles Tilly, and Sidney Tarrow, who are most well-known for their work in the areas of the contentious politics and specifically the deconstruction of political processes and mechanisms of social change, published one of the most detailed definitions of a social movement: “We define a *social movement* as a sustained campaign of claim making, using repeated performances that advertise that claim,

based on organizations, networks, *traditions* (author's emphasis), and solidarities that sustain these activities" (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 8). In their expanded definition, Tarrow and Tilly argue that all of these elements must be present and combined. Claim-making performances include such actions as the creation of specialized associations, public meetings, marches, demonstrations, public statements, petitions, letter writing, and lobbying. Solidarity is demonstrated through public displays reflecting the worthiness of the movement's cause/s, the unity and number of movement constituents, and the commitment of movement actors. Such displays can include the creation of symbols or slogans around which movement members can rally, the "wearing of colors" or badges, the posting of signs or the creation of publications and other media that advertise the cause. In short, in order to qualify as a social movement, five or more people must participate in claim-making performances directed at institutions of authority, namely national governments, for a sustained period of time. The most important correlation between the Tarrow and Tilly definition of a social movement and the case of the Inuit movement in Nunavut is with regard to the importance of tradition – in this case cultural traditions – in defining movement actions or behaviors.

As the following chapters demonstrate, the activities of the Inuit of Nunavut during this specific period meet these criteria. The Inuit movement had a core leadership of about 30 people, two persistent goals aimed at the Federal Government of Canada, and lasted for approximately 30 years. In fact, this analysis of the experiences of the Inuit of Nunavut may even contribute to a slight expansion of Tilly and Tarrow's definition, specifically with regard to the importance of recognizing the mechanism/s through which a movement's core philosophies are codified (committed to written form) and refined. They also help demonstrate the importance of

employing analytic methods and including analyses that take into account the ways and extent to which such philosophies are shared by movement actors and inform movement action (tradition).

The Importance of the Research

While it is significant when any sovereign state creates a new province, state, or territory, the creation of Nunavut may at first glance seem of little note or importance to either Canada as a whole or to the broader international community. Yet, the agreement that set this event in motion made front-page news around the world (Gillies, 1993, p. 39). Inuit leaders have also drawn the attention of Indigenous communities in many different countries. From the time the first Inuit organization was formed in 1971, Inuit have been visited by Indigenous leaders from every arc of the globe, and their progress was noted by international media on a fairly regular basis (Tagak Curley, 2002). What is it about these events and this achievement that has drawn so many Indigenous leaders to the Arctic from as far away as the Australian Kimberly, or has brought Inuit leaders to speak before vast audiences even in Korea?

Significance of land claim process and creation of Nunavut territory. Several factors make the signing of this agreement an unprecedented event and may help to explain why it made the headlines. It is the largest and most comprehensive aboriginal land claims agreement in North America, and perhaps the world (Henderson, 2007, p. 4). First, Nunavut includes more than 2.1 million square kilometers. It encompasses 23 percent of Canada's land mass and is roughly equivalent in size to continental Europe. As Jack Hicks and Graham White noted, "It is so large, that if independent, it would rank as the world's twelfth largest country" (Hicks & White, 2000, p. 33). Then, the land claim agreement itself (NLCA) is also so inclusive that it covers virtually every aspect of governance, economics or environmental management that pertains to the lands and waters of Nunavut.

The second factor setting these events apart is that they came about due to what I argue is a unified and sustained Inuit movement. It was conceived around 1969 and concluded in 1999 with the institutionalization of the movement into both a territorial governance structure (the Government of Nunavut) and NTI, the Inuit administrative agency that acted on behalf of land claims beneficiaries. What began as a pan-Inuit movement simultaneously localized with spin-off organizations responsible for regional land-claims, and internationalized with the creation of pan-Inuit organization that included Inuit from Canada, Greenland (Denmark), Russia, and U.S. (Alaska).

The Inuit movement and the creation of Nunavut all occurred within the time span of one human lifetime; most of its actors are or were still living when this research was conducted. This study, therefore, encompasses an entire Indigenous social movement from its origins to its conclusion. Further, to the extent possible, this study was done in direct collaboration with those who actually initiated and brought about the events.

The third factor setting the creation of Nunavut apart even from other Indigenous agreements is that it is not a sovereign or even semi-autonomous Indigenous territory or nation. The creation of the new territory, a form of *public* government, was inextricably linked to the Indigenous land claim through Article 4 of the NLCA; Inuit leaders refused to separate the two and steadily maintained both co-dependent goals for the duration of the movement:

The Government of Canada will recommend to Parliament, as a government measure, legislation to establish, within a defined time period, a new Nunavut Territory, with its own Legislative Assembly and public government, separate from the Government of the remainder of the Northwest Territories (NLCA 4.1.1).

Fourth, by agreeing to Article 4 of the NLCA, the Federal Government of Canada placed itself under a mandate to pass legislation that both divided the Northwest Territories and created

Nunavut (Canadian Arctic Resources Committee [CARC], 1993, p. 1). Further, and perhaps most important, the NLCA recognized the right of Inuit to play a significant role in decision-making with regard to their own governance and the management of their land and resources. These decision-making powers are exercised through both the Government of Nunavut and NTI in addition to co-management boards covering various geographic regions or that are formed ad-hoc based upon need. Because the land and resource management provisions of the NLCA apply to marine areas, the Government of Nunavut also plays a key role in making decisions effecting the use of and control over offshore areas and resources (Ames, 1998, p. 1). The question of how territorial or national waters vs. international waters are defined as well as who has the right to control access to them have been issues of contention since the dawn of seafaring. Both questions have also long been considered key components in defining national sovereignty. The significance of this decision on the part of the Federal Government of Canada to share oversight of its territorial waters cannot be overstated or overlooked.

Not only did the Federal Government of Canada concede the right of the Inuit of Nunavut to cultural self-preservation, self-determination, and self-rule within a framework for Inuit-dominated public government under the sovereignty of the Canadian Federal Government, it also agreed to bear most of the expense.¹ In Canada, both Federal and Provincial governments act in right of the Crown, exercising powers laid out in the Canadian Constitution. The Canadian Constitution was written in two parts, the British North American Act of 1867, and then the

¹ The monetary commitment that the federal government of Canada has made to the government of Nunavut is substantial. Territorial governments are financially dependent upon the Federal Government of Canada. They are funded through the Territorial Formula Financing Program (TFF), a system originally designed to provide equity to territorial residents so that they could receive services comparable to those provided by provinces still at a reasonable tax rate. The annual TFF grant covers the gap between estimated annual expenditures and estimated own-source territorial revenues (Feehan 2009:353).

Constitution Act of 1982. The Constitution Act of 1982 helped set the stage for the NLCA by: 1) guaranteeing existing rights of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada, 2) recognizing the Federal Government's practice of providing equalization payments to poorer provinces to reduce disparities in services from province-to-province, and 3) specifying that Provincial legislatures have exclusive jurisdiction over the extraction of non-renewable natural resources (Azzi, 2016). The Inuit movement, however, called for the creation of Nunavut as a territory, not a province, which means the Federal government retains jurisdiction over "Crown" lands. The NLCA, therefore, establishes power-sharing co-management boards that are advisory to a Federal minister within the Canadian government, yet giving significant means of input in policy-making decisions impacting the territory. While some accords, treaties, and land claims involving Indigenous peoples and other sovereign nations have included some of these aspects, when this research was conducted no other such agreement had either combined all of these elements or had done so to such an extent. The vast majority of land-claims, especially within the U.S., rather than following a model of becoming a public government, have sought to create ethnically-distinct and sovereign territorial jurisdictions. The reason Inuit were confident in using the existing government structures of the Canadian model in order to preserve their way of life, their language, and to impact policy-making, was because (in terms of population) Inuit dominated that territory. They were, therefore, confident that for a certain period of time they would also dominate any government structures that were created.

Contributions of the research to the field of social movement analysis. This study bridges several social science disciplines, including emerging areas of study in social movement, conflict resolution, and Indigenous studies. The case of Nunavut offers an example of the (largely) peaceful devolution of federal power into the hands of local Indigenous communities

and regional Indigenous-dominated political structures. This case offers important lessons about the conditions for a successful mobilization for Indigenous rights in other states. What this study does *not* attempt is to determine, with the creation of the Territory of Nunavut or with the implementation of the NLCA, whether or not these outcomes have achieved all of the goals held by the Inuit during the movement, or the degree to which these outcomes have been “successful.” Other academics have pursued that line of inquiry (Henderson, 2007). More importantly Inuit themselves are constantly addressing these questions through a highly developed network of institutions and annual reports designed to monitor just such progress.

In this study I argue that throughout the Inuit movement in Nunavut, Inuit ontology underwent a reflexive process of development and refinement in which Inuit canon from every region (held in trust through oral tradition and respected Elder philosophers and teachers) were committed to written form in both Inuktitut and English. Through this process, a coherent philosophical framework has been uniquely made accessible to those not raised within Inuit society and who are not fluent Inuktitut or *Inuinnaqtun* (the dominant Inuit language of Western Nunavut) speakers. This philosophical framework that can and should be placed on par with those emerging from more broadly-known European traditions.

In this research, I use the outcome of this process to evaluate the narratives and rhetoric of movement actors on their philosophical constancy.² More specifically, I examine the extent to which Inuit values and worldviews appear to have directly informed: movement emergence and continuity, leadership development, and gender roles.

² Dobbins’ Waterfall Model of Movement Analysis, Chapter Three

This study involved the in-depth analyses of the narratives and life stories of over 120 movement actors. In my opinion, this work strengthens the argument put forth by Marshall Ganz that social movement outcomes are directly informed by the life experiences of individual leaders (2000, p. 1005). It also suggests the need for further refinement of the *unified concept of leadership characteristics* put forward by Sharon Nepstad and Clifford Bob (2006, p. 2) by calling for more specifically defined typologies of leadership and for researchers to relate those typologies to philosophical frameworks. In this case, the framework is specifically drawn from Inuit ontology, but its structures can be more broadly generalized for the benefit of any Indigenous population that has retained access to their ontological heritage or any non-Indigenous organization or movement that brings together actors who inherently share key factors in ontological orientation.

The Research Setting

The territory of Nunavut begins just north of the North American tree line, and is classified as *Arctic* or *polar desert* (Rigby et al., 2000, p. 93). Standing on top of a high coastal ridge, it is easy to see that the topography of Nunavut has been largely shaped by glaciation. The lowlands and tundra are pockmarked with lakes, frozen but for summer when they become home to billions of mosquitoes. When the waters freeze in September or October, the lakes, rivers, and bays become highways for *Skidoos* and a few remaining dog teams. This makes travel across the territory (and beyond) more accessible to more people. The same glaciers that gouged out the fjords and bays also helped to push up the high mountains (mostly in the east) that in the communities of Pangnirtung and Pond Inlet, particularly, are truly breathtaking to behold.

Nunavut's mainland boundaries extend from the western coast of the Hudson Bay to the entrance of the Amundsen Gulf. Her island areas encompass most of the islands north of Quebec:

Baffin Island in the east, Ellesmere Island in the north, the southern half of Victoria Island in the west, and all the islands and waters in-between (see Figure 1).

From tundra to mountain to coast, the light constantly changes from hour to hour, much less season to season. The most brilliant colors in summer are the bright purple of the saxifrage and russet reds of the exposed rocks or the inland boulders or the crags of coastline; the most brilliant colors of winter are those of the *aqsaarniit* or Northern Lights, and the beautiful colors and trim of the Inuit *amouti*, a garment worn by women with room in the back to carry a baby and a generous hood that can cover both Mother and child.

The population of Nunavut was 27,000 when it came into existence in 1999, which makes it one of the most sparsely populated regions of the planet (Hicks & White, 2000, p. 34). Nunavut is divided into three regions: the Kitikmeot (west), the Kivalliq (central), and the Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin Island). Although the three regions mostly share a common language, each region is culturally distinct, and there are significant linguistic variations. For example, in the Kitikmeot, English is more widely spoken and, as was mentioned above, the most common Inuit language is Inuinnaqtun; it is written using Roman orthography. The Kivalliq and Qikiqtaaluk are dominated by Inuktitut, which uses a syllabic writing system. In addition to linguistic differences, there are also cultural differences between those who live in coastal areas and those who live inland. Baffin Island, or the Qikiqtaaluk, is dominated by coastal communities and coastal cultures. In the Kitikmeot and Kivalliq, there are both coastal and inland communities.

In all, 26 communities dot the landscape across all three regions; they range in population from approximately 200 to 6,000+ (in the capital city of Iqaluit). Approximately 85-90% of the population is Inuit, and the majority of non-Inuit living in the region are people who are working

there temporarily³ (Hicks, 2000, p. 35). Internal differences aside, the territory of Nunavut is culturally and linguistically distinct from the rest of Canada. Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun are the official languages of the Nunavut government; and while English and French are spoken and listed as official languages as well, Inuktitut is the language most often heard in the legislative assembly.

The capital of Nunavut is Iqaluit and political authority at the territorial level rests with the Legislative Assembly, whose 18 members are elected every four years. Currently, 16 of 18 Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) are Inuit, and only one does not speak fluent Inuktitut. With the creation of the Government of Nunavut, in 1999 a series of workshops was held to set forth their priorities as they relate to the NLCA. The result was a series of policies called Pinasuaqtavut (that which we have set out to do). Foremost among these was what has come to be known as the Bathurst Mandate, which includes an emphasis on the protection and preservation of the Inuit language by making it a working language of the Government of Nunavut and the territory (Timpson, 2009).

In 2006, then-Premier Paul Okalik issued an executive order that all Deputy Ministers will be required to be able to speak and write Inuktitut within three years. While that goal was achieved, further efforts to require other officers to become fluent has not been as successful. In 2008, the Government of Nunavut passed the Inuit Language Protection Act, which places Inuktitut on par with English and French as one of the three official languages of Nunavut. As Timpson (2009) argues, the act promotes the use of Inuktitut as an official working language of

³ Generally the Southerners who come North to work temporarily work for the government on 2-5 year stints, or they are social service providers, or contractors working either in building and development or transportation.

government and mandates the right of every Inuk parent to have their children educated in the Inuit language, but it has proven challenging to implement.

While the seat of Nunavut government, and most of the main structures of government (the Department of Executive and Intergovernmental Affairs, the Department of Finance, the Department of Environment, the Department of Culture, Languages, Elders and Youth (CLEY), the Department of Justice, and the Legislative Assembly) are located in Iqaluit, the Inuit leaders of Nunavut plan to devolve greater responsibility for government to the municipal governments over time (Ames, 1998, p. 5). Other departments include: Human Resources, Community and Government Services, Education, Health and Social Services, and the Department of Economic Development and Transportation. As of November 1, 2016, the process is still underway to transfer power from the Federal government to the Territorial government under the 2008 devolution negotiation protocol agreement. In keeping with this plan to decentralize the territorial government, 10 of Nunavut's 26 communities have received decentralized governance structures: Arviat, Baker Lake, Cambridge Bay, Cape Dorset, Gjoa Haven, Igloolik, Kugluktuk, Pangnirtung, Pond Inlet, and Rankin Inlet (Sponagle, 2015).

Government at the municipal level is run by the Hamlet Councils, and at every level of government, there is significant interaction with Inuit organizations such as the Hunters and Trappers Association (HTO) and NTI (formerly TFN) which negotiated the land claims agreement and is the treaty-holding organization. HTOs throughout Nunavut are membership-sponsored business organizations that represent the interests of local hunters and trappers in each community. While not exclusive to Inuit, the vast majority of members are Inuit and HTOs across Nunavut are often consulted by various departments of the Government of Nunavut over areas concerning their expertise. For example, in its 2014 report on the distribution and

abundance of caribou on Baffin Island, the GN Department of Environment, not only worked together with Inuit organizations (the Qikiqtaaluk Wildlife Board, Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., and the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board) but also consulted the 10 HTOs on Baffin Island and conducted community consultations across Baffin Island and the adjacent communities of Hall Beach and Igloolik concerning the distribution and abundance of caribou on Baffin Island.

By far the largest employer in Nunavut is the government, whether federal, territorial, or local; Inuit organizations also provide significant employment in the North. The level and nature of education among Inuit varies widely, often according to generation. Many older generation Inuit speak only Inuktitut or Inuinnaqtun, and many younger generation Inuit barely speak any. Many older generation Inuit were educated by their extended family, while middle and younger generation Inuit are formally educated by first the Federal and then the Territorial school system.

While Nunavut still ranks last in terms of the numbers of students graduating from high school, more Inuit are graduating in Nunavut than ever before. According to John McDonald, Assistant Deputy Minister of Education in Nunavut, there has been a steady increase in graduation rates over the last 13 to 14 years (Skura, CBC News, November 22, 2016). In May, 2001, Piqqusilirivvik Inuit Cultural School opened in Clyde River, Nunavut. Developed by the Ministry of Culture, Languages, Elders and Youth (CLEY), “the school aims to preserve the Inuit culture in Nunavut, where 84 percent of the population is Inuit, by teaching youth the Inuktitut language and traditional activities such as hunting, craft-making, and Arctic outdoor survival,” (CBC News, 2011, para. 3). Schools like this one allow students to learn, master, or refresh their knowledge of those skills and crafts that had been so necessary to the survival of their people prior to the arrival and adoption of the lifeways and goods of the dominant society (S. Mike, personal communication, June 8, 2006). This has come as a response to the call of

many Elders and leaders who have long argued that language learning and life skills learning go hand in hand. Without these skills and knowledge that require a person to develop a particular relationship to the lands and waters essential to understanding Inuit ontology, the true meaning of many words in either the Inuktitut or Inuinnaqtun vocabularies will be lost (Meeka Mike & Pauloosie Mike, personal communication, June 16, 2006), as would the whole point of creating Nunavut (Elijah Erkloo 2006).

In 2017, Nunavut Arctic College will partner with the University of Saskatchewan to offer a Bachelor's of Law degree to students in a four-year program delivered primarily in Iqaluit, Nunavut. The initial cohort of learners will include 25 persons from across Nunavut. This program is similar to the one begun through a partnership between University of Victoria and Nunavut Arctic College. Over the course of four years, students will be introduced to the historical and social context of law, indigenous legal traditions, and the legal system. Emphasis will be placed on the development of skills in research, writing, analysis, and negotiation. Additionally, students will be familiarized with criminal law, contract law, property law, tort law, and Canadian constitutional law. In their second year, students will begin to study the framework of the Nunavut land claim and its implications (Nunavut Arctic College, 2016).

Institutions such as the aforementioned will answer the great need of many in the younger generations of Nunavut who have never been required to master either their language or land life skills. There are many sayings in Nunavut, but one that I heard so often seems to most accurately summarize the differences in the generations and their life experiences:

There are three generations of Inuit [in Nunavut]: those who were born in an *igloo* and grew up on the land, those who were born in an igloo and grew up in a community, and those who were born in a hospital. It really does tell you a lot about what their experiences are and how they view the world. (M. Love, personal communication, 2004)

It took Inuit of all three generations to create and sustain the movement that physically and politically reshaped Canada and aspired to ensure and shape the future of the Inuit people.

Perspectives of the Researcher

As a researcher, I subscribe to that school of thought that no matter how hard one tries, it is impossible for any human being to be completely objective. Therefore, I include here a brief biography so I might openly share some of the ways that my own life experiences may have influenced both my research and my analyses – whether consciously or not.

Looking at my hometown of Huntsville, Alabama in on a map of the U.S., particularly in 1966, one would not think it a cradle of multi-culturalism much less internationalism. Alabama as a whole had been deeply scarred by the legacies of George Wallace and the murder of Martin Luther King Jr., yet this quiet little town nestled against the foothills of the Smoky Mountains was much more than it appeared. Issues of race, gender, and culture were cast against the backdrops of the height of the Cold War, the Vietnam War, the American Indian Movement, and the Third Wave of the Women's Movement. Huntsville seemed to play a role in all of them, and all of them touched me personally through my association with the kaleidoscope of Huntsvillian humanity.

I was raised in a family that considered itself quite modestly middle class; however, as I came to know the extremes of disparity within my own community, I soon understood that I was really quite advantaged. I am the adopted daughter of an artist and a rocket scientist of mostly English and Dutch heritage; my own heritage is mixed but is predominantly Celtic, and with light grey eyes I look the part. I gained my civic conscientiousness and desire for justice directly from my parents. My mother had been a rebel for women's rights in high school in Hornell, New York, during WWII which had earned her the nickname *Rocky*. She later became one of the first

women to break the gender barrier into management at NASA as a concept design artist and technical illustrator. My father's father helped introduce desegregation in San Marcos, Texas, almost a decade before Brown vs. the Board of Education⁴. While working for the government, my father broke new ground by hiring a secretary with no arms. This was prior to the Americans with Disabilities Act⁵. As my father argued, the lady in question could type with her toes and it was her intelligence he valued.

With these examples to follow, it is little wonder that I have been considered to have a highly developed sense of justice and fair-play. My own career path led me to the field of international relations and conflict resolution. While living in Germany as a cross-cultural trainer and liaison, I witnessed the fall of the iron curtain and saw how people dealt (or could not deal with) swiftly changing political and social systems. I also came to know the challenges and trauma experienced by people displaced through the conflicts in both Bosnia and Northern Ireland. Over time, I began to see the connections between my roots in Alabama and my field of study; the struggle against marginalization and for self-actualization was ever present. I also learned that these struggles were more apparent and universally similar when it came to Indigenous communities.

Over the past 20 years I have had the great fortune to work with and travel widely in Indigenous circles (Mexico, Norway, Australia, New Zealand, New Mexico, Arizona, New York State, and Canada). Everywhere I went I heard the same stories of forced relocation, forbidden language and ceremony, and the struggle for self-determination. My Indigenous contacts increased, primarily through a global sisterhood or network of Indigenous and like-minded

⁴ The Supreme Court Decision in the U.S. ending the legality of the practice of segregation (1955).

⁵ Passed in , the ADA ended ...

women, and I began to realize just how inter-connected Indigenous peoples truly were. I also became aware of the need to have these connections and achievements recognized both generally, and within my fields of study. I determined that when I returned to university to pursue my doctoral work, I would strive to explore these achievements and also to push their analyses into broader circles of academe.

In 1999, when Nunavut came into existence, I was in Australia. In Aboriginal communities, the event was so significant that in addition to making headlines, it was also celebrated through “Nunavut parties.” I happened to be in the right place at the right time when one of those parties spontaneously broke out. Some young men brought a truckload of ice into the community and dumped it out on the ground; Lily Shearer’s dance troupe created and performed a “*nanook* emergence dance” in honor of the Inuit who had negotiated the agreement⁶.

When at last the time came that I could return to university to pursue my doctorate, Nunavut was still foremost in my mind. What was the story? What could a broader, global community learn from it? How did Inuit manage to stay unified for 30 years while engaging in a peaceful, but strenuous, transformative process? These are the questions with which I entered my studies. It is my hope that this dissertation will contribute not only to academic debate, but will also serve the needs of Inuit in Nunavut by providing a rich text that seeks to understand a critical period of their history and the contributions of those involved. I am neither an Inuktitut speaker nor has my time living in the Arctic been long enough to give me a great and nuanced understanding of Inuit culture, knowledge or lifeways. For that I rely upon some amazing, wise and generous interlocutors. It is also to be hoped that this dissertation both serves the

⁶ Lily Shearer was at that time the director of the Aboriginal Dance Troupe “Emergence.”

communities from which these stories and this knowledge comes and that it introduces a body of work from which other Indigenous peoples and communities can draw to further their efforts to develop their leadership, achieve a greater degree of self-determination, and be recognized as legitimate actors in the global community.

How the Dissertation is Organized

In Chapter One I discuss my research and methodology in greater depth, and explore the theoretical approaches and frameworks that inform my work. Chapter Two is a background summary of both the history of the region and of the Inuit movement in Nunavut; it includes a review of the literature or writings in those specific areas. With Chapter Three I begin my discussion of Inuit philosophy; I offer a model of how social movement actors define and refine their philosophies, provide a framework for the discussion of Indigenous knowledge, worldview, and ontology, make an argument for the existence of an *Inuit* ontology and discuss the key philosophical concepts to emerge from that ontology. In Chapter Four I outline how the social movement forced Inuit to simultaneously clarify both their own philosophical cannon and the goals and foundation of their movement by consulting with Elders and knowledgeable community members, and in Chapter Five I look for evidence of the extent to which those philosophical concepts or values, rooted in Inuit governance, may have guided Inuit in the development of the movement's leadership, the creation and maintenance of the Inuit movement in Nunavut, and in its negotiation strategies and processes. Chapter Six includes a closer analysis of the role of women in the Inuit movement. In Chapter Seven I conclude by placing the experiences of Inuit in Nunavut into a broader context of other Indigenous movements, contrasting my findings with those of other authors.

Chapter One: Literature, Theory, Methodology, and Methods

If you knit long enough and hard enough, you can solve the world's problems. That's what I thought when I was six. Because every time there was a crisis, that's what everyone did; everyone came over, and we all sat in a circle in the kitchen, and knit.

Janet Tamalik McGrath

Introduction

In January, 2004, I began my Fulbright year in Nunavut. I had already spent about four months in Iqaluit on previous visits in 2002 and 2003 before I came to live with my host, Marion Love, and her two six year old boys, Aapaq and Nuq. So, I arrived having already gathered quite a bit of data on what I was now referring to as the *Inuit Movement*, and particularly the thread of the movement that led to the creation of Nunavut. Even though I was not aware of it, in 2004 I was already narrowing the focus of my dissertation from that of looking at the whole movement to specifically looking at the issue of leadership development. This became even clearer when I returned for significant periods of time in 2006, 2008, 2010, and most recently in February, 2013. In order to try to understand the relationships between and among actors, I had created a series of charts tracing the movement actors' roles in Inuit organizations year by year – something no one had done before. I had graphs that traced the evolution of Inuit organizations and how the movement split regionally. By the time I was into my second month living with Marion, I even had a diagram illustrating the various paths that people had taken to end up playing leadership roles in the movement. These charts and graphs became a useful and essential tool. I put them in a three-ring binder and carried it not only to every interview, but everywhere I went – along with a map of Nunavut, an event timeline that I had created on the 30-year history

of the movement, and my contact/phone number directory of everyone I had interviewed (or wanted to), which included over 200 names.

This binder became my constant companion. It gave me “street-cred,” and was tangible proof that I not only knew something about the history that they had lived through, but that I was seriously committed to the research. The binder was something concrete that interview-weary Inuit leaders could flip through at their own pace, as the lists of names brought back memories or sometimes offered up surprises as they encountered the names of people with whom they had long since lost touch. Eventually I learned that when I had an interview I needed only to briefly explain who I was and how I got into researching Nunavut, and then let the binder speak for itself. Stories would then emerge naturally, as if of their own accord. People I had interviewed began telling other people about it, and soon various people began asking to see it. It became known as “*the binder*.”

The binder took on a life of its own as person after person would add their own handwriting to it, making corrections or penciling in names, sometimes even adding an illustration to clarify some point they were making. One afternoon when I was sitting in the Carabrew café in the lobby of the Frobisher Inn, I even overheard some people talking about it at a table behind me, “I think she’s staying with Marion Love. Isn’t she Siobahn’s friend? Ask to see her binder, there’s a lot of history in there....”

Although I had come up with the ways of organizing all the information in it, I was only the person who carried the binder; I was not the author of what was in it. I am, however, the only one who can tell the whole story of how it was created. I did not think about the importance of that binder until I sat down to write this chapter. That binder, and the story of its creation, is the perfect allegory of my theory, my methodology and my method in a nutshell. It is the perfect

illustration of how this dissertation came to be, as well as my general role in this articulation of Nunavut's creation story. It is the best answer I have to a question that has haunted me since it was first put to me in the spring of 2004.

I had just come home after a long day to find Marion had some visitors that we were hosting impromptu for dinner. After the initial introductions, the topic of our first conversation was the same topic of anybody's first conversation in Nunavut – how you are related to anybody, how anybody is related to you, and in what ways you might be related to the person with whom you are having the conversation. Toward the end of the evening, when the Arctic char was in the process of being digested, along with several elegant varieties of sushi followed by homemade tiramisu (as there are few restaurants, everyone becomes a gourmet chef) our guests made the inevitable request to see the binder. Being Inuit and *Nunavuumiut*, they all knew everyone involved. Most had gone to school together in Chesterfield Inlet or in Churchill; at one time they had all worked for the Inuit organization that had first brought forward the Nunavut land claim, and one had even dated one of the organization's key advisors. The guests looked through it for a couple of hours, sharing stories and memories amongst themselves, and only marginally including me as if I were the audience or an "aside" in a play. When I first went to Nunavut I had no understanding of Inuktitut whatsoever. During my Fulbright year I was fortunate enough to study it as part of a government language training program, the South Baffin dialect in particular. I never progressed beyond a remedial ability to communicate the basic introductions and have an understanding of the key focus of any conversation, but studying it helped me to better understand the Inuit worldview and ways of thinking. It also served to help break the ice on many occasions, especially with older Inuit. More than once I would be told by younger people that this Elder or that Elder is monolingual, only to find out that we could communicate fairly

well together in English. I would try to communicate with them in my very flawed and inadequate Inuktitut, and that often opened the door to their willingness to speak with me in English. There were those, of course, with whom I needed to speak using a translator and interpreter. Occasionally they would ask me a question or two. Finally, one of the women turned to me and said,

Guest: This is wonderful thing. You have done a great deal of work. There's a lot of history here. You've already talked to so many people and I look forward to the book; there is only one thing I wonder.

HD: What's that?

Guest: What I wonder is, when you go to write all of this up, what voice will you write it in?

HD: Yes, I've thought about that. Well, it won't be my own...

Guest: *Of course* it will be your own! But which?

What I had meant to say was that it would not be exclusively my own voice that I used. I had meant to explain that I would seek not to write from any standpoint of "authority," but to include and acknowledge all of the others of whom and for whom this work is really written. But that was not what I said. So, in a very Inuk way, Marion's guest had immediately chided me for not acknowledging the obvious – that no matter what, my writing would of course be influenced by my life, my experiences, and my personality. The only choice I had was the extent to which I would acknowledge it, and which aspects of my personality would I allow to dominate the discourse. The question for myself was, would it be possible to construct the dissertation as I had the binder, so that everybody's contributions blended together to create a clearly visible whole,

the credibility of which would be immediate apparent to all those who had participated in the movement.

Literature Pertaining to Nunavut

Before I address the theoretical frameworks and various theoretical literature from which I draw to frame the primary arguments of my dissertation, I first want to outline the wide range of literature that exists which directly pertains to Nunavut. A great deal of archeological and anthropological literature exists relating to the Inuit and Inuit traditional culture prior to the creation of Nunavut, and I address the most relevant of those authors in my background chapter. Similarly, I refer to many authors whose works directly correlate to my work in the subsequent directly relevant chapters. Here I will limit myself to a discussion of the literature that has emerged as a direct result of the Inuit Movement in Nunavut, the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and the negotiation process, or because of interest in how Nunavut functions as a Canadian Territory so as to situate my research within the context of theirs. There are several areas of literature that follow from these criteria. I have divided them into the following categories: 1) General histories of the region as they relate to growing political awareness and the process of the devolution of power to self-governance. 2) Analyses of the relative success or failure of the institutions and policies created as a result of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and territorial creation. 3) Analyses of the relative importance of Inuit cultural knowledge to specific issue areas such as Climate Change (Environmental Co-management) or Education. 4) Personal biographies of a select number of Inuit leaders who took part in the process, or the community leaders from the previous generations. 5) Efforts to explore various elements of Inuit culture. These are being written primarily for two purposes. First, they seek to capture Inuit traditional knowledge from elders before it disappears. Second, they each contribute to the creation of a body of knowledge from which contemporary

and subsequent generations can draw that might inform the relevant contemporary government institutions of Nunavut.

1. Political History, Participation and the Devolution of Power

The first one to write a comprehensive analysis of the land claims agreements processes taking place in Northern Canada was Keith Crowe. In his book, *A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada* originally published in 1974 he outlined all of the changes that the people of the Canadian Arctic had experienced from the early days of trade and trapping to the influence of the military, exploration and subsequent mining industries to the early challenges in bringing Canadian governance from Ottawa to the North. In his 1992 *Epilogue* contains an overview of the Inuit Land Claims process from 1974 – 1990. He is the first to outline all of the Northern Agreements as part of a greater political awareness on the part of the indigenous peoples of the Arctic (including the Innuvialuit, Yukon Indian, Nunavut Inuit, Labrador Inuit, Naskap-Montagnais Innu, and Attikamek-Montagnais Quebec land claims processes. He was the first to provide an analysis of the importance of knowledge, both political and traditional, in the land claims processes and to anticipate the problems of funding noting that the wealth brought north by commercial activities at the time of writing only offset the cost of government. His conclusion was that while necessary, the devolution of Government to the North was going to be costly.

It was the Alaskan Native Claims Settlement Act passed in December of 1971 that arguably first made the concept of the Inuit Land Claims process concrete to global political and economic actors (Armstrong et al. 1978). It came about as the result of several years of negotiation on the part of the Inuit, Aleut and Indian member of the Alaska Federation of

Natives. Works contemporary to both the Alaskan claims and Crowe's works explored both the political and economic geography of the Arctic region. *The Circumpolar North* by Terrence Armstrong, George Rogers, and Graham Rowley unpacked all of the economic and geopolitical issues at play in each of the Arctic's eight countries and territories. It was the first work to take a comprehensive look at the potential for Arctic indigenous sovereignty in a global context. The signing of the Agreement in Principle of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement in 1990 spurred a few more works focused explicitly on Nunavut. In 1992 Donald Purich published *The Inuit and Their Land* the first work to outline the specific processes behind the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement from the division of the territory to the issues of Aboriginal rights and title. He outlined the primary problems that would have to be overcome before Nunavut could become a territory. His colleague Mark Dickerson gave a more detailed analysis of the challenges of territorial division and political tension that was arising at the time between native and non-native constituents in the Northwest Territories in his book, *Whose North? Political Change, Political Development and Self-Government in the Northwest Territories* (Dickerson 1992).

In 1997 editors Eric Alden Smith and Joan McCarter take a closer look at the challenges of the pan-Arctic region in their work, *Contested Arctic, Indigenous Peoples, Industrial States and the Circumpolar Environment*. In addition to looking at the challenges of co-management practices called for the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement they also compare the Inuit experience to indigenous political development and land claims in Russia and Sweden. After the finalization of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and Nunavut becoming an official Territory on April 1 1999, the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs in Copenhagen commissioned a collaborative work to analyze the land claims process written by authors who took part in the negotiations. Edited by Jens Dahl, Jack Hicks and Peter Jull, *Nunavut, Inuit*

Regain Control of their Lands and their Lives become the first of such analyses (Dahl et al. 2000). Authors summarized the primary talking points of movement leaders throughout the movement and began to address the role of media and communication in delivering that message along with a beginning look at the traditional knowledge of hunting culture in a modern context.

For the first in-depth analysis of the correlation between Canada's Indigenous Land Claims processes and Canada's shift in Aboriginal policies can be found in a seminal article co-authored by Frances Abele, Katherine Graham and Allan Maslove in the book *How Ottawa Spends*, 1999. In their article, "Negotiating Canada: Changes in Aboriginal Policy over the Last Thirty Years" the authors discuss the evolution in Federal policy over time from that of viewing Aboriginal peoples as "a problem" characterized by poverty, "malcontents", inequality and finally issues of the rights to land, particularly its use and preservation (Abele et al. 1999). They situate the process of devolving the government from Ottawa to the Northern Territories inside a larger process of the devolution of government from the British Crown to Canada. Since the latter process was occurring, it only made the former process more understandable and perhaps even more palatable to a wider constituency. Like Crowe had done earlier, they had no illusions as to what this process was going to cost the taxpayers of Canada. They did, however, make a compelling argument as to why it just might not only be the right thing to do to right historical wrongs, but it also just might be worth it in terms of return. Stephen Mercer, in his comprehensive detailed history of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement process from 1971 – 1999, however outlines a very important concern. In his book, *Claiming Nunavut* he noted that the overwhelming majority of people filling government positions in Nunavut were non-Inuit people coming from Canada's South (Mercer 2008: 174). This, he argued, does not bode well for the goals of self-governance and independence reflected in Canada's Aboriginal policies.

2. Critique: Relative Success or Failure of the NLCA and Nunavut Governing Institutions

From the moment the NCLA was signed in 1992 and the commission was created to try and create a government for Nunavut that could start to work in 1999, a great deal of criticism was lobbed at both the process and the actors involved. As my dissertation addresses the Inuit movement in Nunavut itself, not its subsequent success I have left aside, for the most part, the literatures that critiqued the process as the government was being formed. Several critical analyses of the efficacy of NCLA and the Government of Nunavut since its formation in 1999 do, however, contained some elements of summary of the movement process. These I have included and directly referred to in the chapters. Here I will summarize the most prominent of those critiques.

The first comprehensive truly academic analysis of the creation of Nunavut was written by Kay Ramminger in 2003. Her work, *Nunavut – der Kompromiss in der Arktis* is a master's thesis work for the University of Leipzig explicitly addresses the seemingly insurmountable challenges facing the new born Government of Nunavut from 29% unemployment, serious underemployment, inadequate housing and resources, extremely high cost of living, serious mental health issues, and inordinate challenges to economic development (Ramminger 13). While she acknowledges that Nunavut is a precedent-setting case and the Inuit themselves are hoping that their culture can help them adapt to new contemporary governance, and that Canadian government structures can be informed by Inuit culture. In their 2008 article, "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Social History, Politics and the Practice of Resistance" Frank Tester and Peter Irniq attempt to address that very question. Inuit traditional knowledge or Inuit

Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) , they argue, is “ecological knowledge or cultural wisdom”, echoing Rebecca Mike and others. The Government of Nunavut has in its mandate to incorporate this knowledge into its policy-making. In their article they outline the primary differences between mainstream Western culture and thought as it pertains to governance and contrast it with Inuit ways of thinking, IQ, and power relations. They conclude that as the future of Nunavut depends upon the adaption to a wage-economy and must involve industrial development, the greatest hurdle to overcome will be to “protect and develop Inuit culture in ways that challenge the logic and operations of a modern ‘province-in-waiting’ Nunavut Government” (Tester et al. 2008: 58). They severely critique the Task Force created in 2001 to address this challenge which had dissolved by the mid-decade.

Ailsa Henderson takes a more comprehensive and euro-centric approach to the analysis of political culture. Her book, *Nunavut, Rethinking Political Culture*, characterizes Inuit political culture as being collaborative and characterized by 1) the interaction of competing visions of society, 2) concern for the distribution of the resources across the community and 3) struggling to formulate methods for identifying, distributing and sharing power (Henderson 2007). She credits the Inuit with success in having been able to adapt to contemporary Canadian political structures and in having actually influenced and changed Canadian political culture in Nunavut. She is skeptical, however, that they will be able to avoid be subsumed in the future by the more dominant Canadian political culture over time. By contrast, Kim van Dam centers her analysis of Nunavut and its peoples around issues of identity. In her book, *A Place Called Nunavut, Multiple Identities for a new Region*, she questions the extent to which Inuit identity in Nunavut is being ascribed by outsiders and supported by the dominant internal Inuit population (those whom I later call ‘leadership families’ perhaps) who have their own power agenda (van Dam

2008: 7). In her analysis of the Government of Nunavut she argues that the first five years of its existence were spent in addressing the most pressing issues: health, housing, education, law. She describes all the policies of the territory as having become “Nunavutized” as Inuit lifestyle and culture dominate the public debate at all levels. Her conclusion is that in the struggle to create a collective system of knowledge or a political version of IQ that regional and local differences will be lost (van Dam 2008: 106). Yet Ailsa Henderson updated her analysis at the 10-year anniversary mark of the creation of Nunavut in 2009. In her article for the *Journal of Canadian Studies* “Lessons for Social Science in the Study of New Polities: Nunavut at 10” she argued that there was great room for optimism and study after study has begun to show how serious efforts to integrate IQ into policy and education has helped its territorial leadership attempt to improve socio-economic conditions for Nunavummiut across the Arctic (Henderson 2009: 19). In 2009 also the results of a two-year multidisciplinary research program on public policy in Canada’s North was published, *The Art of the State, Volume IV: Northern Exposure, Peoples, Powers and Prospects in Canada’s North*. Edited by Frances Abele and colleagues, the volume included articles by some of Canada’s foremost authorities on issues of sovereignty, environmental change, Aboriginal and public governance, economic development and education. While collectively they concede that balancing the well-being of northern communities with economic development is a tremendous challenge, they argue that political hybridization is essential for both material reasons of creating economic stability and psychological reasons of cultural continuity (Abele et al 2009: 57). They conclude that you cannot do one without the other.

Andre Legare echoes Kim van Dam’s concerns with regard to identity in his 2010 dissertation “The Construction of Nunavut, the Impact of the Nunavut Project on Inuit Identity, Governance and Society.” He argues that the process of creating narratives that served the

interests of the creation of Nunavut, Inuit reconstructed their collective identity. First, they redefined their identity through the creation of regions made necessary by the competing interests of each region in the political process (Inuvialuit, Nunavut, Labrador etc). He believes, however that this process was never completed since the collective identity being ascribed to Inuit is still being contested among Nunavutmiut (Legare 2010: 157). He argues that those who created Inuit collective identity narrative, namely those most involved in the process and Inuit organizations such as the NTI, are seen as an elitist group by people in the general Inuit population and that this is problematic. He concludes, however, that the socio-economic status and social realities of Inuit may have been improved over the last ten years because of the existence of the NLCA and the Government of Nunavut (Legare 2010: 159).

In contrast to van Dam, Thierry Riodon offers an analysis of how governmental actors (the Federal Government of Canada, the Government of Nunavut) and non-governmental actors (three regional Inuit organizations representing three different territorial scales (territorial, federal and the Arctic region) worked together as a precedent setting example of what he calls “Multi-level Governance” (Riodon 2013:266). He argued that the Inuit organization initially responsible for representing the Inuit the NLCA negotiations, Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, works as an integral part of Nunavut governance and though acting as an interlocutor to its Inuit constituency plays an important role in creating and shaping public policy. It is a claim he reiterates and expands upon in his chapter “Land Claim Organizations and the Social Economy in Nunavut and Nunavik” from the book *Northern Communities Working Together, The Social Economy of Canada's North* published in 2015. In the same book, Frances Abele further develops her framework pertaining to the important integration of both Inuit cultural paradigms as a part of Social economy and state institutions in her chapter, “State Institutions and the Social

Economy in Northern Canada”. Northern governance institutions, she argues, are hybrid and complex. Many changes experienced by Aboriginal communities were state-led. Traditional social systems were merged with modern forms of governance and economically too land-based subsistence practices co-exist with a wage-based economy. The history of these hybrid societies may make them stronger and better able to serve their unique and still-changing communities. (Abele 2015: 103).

In 2015 Jack Hicks and Graham White also published their comprehensive analysis of the efficacy of decentralized government in Nunavut in their book, *Made in Nunavut, An Experiment in Decentralized Government*. Throughout the implementation period and the first ten years of the Government of Nunavut, many assessments were made on the progress toward decentralizing government from Ottawa to the territories. Their work is an aggregate account of all of these individual assessments at each stage of development. Their primary critique was that by the 10 year anniversary of the Creation of the Territory it had become apparent that they had three major challenges: 1) high turnover of qualified people in all the leadership positions, 2) a large percentage of southerners filling those positions and attempting to implement an Inuit agenda, and 3) a very large percentage (over 51%) of the Inuit population that are very young and might not be receiving the support and education necessary to fill the needs of the young government. Overall, however, they echoed the optimism of so many others in that most people still very much support the idea of self-governance, or decentralized government and that it has done some significant work towards addressing the issues of contemporary Inuit society in the North.

Roberta Rice does a comparative analysis between Indigenous governance in Bolivia and Nunavut, Roberta Rice argued in her article, “How to Decolonize Democracy: Indigenous Governance Innovation in Bolivia and Nunavut, Canada”. In it she finds that the most effective

elements of indigenous governance in Nunavut have been the co-management of resources and posits it as a model from which other indigenous communities can learn (Rice 2016: 233).

3. Inuit Governance and Inuit Traditional Knowledge Applied

The first analysis of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and its impact on resource extraction was the book by Robert McPherson, *New Owners In Their Land, Minerals and Inuit Land Claims*. In it, he outlines the history of oil, gas, and mineral exploration and discovery in the 1950s and 60s, the subsequent development of the mining industry in the North and the impact of the several land claims agreements. McPherson does a good job of describing the land claims agreement process and even outlines the history of Inuit organizational development throughout the negotiation period. Where his work is invaluable, however, is the detail with which he describes the nature of Crown lands (land held by the Federal Government of Nunavut that are up for negotiation) and the varying degrees of control that the Inuit negotiated for from surface rights, subsurface rights, co-management and development oversight of natural resources. He specifically extols the savvy with which Inuit negotiators and community leaders consulted geological and environmental experts along with those having traditional knowledge of the lands and their resources from their own communities (McPherson 2003: 271). The subject of co-management and its impact is a theme that Jessica Shadian develops further, after the agreement has been long implemented in her book, *The Politics of Arctic Sovereignty, Oil, ice and Inuit Governance*. In it she argues that the Inuit Movement first helped to create and define an internationally recognized Inuit indigenism, and that is also helped to redefine issues of sovereignty. The Inuit Movement and the non-governmental structures that it created in the form

of Inuit organizations at the regional, territorial and international levels helped define Inuit identity. The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement specifically helped to redefine sovereignty through its co-management structures. Further, because the Inuit NGOs worked across scale and did not seek state-based solutions to either issues of self-determination nor environmental and resource management issues Shadian argues, they have re-written the playbook for global actors (Shadian 2014: 211).

Gregory Marchildon and Renee Torgerson analyze the role of the complex organizational structures in Nunavut in delivering healthcare in their book, *Nunavut, A Health System Profile*. Marchildon and Torgerson actually critique the lack of private, civil-society organizations that usually assist in the delivery of health services to underserved communities (Marchildon et al 2013: 127) This places an even greater burden on the Government of Nunavut to do it all and, they argue, it is further crippled by the fact that so many of the indicators and reference points that they rely upon to measure such service in the South do not exist in Nunavut or such studies have never been done. They do see role for Inuit organizations in advocating for more culturally relevant delivery services and further study and resources. In her article, “The Social Economy and Resource Development in Northern Canada” Brenda Parlee also outlines the social challenges for Northern communities that go hand in hand with economic development from the vices that economic expansion, culture change and consumerism bring to the problems inherent with economic transition (food insecurity etc.). Like Shadian, however, she too looks at the role of Inuit NGOs in helping to solve some of these local problems. She calls them social economy organizations and describes the ways in which they are redefining advocacy at the local level (Parlee 2015: 81).

Authors Stephanie Doudreau and Lucia Fanning take an even closer look at the role and impact of Inuit NGOs and the Co-management agreements within the NLCA in their article, “Nunavut Fisheries Co-management and the Role of the NLCA in Fisheries Management and Decision-making”. In their work they discuss the traditional role of fishing in the Inuit culture and economy, how it is changing, the pressures that these natural resources are being put under due to climate change, and the impact the NLCA has had on the way in which the Federal Government of Canada operates. They conclude that the impact is a profound one and might perhaps be a model for other resource management areas (Doudreau et al 2016). Chelsea Gabel and Emilie Cameron outline in more detail what such a collaborative process looks like in their article “The Community Readiness Initiative in Kugliuktuk, Nunavut: the Challenge of Adapting an Indigenous Community-Based Participatory Framework to a Multi-Stakeholder, Government Designed Project Environment” in the 2016 Spring issue of the *Engaged Scholar Journal*. The benefits more than outweigh the cumbersome process in that there is a great deal of community buy in for the projects (Gabel et al 2016: 105). It is a finding that Mitchel Hitch and his colleagues corroborate in their 2017 study with regard to mining in the Kitikmeot region. “Community participation and the plain and full disclosure of information concerning the potential or current mineral operation are critical to have an informed and vibrant community” (Hitch et al. 2017:246). Because of the policies, practices and procedures created by the Inuit movement and the NLCA the process of economic development and co-management of mining resources runs much more smoothly and for the benefit of a wider base of the population.

The issue of the non-state based nature of the Inuit pursuit of land claims and NGO advocacy has been mentioned above. The issue of sovereignty and security are yet still a cause of global concern as is the stability of the Arctic region. A new body of literature is being

developed to address these concerns as and expanding understanding of climate change brings the likelihood much more future commercial activity in the Arctic region. Barry Scott Zellen addressed this concern in 2009 in his book *On Thin Ice, the Inuit, the State, and the Challenge of Arctic Sovereignty*. He argues that “Northern” and “Southern” views of Arctic sovereignty are in conflict with one another. Throughout much of this literature the focus has been on how community-based collaborative ontology has informed the creation of a hybrid system of governance that takes into account factors that exceed Southern definitions of sovereignty. Zellen argues, however, that as the Arctic opens to greater development and is reshaped by climate change it will be under ever increasing pressure to enrich Southern populations and may be vulnerable to conflict, smuggling, trafficking and even terrorism (Zellen 2009: 183). A collective work edited by Dawn Berry, Nigel Bowles and Halbert Jones, *Governing the North American Arctic, Sovereignty, Security and Institutions* goes further. Articles address potential conflicts between Arctic nations in areas from resource extraction to shipping rights, including potential outside actors such as China expressing interest in mining (Berry et al 2016). Heather Nicol strikes a more optimistic note and argues that the Universal Declaration of Indigenous Peoples Rights adopted by the United Nations in 2007 is playing a significant role in giving Canada’s indigenous peoples a voice in the global community (Nicol 2016).

In 2005 Cambridge University published the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, the first comprehensive environmental study conducted by over 100 scientists worldwide and incorporating into it significant contributions by Indigenous leaders and elders within the Arctic community who had been reporting on climate change observations for decades. Its publication opened up a great many subsequent studies. In 2008 Fikret Berkes published his seminal book in environmental anthropology, *Sacred Ecologies* which included new definitions of ecological

knowledge and set about to show comparatively how they were part of traditional systems of knowledge that could inform a complete body of knowledge in political ecology. He particularly linked traditional knowledge and indigenous observations over time with climate change study. In his chapter on Inuit observations of climate change he outlines in a manner very similar to Gabel and Cameron how collaborative research can take place on climate science using community-based programs and systems in Sachs Harbour (Berkes 2008: 167). In her book, *Our Ice Is Vanishing, A History of Inuit, Newcomers and Climate Change* Shelly Wright argues that we much incorporate the knowledge of the Inuit in order to navigate climate change and negotiate issues of Arctic sovereignty (Wright 2013). Hans Carlson also argues the importance of first hand observations and community-based knowledge in his chapter, “That’s the Place Where I Was Born”: History, Narrative Ecology and Politics and Canada’s North” from the book *Ice Blink, Navigating Northern Environmental History* published in 2017. At the other end of the spectrum, Sarah Prentice offers a severe critique of the Government of Nunavut and Inuit NGOs in her overview of the literature on Climate Change and Adaptation in Nunavut. She argues that there are far more articles discussing resource extraction than there are addressing Nunavut’s colonial legacies and that the lack of Inuit input in the decision-making process on issues relating to climate change is appalling (Prentice 2017: 24).

At the center of much of the debate on the role of the Government of Nunavut (as well as Inuit NGOs) is the problem of adequate education in Nunavut. By this I mean both the issue of adequate public Canadian education at the level of a national standard as well as the lack of institutions of higher education across the Arctic, but also the issue of Aboriginal or Indigenous knowledge teaching. There is a body of literature also emerging to address the processes and history of education in the Arctic. Heather McGregor’s book *Inuit Education and Schools in the*

Eastern Arctic broke new ground in 2010 when she described the transition of Inuit education from traditional informal educational structures to the early experiments with education in the 1950s and 60s to finally local delivery of education in the school system of Nunavut. One of the greatest challenges with regard to education in Nunavut is that of developing genuinely Inuit approaches to education, not just “sprinkling cultural materials into approaches designed for Southern systems” (McGregor 2010: 165). In this case, decentralization and local control of schools is somewhat problematic as communities are so widespread and do not have enough adequate resources. Alexander McAuley argues further the need for more culturally relevant approaches to education and to knowledge building. Education innovations, he argues, are not created or delivered within a vacuum but within “specific socio-cultural contexts with histories and power structures that support or hinder innovations depending on the degree of congruence with them (McAuley 2009: 3). The most successful curricula yet delivered in Nunavut has been a locally developed culturally relevant work, *Piniaqtavut*. Understanding the history of Inuit pedagogical development is tangentially extremely important to the work of this dissertation. The Inuit Movement in Nunavut and processes I describe in my chapters on Inuit Ontology and the Waterfall Model are the same as those that have informed the development of Inuit culturally-based curricula. Because of the support given to those who have sought to do research in the name of education, this area has been a little more developed. Inuit educators have been the most involved in the activities, conferences and workshops seeking to address Inuit Traditional Knowledge and ways to apply it. They have also been the most closely associated with the analysis of leadership and the development of future educational leaders. Much of this work has been outlined in the chapters of a collective work edited by Fiona Walton and Darlene O’Leary titled *Sivumut, Towards the Future Together. Inuit Women’s Educational Leaders in*

Nunavut and Nunavik published in 2015. Chapters address a range of issues including how to overcome generational trauma, the impact of relocation, and issues of identity, learning and leadership in the field of education.

4. Biographies and Oral Histories Pertaining to Nunavut and the NLCA

The most well-known ethnographic work centering on Nunavut from the era during which the Inuit movement was just beginning is *Never in Anger* published in 1971 by Jean Briggs. It was based upon living seventeen months as the adopted daughter of a non-leadership family of the Utku band of Inuit in the remote community of Goja Haven. It is from her work that we first gain insight into the collaborative nature of Inuit culture and most especially their practices surrounding conflict avoidance and resolution. The first published autobiography of a community leader was the book, *An Arctic Man, sixty-five years in the North* published in 1979. It is an autobiography written by Ernie Lyall who although not born Inuk, married an Inuk woman, Nipisha, and started a family. Many Inuit leaders would eventually emerge from that family, most of them women. In 1992 the University of Toronto press published a collective work edited by Penny Petrone titled *Northern Voices, Inuit Writing in English*. While the first three chapters draw from historical documents, the fourth chapter includes short essays from some twenty-five Inuit leaders who took part in one way or another in the Inuit movement. Their reflections vary from childhood memories of pre-colonial life, to colonization to philosophical questions relating to the reasons they became a part of the Inuit movement. Probably the most poignant biography yet written is the book, *Give Me My Father's Body, the Life of Minik The New York Eskimo* written by Ken Harper in 2000. In it he tells a brutal story of colonization

from the kidnapping of Minik's father by the Explorer Peary to Minik's discovery of his father's body in the New York Museum of Natural history some years later and his subsequent fight to get it returned. Along the same lines as Petrone's collection, *Uqalurait, An Oral History of Nunavut* compiled by Joh Bennett and Susan Rowley in 2004 is a collection of quotations by prominent Inuit organized in an almost encyclopedic form relating to Inuit traditional knowledge on a wide variety of subjects. Also beginning in 2004 Louis McComber began working on a series of publications for the Nunavut Arctic College called "Life Stories of Northern Leaders" and focuses on the people who led the Inuit Movement. His first one in 2004 was an autobiography of Abraham Okpik titled, *We Call It Survival*. His second book came out in 2007 and is of John Amagoalik, *The Changing Face of Canada*. Both recount stories of their pre-colonial lives, early education and eventually roles in the Inuit Movement.

John Amagoalik was one of the Inuit who were relocated to the high arctic in a Canadian government program designed to remove vulnerable populations of Inuit out of the potential vector of TB and the threat poor hunting conditions. It was an extremely difficult era in Inuit history because the families that were relocated were moved to the truly uninhabitable polar Arctic and many died. The story of this relocation is told in the book *The Long Exile* by Melanie McGrath published in 2006. Another collection of oral histories is *Nunavut Generations, Change and Continuity in Inuit Communities* by Ann McElroy. Part autobiography and part oral history, published in 2008 it is written by someone who was raised bi-culturally among the Inuit and understands Inuit culture intimately. It is an important contribution in that it outlines the awareness of people living in community of the cultural, political and economic changes that were taking place in the early period of the Inuit Movement.

As kind of a counterpoint to Ernie Lyall's autobiography of his life as a white man integrating into Inuit society, in 1978 Mini Freeman wrote her autobiography, *Life Among the Qallunat*. Born in 1936 she grew up in the Arctic, began nurse's training at the age of 16 and in 1957 she moved to Ottawa. She ended up working as a translator for the Department of Northern Affairs and played a crucial role alongside many other women in the organization of the Inuit movement and the involvement of women in it. The first compendium to gather the stories of women in an oral history is tellingly titled *Gossip*. Published in 1990 by Mary Crnkovich who served as an outside advisor to the Inuit organizations it focuses mainly on issues centering on family, midwifery and birth, violence, and women in the workplace. There are a few narratives in the final chapter from women addressing their role in the political sphere but mostly centering on Greenland. In 1999 Nancy Wachowich in collaboration with Apphia Agalakti Awa, Rhoda Kaukjak Katsak and Sandra Pikujak Katsak published *Saqiyuq, Stories from the Lives of Three Inuit Women*. The women span three generations and describe their life experiences and the changes they have lived through from the 1930s to the 1990s. In 2007 Janet and Billson and Kyra Mancini recount the history of the Inuit as experienced by and written about women in their book *Inuit Women, Their Powerful Spirit in a Century of Change*. Together these works present a fairly multifaceted description of the life and experiences of Inuit women from mostly the Baffin Island region of the Arctic. The only work to address the specific life experiences and challenges of men as a specific gender study is *Becoming Inummarik, Men's Lives in an Inuit Community* by Peter Collings. Based on twenty years of research in Ulukhaktok, NWT and published in 2014 it is the first ethnographic work to explore what it means to become a man in the Arctic and focuses on the lives of the first generation of men to be born in permanent settlements.

5. Inuit Cultural References

After the formation of the Government of Nunavut, Nunavut Arctic College published their first series of books intended to aid in the collection of oral histories organized around themes relevant and useful to the Government of Nunavut and its mandate to put IQ into every policy area of governance. Edited by Jarich Oosten, Frederic Laugrand and Wilm Rasing the first two editions of the series were published in 1999, *Interviewing Inuit Elders, Introduction* and *Perspectives on Traditional Law*. The first volume contained the life stories of four Inuit elders, essays from several women and a collection of traditional tales. The second volume on law drew upon community Elders to explain key concepts of right and wrong, respect for the environment and others and how Inuit dealt with wrong-doers. It also contained some oral histories that told stories pertaining to those subjects. The third volume, *Childrearing Practices* was published in 2001 and edited by Jean Briggs. The fourth volume, edited by Bernard Saladin d'Anglure focused on Inuit Cosmology and Shamanism and was also published in 2001. Frederic Laugrand also published an article in 2015 that was the sum of two lectures he gave on his research on Inuit cosmology, "Ontology on Ice: The Inuit of the central Canadian Arctic and their Animals". In it he discusses the relationship between predator and prey in Inuit ontology and how it contrasts with western ontological thought (Laugrand 2015).

In 2007 Valerie Alia published her book, *Names and Nunavut, Culture and Identity in the Inuit Homeland*. It built upon the foundation laid by the Arctic College series and unpacked the way colonization impacted the Inuit of Nunavut through first numbering and then even bestowing names upon Inuit. She also looks at the process of renaming both peoples and land

and Inuit have sought to reclaim their culture and identity as a result of the Inuit Movement. In 2016 Normal Hallendy published his oral history of Cape Dorset, *An Intimate Wilderness, Arctic Voices in a Land of Vast Horizons*. Collectively, all of these ethnographic works add to the comprehensive knowledge of Inuit lived experiences and Inuit traditional knowledge.

In summarizing these literatures, it has become apparent the ways in which many analysts have found that the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, its negotiation process, and the subsequent institutions that have been created such as the Inuit non-governmental organizations as well as the agencies of the Government of Nunavut itself have impacted the people, culture and governance of the Inuit of Nunavut. In the subsequent sections and chapters I will analyze the process through which these structures were created and the lessons that can be learned from the integration of Inuit traditional knowledge into social movement formation.

Review of the Theoretical Frameworks

Over the past half-century, the social sciences have undergone a transition, not only in the ways in which social scientists are thinking about and theorizing their work, but also in the methods they are using. Some scholars have moved from the idea of privileging positivism and structural-functionalism (viewing the world as being fixed with one “true” reality) to an era of post-structuralism and constructivism (in which they acknowledge that the myriad lenses through which both individual and collective actors view the world shapes their actions). My approach to empirical work includes Indigenous epistemologies designed to serve and address the needs of the populations being studied.

Theoretically, with regard to social movement analysis, academics seem to have come full circle – or perhaps it could better be described as a spiral. The spiral begins with the focus of study on communities, and social psychology serves as its theoretical grounding. *Collective behavior* was the buzz-word, and it was viewed as being essentially irrational, as protest itself was viewed as an aberrant social phenomenon (Jasper, 1997, p. 22). At issue were the ways in which rapid social change had impacted society and its members, primarily negatively (i.e., the works of Durkheim, Weber, and Marx). Out of this mode of thinking grew the idea that “grievances” (or later “relative deprivation”) were the catalysts for social movement, and the focus of study shifted (next ring of the spiral) to the individuals actually performing the “collective behavior” (Toch, 1965; Wallace, 1956). It was eventually discovered, however, that these ideas alone (grievance and relative deprivation) could not adequately explain social movement emergence, and did nothing to address anything beyond that point. In the 1970s social movement analysis shifted again (next and dominant spiral ring) to focus on the external factors effecting social movements, such as organization, political environment, opportunities and resources (Christ & McCarthy, 1996). Theorists moved beyond social psychological approaches, virtually rejecting them, and adopted more structural frameworks that attempted to explain events in the context of macropolitical systems (McAdam et. al., 1989).

Today, while these structural approaches still dominate the field, social scientists are turning once again to the past in order to move forward into the future. Structuralism, just like social psychology, has its inadequacies. It fails to consider the importance and relevance of individual perspective, beliefs, values, and in short, everything that can be included in a definition of “culture.” Johnston and Klandermans (1995) have hinted that another paradigmatic

shift may be taking place now, one that takes into account the culture of social movement participants and of social movements, as well as the issue of cultural fluidity.

On “structure”. Resource Mobilization theory (RMT) was the first to emerge as a response to the heavy critique of the social psychological approach. In a spill-over from the field of political science, and also following the trend in anthropology to study politics, social movements began to be viewed in terms of what Buechler refers to as “an extension of politics by other means” (2000, p. 34). Cost-benefit analysis (borrowed from the field of economics) and concern with empirically measurable and often statistically verifiable variables became the focus of research. These included chiefly material things such as the availability of resources, the organizational structure of the movement, and the potential ability or willingness of the state to either aid or hinder the movement (Mueller, 1992, p. 4). Cost-benefit analysis was championed at that time by McCarthy and Zald who argued that: a) not only individuals, but groups and organizations, weigh risks and benefits, and b) entrepreneurial leaders of social movement organizations were primarily rational and materialist (Jasper, 1997, p. 30). Therefore cost-benefit models could provide a means of achieving some degree of predictability in social movement analysis, once enough empirical data were collected.

The next step in the evolution of approaches to structural theory was a logical derivative of resource mobilization. Buechler characterizes Political Process theory (PPT), championed by Charles Tilly, as the political version of RMT (2000, p. 36). It is, in political science terms, a “state-centric” theory that focuses on the power of nation-states, the strategies of social movement organizations, and their ability to mobilize political capital (people and power). The emphasis here is placed even more heavily upon external variables than RMT. The latter still

concerns itself with the internal decision-making of the social movement leaders, while PPT has supported a large body of work on state reaction (Goldstone & Tilly, 2001).

Case studies have proven the relative predictive value of these two approaches, but can these two theories be beneficial to social movement participants themselves? To answer that question, I tend to view resource mobilization as a “cookbook.” In other words, it helps in understanding what ingredients are necessary for social movement. If RMT is the cookbook, then Political Process theory provides the “playbook,” the toolkit of potential strategies for dealing with the state based upon historical outcomes or past plays. Tarrow refers to this as the “political opportunity structure” (Tarrow, 1994, p. 92).

With the focus of all of these structural approaches being primarily upon factors external to social movements, it is not difficult to imagine the nature of the dominant critiques to them. In completely abandoning the previous paradigms, theorists have “thrown the baby out with the bath water.” While social psychological approaches may have been murky and inconsistent, they did attempt to grapple with the relationship between individuals and the movement, individuals and society, and the question of why people become involved. What structural approaches lack is the ability to explore the connection between idea, belief, and mobilization. In constructivist terms, social movements represent the middle ground between ideas (movement beginning) and newly emerging norms (movement outcome). The question is how do movement members move from idea to belief to mobilization, and what is the relationship between that and movement continuity? To address this, Snow et al. tried to incorporate ways of dealing with ideological variables into structural paradigms. The result was Framing theory (FT). In their words:

We see movement organizations and actors as actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning for constituents, antagonists, and bystanders or observers. This productive work may involve the *amplification* [my emphasis] and extension of extant

meanings, the *transformation* of old meanings, and the *generation* of new meanings. (Snow & Benford, 1992, p. 136).

Nagel and Mitchell refer to these actors as custodians of culture (Nagel, 1996; Mitchell, 1995).

On “culture”. Even structural theorists themselves have long recognized the inadequacies of purely structural approaches to social movement analysis. More than 40 years ago, Wilson argued that their weakness was that such methods were silent on the internal arrangements of movements and were far too externally focused (1973, p. 338). Mueller then wrote about the necessity of creating more actor-focused and actor-relevant research. She suggested three areas that remained under explored: a) the relationships among levels of violence, grievance, and the key variables of resource mobilization; b) the relationship between strategies and tactics and social location (identity, role, etc.); and c) the relationship between the level of social change achieved and the level of mass mobilization and institutional disruption (Mueller, 1992, p. 18). A collection of essays entitled *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory* constituted one of the first major attempts to create a synthesis between structural and cultural approaches.

Cultural approaches emerge from the theoretical base of cultural constructivism. Jasper defines this concept as, “the idea that we humans together create everything that we know and experience, or at least the interpretive frameworks through which we filter all experience” (1997, p. 10). The primary argument here is that the construction of meaning and the perceptions of the individuals that, together, undertake collective action, is important. The reason that ideation, meaning, and perception are important is that they directly address the question of human agency. What cultural approaches attempt to do is to explore the link between the construction of meaning for individuals, their involvement in social movement, and the nature of that

involvement. Cultural Constructivist theory attempts to answer the question of what role this kind of symbolic interaction plays in social movement continuity.

It is safe to say the concepts of meaning construction and symbolic interaction are shaped by culture, if not components of it. One of the most difficult problems with a cultural constructivist approach is the myriad attempts to define culture, which is necessary in order that we may create more consistent paradigms. Definitions vary across time and place, and have ranged from aesthetic to the stoic. Over a century ago, culture was thought to be synonymous with *civilization*; knowledge, belief, and practice were all considered to be elements of culture and were generally placed on an evolutionary scale of development from *primitive* to *advanced* (Lamphere et al., 1997). The evaluation and classification of culture became a tool of colonization and the means of its justification. The decolonization of the social sciences began with Franz Boas, who founded Boasian Anthropology, which brought the idea of cultural relativism to the forefront (Robbins, 2010). In 1959, C. Wright Mills published his seminal work, *The Promise*, in which he chastised social scientists for failing to have an ethical focus to their work for the benefit of society and those being studied. By the 1960s, scholars of both Boas and Mills were attempting to undo some of the damage of the alliance between colonial powers and the social sciences, and began arguing for the primacy of cultural relativism, that is, dispensing with ethnocentric worldviews and looking at each culture through the lens of its own ontology. Ethnography was reshaped to describe the “separate but equal” myriad of complex experiences and lifeways of the peoples being studied. But it was not until the 1970s that Clifford Geertz (1973) and others began to redefine culture and its significance ontologically. In *Situated Lives, Gender and Culture in Everyday Life*, Louise Lamphere argues that Geertz, “shifted attention

from the description of bounded cultures to the interpretation of shared meanings in varied contexts, primarily through interpretive writing” (1997, p. 3).

In Social Movement analysis, Jasper defines culture as “shared mental worlds and their physical embodiments” (1997, p. 12). Arvruch provides us with a laundry list of what culture is *not*: 1) homogenous, 2) a thing – of itself not possessed of agency, 3) uniformly distributed among members of a group, 4) custom, and 5) timeless (1998, p. 159). Culture is, however, most often linked to experience. Nagel poses the question whether culture shapes human agency through a tool kit of symbols – a structural argument, or does human action shape culture – a cultural constructivist argument. Her answer is that culture is shaped and reshaped by human thought and action (Nagel, 1996, p. 45). Culture is fluid, just as identity is fluid, and experience is cumulative. All three are interrelated, yet how is understanding culture truly useful to social movement analysis? Mueller (1992) couches the analysis of cultural factors in relation to structural ones. Johnston and Klandermans argue that the link between cultural variables and social movement analysis lies in learning how cultural knowledge is performed; “cultural templates are used to make sense of situations, and as a basis for action” (Johnston and Klandermans, 1995, pp. 5-8). The difficulty of privileging perception, whether based on cultural templates or just experience, is the question of how to create research designs and paradigms that are repeatable and that generate data that can be universally interpreted. It is doubtful that any research will ever achieve the latter, however what is the most promising is the potential twinning of structural and cultural theory. Cultural approaches to social movement analysis are relatively new, but the primary critique of them to date is that they have focused more on conceptual development than on theory-building or the generation of empirical data (Buechler,

2000, p. 44). The most interesting and useful studies have been those which attempt this twinning.

In Indigenous studies, however, the issue of culture and the role of culture on social structures or governance in particular has become increasingly important. Dr. Leroy Little Bear (2000, p. 76) argues, for example, that indigenous worldviews have become jagged, requiring actors to have one foot in each cultural world – that of the mainstream culture, and that of their own, and that the cost of this duality is great. While navigable, Little Bear argues that the burden then becomes one in which Indigenous actors are constantly under pressure to teach or inform, not only outside actors, but also less informed insiders of the cultural paradigms under which decision making and indigenous action take place. I expand on this further in the section below on Indigenous knowledge.

On “holism”. As the suggestion of twinning structural and cultural theory implies, on the surface there would seem to be at least two ways to view the impact of theoretical paradigm shifts in social movement analysis or in any other social science. One can either see these shifts as being diametrically opposed or as isolated schools or camps; choose the particular one that you as a social scientist can best relate to, and dogmatically pursue that paradigm until kingdom come. The other option, the one I tend to prefer, is to view theory creation as cumulative or additive. It is not that we are throwing old approaches out when new models are created, but that we should work toward a synthesis of approaches in the true dialectical tradition. As we explore new approaches, we continue to build the spiral. Many social scientists fall somewhere in the middle of these two views. As Jasper said in his critique of purely structural models, “Scholars often forget prior discoveries, or overextend their favored metaphor to cover too much” (Jasper, 1997, p. 42). In other words, *anything* can become a resource, opportunity structure, or frame.

A more concrete impact of this latest paradigm shift is the gaining acceptability of the myriad methodologies that have not traditionally been a part of social movement analysis. New social movement theory brought the issue of individual and collective identity to the forefront of analysis. As Jasper and others demonstrate, narrative, biography, mapping, oral history, network analysis, organizational theory, RMT, PPT, and FT *all* have a place in the study of social movement (Jasper, 1997).

On “leadership”. Leadership is one of the areas of theory that within social movement theory is still fairly underdeveloped, specifically the question of how leadership is developed or from when it emerges. Many studies have investigated the roles and types of leaders, (charismatic, etc.), and with regard to indigenous societies the role of kinship networks and leadership has been fairly well explored, at least on a superficial level, within the field of political anthropology. Specifically, in the mid-1800s Sir Henry Maine and L.H. Morgan (Maine, 1861; Morgan, 1867) argued that kinship was the foundation of Indigenous leadership: “The history of political idea begins, in fact with the assumption that kinship in blood is the sole possible ground of community in political functions” (Maine, 1861, p. 129).

While within political anthropology there has been a shift from holding Maine’s (1861) assumption at the center to authors who chose to privilege other paradigms, such as looking at power structures, both internal and external, and there have been further works seeking to more deeply classify both kinship systems and power structures within groups, very little attention has been paid to the area of specific, intentional, intergenerational leadership development nor has Maine’s argument been altogether abandoned. My case study on the leadership development within the Inuit communities of Nunavut and specifically within the Inuit movement contributes the most to this area of interdisciplinary theory by providing an in-depth case study that

examines not only the kinship structures of leadership among the Inuit of Nunavut, but the specific ways in which leaders are chosen and developed.

Marshall Ganz argues that social movement outcomes are directly informed by “how the life experiences of individual leaders shaped their modes of thinking, their repertoires of collective action, their access to networks and resources, their motivation, and the heuristic use they make of all of these” (Ganz, 2000, p. 1005). Ganz, the key chronicler of the Labor Movement in California under Cesar Chavez, emphasizes the importance of looking at leadership through the interaction of potential leaders with their environments and by looking at organizational structures, how they are shaped, and how those factors influence actors choices (Ganz, 2000, p. 1003).

Ganz and other modern voices of social movement leadership analysis are emerging from fields such as sociology and anthropology, but also theoretically leadership analysis has its roots in other disciplines which have been tackling it for much longer. Specifically, the fields of psychology and organizational studies, most often found in Schools of Business, have been the key contributors. For the most part studies have focused on the types of leadership or leadership personalities (Weber, 1954; Sashkin & Rosenbach, 1993; Hunter et al., 2007). Ron Aminzade, Jack Goldstone, and Elizabeth Perry went further in 2001 in applying leadership studies to the field of social movement by specifically linking the relationship of leaders to each other, and to their constituencies to see how that might impact outcomes (Aminzade et al, 2001, p. 126). Their work takes us beyond the question of whether or not the external and or internal structures were conducive to effective leadership to asking how, organically, leadership may have developed. Different leadership development processes lead to different types of political structures. “Leadership can fail,” they argue, and the relationships that leaders have to one another and to

their constituents can determine the type of government that may emerge from whatever collective action is undertaken (Aminzade et al., 2001, p. 151).

Ganz (2000) asks us to look at biography, specifically shared biography with respect to leadership and social movement outcomes. Aminzade et al. (2001) asks us to link the relationships between and among leaders and specifically look at the relationship of leaders to their communities. This dissertation does that. It looks specifically at the relationship of Inuit Movement leaders to each other, to their communities, and to the mainstream society. It also, however, goes a step further. Current theories now address why leaders are successful (i.e., their charisma, the types of decision-making processes they may have, and the need for different types of leaders for different functions), they have not addressed how successful leaders are developed beyond individual biographies. This is where the importance of twinning structural and cultural approaches to leadership development in Social Movement theory is so important.

In his latest work, Ganz brings the two together by looking more closely at motivation. Intrinsic rewards, the personal meaning we ascribe to our work, are more motivating than extrinsic rewards. The meaning we give to our work is directly informed by the culture in which we have grown up (Ganz 2009, p12). Further, that culture determines, to a certain extent, the degree to which one is allowed or given the freedom of creative expression and upon which one must depend upon creativity and collective action for survival. The ability to solve problems that one has never encountered before by drawing from one's life experience is called the "heuristic process" (Ganz 2009:13). It is these heuristic differences that can to some extent determine outcomes, according to Ganz. In the case of the Inuit, their leadership development practices played a great role in movement development. I will argue it was a strong determining factor with regard to their cohesion, longevity and successful outcomes.

In order to understand or even identify the process of leadership development in Indigenous communities, one must first be able to understand their ontology, or worldview. What values do they place on leadership? How is leadership perceived? How is it nurtured and developed, or suppressed? In what ways does a people's quest to define their own world view for themselves and future generations have an impact on how their organizations are formed, their functions, and thence in possible movement outcomes.

On “knowledge”. The fact that social movements undergo clearly definable processes through which their core philosophies are articulated and refined is not surprising. The greater challenge is to attempt to understand what those core philosophies or beliefs are. Frequently they are numerous and conflicting across a range of movement actors. The concept most often expressed in the media was that of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (IQ), which is often translated to mean “Inuit traditional knowledge.”⁷ The word *traditional* has the tendency to be interpreted as something pertaining almost exclusively to the past, which is very limiting. The term *knowledge* is also problematic, either being too broad to be understood, or too compartmentalized (as is “body of –” to be useful. Moreover, it immediately became a policy mandate of the Government of Nunavut (GN) that its policies and practices reflect IQ; as such, it is a constant point of contention at all levels of government and society.

It was spending time with Inuit philosophers and their students that ultimately taught me that beyond these definitions of IQ, on a deeper level I was seeking to understand Inuit conceptions of *ontology*, ways of being – not just knowledge or a set of beliefs. Just as with

⁷ “*Qaujimaja[q]*,” McGrath explains, “is ‘something known’, and the suffix *-tuqa[q]* means ‘for a long time’; therefore *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* is translated as ‘what Inuit knew from a long time’” (McGrath, 2005, p. 6).

Social Movement theory, I learned that I had subconsciously bought into the compartmentalized way in which IQ and Inuit values and beliefs in general were being presented and used, almost as a box of chocolates in which one can eat the creams and throw away or ignore the nougats and nut clusters. I had to learn to think far more holistically, both in terms of Social Movement theory as well as in terms of *knowledge* and *ontology*.

Recognizing the Holistic Nature of Indigenous Knowledge

Scholars in the fields of anthropology and Native American Studies⁸ began looking at the importance of ontology and worldview among Indigenous populations even as early as the 1960s, but their works tended to be isolated ethnographic studies (Hallowell, 1960; Wallace, 1967; Briggs, 1970; Blu, 1980). It was not until the mid to late 1980s the first academic works began to appear arguing the necessity of looking more closely at the issue of Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous knowledge *systems* in relationship to various practices and processes. They were writing mostly within the context of economic development; nonetheless, in viewing knowledge as a *resource* many authors began to make the connection between political empowerment and a populations' control over its own systems of knowledge (Marglin & Marglin, 1990; Brush, 1993; Shiva, 1993). Two very important points came out of these investigations, both of which are highly relevant in discussing both the concept of IQ as well as the philosophical foundations of the Inuit movement. The first is simply an acknowledgement of the role that dominant culture or "dominant knowledge" plays in colonization. With regard to this first point, Rodney Reynar makes the argument, building on the works of Vandana Shiva (1993), that local knowledge/s disappear/s when the dominant system of knowledge "erases or

⁸ In the U.S., and Aboriginal or First Nations Studies in Canada, and currently as Indigenous Studies.

destroys the reality which local knowledge attempts to represent” (Reynar, 1999, p. 289).

Therefore, resistance to colonization must also include resistance to colonial thought and the ways in which colonial thinking reshapes physical relationships, whether those relationships exist between people, or between individuals and the environment.

This leads directly to the second thing to emerge from these studies, the recognition that Indigenous “knowledge” does not exist, nor is it created, in isolation; rather it is holistic in nature, integral to the environment from which it emerges, and incorporated into a people’s a way of life. Indigenous knowledge differs from the concept of *lifeways*, at least as I perceive it, in that it is one thing to know and have learned specific cultural practices as they have been passed down through the generations, but it is quite another to understand those practices in the context of the environments from which they emerged and as a part of a larger complex system of knowledge that is unique to your people. Although Indigenous authors and scholars have been making this argument for decades, it is only recently that the academy has begun to realize the importance of understanding this principle. While it is being recognized, some of the same authors who acknowledge it equally often dismiss it. In Herbert’s *Catalog of Indigenous Knowledge*, he excuses development practitioners for their ignorance of Indigenous knowledge because “it isn’t always visible – not easy to understand because it is – part experience, part custom, religion, tribal law, and the attitude of people toward their own lives and those of other living things” (Herbert, 1993, p. 143). Reynar argues that Herbert misses the point in separating the concept of Indigenous knowledge from its roots. “Indigenous knowledge,” Reynar writes, “does not derive its origins in the individual, but rather, in the collective epistemological understanding of the community” (Reynar, 1999, p. 290). Indigenous knowledge, therefore, cannot be separated from the worldview from which it emerges just as worldview cannot be

separated from the physical places that helped to shape them or the life experiences of the people who hold them. Again, Indigenous knowledge is not a specific kind of knowledge, but an epistemological system or approach. In order to comprehend any Indigenous social movement, it is therefore not enough to understand Indigenous knowledge, or even shared epistemology. One must also understand, as McGrath argues, the integrated contexts from which they emerged.

In applying this Indigenous worldview to an analysis of the academy itself, Little Bear speaks as an Elder in a new generation of academics who are giving voice to holistic and integrated approaches that are inherently applied and interdisciplinary. In addressing ontologies, Indigenous academics frequently consider the analysis of the dominant culture or knowledge system to be as important as the analysis of the Indigenous. They say, “If we are to understand why Aboriginal and Eurocentric worldviews clash, we need to understand how the philosophy, values and customs of Aboriginal cultures differ from those of Eurocentric cultures” (Little Bear, 2000, p. 76). Both exist in relationship to each other and to the context studied. For the most part, there has been a lack of balance in the analyses of these relationships. While Little Bear follows in the footsteps of W.E.B. Dubois with a dualistic approach to these polar philosophies, McGrath’s approach is more integrative. The two come together when viewed holistically, as each framework helps us to get a more complete picture of the complex interplay between dominant and marginalized societies.

One work, however, stands out as an attempt to examine conflict between cultures in ontological terms, *Figured Worlds* by Clammer, Poirier, and Schwimmer (2004). It is the first comparative international collection of Indigenous-focused works attempting this task. The “figured worlds” of which the authors speak are defined as “discourses built up by relational logic, linking people, cultural forms, and social positions by facts of experience in specific

historical worlds” (Clammer et al., 2004, p. 9). Yet even while they acknowledge that the science of anthropology⁹ developed within a Western ontology and is flawed by symbolic colonialism (Clammer et al., 2004, p. 12) and that most disputes between groups are profoundly ontological (Clammer et al., 2004, p. 20), they fail to apply the same analytical methods on the dominant ontology that they do to those of Indigenous peoples. They discuss the systemic nature of Indigenous worldview and warn against the perils of essentialism,¹⁰ but at the same time they argue that some Indigenous ontologies are incompatible with “relational logic”¹¹ (Clammer et al., 2004, p. 13). The alleged incongruities and inherent contradictions within Indigenous ontology are exposed, along with the authors’ incongruous and incomplete understandings of the same, but the ontology against which they are being contrasted is barely mentioned and certainly not scrutinized in a matching discourse. Of course, this is not a unique problem. Some academics studying the contrast between ontologies, or the role of culture in various social phenomena, fail to provide a complete comparison often ignoring the articulation and analysis of dominant worldviews. Such worldviews are often taken for granted, framed as universal, monolithic, and devoid of inherent contradiction.¹² This dissertation is most likely no exception in that it lacks a full comparison of worldviews because of the limitations that I outlined in Chapter One.

However, in an attempt to at least acknowledge this failing, here I will briefly outline some of

⁹ By “anthropology” it may also be inferred that all of the social sciences are meant to be represented.

¹⁰ “Essentialism is a complex concept that is commonly understood as the belief that a set of unchanging properties (essences) delineate the construction of a particular category – for example, indigenous people, African Americans, women etc.” (Semali & Kincheloe, 2000, p. 22).

¹¹ The concept developed through the works of Pierce, Levi-Strauss, Bateson and Bakhtin that derives its findings through “a notion of system in which no element can change without precipitating change in all others; it is made up of ‘differences that make a difference’” (Clammer et al., 2004, p. 9).

¹² There are, of course, many schools currently breaking down this assumption of dominant culture, most particularly those writing from the margin in feminist and post-modernist theories.

the disparities between Indigenous and academic understandings of knowledge and knowledge production.¹³

This leads directly to the second thing to emerge from these studies, the recognition that Indigenous “knowledge” does not exist, nor is it created, in isolation; rather it is holistic in nature, integral to the environment from which it emerges, and incorporated into a people’s way of life. Although Indigenous authors and scholars have been making this argument for decades, it is only recently that the academy has begun to realize the importance of understanding this principle. While it is being recognized, some of the same authors who acknowledge it equally often dismiss it. In Herbert’s *Catalog of Indigenous Knowledge*, he excuses development practitioners for their ignorance of Indigenous knowledge because “it isn’t always visible – not easy to understand because it is – part experience, part custom, religion, tribal law, and the attitude of people toward their own lives and those of other living things” (Herbert, 1993, p. 143). Reynar argues that Herbert misses the point in separating the concept of Indigenous knowledge from its roots. “Indigenous knowledge,” Reynar writes, “does not derive its origins in the individual, but rather, in the collective epistemological understanding of the community” (Reynar, 1999, p. 290). Indigenous knowledge, therefore, cannot be separated from the worldview from which it emerges just as worldviews cannot be separated from the physical places that helped to shape them or the life experiences of the people who hold them. Again, Indigenous knowledge is not a specific kind of knowledge, but an epistemological system or approach. In order to comprehend any Indigenous social movement, it is therefore not enough to

¹³ I chose knowledge and knowledge production because epistemology is the root of ontology, and it is in this area that the greatest amount of comparative work has been done.

understand Indigenous knowledge, or even shared epistemology. One must also understand, as McGrath argues, the integrated contexts from which they emerged.

Many academics studying the contrast between ontologies, or the role of culture in various social phenomena fail to provide a complete comparison often ignoring the articulation and analysis of dominant worldviews. Such worldviews are often taken for granted, framed as universal, monolithic, and devoid of inherent contradiction.¹⁴ This dissertation is most likely no exception in that it lacks a full comparison of worldviews because of the limitations that I outlined in Chapter One. However, in an attempt to at least acknowledge this failing, here I will briefly outline some of the disparities between Indigenous and academic understandings of knowledge and knowledge production.¹⁵

A Critique of the Academy, Knowledge Production, and Specialization

Our understanding of what constitutes knowledge in the academy emerges from the epitome of contradiction, the paradox of the scientific method. As scientists, we are inheritors of both dogmatic and empirical knowledge, of both the Inquisition of the Catholic Church and the Enlightenment. Much of the methodology and method of science,¹⁶ along with the supposition of superiority or infallibility, and the tendency or desire to separate the knower from the known are ideas inherited from the institutions of monarchy and the church.¹⁷ The primacy of empirical knowledge, and the idea (or illusion) of objectivity are our inheritance from the Age of Reason.

¹⁴ There are, of course, many schools currently breaking down this assumption of dominant culture, most particularly those writing from the margin in feminist and post-modernist theories.

¹⁵ I chose knowledge and knowledge production because epistemology is the root of ontology, and it is in this area that the greatest amount of comparative work has been done.

¹⁶ Early natural scientists sought to follow the methods of the church's inquisition in which man (humanity) was meant to torture nature's secrets out of her.

¹⁷ Papal Bull, *Ad apostolicae dignitatis apice*, at the Council of Lyons, 1245.

Rather than a system of knowledge that relied upon faith, newly emerging *liberal* thinkers preferred to rely upon tangible, verifiable evidence – thus “liberating” themselves from dogma. Yet for most of us today, both dogmatic and empirical thought inform our understandings of what we perceive as being “true” and how we construct reality.

Ladislaus Semali and Joe Kincheloe (1999) have undertaken a fairly complete history of Western understandings of knowledge and knowledge production in the introduction to their book, *What is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from the Academy*. They compellingly argue that there has been a retrenchment of modernist ontology in the contemporary academy, an ontology that still follows principles of Cartesian reductionism¹⁸ (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999 pp. 25-39). Within this worldview knowledge is framed as a collection of isolates and rather than being viewed as an integrated system, knowledge production becomes specialized. Rather than being community based, knowledge production becomes the occupation of an elite. Knowledge seeking becomes the quest for what is true, what is true under what conditions, and what is generally true or transferable. The academy also has the tendency to frame knowledge in terms of binaries. C.L. Martin, for example, juxtaposes the two epistemologies of kinship (Indigenous) and science (dominant/mainstream), making a very essentialist argument that they emerge from two opposing ontologies of trust (Indigenous) and fear (dominant/mainstream) (Martin, 1999, p. 205). As McGrath argues,

One of the main problems perpetuated by this compartmentalization of knowledge is it creates a superficial division between traditional and contemporary, old and new. In creating this kind of dichotomy, Inuit culture is made to appear not relevant to certain aspects of survival in the contemporary world. (McGrath, 2005. P. 7).

¹⁸ Defined by Semali and Kincheloe as the breaking down of problems into isolated components, which are then examined separately from one another, categorized and pronounced “true” (2000, p. 28).

Again, this view of knowledge and knowledge production is no less prone to dogmatic thought and delusions of infallibility. Semali and Kincheloe postulate that the ways in which knowledge is produced and reality is constructed in the contemporary academy is actually “one of a multitude of local ways of knowing – it is a local knowledge system that *denies its locality* [author’s emphasis], seeking to produce not local but trans local knowledge” (2000, p. 28).

Indigenous Ontologies: Local Emerging, Land-based, Knowledge Systems

My cohort at George Washington University and Syracuse University graduate schools has been trained to avoid ‘grand theory’ because, contemporary scholars argue, that which explains all explains nothing. We have also been trained to be skeptical of approaches that are too highly integrated because of the complexity inherent in the analysis of too many interdependent variables or matrices. As scholars we have a tendency to avoid holistic approaches and yet paradoxically, we are still in the quest for the trans local. We seek relational logic, yet ignore the largest aspect of the relational system, the local or the environment. In a space where we frequently say, “knowledge is power,”¹⁹ we deny local ownership of knowledge, establishing universally repetitious criteria for its validation. Yet, as Frances Abele has argued, “there really is knowledge that is particular to all societies, arising from long experience of a particular terrain and from the many small discoveries about the world that every human society makes, interprets and saves for subsequent generations” (Abele, 2007, p. 2). Indigenous knowledge and knowledge production must be understood to be part of larger “overlapping systems of sharing, accountability, equity and interdependence [which] can only be conveyed in their fullness by those who actually experienced them firsthand” (McGrath, 2005, p. 7).

¹⁹ Nancy Cantor (2005), former President of Syracuse University, argued 1st Keynote address, “In a world where knowledge is power, how should the University serve generously as a power broker?”

Just as Indigenous ontologies must be understood as systemic or relational, so too must that of the dominant society. The question is if indigenous knowledge is local in origins, tied, as Abele (2007) argues, to a specific environment or ecology, from what does that of dominant society emerge? Indigenous scholars have posed this question along with several others to challenge the ways in which dominant culture/knowledge/ontology/worldview has been presented, thus exposing the historical relationship between the academy and colonial powers. Greg Sarris reminds us that “under the guise of ‘objectivism’ [social scientists] often assume authority to make sense of and represent others, an attitude often affiliated with hegemony and empire” (1993, p. 109). In juxtaposing Aboriginal and Eurocentric worldviews, cultures, philosophy, and values, Leroy Little Bear explains that understanding these differences “gives us a starting point for understanding the paradoxes that colonialism poses for social control” (2000, p. 76). On the one hand, in order to resolve conflict, one must understand the root of it; on the other, understanding the root of it opens those with less power to being manipulated and controlled. Activist, scholar, and author Linda Tuhiwai Smith has often addressed the greatest misgiving that Indigenous people have in opening up Indigenous ontologies to the academy. Different worldviews and ways of coming to know and of being, she writes, are some of the “few parts of ourselves which the West cannot decipher, cannot understand, and cannot control...yet (Smith, 1999, p. 74, quoted in Clammer et al., 2004, p. 10).

Glen Cloutard (2016) bridges the ideas articulated by both McGrath and Abele regarding land-based Indigenous knowledge, and the concerns about the relationship between colonial and Indigenous actors discussed by Little Bear and Smith. This land-based knowledge includes an ethical framework that he describes as grounded normativity. “Grounded normativity,” Cloutard writes, “houses and reproduces the practices and procedures, based on deep reciprocity, that are

inherently informed by an intimate relationship to place (2016).” It informs non-authoritarian, non-exploitive life-ways, including the nature of relationships between Indigenous peoples to each other and their environment as well as among Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

Working along these lines, a great deal of progress has been made with regard to not only cooperation, but to mutual collaboration between Indigenous communities and scholars in Northern Canada. Some examples are the works of: Kristine Wray and Brenda Parlee who worked collaboratively with Teetl’it Gwich’in community in Fort McPherson to study Gwich’in ways of managing caribou populations (Pardee, 2013); Ken Caine, who focuses on Indigenous leadership and negotiation methodologies in the co-management of lands and resources (2013); and Deborah McGregor, Walter Bayha, and Deborah Simmons, who have worked extensively in the area of policy and governance research with a specific view toward both critiquing past colonizing research as well as focusing on Indigenous scholarship on Indigenous governance (2010).

Haudenosaunee scholars, too, have been breaking ground both in the area of community-based scholarship and collaboration, but also in working toward forcing changes within the Academy itself. In an article in *Canadian Women’s Studies* in 2008, Patricia Monture outlines the strong tradition of storytelling that she comes from, and makes the case for why she does not write like an academic, not because she can’t but because it does not serve the interests of her community. Diane Hill (Mohawk) is following in Monture’s footsteps in her doctoral work at the University of Toronto where she is focusing on the topic of “ethnostress.” Currently the director of Ka’nikonhriyohtsh, a center on the Six Nations of the Grand River where she runs a series of

community-based workshops on fostering the Good Mind,²⁰ Diane almost quit her Ph.D. program in spite of completing all of the requirements because of the lack of support that she was receiving on how to marry her desire to write in her own voice using her own cultural traditions in such a way that would serve her own community and yet also satisfy academic requirements. In 2016 there was a meeting of the minds and her advisors are now encouraging her to move forward along those lines (Hill, 2016: Personal Interview) . Rauna Kuokkanen, also at the University of Toronto as an assistant professor in Political Science and Aboriginal Studies, works in the area of Indigenous self-determination, gender, and specifically violence against Indigenous women. She argues that the former cannot be achieved without addressing the latter (Koukkanen, 2012). The intention among all of these scholars is to honor traditional knowledge and the communities that apply it by making sure their own work is inclusive, meets the ethical guidelines of their own cultures, and serves the populations with which they work.

Methodologies in Social Movement Research and Analysis

Related to the discussion on knowledge is the question of the means that researchers use to gather or produce it. Methodology is the study of applied research methods or more specifically, the collection of philosophical principles and ethics upon which a method of inquiry or a series of research methods is chosen and applied. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith's comments (above) indicate, history has taught Indigenous populations that both research and researchers are things of which to be wary. In some cases, where ethics are lacking, researchers have acted as little more than spies sent to infiltrate a population already considered by some dominant power to be a threat to its national security. The use to which such information is put is to subdue and control

²⁰ One of the core tenets of Haudeosaunee philosophy, in order to become a human being one must foster a Good Mind, a Good Heart, and a Good Spirit.

the “subject” population, not engage in social science. In such cases, it is even debatable the degree to which the researcher has even engaged with local populations, because one further legacy of colonization is that often the researcher/outsider, representative of dominant society, is taken as the “authoritative” voice rather than that of the population itself (a case in point is that of Marlo Morgan, and another, Carlos Castaneda²¹). Regardless of whether the cause is intentional, as with those hired by governments to infiltrate populations or those seeking personal gain, or whether the cause is unintentional, as with a researcher whose work is used against a population without their consent or intent, the history of both is one of the co-optation of social science to the extreme detriment of “cooperating” population. It is therefore more important than ever for researchers in the social sciences today to be both aware of the movement to de-colonize research (disengaging the social sciences from the control of colonial powers), and to purposefully seek a methodology that serves the communities that are being studied.

From “Subjects” to “Participatory Action Research”

Simply put, participant-relevant or movement-relevant social movement research is research that provides information that social movement activists can *use*. Yet what constitutes usefulness, and how likely are activists to either have access to such research or the inclination to seek it out and actually put it to use? One easy answer to that question would be to propose that the greater the degree of direct collaboration with activists that went into the research, the more likely it is that activists will be aware of the work and the more it should directly address activist’s concerns. It can further be argued that the above is even more true when activist collaborators help to shape

²¹ Author of “Mutant Message Down Under,” Morgan claims to have been transmitted privileged and sacred knowledge of band of Aboriginal people in the Kimberly through having traveled and lived with them. In spite of wide-spread efforts on the part of Aboriginal groups in Australia to spread the message that they have no record of her ever having connecting with any such people, she continues to sell her book and lectures unhindered.

and influence the research questions or if the author is also a participant themselves; yet is this really the case? Bevington and Dixon argue that movement-relevant research must address the present needs of social movements (2003, p. 25). Who better to know their needs than participants themselves? Yet, as John Burdick asks, how likely are social movement participants themselves to delve into controversial findings that may constitute “bad news” for the movement (Burdick, 1995, p. 373). In his view, the role of the researcher is to represent the movement to itself, for better or for worse. All three authors make poignant cases for the way to shape research that is centered or located in the present time, for research that focuses on movements that are taking place as the research is being conducted. How important, however, is the temporal locus of the study? Can studies of past movements be useful to future ones? According to Bevington and Dixon, the types of works that are most commonly being read by activists themselves today are, in fact, histories and biographies – works that can be said to appeal to activists on a personal or even emotional level. Yet, they argue, history has never had a problem with relevance; theory does (Bevington & Dixon, 2003, p. 7).

Movement Relevant Research

“Foremost in generating useful findings,” Bevington and Dixon observe with regard to movement-relevant research, “is to start by locating the issues and questions of most importance to movement participants” (2003, p. 19). They are certainly not the first to point out the value of listening to the discussions and concerns of social movement participants themselves. For those concerned with Native American movements, the Chicago Conference of 1961 organized by Anthropologist Sol Tax was one of the first events to provide a bridge between academics and movement participants. For the first time, social scientists were invited to a conference at which

they would not speak or present, but rather *listen* to the needs and concerns of Indigenous leaders (“You talk, we listen”).

The outcome was to provide a new direction in Native American movement research, a shift in approaches that began to reflect the concerns and voices of those directly involved in the struggle for social change. More Native American/First Nations scholars began to enter academe. One of the most participant-relevant works to emerge from this era was Vine Deloria Jr.’s book, *Custer Died for our Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. First published in 1969, it soon became a “manifesto” for the American Indian Movement. It was one of the first works written *by* a Native American academic that addressed the contemporary issues of greatest concern *to* Native Americans. The book also contained a scathing, and naturally thoroughly researched and informed, critique of academe – how the work of social scientists, anthropologists in particular, had been used against Native Americans. *Custer died for our Sins* is still being read today by indigenous communities and activists around the world.²²

In many senses, Deloria Jr.’s book did for Native Americans and Indigenous peoples what W.E.B. DuBois’ *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) did for African Americans or Charlotte Perkins Gilman’s *The Yellow Wallpaper* (1892) did for women, although Gilman’s work was not recognized as such for more than two generations. All three spoke directly to the populations concerned with the message “you are not alone.” Beyond that, however, they were also able to convey to outsiders a greater understanding of some aspects of their experience. DuBois expressed the two worlds within which African Americans move through his analogy of the veil, and Gilman exposed the trauma that the societal constraints placed upon women can cause.

²² My personal experience with this comes from the time I spent with people in the Aboriginal Communities in Australia in 1999.

Although these works were written more than a century ago, their relevance to activists today is not in question. Yet how do they stand up when examining their work from the perspective of Burdick's admonishment: to represent the respective movement to itself? Certainly these works spoke to the populations concerned and aided movements strategically by increasing the number of movement participants. DuBois and Gilman did not, however, provide any critical analysis of the problems that the movement might encounter. This latter point can be said to relate to the issue of social movement theory and the question of how "relevance" is measured. Should relevance be measured by the degree to which participants in the movement are reading the work as Bevington and Dixson (2003) seem to imply? Or, should the relevance of social movement research be measured by the degree to which it could potentially be strategically useful to a participant elite? I would argue that this question implies two different kinds of works and that they are both useful, and not necessarily mutually exclusive. One appeals to participants on an emotional level and may also serve to increase participant numbers (i.e., Cohen, 2002), and the other seeks to provide movement leaders with the tools they need to evaluate and make the best of their situation in their current environment (Alinsky, 1971; Polletta, 2002). This distinction is different from the one Bevington and Dixson (2003) make between histories and biographies and theoretical works. The works I have used by way of example here are not histories or biographies and they do contain theory. Dubois and Gilman create theoretical models concerning "insider" experience and the broader social impact of disparity. Deloria Jr. does the same, but goes one step further by providing a "handbook" for activists. He outlines the steps that he thinks are necessary to move toward social change. Further, his work does fit the Burdick criteria for relevance. In Chapter 9 he candidly addresses

problems of Indian leadership, and in Chapters 1, 7, and 10 he examines the ways in which Native Americans sabotage themselves by perpetuating stereotypical images (Deloria Jr., 1969).

With regard to more traditional paradigms of social movement theory, ideally structural approaches are designed to allow academics (and presumably activists) to evaluate the resources, political environment and other factors external to the movement and predict the likelihood of success. Theoretically, this should also provide activists with the tools to be able to maximize their use of these external structures. The primary critique to the usefulness of these paradigms is ably articulated by Jasper, but also echoed by many other scholars. Contemporary study of social movements, he argues, has overlooked the issue of “emotions and the moral visions that support them” (Jasper, 1997, p. 9). Structural paradigms alone do not capture the imagination of social movement participants and provide little to which they can relate beyond strategies that are often difficult to extrapolate from the texts. Many scholars and activists, often one in the same, are turning toward theoretical approaches that combine personal appeal and emotional content, for example cultural paradigms when they move beyond purely cognitive analysis (Jasper, 1997, p. 42), and structural approaches that are incorporated into texts that have the “handbook” appeal of Delora Jr. and Alinsky.

Research Juxtaposition

Bevington and Dixon argue that in movement-relevant research the researcher should have a direct relationship to the movement he or she is studying – that this connection “provides important incentives to produce more accurate information, regardless of whether the researcher is studying a favored movement or its opponents” (2003, p. 8). What about the question of identity? Do participants themselves make the best researchers or analysts? Deloria Jr., DuBois, and Gilman all belonged to the populations that were the focus of their study. Is being an

“insider” a factor in creating enduring relevance? When this is the case, certainly the researcher can speak from first-hand experience, which might seem to lend greater credibility to the work – at least in the eyes of other activists. What about objectivity – long thought to be a desired component of true scientific research? Deloria Jr., DuBois, and Gilman were all also academics. Greg Sarris, a Native American scholar, makes the observation that for him it is best to “write what you know” (1996, p. 27). This is a personal choice, and a sentiment echoed by academics from Hill-Collins to Irigaray to C. Wright Mills. All their works are, in some ways, biographical. Yet all seem to acknowledge that there is a place for “outsider” researchers and voices, each bringing into the work their own unique biographies. As long as the identity of the researcher and the nature of the relationship to the people who are the subjects of the research is made clear, then research can be relevant to both movement participants and academics.

Yet, if the researcher is an outsider, then this presents different challenges, and changes the nature of the relationship between the researcher and his or her “collaborators.” This then begs the question, what is the role of collaborators in shaping the research? There seem to be two prevailing schools of thought on this question, the two poles of which can be represented as either “too many hands spoil the pudding” or “research belongs to everybody.” In the first case the argument runs that collaboration is necessary with regard to research content, desirable in helping to shape research questions, but ultimately it is the researcher who is the author and must make the key decisions in both methodologies and how the results will be presented (Brown, 1988, p. 81). In the latter case, particularly among those who practice “participatory action research,” collaboration should exist at all levels of the research project from deciding on the methods used to determining the final content (Tolman et al., 2001, p. 240). Can both approaches

be “participant-relevant”? Should the degree of the collaborator’s experience with academe be taken into consideration?

Indigenous Methodologies

Some would argue that in order to create participant-relevant research, one must know the experiences of the participants. Sidney Tarrow, for example, makes the argument that participants in social movement often become involved in activities that take them far beyond their own local communities – not because they have outgrown that community through broader, more cosmopolitan exposure – but rather precisely because that local community remains the primary locus of their identity. He refers to such individuals as “rooted cosmopolitans,” and he places them at the forefront of contemporary social movement activity (Tarrow, 2001, p. 25). I believe I understand the point Tarrow is trying to emphasize. In my own research among the Inuit of Nunavut, and particularly among the leadership of the movement that I have been studying, the vast majority could easily fit into Tarrow’s definition of *rooted cosmopolitans*. The term “reluctant activists” could easily apply to them as well. These are individuals who in order to secure their rights to remain a distinctive people and retain their local identities have made the personal sacrifice to become cosmopolitan in order to better serve their local communities. Such people, Tarrow argues, serve as human bridges between broader, even globally situated populations, organizations and networks and the local constituencies that they ultimately serve (2001, p. 25).

Academics are also a part of the networks that Tarrow describes (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Social movement participants are the bridges that we as researchers rely upon, especially if we are “outsiders” to the population we are studying. They, as rooted cosmopolitans, have knowledge and experience that we lack. Yet outsider researchers can also actively serve the

social movements that we study. Burdick affirms his role as both “outsider” researcher and member of that activist network when he writes,

My structural privilege allowed me...to carry the story of the radical Catholic movement to the United States, and made it possible for me to try and contribute to the process of social movements benefiting internationally from each other’s experiences. (Burdick, 1995, p. 374).

Author’s Methodological Intent

So, what should participant-relevant social movement research look like? I would echo Bevington and Dixon (1999) in saying that it should address the issues most relevant to the social movement participants themselves. In other words, it should tell participants what it is they want to know that has some direct and practical application. I would also echo Burdick (1995) in arguing that it should provide a mirror for the movement itself. In other words, it should tell participants what it is they do *not want* to know but need to know. With regard to a theoretical approach to participant-relevant research, I would keep in mind the ways in which theory has been historically proven to have a direct impact upon social movements, as I attempted to illustrate in the first section. Further, I would agree with Jasper, Bevington, Dixon, and others on the need for approaches that neither discard past proven models, nor privilege any particular set of variables (Bevington & Dixon, 2003, p. 8). However, this is not to say that research should not be systematic or scientifically rooted. Synthetic models can also be scientifically objective. As Mudimbe et al. argue when addressing the desire for more interdisciplinary study and methods, “We feel that pushing the social sciences in the direction of combating the fragmentation of knowledge is also pushing it in the direction of a meaningful degree of objectivity” (Mudimbe, 1996, p. 92).

Methodologically, this means that one has at hand a wider range of choices than ever before, which makes it all the more important to consider both how to involve participants and how to best serve them. When I think about how to approach participant-relevant research I hear Vine Deloria Jr.'s voice echoing in my ear telling the story of the harm done to movements in the past through the work of social scientists, whether intentional or not. One cannot, of course, consider every implication of the research. However, this makes the issue of both researcher identity and participant identity all the more relevant. How much experience have your collaborators had either with the movement itself or with the political environment? Can they help guide you in understanding what might be dangerous and what might be helpful? In what ways can your honest assessment of your identity also be helpful both in conducting the research and if not in assisting the movement, at least not jeopardizing it. I am making the assumption here that it is, indeed, important to have some connection to or sympathy for the movement that is being studied. I believe that when one has that, one is more likely to pay greater attention to all of these factors mentioned above and create research designs that are more practical, informative, and therefore participant-relevant.

Research Methods: In the Field

This is a qualitative study of the participants in the process of the creation of Nunavut. Since a fair amount of my research deals directly with perception, identity, and definition, the interviews I conducted were in-depth and open-ended interviews and arrange focus groups to discuss various events in the process of the creation of Nunavut. I have also included mapping, narrative, biography and textual dialogue in my research analysis. I was given permission and assistance to research the archives of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in Iqaluit, as well as access to private archives. My grant funding was also

used for a research assistant to review videotapes, audio recordings, and transcripts in the Inuktitut language, and on occasion paid for an interpreter to help me speak to unilingual Elders.

The Beginning. At the time that I began researching the creation of Nunavut, only one book and a few articles had been written concerning what I came to call the Inuit Movement and the 30-year negotiation process. Among these few authors, two were the most prolific: Jack Hicks and Peter Jull. Both had been key advisors to the Inuit organizations during the movement. When I began my research, I started it as a research project for a class in comparative politics. I had a set of questions that I needed to answer with regard to leadership and decision making between two actors. I unfortunately got only a month into the work to discover that not enough had been written about the process of creating Nunavut nor on Inuit leadership in the context of Nunavut that I literally had to call the authors (Jack Hicks in Nunavut and Peter Jull in Australia) to try to get the answers that I needed. At that time, they were both so enthusiastic about my interest that they gave me contacts and names of myriad other actors, along with a standing invitation to Nunavut. If I could find a way to get there, they told me, they would take care of the rest.

I applied for a grant, and in March, 2002, was able to take my first journey. Thanks to several grants and programs from Syracuse University, the generosity of the Government of Nunavut, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, and a Fulbright grant in 2004, I was able to spend extended periods of time in Nunavut. I went in March of 2003 and spent the entire year of 2004 living in Nunavut. I also ran exchange/field study programs for Syracuse University in Nunavut during the summers of 2006 and 2008, and was able to revisit in 2010 and 2013 spending over two months at a time during the early spring season.

While in Nunavut I have lived in private housing, house sitting for colleagues, and in public housing while running the field study programs. During my Fulbright year I lived with Marion Love and the Arvaluk family in their home in Iqaluit. I have also traveled out on the land, and camped overnight many times in tundra or on the ice. During my time in Nunavut I was also asked to work on an oral history project helping to chronicle the lives of those who participated in the Inuit Movement for the Inuit organization that negotiated the treaty, the Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI). Thanks to the RCMP and their generosity in offering me an extra seat on routine flights I got to visit the communities of Cape Dorset, Pangnirtung, Pond Inlet, Coral Harbour, Igloolik, Pond Inlet, Arviat, Ranking Inlet, Cambridge Bay as well as travel to both Yellowknife and Whitehorse.

A key element to my methodology was that as soon as I understood that Inuit ontology, Inuit Indigenous Knowledge, lay at the core of what I was researching I set about establishing what I came to call my “Inuit Committee”. I wanted to find, if possible, a cross-generational cohort of grounded scholars²³ who could guide me and to whom I would be somewhat answerable with regard to any work that attempted to describe, classify or employ Inuit Knowledge. I created it as a shadow body to that of my Syracuse University committee, drawing experts from several areas of knowledge, from those with intimate knowledge of the process of the Creation of Nunavut because they were participants, to those who came to work in the Nunavut government as Officers in charge of evaluating policy with regard to its reflection of

²³ Grounded Scholars is my term for people rooted in a community with extensive ontological, epistemological and practical knowledge relating to their environment and culture, although they possess in many cases no formal university training. In the case of Inuit Elders, I have found that many possess the knowledge equivalent of several university degrees and technological vocations. As one of the founding members of the International Association for Native American and Indigenous studies, several colleagues and I worked to ensure that membership and recognition was open to Indigenous Grounded Scholars.

Inuit ontology and also including some that hold Master's or Law degrees. My original committee consisted of: Leah Idlout, Interpreter throughout the movement and negotiations; Meeka Kilabuk, one of the few women to sit at the negotiating table; Jonah Kelly, Elder and movement actor working for the Government of Nunavut as an IQ Officer, Simon Awa, movement leader, CBC broadcaster, and Government of Nunavut ADM and now Minister, Naullaq Arnaq, a member of the team that helped refine Nunavut culture, language and curriculum for the Government of Nunavut, and Siobhan Arnatsiaq-Murphy, one of the first Inuit to graduate from a hybrid Law School program offered at the Nunavut Arctic College through the University of Saskatchewan. Throughout the past few years I have submitted my work to all of them for comment and review. Sadly, however, Leah, Jonah and Meeka Kilabuk have passed away. I have recently asked Piita Irniq, the former Commissioner of Nunavut and Rosemary Kuptana, another of the few women to sit at the negotiating table, to step in and fill those roles.

Research Questions

When I first entered the field, I went with one question: How did these guys manage to stick together for 30 years and remain focused on the same two goals (a land claim agreement and territorial status) for that entire time. The longer I was immersed in Inuit culture, the more I became aware of how important Inuit Qaujimaituqangit (ways of being)/Inuit ontology actually was. I began to reshape my question with the focus of how did Inuit ontology inform and shape leadership development, and what was it about that kind of leadership or the development process that enabled several generations to be able to maintain their focus effectively to achieve their desired outcomes?

Ethics and Preliminary Research

From the moment I first began researching this “creation story,” I contacted the research authorities at both my university and the Government of Nunavut. While most of my participants were public figures in so far as they have held publicly elected office at the regional and national levels, and much of their work is a matter of public record, I still felt that it was important to have my proposals to the respective institutional review boards include these public figures because this research involves interaction with Indigenous peoples and therefore requires cultural consideration in its approach. In my preliminary research I interviewed some 30 people: Inuit participants from all three generations, non-Inuit advisors who worked for Inuit organizations, non-Inuit federal negotiators, and journalists who covered the period. Most of the interviews lasted at least an hour and some of the participants were interviewed more than once.

When I returned to live and effectively work in Nunavut, I began conducting longer interviews. To establish trust, I would often have to visit certain individuals numerous times before they would consent to let me interview them on record; in some cases this took half a year, in others, several years. Word slowly spread and my reputation was being built. Nothing had a greater impact, however, than when I was in Iqaluit with my Syracuse University students in the summer of 2006 when the central community church burned down and my students volunteered to go in to try and salvage what they could of what remained. It was a dirty, difficult job but we did it, and the community saw us do it and were grateful because it was a task that was far too emotionally difficult for the community. I elaborate more in the chapter on Inuit Ontology, but this public example of *pijitisirniq* (community service) turned the tide. After that I often had people approach me to get their stories told. As of 2013, I have conducted over 300 interviews of over 200 people who were actors or witnesses to the Inuit movement. These

interviews include Inuit leaders, Inuit constituents and community members, Canadian officials, negotiators, Territorial leaders and the leaders of other Indigenous peoples with whom the Inuit had to negotiate. Each year I worked with the Nunavut Research Institute and actively renewed my research license.

Research Sites

Most of the Inuit participants in the negotiations live or work in Iqaluit, the seat of Nunavut government, and many of the organizational and media archives relating to the creation of Nunavut are located there. Iqaluit was therefore my primary research site and where I spent most of my time living and working. I have also spent extensive time in Ottawa, where many of the Inuit organizations are headquartered to lobby to the Federal government, and have visited Federal government offices as well as spent considerable time in organizational and government archives looking for materials to triangulate my oral history data. Thanks to the generosity of NTI and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) who allowed me to fly with them to various communities when there was a free seat, I have been able to visit 12 communities, and Yellowknife, the capital of the Northwest Territories. Also, when I ran the Syracuse University programs in 2006 and 2008, we were able to spend even more time in another community (Pangnirtung) and out on the land.

Finding and Tracking Movement Actors

Snowball Sampling: With regard to the Inuit participants, there were three levels of participation or generations involved in the creation of Nunavut: 1) those who created the first organizations and defined the goals, 2) those who actually negotiated with the federal government and other parties, and 3) those who implemented the final agreements. My goal was to interview as many people in the first and second generations as possible, and a cross-section

of individuals in the third generation, most of whom were present during the negotiations at the staff level.

Non-Inuit participants fall into three categories: 1) advisors or consultants to the Inuit organizations involved; 2) people who served in public office and were involved in some way in the process though policy creation in the legislative assembly; and 3) people who served as the negotiators for the federal government, most significantly the chief negotiators and the Ministers of Indian and Northern Affairs. I have included an extensive chart in the appendices that outlines what interview took place, where, and when. This also includes a cross-section of people who may not have been directly involved in the process as participants but served in other significant societal roles, as well as Inuit and non-Inuit journalists who closely followed the 30-year process, and finally Inuit interpreters and witnesses to the events of the period.

Mapping: While interviewing individuals I often found it helpful to map out both the processes of Inuit organizational development as well as provide visuals of how the movement unfolded. These maps, included in my appendices, also became part of my methodology. They provided a concrete frame of reference that participants could leaf through at their own pace and help me to fill in gaps or suggest names.

Implementation

In-Depth Interviews: In my preliminary research I had already established relationships with members of the government of Nunavut, several Inuit organizations, and over 20 of the participants in the negotiations. I also forged links with the Inuit community in Ottawa, and academic links to Carleton University. My research design was based on spending several months in Nunavut, and the remainder of the time in Ottawa and the Northwest Territories (NWT), as funding allowed. I worked with Inuit organizations and representatives of the

government of Nunavut to prepare, coordinate, facilitate and document focus group discussions among participants. I conducted individual in-depth interviews and researching archives. One of the determining factors of participation for Inuit in process of creating Nunavut was fluency in English, however as there were a number of Elders who feel more comfortable conversing in Inuktitut and a few Elder participants who are unilingual I did sometimes require the assistance of an interpreter.

Informal Focus Groups. As word of the information I was gathering spread, and also because Inuit society is one in which very seldom are people alone, often my interviews would become group or family sessions in which people would come and gather and discuss their memories, my work, or peruse and discuss my charts. On several occasions I also was able to bring people together over dinner, either by cooking dinner for people or taking them out to eat. Also, on several occasions I found myself being invited to group, family, or community gatherings.

Participant Observation. During my Fulbright year, the Office of Internal Affairs provided me with an office, a telephone and an unofficial role as interlocutor if anything came up involving the U.S. During this time, I was also asked to begin work on the oral history project. Through working in these environments, reporting to work every day, visiting people in the field every day, and later, through becoming a part of the community and participating in things like ‘trash cleanup day,’ school events, and attending Inuit cultural lectures/excursions required for all Government employees, and taking Inuktitut language classes also required for all Government employees, I was given extensive access to observe contemporary actors in the field in government positions, many of whom were some of the younger generation negotiators, and life in the community. I also attended conferences in Alaska (2005) and in Cambridge (2004)

that were focused on issues surrounding the creation of Nunavut and included many participants who were key actors. Further, I was asked in 2007/2008 to serve as a consultant for EnTheos Productions as they worked on a film that addressed the creation of Nunavut as part of a School Education Curriculum Development project.

More importantly, however, the thing that has given me the most insight into Inuit life, Inuit ontology has been the way that two families have accepted and supported me, taking me in and making me their own. It began with Marion Love with whom I lived during my Fulbright year. Because of her, I came to have a great appreciation for Inuit culture, language, lifestyle and traditions. Although she was not Inuk, she was raising her two sons in Inuit culture. They were the sons of one of the movement leaders, James Arvaluk. Marion and James had been together during much of the movement and Marion gave me an insider's perspective on everything from the story of the moment itself, to how it unfolded, to the successes and failures and the incredible, horrible toll it took on individuals and families. Marion has retired now from decades of service to the Government of Nunavut and Inuit organizations. Without her support I would not have been able to take the next step. I became a kind of adoptee to the Kilabuk/Mike/Murphy family. I formed a deep friendship with Siobhan Arnatsiaq Murphy, who had happened to be a neighbor of mine. She is one of the first Inuit to complete the Law Program at the Arctic college, an Inuit performance artist and mothers of four. She is also the niece of Meeka Kilabuk and Meeka Mike. Because of our friendship, these two community Matriarchs kind of took me in, and gave me a second home, and put me under their tutelage. Meeka Mike is fond even today of reminding me how green I was and how ignorant when we first met (in terms of understanding Inuit world-views). But they saw something in me, and I in them. I could relate. Many of these women had to overcome tremendous adversity. They have

had to raise children practically on their own, either because of Inuit movement obligations on the part of their partners or because of other circumstances. They were strong, independent and highly capable women with an indelible sense of identity rooted in their language and their culture and with a determination to teach and prepare the next generations. They became my friends, my mentors, my teachers, and my spirit sisters and Aunts. Through living with them and interacting with them over the years I have come to feel a sense of family obligation to them, almost as much as to my own family. Participant observation doesn't get any deeper. It was because of my relationship to them that the elder Jonah Kelly, whom I worked with at the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs (OIA), gave me my Inuit name. It was something that was sometimes done, with a formal ceremony, to non-Inuit who had been working for years in Nunavut and who had contributed in some meaningful way to the work of the Nunavut Government or Inuit organizations. While I was in Nunavut, I witnessed the ceremony maybe three or four times. I never expected to be part of it. Jonah Kelly was one of the first Inuit to work in broadcasting, and by the time I met him he had a long and storied career. He was a highly respected Elder and his work at the OIA was as the Inuit Qaujimaiaitukangiit Officer. His job was to review government policy and determine the extent to which it accurately reflected Inuit culture and values. I spent many days by his side, and had more in-depth conversations than I can count. He took me hunting, and it was with him that I shot my first Tuktu (caribou). When he gave me my Inuk name, Unikaaq it was clear that he had put a great deal of thought into it and knew me very, very well. I had only been coming to Nunavut for three years and had only lived there for nine months when he gave it to me. I also remember why he named me a root-word, "story". There are a few words that can be created with this root word, I can either be a "storyteller" which is a revered and important role in Indigenous society, or I can be a "liar".

The choice, he told me, was mine. To this day, I honor him and his memory thorough this work and every time I use it

Validity: Triangulating Narratives and Memory

The difficulty in dealing with people's perceptions is that they are inherently true to the person doing the perceiving. People's memories, however, are sometimes faulty. When dealing with concrete events and the actions of individuals, I will triangulate my data with the accounts of other participants and written or recorded documents of the period. Through extensive archival research I have located several sources from which I had access to primary documents. These include hansards or meeting minutes from legislative assembly debates in the territorial government, publications, newsletters, and memos from the Inuit organizations involved, reports released by the Canadian government, accounts written by participants themselves, interviews of the participants conducted by the CBC and Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, news archives of the period, and several private archive collections.

Challenges and Constraints

Inuit As The Most Studied People: From "Eskimology" to "Qallunology". The biggest challenge of doing research as a social scientist in the Arctic is subject fatigue; the Inuit are the most studied people on the planet. Early in my research an Inuit leader and negotiator, Malachai Arreak, asked me the key questions for the first time that I would come to hear again and again, "Why should I tell YOU anything?; What makes YOU different?" Arreak went on to explain, "I know an Inuk elder who has made five doctors, and you know what, not a single one of them ever acknowledged him...that it was his knowledge that made them doctors. How do I know you're not gonna do that?" I answered him by telling him why I had come,

I know so many people who are trying to do the same things you did, but they can't even stay in the same room for five minutes much less 30 years; if I can learn from you how you did it, maybe we can help others who need to get their rights secured in the same way.

Malachai considered it. Then I shared with him my own background, where I was from, how I grew up in Alabama, what I had seen in the 70s, and why I wanted to make a difference. He decided to speak with me. I repeated this process everywhere I went, leaving it up to folks to make up their own mind. I had the advantage of time, and many people who would not speak to me at first later came to share their stories.

The “Outsider “Advantage”. There is also an advantage to being an outsider in investigating a social movement. Often when you are an insider, when you are too involved you cannot fully appreciate the successes or failures as you are making them, nor do you think about the process that you are engaging in, until or unless you have to define them to others (see Chapter Four).

I would hesitate to make any judgment on the legitimacy of culture or cultural expression because I am not Inuk and I do not share any of the risks of a cultural stakeholder in the outcomes of the movement or indeed in the policies of the new government. However, I am able to see as exceptional what others who are cultural stakeholders might perceive as being “normal” if a methodology, such as that of their leadership development, leads to extraordinary outcomes...i.e., a rich surplus of people with leadership experience from which to draw. While it is difficult to completely understand another culture's ontology, the effort is worth it. As Keith Basso argues, “grasping other people's metaphors requires ethnography as much as it does linguistics. Unless we pursue the two together, the full extent to which metaphorical structures influence patterns of thought and action is likely to elude us” (Basso, 1996, p. 69).

The Importance of Language: Recognizing Inuktitut/Inuuiqatun.

Frances Abele of Carlton University argues that, “Much traditional knowledge is in principle interculturally communicable, but may not be entirely accessible to those who do not speak the appropriate language” (2007, p. 2). One thing I have learned in both living and working in Nunavut and studying what limited Inuktitut that I have, is just how deeply environment shapes language and hence how one thinks; I will elaborate on this more deeply in Chapter Three. The environment shapes our language in that the Arctic is a harsh, extreme environment and therefore in order to not only survive but to also thrive there, the most important sociocultural phenomenon is cooperation. It is so important to Inuit society and culture that there are over 80 words to describe cooperation (Ingu, Inuktitut Instructor, Arctic College). This struggle to grasp Inuit worldview was one of the greatest challenges I faced. I am not entirely sure that it can be overcome. I simply struggled to include as many respected Elders and cultural interlocutors as I could. This meant that I had to rely heavily upon interpreters. The grant funding I received covered the expense, but thanks to extensive time in the field, I developed deeply personal friendships with them, particularly Leah Idlout-Paulson and Betty Brewster, not to mention my close relationship to the Mike/Kilabuk family helped me to accomplish much more than I would have as a non-Inuktitut speaker.

Time and Mortality. In many cases, I was the last person to speak to a number of Elders about their role in creating Nunavut. Over the course of the last decade, I have also had over five very close Inuit mentors die, and also mourned the deaths of countless other Inuit family members. While four or five were respected Elders, most died too soon. Several have died from cancer, a couple from suicide, and still others from hunting accidents. While I was fortunate to include so many movement participants in my study, it is also a challenge to work mindfully

with what they said so as to honor their memories and contributions but also their wishes concerning what they did or did not wish me to share.

Chapter Two: The Story: An Overview

I've given you a name, Unikaaq. It is a root word, I have named you for the root... 'story,' if you finish it one way, Unikaaqti, you will be a 'liar'. If you finish it the other way, Unikaaqtuaqti, you will be a 'storyteller.' This is our story you tell, how you tell it us up to you.

– Jonah Kelly

Introduction

The story of Nunavut begins long before there was a Canada, before development began in the Arctic, even before *Inuit* ("the people") first encountered the European and American explorers who they came to call *Qallunaat* in their language – a term often thought to mean "bushy eyebrows, pot belly."²⁴ *Iqaluit* wasn't the capital of anything yet, nor even a community; it was just a place where *iqaluk* (fish) were abundant. In order to understand the true beginning of the story of Nunavut's creation, one must travel to a time before Europeans began to travel beyond their own continent. By the time the Christian Kings of Europe began to take an interest in conquering the holy lands of the region we refer to today as the Middle East (for the *first* time), Inuit had already spent centuries regularly traveling across four continents, and readily adapting to ever changing environments.

In the beginning of *our* story, the story of Nunavut's creation, there were no permanent settlements anywhere. Oral histories of the Inuit tell us this. As recently as 100 years ago, there

²⁴ There is some disagreement as to the English translation of this word, Minnie Freeman argues that it means "people who pamper their eyes" (1978, p. 13); the translation provided comes from my Inuktitut teachers, Kumaarjuk and Quaraq from Cape Dorset, however in the Mallon and Wilman text *Elementary Inuktitut Dialogues* (1998, p. 49) the authors argue that it is unlikely that the word *Qallunaat* came from a direct correlation between the words *quallu* (eyebrow) and *naaq* (belly) because Inuktitut "doesn't work that way."

were no settlements at all, but there were places where people gathered in large numbers in certain times of year. The idea of “Nunavut” as a political entity had not yet been born. *Nunavut* (*nuna* = land; *-vut* = suffix indicating belonging) was not a proper noun at all; it was a word one might use to refer to the place where your family had set up tents for the season, or where they had hunted for generations. It referred to land known to and frequented by a certain group of people who spoke the same dialect of their language, and perhaps differentiated them from another group of people. It was certainly never said in the context of ownership as we understand it today.

Often things with which one is familiar do not acquire a definition or significance until another state of being emerges against which they can be contrasted. It wasn't until it became clear to Inuit that other people, Qallunaat, believed that the land the Inuit were living on was *theirs* to control that the phrase “Nunavut” began to mean something different. With the land claims negotiations of the mid-70s, it finally became a proper noun and only then came into common use. Prior to that, *nunavut* (both the word and the concept) was used to situate oneself in relationship to the land, not to situate the land in relationship to oneself. This latter distinction will become much clearer in the next chapter. For the Inuit of Nunavut, colonization is still a relatively recent experience. It is often argued that they were forced to go from the Stone Age to the Space Age in less than one generation. One of the most prevailing questions that arises in the study of social movements is that of how one can tell whether or not a people will engage in collective action and what conditions might determine that. Niezen, Smith, Tarrow, and others have begun to argue that the most certain indicator of whether or not a social movement is likely is the extent to which there exists a significant gap for most people in the quality of the lives they expected to lead, and the lives (lifestyles) they are actually living. In this chapter, I provide a

brief outline of the changing conditions that impacted the lifeways of the Inuit as well as a background of events leading to the creation of the political entity now known as the Territory of Nunavut²⁵. By this, I hope to more clearly define the nature of that gap as I also review some of the historical literatures.

Creating the “Gap” (1933 – 1955)

Until only recently (within the last 40-60 years), the Inuit of Nunavut lived with their extended families “on the land.” Families generally had five or six immediately related members and they lived, hunted, and moved together with one or two other families with which they would share kinship and with perhaps two or three other families more distantly related or not at all.

Depending on whether Inuit were a coastal or inland people, living on the land meant hunting *tuktu* (caribou), *umingmak* (musk ox), and *ukaliq* (Arctic hare) among other things, gathering berries and other tundra plants in summer, river fishing or marine fishing, *ammuumajuuq* (clamming), and hunting marine mammals like *natsiq* (seal) or *nanuq* (polar bear) in the coastal areas, and even shrimping. This food from the land is what Inuit now call “country food.”

We know that country foods are the best for us; they have all the nutrients that we need. It’s the processed foods that lead to diabetes and heart problems and things like that. The question is how much pollution is out on the land (Meeka Kilabuk, personal communication, July 22, 2002).

[Life on the land] was really good. Those were fun times. I would go hunting with my father, or my whole family would move. You know, just the family, I think I had my uncles and whatever we would stay in the same camp, it was nice. We would run with the game, like we lived in a camp during the wintertime, and as seasons changed you moved to another camp. Like, we did that every year. It was really, really good. (Mosese Kilabuk, personal communication, March 5, 2004)

²⁵ Authors mentioned in this chapter are for the most part non-Inuit. Inuit authors will be mentioned at length in the next chapter on Inuit philosophy and ontology.

Government representatives and social scientists have referred to this way of living on the land as living in *outpost camps* or in *camps*.²⁶ Yet such terms could only be used if there were another way of living against which to contrast it. At that time, there was not. It was simply the way that everyone lived, in small communities on the land. The word *camp* does not invoke the same sense of feeling or belonging as the word *community*. Further, in order for such camps to be considered *out* or external to some reality there must be some other space or way of living that is considered *in* or internal and a part of some reality. In Inuktitut there is a distinction between a collection of snow houses or “traditional winter residences” referred to as *qammaqaviit* or *ukialivik* (wintering place) and the outpost camps of today, called *nunaligalait* (tiny towns), that have cabins built of scrap wood with oil-burning stoves (Searles, 1998, p. 4; S. Awa, 2006).

As so many Inuit have told me,

I don't like the word *outpost* or *camp*. It makes the way we were living sound temporary and not real or legitimate. I prefer the word *community*. (Naomi 2004)

So I will refer to this life-way in English as “living on the land” or living in “communities on the land,” or in Inuktitut as living in *ukialivikiit*.

Living with families on the land, pitching tents in the summer, or building snow houses and community halls in the winter, Inuit formed small local but mobile communities. They came together in larger communities at certain times of year, and traveled widely both through the water systems by *kayaq* and *umiaq* (boats), and overland using dog teams and *qamutik* (sleds or sledges). The ability of Inuit to trace their lines of kinship across the entire Arctic suggests a time prior to colonization when travel and connectivity between communities and people was far

²⁶ “The majority of Nunavut Inuit lived in seasonal camps situated in coastal areas” (Rigby et al., 2000, p. 96).

greater than it is today. In describing these connections, Inuit do not just tell stories of their relatives in Greenland, Alaska, Quebec, or Labrador, but also recount where, how, and when families met and married; their stories cross many generations. Following these relationships often leads to or adds up to timeframes that pre-date colonization or even first contact. Inuit oral history also frequently challenges contemporary historical understanding. For example, older Inuit recall pre-colonial trade with another Arctic population who they describe as having been there before Inuit. Anthropologist Diamond Jenness was the first to refer to this pre-Inuit culture as the Dorset, yet according to archeological records which seem to conflict with Inuit accounts, they are supposed to have died out at least a thousand years prior to the contemporary era.²⁷

Accounts of pre-colonial Inuit life ways come primarily from three sources, each representing different eras, generations, and worldviews: early colonial ethnologists (although early explorers wrote accounts of their own, and ethnologists appeared primarily from the 1800s to the end of World War II), ethnographers whose methodologies had been strongly influenced by the post-colonial era that began in the 1960s, and the memories and oral histories, storytelling traditions, and songs of Inuit themselves (including recorded memories of Inuit centenarians living in the 1980s)²⁸. Each of these is included in the bibliography.

²⁷ Some Inuit that I have interviewed even remember from their childhood in the 20s and 30s that on rare occasions their parents engaged in trade with an Arctic people who were neither Inuit or Indian (*Allait*); they spoke a language different than that of the Inuktitut family of languages and were different in style of dress and culture. Some speculate that these were Dorset people or *Tuniit* who were supposed to have died out a thousand years prior.

²⁸ In the past two decades efforts have been made to preserve Inuit oral history particularly in the Baffin Island Region through the *Interviewing Inuit Elders* series published by the Nunavut Arctic College (1999). Inuit organizations also recorded several first hand accounts and oral histories of the one or two known octogenarians and one or two centenarians and published them in their newsletters: *Inuit Today* (published by Inuit Tapirisat of Canada) and *Nunavut Newsletter* (published by Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut). Leah Idlout recalls having been sent to interview two of them (personal communication, April 2, 2004).

As I have said, to understand the origins of the Inuit movement, it is important to understand the ways in which Inuit life changed from that of being independent subsistence hunters and gatherers with an egalitarian governance system to a dependent people at the mercy of outside religious, capitalist and governance structures. As Hitler was marching across Europe, Inuit were just beginning to learn about the cash economy. World War II left its impact in the Arctic too as Inuit began to also learn that events happening half a world away could directly have an impact on their lives.

The transition from a subsistence economy to a cash economy and wage-labor and then to welfare was an insidiously gradual one. Trade with the early whalers had led to trade and traffic in guns. The nature of hunting was changing: “guns, ammunition, knives, ropes, sledge-runners must now be bought, and a snowmobile, which most hunters now own...must be supplied with fuel” (Brody, 1975, p. 174). The full extent of Inuit dependency on the new economy did not really become apparent until the winter of 1941-42, however, when more than 100 Inuit and Indians starved to death in the Fort Chimo area “because supply ships either did not arrive or brought too little ammunition to go around” (Graburn, 1969, p. 120).

As the war in Europe progressed, the Arctic became a staging area for operations. The need for communication seemed to become more urgent. The Troika began to heavily recruit the aid of young Inuit to serve as clerks, scouts, mail carriers, and as either border patrol for the Department of Defense or, as Special Constables for the RCMP.

... the Canadian government introduced the family allowance program. The ones that they implemented for Inuit who were entitled to receive family allowances, like Special Constables – that was from the RCMP. And, to my recollection, that meant that once a year my parents, my father, and his parents would go to the RCMP and get our registration – in those days it was not very much, something like \$6 a person so...it was not very much...they would go the HBC to purchase everything...from clothing to rifles to whatever...Hudson’s Bay was already doing the commodity trading at that time – the

foxes and seal skins and so on,...besides the whales. (Mosese Kilabuk, personal communication, March 5, 2004).

Letters and messages would still be passed through old lines of communication with dog teams, but new forms of communication were arriving too, by air with the newspapers and over the air through short wave radios in the Hudson's Bay Company, RCMP, and church outposts.

I started working for white people, the RCMP, by hunting to supply them with fresh country food to feed their dogs...there was no planes to bring the mail in, there was not Ski-doo's, just dogs. They would have to go down to Churchill to pick up their mail, and their allowance checks. I became a guide for them to go to all these places...Repulse Bay, Baker Lake. (O. Ittinuar, personal communication, May 10, 2004).

It was the warplanes that Inuit hunters noticed most; they disrupted hunting by changing the migration of caribou or frightening other game. Inuit also increasingly had direct encounters with war ships or submarines, as was illustrated in the story of Mary's first contact with American sailors in the introduction.

During WWII, the Americans became a thorn in the side of the Canadian authorities. In 1942, they built a US-Canadian Airbase at Frobisher Bay; part of the base contained a military hospital where some of the worst cases of burn injury or traumatic (mutilation) injuries were brought from the European theatre to recover or die – out of the public eye. Although the Americans withdrew in 1944, their brief time in the Arctic had opened some eyes to the plight and status of the Inuit.

Canada's policy toward Inuit continued to be that of minimal intervention. U.S. Military personnel were told not to interact with or interfere with the Inuit or their way of life. This directive included a prohibition against treating Inuit with medical problems or supplying them with food in difficult times of year. U.S. soldiers broke both prohibitions, and as a result are fondly remembered by the Inuit;

When we first landed here...down on the beach, the only houses that were here were the American houses – like ah – the mess hall, the radio station, the big hangar back there, several radio stations – the American hospital was over here. That was all. There were a few houses. Inuit people had built little shacks down along the beach, and my father did the same thing. That's all that was here. (Mosese Kilabuk, personal communication, March 5, 2004)

This is probably the one place in the world today where the American military is well thought of; they treated us well when no one else would and were appalled by the things that they saw and that the Canadian government was telling them they were not allowed to do. Finally, the American doctors got so frustrated they treated us anyway; and soldiers often 'left' boxes on the beach. Some of our relatives would not be here if it hadn't been for the Americans. And when they went home, they told others about how we were living. These are stories that I learned growing up here. (J. Onalik, personal communication, July 10, 2002).

Recalling that Nunavut is a vast territory it is important to remember that Mary Cousins was in the high North and that Mosese and Jimi were in Iqaluit on South Baffin Island. I think it is also important to consider that the Americans stationed in Iqaluit during WWII were on a mission of mercy, and a secret one at that. The American soldiers that were sent there were sent to keep the ultimate horrors of war far away from the cameras and reporters of the media of the time. The nature of their mission might account for some difference in the way in which the American military vs. the Civil Canadian authority treated Inuit. Also there is perhaps something to be said for the idea of familiarity breeding contempt. I do wonder how the American military would have reacted had they been stationed in the U.S. on an American Indian Reservation facing the same kind of deprivation.

It is important to understand, however, that the Civil Canadian Authority adopted their policies for protective reasons. They no doubt were genuinely concerned at the number of American military coming in and the potential harms that they represented to public health, not only in terms of access to American trash and medical waste, but also in terms of the potential for disease transmission. The hands-off policy was already a long established one. In 1924 *The*

Indian Act was amended to give the Department of Indian Affairs authority over the Inuit. It was an act which prompted much debate in the Canadian Parliament, the result of which was to formally adopt a “hands-off” policy; it was thought that Inuit were best left to their own resources (Tester et al 2011:19). It was no doubt influenced by reports of the then recent Rasmussen expeditions and the Flaherty film, *Nanook of the North* 1922 both of which reinforced the idea of a self-reliant peoples. The hands-off policy persisted through the 1950s. In 1953 and again in 1957 Inuit succumbed to mass starvation as Caribou and seal migration patterns changed, and at the same time they were beset by a TB epidemic (Mary Cousins, personal communication, 2004). Eventually the Canadian Government was prompted into action by public pressure. It led, however, to the extreme hardship of relocation to the high arctic; the stories of those populations experiences are told at some length in Melanie McGrath’s book *The Long Exile*, and in several anthologies, such as *Northern Voices* (Petrone 2002), and *Inuit Women* (Billson et al 2007).

During WWII the Canadian government sought to classify and register Inuit; the act is remembered as de-humanizing. Because Inuit naming systems were difficult for authorities to understand, Inuit were issued metal discs classified by region. The designation for the Eastern Arctic was “E” and the discs came to be known as “E-numbers.” Inuit were the only people under Canadian authority who were required to wear disc numbers for identification.

You see these? [holding a little metal disc with numbers on it] We didn’t even have names. We were numbers. That’s how they saw us. I keep these so that I never forget; I had only ever seen them on RCMP dogs before. (Meeka Kilabuk, personal communication, July 22, 2002)

As Inuit began to understand the implications of this practice and increasingly experienced other forms of discrimination, they began to record their own perspectives on what was happening to

them. They kept diaries and journals and saved letters. Families across the Qikiqtaaluk (Eastern Arctic) had relatives further south (in Labrador or Quebec, areas now called Nunavik) or west (in what is now the Kivalliq or the Inuvialuit) who served in the armed forces. They brought back stories of how the rest of Canada lived, or indeed even the world. Inuit writings from this period have now been gathered into an edited volume (Petrone, 1988),²⁹ as well as oral histories later recorded by others (Oosten, Laugrand, & Rasing, 1999; Wachowich et al., 1999). There are autobiographies too. Ernie Lyall's *An Arctic Man* (1979) was widely well-received by both Inuit and Southerners. Lyall was a Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) man from Labrador who married his wife, Nipisha, in the late 1930s. He spent the rest of his life in the Arctic, and many of their children became leaders in the Inuit movement. Peter Pitseolak, a great Inuk photographer, first began to document the life ways and family histories of his people during WWII when he acquired his first camera (Pitseolak & Eber, 1993). Many Inuit who were alive during WWII are growing old or are already dead. Work continues to collect their stories.

When the war ended, activity in the Arctic did not decline but rather increased. World War had been replaced by Cold War. Fearing the threat of Soviet nuclear submarines, the Americans returned to Frobisher Bay in 1946. This time it served as a staging operation from which to build military air bases in northern Greenland (Thule) and Ellesmere Island (Alert) under "Operation Robin" (M. Arreak, personal communication, July 17, 2002).

As the Cold War escalated and the threat came to include intercontinental ballistic missiles, construction began on the Distant Early Warning (DEW line) system, a series of 20 military bases with extensive radar capabilities built across the 70th parallel of Canada's Arctic

²⁹ - together with articles and speeches from later periods.

that could track any Soviet activity. What this meant for Inuit was a more constant presence of Southerners in the North than there had ever been before. The Americans hired Inuit as labor to help build the DEW line as well as to provide protection (scouting for polar bears) during its construction. Inuit began to move their families closer to DEW line sites because of the reliable resources they provided.

In 1949, while Canada was becoming internationally associated with the issue of human rights because of their contributions to the draft of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Inuit were technically given the right to vote in Federal elections.. This came about because the Supreme Court of Canada had ruled Inuit to be Canadian Citizens, with the same status as any other Canadian, however only the Inuit of the Mackenzie Delta region were actually given the opportunity to exercise this right. It would not be until 1962 that Canada would extend the Elections Act to include the Inuit in the rest of the NWT (Tester et al, 2011: 95). The turn of the decade brought with it several occurrences that forced Canada to recognize the growing health crisis in the North. Polio broke out in 1948 and several entire Inuit communities died (well over 60 people). This was followed by the outbreak of several concurrent epidemics in 1952 (measles, influenza B, scarlet fever, and mumps). Inuit began to be relocated to settlement camps near the social service dispensaries (Brody, 1975, p. 25). This was the first auspice under which Inuit were forcibly re-settled as part of a government policy. The details of both Canada's policy and practices during this era are outlined in a comprehensive report published in 1994 "The High Arctic relocation: a report on the 1953-55 relocation" by Canada's Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP).

Very quickly, the Cold War had become hot and Canada sent increasing numbers of troops overseas in support of the police action against communist North Korea. The Korean War

was the first war in which the Inuit of Nunavut participated and understood the importance and extent of their role.

We knew the Germans had been patrolling even in Frobisher Bay during WWII, so during the Korean War in the early 1950s we understood the role of the DEW line. Because we were so close to the folks on the DEW line, we knew about events in Russia, Poland and Czechoslovakia. So that came, and while that was happening, everything was slowly changing here too (J. Kelly, personal communication, February 13, 2004).

When the Korean War ended in 1953 the newly created government shifted responsibility for Inuit affairs again, this time to the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. It was an obvious move precipitated by increased demand for coal, oil, and other natural resources from both Canada and the U.S., as well as Canada's changing economy. There was a keep desire to develop the resources of Canada's North.

The arrival of mines, following the DEW line bases, gave Inuit opportunities to transition into a wage-labor economy on a more integral basis than the fur trade had done. Several events of the 1950s made that option look attractive. In 1953 and again in 1957, for reasons that are still not clear or well researched, mass-starvations took place across the Arctic.(Duffy 1988, p. 165; Tester 1994) Game was simply not to be found. Working for the DEW line or the mines provided certainty. Ollie Ittinuar and Louis Pilakapsie were just two of the many Inuit who moved to where the mines were; Ollie started out working for the nickel mine in Rankin Inlet, but both of them ended up the mine at Loon Lake near Churchill, Manitoba.

I worked for the RCMP in '49. They hired me because of my good hunting skills. I made \$30 a month. But in 1957 a new nickel mine opened in Rankin Inlet, and I couldn't feed my family on what the RCMP was paying so I quit. As soon as I came in with my dog team, I didn't even unpack my sled because they told me to go to work right away! Suddenly I was rich, I was making \$200 a month. (O. Ittinuar, personal communication, May 10, 2004).

My husband [Louis Pilakapsie] and I were living up in Coral Harbor; he was working for the DEW line. Louis' step-father got very sick and he was in Churchill so we moved to

Churchill to see him. We spent seven years there, Louis worked for the mine at Loon Lake. (C. Pilakapsie, personal communication, May 10, 2004)

The mass-starvations coincided with the presence of the Americans working intimately with Inuit on the DEW line sites as Canada was championing human rights internationally. The Americans were once again witnesses to the impacts of Canadian policy, or lack thereof. That is not to say that the Americans did not also have a profound impact upon the environment and local communities themselves both through the militarization of the Arctic as well as the spread of American culture and also, sadly, venereal disease. Further, many Inuit were relocated to the Rankin Inlet mine either without their appreciation of the situation or without their consent to provide convenient labor (J. Kusugak, personal communication, October 12, 2004; C. Pilakapsi, personal communication, May 10, 2004). Behind every permanent settlement or community in Nunavut lies the story of why it came to be there. For some it was the creation of a convenient trading post, for others it was where the Americans decided to build a base, and for others, like Rankin Inlet and Whale Cove, it was dictated by mineralogy (Rea, 1968).

Canada's economy grew under St. Laurent's Liberal government, in no small part due to the development of the oil and gas industries. St. Laurent noted that throughout Canada's history the North had been administered in "an almost continuing state of absence of mind" (Marcus, 1992, p. 48). Implied was the thought that he and the Liberals were going to change that. The hope in the North was that in the wake of the epidemics and mass-starvation the government was finally going to do something for the benefit of the Inuit. Opening an era that remains exceedingly controversial, the government solution was to re-locate several families from

Northern Quebec and Baffin Island to the High Arctic (Ellesmere Island).³⁰ In 1953 six families were relocated to Grise Fiord and four families were sent to Resolute Bay. Seven more families were shipped north in 1955. Excerpts from a release from the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources dated June 23, 1955 leave few questions as to the details:

It will be moving day this summer of 1955 for 35 Eskimos in Canada's Arctic. And they are all moving further north. The "moving van" for the Eskimos will be the Arctic Patrol vessel "CD Howe", which leaves Montreal on Saturday on the 35th Eastern Arctic Patrol to settlements and outposts in the far north. Moving Eskimos is just one of the many tasks which the CD Howe will undertake in the course of its 12,000 mile journey. In addition to studying the problems and needs of these remote settlements and their residents, the 30 government officials on the patrol will carry out many other jobs. A medical party...will give a complete medical and dental examination and x-rays to every one of the 3,200 Eskimos who can reach the ship in the 20 ports of call (Marcus, 1992, Appendix D).

The same release calls the moving of the seven Inuit families "a purely voluntary migration," yet the Inuit who were there were not told what they were getting into. They had also assumed that they would be provided with transportation back from the High Arctic should they request it (J. Amagoalik, personal communication, July 8, 2002). This proved not to be the case (RCAP 1994). For several reasons, the CD Howe shaped the lives of many Inuit. Those who came to her for medical treatment were often transported south when they were discovered to be infected with TB or other diseases. Inuit who worked aboard her were introduced not only to

³⁰ This had been tried before in 1934 when the HBC moved ten families from the communities of Cape Dorset, Pangnirtung and Pond Inlet to Devon Island. By 1936 it had become clear that the climate was too severe to survive and the families were removed (Marcus, 1992, p. 11).

diverse Southern people and cultures, but also to other Inuit from across the range of her Arctic voyages. The CD Howe listed Churchill, Manitoba, as one of her most important ports of call.

Churchill became a place at which many Inuit lives intersected and because of that it was the place from which the Inuit movement would be born. It was another product of the Cold War. For the first half of the 1950s, Fort Churchill was a NATO Arctic testing research site that included Canadian, U.S., and British military personnel. It was also an operations base for Arctic rescue when military testing went awry.

The Korean War had proved to us that we needed to test for extremes in climate, everything from clothing to how defense systems react to dense air and high wind. The Americans were testing H-X missile, British were testing their Chieftain tanks and Hawker-hunter fighter planes, and Quarter-master corps were testing personnel gear. In the winter the population exploded as test teams came north (E. Dobbins, personal communication, April 2005, on the Winter of 1954-1955).

A civilian science lab, Canadian Arctic Research and Development (CARDe), was also located at Ft. Churchill.

We interacted with CARDe; they taught us about wind-chill and other survival science. There was a small community of Native Canadians that lived near the HBC training post in the village called Churchill, and they stayed there. There wasn't really much for us to do downtown except be tourists. We had total support on the base. So there wasn't much interaction among the various groups (E. Dobbins 2005).

In less than five years, Churchill was much changed:

There were three Churchills: there was the downtown and then there was this place where all the Dene were living and then there was Camp Tawney – where all the sick were being treated or were waiting to go south and then the Army base and the Navy base. There was a lot of traffic, because the runway was in the middle of the camp. (C. Pilakapsie, personal communication, May 10, 2004).

Between the mine opening nearby, attracting older Inuit hunters and leaders, the triage station that grew into Camp Tawney where Inuit were being brought from all across the Arctic, Churchill was becoming a crossroads. It would become a pivotal nexus almost a decade later when the Churchill Vocation Center (CVC) was built to train and educate young Inuit at the same time that it served as the staging operation for the Federal/Territorial Adult Training Programs.

With the opening of the mines (near Churchill and elsewhere), Canadian companies began to exploit Arctic resources and hire Inuit labor. Inuit were suddenly drawn into housing situations and lifestyles to which they were unaccustomed, and the companies were ill prepared to deal with them. Inuit could no longer define their communities by season or move to where resources were appropriate for the nature of the construction required. Because they were constrained by geography and resources, they had to be inventive. Not being provided with any buildings materials nor having the means to go acquire them, they built homes out of scrap metal, wood and any other materials that they could find in the area. Cardboard, moss, or even paper would be used for insulation, and in the winter they banked these shanties with snow (Condon, 1983, p. 36). The nature of the ad hoc constructions and the health issues possibly resulting from both the housing conditions and the nature of working on the mine brought this question of Canada's responsibility to the Inuit to the forefront (Duffy, 1988, p. 163). Intense overcrowding and poor sanitary conditions led to the spread of disease, the most widespread of which was tuberculosis (Condon, 1983, p. 36). Of course it is highly likely that Canadian authorities and non-Indigenous mine workers first brought tuberculosis North and the close nature of the work facilitated its spread. Hundreds of Inuit were diagnosed and sent to Churchill and hospitals further south, most commonly in Edmonton.

When we moved there I had a three month old baby, and I adopted a little girl from older sister; they were three months apart. I ended up in a sanatorium for TB for nine months myself. (C. Pilakapsie, personal communication, May 10, 2004).

Catherine Pilakapsie moved South with her husband to care and provide for her husband's step-father who had TB. Records do not indicate how many Inuit took upon themselves the role of caregiver, much less how many caregivers ultimately succumbed. One of the things that surprised many was how many years they would be gone. Forty-five years later, Catherine Pilakapsie is still amazed that she and her husband spent seven years near Churchill. At least they were near family. Many families were separated as even children were sent to southern hospitals isolated and alone; many who were sent south were not seen again for years, and for quite a long time the families remaining in the North did not know where they were sent or how to either find them or contact them again.³¹ These are the stories that were shared with me from those I managed to interview in visiting the communities that I was able to, mostly located on Baffin Island. The Arctic is vast, and each region has a distinct character, Inuk culture and language vary and experiences from one region to another can be quite different. Stories are local, and may not be representative of experiences across the Arctic.

Coming Together: Roots of a Pan-Inuit Movement (1950-1971)

On the national scene, "The Chief" John Diefenbaker defeated Liberal Lester Pearson in a landslide victory in 1958. The Canadian economy was slowing and Diefenbaker had campaigned on Northern Development; it was becoming something of a popular fad among Canadian leaders (Isard 2010). During this time the NWT were divided up into Administrative Districts and

³¹ One of the best films to reflect the impact of this era is *Cry the Heart*, the story of a Inuk child who is taken from his family and brought to a hospital in Edmonton to be treated for TB. He does not understand why he is taken, but forms a friendship with a Dene girl – the only one who seems to relate to him.

Administrative Centers were chosen for each one; in the western Arctic, Inuvik was to replace the already established community of Aklavik, and the choice for the eastern Arctic was Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit). Settlements were formed across the Arctic, and often the lines between commerce, government, and church were blurred even further as RCMP officers passed out meager government checks in accordance with the 1944 Family Allowance Act (similar to welfare in the U.S.) and the 1951 Pension Act (Social Security). HBC agents and missionaries again served dual roles as they were the first ones appointed to be settlement managers. Once again, for the government of Canada it was a matter of convenience; the traders, the missionaries, and the policemen were already on location. Instead of bringing responsible government to the north, even under Diefenbaker it seemed as if the Troika was only being given the opportunity to consolidate its power (Isard 2010).

It was during this era that the first serious consideration was also given to the idea of dividing up the Northwest Territories. Although quite honestly, from the time it had been created, the NWT began to be divided. It had been carved up to create the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1870, and to expand Manitoba, Ontario, and Quebec in 1912. In 1954 the Mackenzie District of the western NWT had been created as a means of expanding the elected membership of the Territorial Council (which at that time was still appointed). The question of dividing the NWT into two separate territories first arose in the NWT Council in 1961. By 1963, in the middle of the transition from a Diefenbaker government back to a Liberal Pearson government, the proposal emerged in the form of two bills brought before parliament. Bill C83 would have created a Mackenzie Territory with a capital in Ft. Smith, and Bill C84 would have created a Nunassiat Territory [*nunassiat* or *nunatsiat* meaning “beautiful land” in Inuktitut]

“with the seat of government retained in Ottawa” (Gardiner, 1999, p. 3). The bills died primarily because Northerners [meaning *white* Northerners] had not been consulted.

Meanwhile, Southerners were migrating North in significant numbers. The days of minimal intervention were over. Mostly the newcomers to the North were professionals going to provide social services to the Inuit, or they were company and government officials going to oversee industrial development projects. The romanticized idea of the Canadian North served neither population well. Southerners were disappointed, and Inuit felt increasingly marginalized (S. Grant 1990: 35). The creation of the settlement and Administrative Center at Iqaluit is a good example of how this worked. Planners of the settlement excluded all but the richest of Inuit. The chairman of the project office wrote, “Only that portion of the Eskimo population who can meet the financial requirements of rent, etc. will live in town and it is intended that they shall occupy houses or apartments similar to those of the white population” (Duffy, 1988, p. 205).

It is another irony of Canadian history these policies flourished under the same Prime Minister (Diefenbaker) who was instrumental in forcing South Africa out of the British Commonwealth for its practice of *apartheid*. Prime Minister Pearson, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, fared no better. In the name of social service and development, discrimination grew even worse.

Part of the development policy of the North included education. As soon as the Catholic residential school was established in Chesterfield Inlet, Inuit families who fell under the purview of the Catholic Church had been sending select children there. Parents, of course, were not aware that in addition to getting a “southern” education, their children were also suffering psychological and sexual abuse (King, personal communication, 1998; P. Irniq, personal communication, 2004). These first residential schools were primarily elementary and middle

schools. (High schools would come later). Their purpose could not have been more clearly stated than in their own report. “The residential school is perhaps the most effective way of giving children from primitive environments, experience and education along the lines of civilization leading to vocational training to fit them for occupations in the white man’s economy (NAC RG 85 Volume 1507 file# 600-1-1 pt. 7, “Report on Education in Canada’s Northland, 12 December 1954).

Residential schools not only taught academic subjects or vocational skills, but rather something more. Even in the absence of overt physical abuse, Inuit children were also learning that being Inuk was inherently inadequate at best, and evil at worst. They were constantly measured against scales with which they could not associate.

I left home at 14, the youngest of my brothers and sisters. It was like being in the military; line up for breakfast, line up back to dorm, line up again to school – never going outside. I was expected to be a certain height, certain weight – I didn’t meet the requirement for 5’ 3”, whatever that was about. Those were all new on top of being away from home. (Meeka Kilabuk, personal communication, April 2, 2004).

According to Ralph Ritcey, the Superintendent of Education for the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the decision to bring Inuit students South most likely came from a recommendation that Diamond Jenness, the pro-assimilation anthropologist, made to the Canadian Minister of Education. It was around 1959 or 1960 that the Federal Cabinet directed the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources³² to open public schools across the Arctic (Ritcey, 2000, p. 18). The problem, Ritcey argues, is that there were no high schools in the North. The solution was to bring Inuit students south. Before they did that, however, they wanted to run an experimental program with just two or three children in

³² The responsibilities of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources were eventually reallocated to DIAND.

Ottawa to see if Inuit were capable of succeeding in such schools. The government spent thousands on “unbiased” and “culture-free” intelligence testing on two young men, Peter Ittinuar and Eric Tagoona. When the tests apparently proved that they could compete with anybody, they were brought to Ottawa to attend Parkway Public School. A third young man, Zebedee Nungak, joined Peter and Eric unexpectedly. He had been brought to Ottawa by another anthropologist, Frank Vallee. As Ritcey recalls,

One day in the first two or three weeks of September, Frank, who was teaching at McMaster University in Hamilton, walked into my office. He said, “I’ve brought this guy South for you. I was going to keep him, but I decided to send him to Ottawa instead.” And there was Zebedee, about 12 or 13 years old, nice-looking guy ... no tests, no nothing. The high, high command were all shook up because they didn’t have these twenty thousand dollars worth of tests on this him in a boarding house next door to Peter and Eric, and he fit right in (Ritcey, 2000, p. 20).

Zebedee, Peter, and Eric were the only three children during that period to be sent to public school (elementary/middle school) in Ottawa, the rest were sent to high school, at first in Ottawa or Winnipeg. In 1964 one of the first Inuit brought to Ottawa to attend public high school was a young man from Coral Harbor named Tagak Curley. These were the first occasions during which Inuit attended public schools. Prior to these “experiments,” either the Anglican or Catholic churches had undertaken the primary responsibility of educating Inuit through the establishment of residential schools. Because the age at which Inuit began to learn through institutionalized systems was so disparate (some learned to read at age 6, other at age 16) it was often argued that such schools did not teach to the national standard. Indeed, most were based upon a widespread colonial system designed to assimilate young Aboriginal students into an Anglicized culture, and teach them trades or skills that would be useful in the service of colonial society. This made the achievements of Tagak Curley and his contemporaries all the more important.

By the early 1960s, Canada (Ottawa) was committed to establishing government residential schools in Yellowknife and Inuvik in the NWT, and in Churchill, Manitoba. In fact, two schools were established in Churchill: the CVC matriculated students with the equivalent of about grade 9 or 10,³³ and the more academically oriented, Duke of Edinburgh School went through grade 11.

For almost a decade, from 1963 to 1973, the CVC brought together Inuit ranging in age from about 14 to 21. Students at Churchill came from all across the Arctic. Some came well prepared, while others played catch-up and learned in three years on average the equivalent of four or five grade levels. All this was in addition to mastering concrete vocational skills that prepared students to become nursing aides, Hudson's Bay Company clerks, or to work in construction, and in the later years of its operation, the opportunity to study Inuktitut.

Toward the end of the 1960s the Federal government had created an adult education program designed to ease Inuit into the "White man's economy." It was conceived in three phases. Phase One (Men and Housing) was a program under which Inuit men would be trained to train other Inuit men on how to live in a wage-labor economy, to pay rent, and so forth. Phase Two (Women and Home Economics) taught women southern domestic skills as well as other means of economic production. Finally, Phase Three (Housing Associations) was designed to create housing programs and administrative services at the local level. Around the same time (1966) Abe Okpik was commissioned to head up a program called Operation Surname in which he was charged with the task of traveling across the Arctic and assigning surnames or last names

³³ Very similar to the German "Realschule," which matriculates students with a grade 10 vocational, trades-based education.

to Inuit. This was a program designed to correct the previous injustice under which Inuit had been previously issued disc numbers.

The other side of the coin, however, was that while more Southerners were coming to the North, Inuit were in part designing some of their own training. With the creation of Iqaluit as an Administrative Center, bi-lingual Inuit (mostly women) were being drafted into government service as teachers and translators. Even though they had little or no formal training, they taught at schools in the newly developing settlement communities, served aboard the CD Howe, went South to triage centers like Churchill, and some were relocated to Ottawa.

I started with the nursing station – because there was nobody who speaks English here at that time...they had no interpreters...that was my true interest, being a nurse – not to be an interpreter...When I was about 16 years old I started teaching, using the books and learning at the same time, probably. In fact, John Amagoalik was one of my students! [then] they wanted me to be at the CD Howe...and travel around a month or two months...when we went to Churchill, Manitoba. I ended up going to Ottawa – three of us started working at the Indian Affairs, I started in 1961. (L. Idlout, personal communication, April 2, 2004)

All of a sudden, mines, schools, government offices, and nursing stations were bringing Inuit together from all across the Arctic. They were converging in several places: Ottawa, Churchill, Edmonton, Iqaluit, and even in various settlement communities. They were sharing life-ways as well as anxieties and stories about how their lives were changing. Very soon that led to a discussion on how to cease being witnesses to the changing events of their lives and become authors instead.

Occurring over a decade, three catalysts enabled that discussion; each came from initiatives that originated outside Inuit society but for the first time also included them, albeit sometimes marginally, in the decision-making process. These catalysts were: the creation of the Indian and Eskimo Association, the development of the Arctic Cooperatives Movement, and the

Carrothers Commission. Civil society, economic enterprise, and the federal government began work in concert with regard to the empowerment of Inuit. It was mostly serendipitous and sometimes efforts made by one sphere of civil society or branch of government were often directly counter to or worked against other similar organizations or branches of government. Yet the outcomes of these three initiatives played a direct role in the creation of an Inuit movement.

In the first of these three, what would become the Indian and Eskimo Association began under the umbrella of the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE). Father André Renauld, a member of CAAE and director general of the Oblate Fathers Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission, began discussions in Ottawa on the status of urban Indians in 1955. Renauld's concerns made it onto the agenda of CAAE's national conference of 1958 and a committee was appointed to study their problems. It eventually became known as the National Commission on the Indian Canadian and served as a standing committee of the CAAE.³⁴ John Melling led the Commission as it began to consult with other volunteer organizations, Indian communities and study groups; he helped it to develop extensive contacts and to begin researching the real needs of Canada's Aboriginal populations (McPhearson, 2003, p. 58).

By 1960 it was felt that the Commission needed to become more independent, so it withdrew from the CAAE and was incorporated as the Indian and Eskimo Association (IEA). The IEA expanded its mission to include all people of native origin, both on and off reserves, as well as Inuit who were then referred to as Eskimos. Under the leadership of its first president, Clare Evelyn Clark, it became a national citizen's organization, opening membership up to all who were interested in "promoting the well-being of Native Americans" (IEA Fonds

³⁴ IEA Fonds, located at Trent University.

Summaries). The IEA was formed primarily of educators and other public sector servants as well as religious leaders, however 25% of the membership was Native American or Inuk, and there were always Indigenous members on the board of directors. Activities of the IEA included fund raising and organizing workshops to discuss native housing, and community and economic development (IEA Fonds). One of the things the IEA accomplished, to its great credit, was that it brought together Inuit and First Nations educators, activists and leaders in annual meetings and conferences. Young leaders forged relationships across boundary lines that would later prove essential not only in the sharing of information but also in future cross-boundary negotiations.

The IEA also attracted the first generation of educated, bi-lingual Inuit who would later come to play major roles in the development of their own affairs. Included in this first generation of actors are Tagak Curley, Mary Cousins, Elijah Menarik, and Abe Okpik. Tagak Curley helped found many of the Inuit organizations that became the backbone of the Inuit Movement; Mary Cousins became the first editor of *Inuktitut Magazine* – still published today; Elijah Menarik become the voice of the North through his broadcasts in Inuktitut on CBC radio and later television; and Abe Okpik became the first Inuk – indeed the first Aboriginal member – to be appointed to the NWT Council in 1965. They had all met each other for the first time in 1959, at a meeting arranged by the Diefenbaker administration to look into the needs and wants of Inuit. Ironically, it took place at Meech Lake,³⁵ and lasted for an entire week. For someone like Abe Okpik, it was an eye-opening experience. He had been invited by government officials to attend based the recommendation of a social worker who had gotten to know him while he was in recovery from TB at Aklavik; he ended up with a job.

³⁵ The same location where the failed “Meech Lake Accords” were negotiated.

I asked, “What am I going to do? I know nothing about government structures. I have never been in government and never really heard about government workers other than people who came to visit.”...Eventually I said, “I’ll try. I’ll go for two months and see how it works!” It was hot and I had to wear a necktie, a jacket, pressed pants, and polished oxford shoes every day. I learned how to do that. (McComber, 2005, p. 161)

These minute, but significant, political advances were counterbalanced by economic hardship. The reality of the new Northern wage-labor economy meant that often things provided through the trading post monopolies became unaffordable for Inuit. Economic impasse led to a cooperative movement created to provide Inuit with the means of distributing traditional crafts to southern markets and to help them gain access to affordable durable goods and foods. In 1961 the West Baffin Cooperative was formed, and by 1963 representatives from 16 cooperatives met in the first Conference of Arctic Cooperatives. In addition to allowing Inuit to enter the world economy, cooperatives were used to disseminate information and persuade their members to “think and act in terms of independence, self-determination and autonomy” (Mitchell, 1996, p. 325). Interestingly, the cooperative movement was strongly supported, if not initiated by many Catholic Oblate fathers – part of an international effort toward liberation theology by the more progressive branches of the church. One of the things that the cooperative movement did was focus not only on training in economics, but also on leadership development. Formal programs were established, and select Inuit were sent south to attend training programs.

Actually, I started out in the Hudson Bay, in those days, and then after the Hudson Bay, I became a co-op manager and then attended the Western Co-op College on a couple of occasions, for about 14 months. (J. Etoolook, personal communication, April 29, 2004)

When I first joined the government there was talk about cooperatives. Elija Menirak was working with a fellow by the name of Don Snowden from Newfoundland. He knew about co-ops and he wanted to start one somewhere. They went to George River, Kangiqsualujjuaq, on the east side of Ungava Bay, and they built a little log cabin. Then somebody else started one in Puvirnituq [Fr. Steinman, Oblate missionary] and there was a priest [Fr. Fournier, Oblate missionary] in Igloolik, that started one in about around the

same time. They started working, and now they are all over the place. (Abe Opik *from* L. McComber, 2004)

The third catalyst mentioned emerged from the wake of the NWT Council's failed bid for the division of the Northwest Territories when it then petitioned the federal government to launch a full-scale inquiry into NWT's political future (Gardiner, 199, p. 4). In 1966, the Pearson government created the Advisory Commission on the Development of Government in the Northwest Territories. It was headed by Fred Carrothers, the dean of law at the University of Western Ontario, and traveled through the North, holding hearings in various communities. It was the first time the Federal government had interacted directly with Northerners. That same year, Abe Opik chaired a panel of Inuit to discuss the problems of Northern communities,³⁶ and the department of Northern Affairs was folded into Indian Affairs creating the now well-known and present-day Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). The report of the Carrothers Commission was released in 1967; it recommended against division but argued for the devolution of power from Ottawa to the Territorial level, save where economic development and resource management were concerned. The only point that it agreed with Opik's panel on was that the communities were in need of municipal government structures.

The Federal government in Ottawa adopted most of the Carrothers recommendations and in late 1967 newly appointed Commissioner Stuart Hodgson, along with four other members of the civil service, moved to the new capital of the NWT in Yellowknife. This first step began a pattern of increasing autonomy for the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT). It was important because, in effect, it was this transition that later allowed the Inuit to become part of an

³⁶ The panel included George Koneak, Minnie (Moore) Freeman, Anne Padlo Lidbetter and Elijah Menarik. The agenda included the disturbance game by aircraft, the shortage of housing, the absence of inter-settlement communication, and language and cultural survival (McPhearson, 2003, p. 59).

already ongoing process of the devolution of power. Members of the GNWT began to be elected rather than appointed, and the people of the Northwest Territories began to demand a greater voice in their own government.

At the local level, partly because of the Carrothers Commission recommendations and government programs and partly because of grassroots efforts, settlements began to create municipal governments. Part of the Adult Education Program, Inuit educators were empowered to seed them under the District Education Authority in Phase Three of the program. Many Inuit leaders began their public service through this program:

That was one of the first things that I was involved with, visiting communities and establishing them as Hamlets – rather than settlements. The first one was Kugluktuk, and the second one in Nunavut was Coral Harbor. I helped establish them, and Rankin Inlet - with Gordon Wray who was a settlement manager at the time, as well as Baker Lake. This was in 1972. (R. Ningeocheak, personal communication, May 9, 2004)

When I graduated, I guess in '71 I became involved in social services and a couple of years later with the Hamlet in Cambridge Bay in community development, bringing the community councils into play. That's basically where I started, I guess. (C. Evalik, personal communication, 2004)

Among the adult educators stationed in Churchill and paid to travel across the Arctic to implement Phase One and Phase Three of the program (first as Federal employee and then as a Territorial employee when the GNWT took over the program³⁷) was again Tagak Curley, the young Southern educated Inuk from Coral Harbor. Inuit were being drawn into these education programs while governmental authority was slowly being transferred to the territorial level. At the same time, initiatives for responsible government in the North were increasing and three new

³⁷ The Adult Education Program was created by the Federal government, but as power devolved from Ottawa to Yellowknife, it was moved under the umbrella of the new Territorial government.

ridings were added to the NWT Council from the Eastern Arctic. In 1966, Simonie Michael became the first Inuk to be elected to the Council.

Nationally, the last years of the Pearson administration improved Canada's social service programs (national pension and medicare plans) and redrew the national flag to the one we know today with a single red maple leaf. In 1967 Canada celebrated 100 years of existence with pomp but sedately. The decade ended more explosively, however, with the dawn of the Trudeau administration. Prime Minister Trudeau combined the political appeal of John F. Kennedy with the social agenda of Johnson's Great Society.

The "Endless Meeting" (1969-1999)

For Canada's Aboriginal people, Pierre Elliott Trudeau began his government in 1969 in the worst possible way by releasing a white paper (an official but non-binding government proposal) on Indian issues. What is now referred to as the Trudeau White Paper or the White Paper of 1969, proposed abolishing the Indian Act, getting rid of DIAND, placing Native rights under the authority of the provinces, and eliminating Native reserve lands and special status for Aboriginal Canadians. The motivation for this proposal came from the basic tenants of the Liberal platform, equal access and social justice for all. The reason that it was controversial was that it was perceived by many Aboriginal people as a bureaucratic form of genocide, as well as for reasons previously explained in the section on Indigenous knowledge and the relationship between identity, ontology and land.

Liberals believe that every individual has a special dimension, a uniqueness that cries out to be realized, and that the purpose of life is to realize that potential. The role of the state is to create the conditions under which individuals have the broadest possible choice in pursuing the goal of self-fulfillment (Trudeau, 1990, p. 260). What Trudeau and his administration did not

understand, however, was that the policy did not take into account the need for measures preventing cultural genocide; in effect it would have accelerated the centuries old policies of assimilation. The National Indian Brotherhood, a First Nations action organization similar to the American Indian Movement³⁸ in the United States, responded clearly: “If we accept this policy, and in the process, lose our rights and lands, we become willing partners in [our own] cultural genocide. This we cannot do” (National Indian Brotherhood on the White Paper, 1969). The White Paper united Aboriginal associations, organizations and youth in their opposition. In effect, it provided momentum to more than one movement. Later, once it was put into terms that Trudeau and Chrétien, Trudeau’s Minister of DIAND, could understand they reversed their policies.

Trudeau had gotten his languages Act that year; he was from Quebec. What we did was try to make him understand that we deserved the same rights; that we were being denied the same things that his people had been denied – having us all speak English wasn’t going to help us either (T. Curley, personal communication, July 11, 2002).

After his stint with the Adult Education Program, Tagak Curley was first asked to become a member of the Inuit - Eskimo Association, and then was soon hired as a field-worker when they needed someone to act as a liaison with Inuit communities. Based in Edmonton with the IEA, he was about to become a major leader in a movement that would demonstrate what some Southerners were already beginning to refer to as “Parka Power” (McPherson, 2003, p. 61).

By the age of 26, Tagak Curley had traveled to nearly all of the communities in the Central and Eastern Arctic and many in the west, both as an adult educator and as an IEA liaison. He had visited with the Elders of those communities and sought their advice on how to create an

³⁸ The American Indian Movement was also active in Canada; the primary difference is the AIM was an indepent movement organization, the NIB was linked to the Canadian Parliament (McFarlan 1993).

Inuit organization of, by and for Inuit. As John Amagoalik later put it, Arctic people were being assaulted from two fronts, the political and the economic. Politically there was Trudeau's White Paper, and economically oil and gas exploration in the Arctic had increased exponentially over the course of one decade (J. Amagoalik, personal communication, May 25, 2004). At the end of that decade, the IEA sponsored several conferences the most famous of which became the Tundra Conference of 1969 and the Coppermine Conference in 1970. Prior to the Coppermine Conference, and partly in preparation for it, a group of Inuvik residents created the first northern Native organization, the Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE). While it included Inuit, it was not dedicated to universal Inuit interests, but to the interests of all Aboriginal people of the Western Arctic. After the Coppermine Conference, the IEA changed its mission statement again; its primary goal would now be to aid Native and Metis people to form their *own* organizations (McPhearson, 2003, p. 62). In February of 1971, six Inuit from across the Arctic, including Northern Quebec, were flown to Peterborough at IEA expense to discuss the possibility; they were: Josiah Kablutsiak, Noah Qumak, Jacob Owetaluk, Celestine Makpah, Mary Cousins, and Ipeelee Kilabuk. They, together with Tagak Curley, announced the formation of the organizing committee of the Inuit *Tapirisat* (Brotherhood) of Canada (ITC). The founding conference was held at Carleton University in Ottawa August 18-27, 1971.

Nunavut? Oh, I think I started using that word right from the start, either in Coppermine or in Ottawa. I don't think that I was the first one to use it; maybe that was Josiah. But from that moment on that is what we were fighting for, and we never changed that. (T. Curley, personal communication, July 11, 2002)

In December of that year, the ITC printed and mailed out the first issue of *Inuit Monthly*, a publication that would chronicle the entire Inuit movement for the next decade in both English and Inuktitut. In that inaugural issue, Mary Cousins wrote out the entire Inuktitut half by hand;

there were no typewriters with syllabic script, and word processors capable of doing that would not be invented for another two decades. The ITC was founded in the same year that the Inuit of Alaska won the largest settlement that had ever been made with an Indigenous people; in return for extinguishment of native title Alaskan Native people were awarded 180,000 square kilometers of land (approximately 10%) and \$962 million US. It was an achievement, for better or for worse, which would not go unnoticed by the Inuit of Canada. Over the next few years, the ITC sent several envoys to the North Slope to inquire how the settlement was being used and whether or not Inupiat or Yupiq (Alaskan Inuit) were benefiting (T. Curley, personal communication, June 15, 2006)

The Inuit Tapirisat had been founded on funding provided by the IEA.³⁹ It went on to get support from the World Council of Churches⁴⁰ and other sources. Finally, it secured federal funding, at first only to support research on Native rights and access to the law (McPhearson, 2003, p. 63). Tagak Curley suddenly found himself in a position where he was learning how to lobby at the same time that he was being called upon to lobby to the highest authorities in Ottawa. Through a series of meetings with Jean Fournier, the Executive Assistant to Jean Chrétien (DIAND Minister under Trudeau) he successfully secured further federal government support along with federal recognition for ITC. Later, because COPE had not been able to get either status of funding, it was brought under the wing of the ITC so that it could have access to some of the same Federal resources. Little did they know it, but many of the Inuit who had

³⁹ Because, with the creation of the ITC, the nature of their mission had changed yet again, the IEA changed their name in 1973 to the Canadian Association in Support of Native Peoples (IEA Fonds).

⁴⁰ One prominent name sometimes mentioned is Peggy Robbins, a very quiet, very wealthy woman who secretly committed vast amounts of funding toward organizations promoting Native rights. (T. Curley, personal communication, May 25, 2004)

helped to found the ITC, and many other who had not yet even been born would be spending the next three decades in an endless series of meetings.

By 1972 the ITC had re-located to Ottawa, and had offices on the same floor of the same building as the National Indian Brotherhood (NIBC). George Manuel, the NIBC leader, and Tagak Curley frequently shared information. A year later both they and the National Indian Youth Council were discussing the possibility of an international organization of Indigenous peoples. The reason was to try and slow development. In the spring of that year a group of oil and gas producing countries decided to have a conference at La Havre, France. James Wah-Shee (Deh Cho Dene) and Tagak Curley, then president and vice-president of the *Federation of Natives North of Sixty*, an organization formed with the support of the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee (CARC), essentially crashed a preparatory meeting between the oil and gas companies and the Federal government of Canada. In James Wah-Shee's words:

... I said, if there is going to be any discussion on the international forum in France regarding the gas and oil in the Arctic, then aboriginal people have to be involved, because you are talking about our land and our resources (personal communication, April 27, 2004).

Discussions with other Indigenous peoples who had come to La Havre eventually led to the first circumpolar conference of Indigenous peoples in 1973; it was the first recorded international conference of indigenous peoples anywhere. From this point onward, domestic Inuit organization and international organization and issues would be linked.

The landmark Calder Case also took place in 1973. Nisga'a Elder and Member of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, Frank Calder, brought a case on the issue of the extinguishment of Nisga'a title to the Supreme Court. In the case, the concept of aboriginal title was linked to *traditional land use and occupation*. The decision was split 3-3 on whether

extinguishment had taken place in the Nisga'a case, but either way it established not only the existence of the aboriginal title, but it also provided a clear way to win the argument with the Federal government. Indigenous people across Canada began to press harder for land claims, including all of the Aboriginal peoples of the Arctic: the Inuit, the Innu, the Metis, and the Dene. In anticipation of filing the Nunavut land claim, as per the arguments of the Calder decision, the ITC began a Land Use and Occupancy Study under the direction of Dr. Milton Freeman,⁴¹ then of McMaster University, to document lands used and inhabited by Inuit and their importance to the people. The Federal government began to understand that it was being called upon (or forced) to develop a land claims policy or policies.

By 1974, three new Inuit organizations had emerged to represent divergent regional interests, but also to increase the pressure on the Federal government. They were: the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA); the Northern Quebec Inuit Association (NQIA), and the Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI). The political structure of the ITC was altered so that whoever held the office of president in the other organizations was automatically given a seat on the board of directors of the ITC. The same held true when three more regional associations were developed in 1975: the Kitikmeot Inuit Association (KIA); the Keewatin Inuit Association (KeIA); and the Baffin Regional Inuit Association (BRIA).⁴² As soon as the Inuit had established the Inuit associations, the Territorial government interestingly adjusted their administrative districts to correspond with the regions and attempted to attract some of the same Inuit to serve in those administrations.

⁴¹ Peter Usher coordinated the Western Land Use and Occupancy Study, also under the direction of Milton Freeman.

⁴² KIA, KeIA, and BRIA all represented districts in what would become Nunavut. Together with LIA and NQIA they represented all of the Inuit peoples of Canada. They were folded under the umbrella of ITC, and ICI became the wing to advocate for issues that involved the preservation of language and culture.

At the same time that the *Natives North of 60*, COPE, and the ITC were spearheading initiatives designed to slow down or even freeze development and oil, gas, and mineral exploration in the North, companies such as Imperial Oil were increasing their seismic surveys from Banks Island (where they were disturbing trapping and hunting) to Bathurst, the federal government was threatening extensive exploratory drilling throughout the Mackenzie Delta and Beaufort Sea islands, and Hydro-Quebec was pressuring for hydro-electric development in James Bay (which would mean flooding vast amounts of Aboriginal controlled territory). The Mackenzie Valley became a focal point of development; the final blow was the proposal of a natural gas pipeline from Alaska through the Valley to Alberta. In February of 1974 Tagak Curley, president of the ITC, and Sam Raddi, president of COPE, met directly with DIAND Minister Jean Chrétien. He agrees to hold continuing discussions on land claim issues as long as they are “confidential, exploratory, and without prejudice” (*Inuit Monthly* v. 3, No 2, p. 32).

The concerns of the Canadian Government were with regard to possible threats to security and sovereignty posed by the encroachment of the Americans into the Arctic oil markets, while at the same time balancing the interests of being able to sell Canadian energy to American markets (Abele 2014: 95).

Facing conflict between Aboriginal peoples of the North and branches of the Federal government together with development corporations, Prime Minister Trudeau appointed Thomas R. Berger, a judge from the Supreme Court of British Columbia known for work in the area of Indigenous Rights, to investigate how things stood and offer an opinion before proceeding with development. The “Berger” Inquiry lasted from 1974 to 1976, and in it Berger heard “the evidence of three hundred experts at formal hearings in Yellowknife and nearly a thousand individuals at meetings at thirty-five communities” (McPhearson, 2003, p. 66). What made this

Inquiry unique was the extent to which it documented the lengths to which Berger and the commission had gone to make sure that members of the communities understood what was at stake and that their voices were heard and reflected in the report (Abele 1997:100).

The NQIA, representing Inuit in Northern Quebec, were forced to settle their land claim before the Berger Report was issued. Under pressure from immediate hydro-electric development, the James Bay Inuit and Cree signed an agreement with the Province of Quebec in 1975 under which they surrendered aboriginal title to over one million square kilometers of land in return for the rights to: self-government within their own communities; hunting, trapping, and fishing rights; and a “trust-fund” of \$225 million, payable over 25 years. Makivik Corporation was created to administer their share and to represent and promote the interest of 5,000 Inuit of Northern Quebec. The James Bay Agreement was not popular agreement, and only a year after its signing another Inuit organization, the Inuit Tungavingat Nunamini (ITN) formed, splintering off from the NQIA in opposition to the Makivik Corporation. It claimed to represent 2,600 Inuit in Ivujjivik, Povungnituk, and Sugluk, and hired a lawyer to research and dispute the Quebec agreement on the grounds that Quebec Inuit did not understand the land claims negotiations. ITN was given a seat on the board of ITC, but no vote.

In issuing his report in 1977, Thomas Berger cited both the James Bay Agreement and the Alaskan settlement of 1971 as “assimilation models” of settlement that were abhorrent to Aboriginal peoples, and recommended a 10-year freeze on any development so that land claims could be settled in a just and equitable manner. While the federal government was developing land claims policy at the national level, the ITC was not sitting idly by. In 1975 they organized the first Inuit Women’s Conference; it took place in Pangnirtung and represented a breakthrough in the advancement not just of women’s issues, but in discussions on the civil society needs of

Inuit locally, at the community level. That same year, the NWT had its first fully elected Territorial Council of 15 members. In 1976 the ITC underwent its first major transition in leadership. Tagak Curley moved on to become the executive director of ICI and later the founder of the Inuit Development Corporation (IDC), the annual general meeting (AGM) of the ITC pulled in 130 delegates from 48 communities, representatives of a growing youth movement elected their own President, Paul Quassa, and the new President of ITC, James Arvaluk, submitted first land-claim proposal to Prime Minister Trudeau.

Professor Peter Cumming, then of York University, is most frequently credited with the lion's share of its authorship; he served as legal counsel to both ITC and COPE. Connie Hunt was another advisor at that time. The proposal included Milton Freeman's Land Use and Occupancy Study as well as a study of renewable resources directed by Dr. Gordon Nelson of the University of Western Ontario, and a survey of non-renewable resources conducted by Geological Consultant Pedro Van Meurs of Ottawa (*Inuit Today*, 1976). The proposal was presented to over 100 Inuit delegates, members of ITC, representing 32 communities across the Arctic in a meeting at Pond Inlet that took place from October 29 to November 2, 1975. In that historic meeting, the members gave their assent to the ITC to begin negotiations with the Federal Government of Canada on their behalf.

As an aside, a vast majority of the Inuit leadership, including their advisors, flew back from that meeting on the same plane only to crash in the middle of a blizzard some 40 miles north of Iqaluit. They were rescued within two days, but had the event ended any other way, it would have been a tragic blow to the Inuit movement. Even as successful as the Pond Inlet meeting was, later that year the ITC leadership withdrew their proposal, arguing that not enough attention had been paid to making sure that the document reflected Inuit interests and input.

In 1977 Willie Adams became the first Inuk Senator of the NWT, and in the ITC the “Land Claims Project” became a “Land Claims Commission.” The international activity of the Inuit escalated and gave birth to a new transnational organization, the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC). It united Inuit from Russia, the U.S., Canada, and Greenland, and by 1982 it had been granted observer status in the United Nations (the second Indigenous organization to be granted that privilege⁴³). Concurrently, possibly in response the Nunavut proposal put forth in 1976, debate flared up again with regard to future of the Territorial government (GNWT). Trudeau appointed Bud Drury, a former Federal Cabinet member and Member of Parliament (MP), to take up the issue. Picking up after Carrothers a decade later, Drury came to come to similar conclusions with regard to dividing the territory it was best not to decide, thereby remaining united. He did suggest, however, a constitutional convention or some other forum from which the GNWT could draw advice. He even included the possibility of a plebiscite in his report. In 1979, after the Drury Report is issued, the ITC released their position paper *Political Development in Nunavut* at their annual meeting; it calls for division of the territory and the transition of the new territory of Nunavut to provincehood in three decades. Members of the NWT Legislative Assembly representing the Eastern ridings form “the Nunavut Caucus” and begin to lobby for issues as though they anticipated division. Peter Ittinuar becomes the first Inuk Federal Member of Parliament, representing the newly created Nunatsiak riding.

In just a decade of formal activity, the Inuit had created an organization to represent not only every geographic region where Inuit lived, but also to handle almost every conceivable mandate from the preservation of language and culture, to economic development, to

⁴³ The first organization to earn that privilege had been the political organizational wing of the American Indian Movement, the International Indian Treaty Council.

international and national issues. They had staved off development in some major areas, helped pressure the Federal and Territorial governments into defining their policies with regard to Inuit and other Aboriginal peoples, and were beginning to independently provide some civil society services in the areas of housing, legal aid, and even broadcasting to which Inuit had never before had direct access, not to mention the increase in the number of cooperatives. Yet there had also been some great disappointments. Not only did the ITC see the signing of the James Bay agreement under their watch, but in 1978 the Inuit of COPE (the Inuvialuit) broke away from the ITC and signed an Agreement in Principle with the Federal government because of continuing and immediate pressures from oil and gas companies to develop the Mackenzie Valley.⁴⁴ On the other side of the coin, the Inuit of Nunavut watched the Inuit of Greenland win home rule from the Government of Denmark in 1979.

Anticipating the need for an organizational wing responsible for addressing constitutional issues as the process began of finally patriating the Canadian constitution home from Great Britain, the Inuit created the Inuit Committee on National Issues (ICNI). By 1980 the Inuit had a network of over 17 organizations stretching across the entire Canadian Arctic, and one more besides uniting all Inuit internationally. Yet it soon became clear that the ITC had its hands full with organizational coordination and lobby work, and it could not also continue to coordinate all land claims efforts. ITC would have to let each of its regional “children” grow up and leave the nest.

⁴⁴ “By 1980, more than \$800 million had been invested in oil and gas exploration in the Arctic Archipelago over 21 years of exploration activity.” (Amagoalik, 1998, p. 1)

Breaking Away From “Nunavit” to Nunavut (1982-1999)

In 1982 the *Tunngavik*⁴⁵ Federation of Nunavut (TFN) was established to focus exclusively on the Nunavut land claim, the creation of Nunavut and all other negotiations pertaining to that. They began by demanding that the need to divide the Northwest Territories, in essence carving Nunavut out from the former territory, be recognized in a way that it had not been before. They exerted more pressure on the NWT legislative assembly, and were caught at cross-purposes with them. “The assembly was very hostile to the idea and wanted, instead, to devolve more power to the territorial government from the Federal government” (Amagoalik, 1998, p. 1).

The Inuit wanted to resolve the issue of division first, and through steady pressure they got their way. In February of 1982 the Constitutional Alliance of the Northwest Territories was formed. In April, a territory-wide plebiscite on division was held, and the Inuit won by a significant margin; 56.5% of the population voted in favor, and 44% of the population voted against it (Abele et al 1985, p.6). By July of that year two sub-groups, the Nunavut and Western Constitutional Forums (NCF and WCF), were created to represent the interests of each side of the division within the NWT. In November of 1982, the Canadian government announced its approval, in principle, of an agreement for the formation of Nunavut. It remained silent, however, on the issue of resource sharing and conditions were placed upon the parties involved to gain federal support.

The Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, John Munro, announced in November that federal support for divisions was conditional upon continued popular support across the Northwest Territories, settlement of land claims, agreement on a boundary, and

⁴⁵ Inuktitut word meaning “base” or “foundation”

achievement of a consensus on the division of powers for the territorial, regional and community levels of government (Cameron, 1995, p. 95). It was the boundary question that was to take up most of the time in the debate. Dissent was mostly between Aboriginal people. The Dene and Metis living in the western part of the territory, as well as some of the Inuit (Inuvialuit) were at odds with the Inuit population in the east. Some of them had, in fact, broken away from the Nunavut negotiation in order to settle their land claim on the Mackenzie Valley in the west. From 1982 to 1987 the greater part of the boundary debate was conducted by the NCF and WCF. It was later taken over by the TFN and the Dene/ Metis Joint Negotiating Secretariat (Purich, 1992, p. 81). The primary resistance to division may have been behind the scenes or taken place in negotiating chambers, yet school children at the residential school in Yellowknife felt the brunt of dissent.

...when they had the plebiscite on division I was smack in the middle of high school... we were high school students with no right to vote...and I remember walking in downtown Yellowknife, and there were a bunch of government bureaucrats, Qallunat, and they were telling us to go back to where we came from (B. Dean, personal communication, May 9, 2004).

Those in dissent may have been in the minority, however, as an analysis of the voting results indicates a rather high support in the non-native community for division; in Yellowknife it was 87% (Abele et al, 1985, p. 8). Being at the residential school may have made them particular targets.

The other issue both resolved and not resolved that year was that of the Canadian constitution. On April 17, 1982 The Constitution Act was passed (known in Great Britain as the “Canada Act”); to Inuit of Nunavut it was significant for two reasons. It mandated that the creation of a new province would require the consent of at least seven of the provinces representing at least 50% of the population of all the provinces, and it included S. 35

(*Constitution Act 1982*) which recognized and affirmed the "existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada. Providing that Nunavut could become a territory first, the first point guaranteed that it would not become a province anytime foreseeable future. The second point, s. 35, was so vague that many argued that it guaranteed nothing.

In 1983 the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) met in Iqaluit. The purpose of the meeting was to draft a "comprehensive Arctic policy to be urged on the governments of Denmark, Canada and the United States." The final resolution stated that "Inuit have a right to protect, to manage, to benefit from and to retain access to the arctic environment and its resources, the whole based upon their historical and current use and occupancy of the arctic environment" (Duffy, 1988, p. 261). In contrast to the way things were progressing domestically, making an international proclamation was a way to regain at least the feeling of control over the issues at hand.

Throughout the 1980s and into the early 1990s, four separate but co-dependent negotiations were being carried on at the same time with regard to Nunavut: the negotiation of the Land Claims Agreement with the Federal Government (TFN); the negotiation on the creation of Nunavut (TFN); the negotiation on constitutional change that would allow for self-government of Aboriginal people (ICNI); and in preparation for the success of these, the negotiation with the federal government on the Nunavut Political Accord (TFN subcommittee) which would outline the specifics of how the previous two would be implemented. Because the Inuit refused to separate the creation of Nunavut from the Land Claims Agreement, and the Accord would be pointless without the success of the latter, it is the Land Claims Agreement that becomes the most central and important of the negotiations. Within the Land Claims Agreement itself there were several levels and layers of negotiations proceeding involving various branches

of Federal government. Each issue became resolved into articles, such as: an article on wildlife management and co-management systems, an article on the creation of Nunavut, an article on hunting and land management, an article on mineral rights, etc. Each article represented another set of negotiations and meetings. In the end, there were 41 articles, thus 41 sets of negotiations with Federal, Territorial, and local authorities as well as with the surrounding Inuvialuit and Dene communities.

At the same time, Inuit were participating in the continuing national negotiations on how to include Aboriginal rights in the constitution. The Federal government held four Constitutional Conferences from 1983 to 1987. The conference of 1983 was the only one that achieved significant progress; it recognized the principle of native rights, and established that no changes would be made to the constitution regarding those rights without the participation of Aboriginal people (Duffy, 1988, p. 263). The other three were marred by divisions between the provinces on the principle of self-governance, or by rifts between Aboriginal parties themselves.

In June, 1984, the Inuvialuit settlement was signed, an organization of Inuit Women (Pauktutit) joins the Inuit family of organizations and is given a seat on both the ITC and TFN boards, and by September Canada's ship of state was sailing under a new captain, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Under Mulroney, the national conversation on constitutional amendment took a new and interesting turn. In an effort to bring an increasingly separatist Quebec into the federal fold, Mulroney asked Premier Bourassa for a list of demands in return for which they would accept a revised Constitution Act. Among the demands Bourassa put forward was that Quebec be declared a "distinct society" within Canada. In May of 1987, the Prime Minister met with Canada's 10 provincial premiers (First Ministers) at a place called Meech Lake and on June 3 they released the proposed wording for a constitutional amendment known as the Meech Lake

Accord. The Accord recognized Quebec as a distinct society, and recommended that provincial governments be given tremendous power including full vetoes to the provincial legislatures, essentially eroding national government almost entirely. The Meech Lake Accord was a direct attack on everything that Trudeau was trying to preserve in so far as a unified, multi-cultural Canada with a strong Federal government was concerned (Simeon 1990: 21). However, while the recognition of Quebec as a distinct society might have served the cause of Aboriginal cultural recognition, the deterioration of the Federal system would not have served them well. Meech Lake ultimately failed in that it could not gain enough support across Canada to be ratified by all the Provinces.

After the failure of the struggle to constitutionally recognize Aboriginal rights, the failure of Meech Lake was regarded as a particular blow to the Aboriginal communities of Canada. It proved to them they were low on the priority list of Canadian government. Frustrations in the Native community led to riots in March of 1990, and Quebec would again be at the heart of it. At Oka lands sacred to the Mohawk, including a forest and a graveyard, were scheduled to be razed for a golf course. The Mohawk barricaded the roads and refused to leave; the Mayor of Oka called in the police and it erupted to a battle. A Quebec provincial police officer was killed, and the Federal army was called in. It remained until September.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, time was running out for the Meech Lake Accord; in order to pass, it was supposed to have been ratified by all 10 provincial governments by June, 1990. Last ditch efforts notwithstanding, Meech Lake failed; it died in the Manitoba legislature when Elijah Harper, a

⁴⁶ The Oka incident led to the formation of the 1991 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), and after five years of study it released its report in 1996 recommending more than 400 policy changes with regard to Aboriginal peoples.

Member of the Legislature but also a member of the Cree First nation refused to give his assent – because the accord did not contain any provision for Aboriginal rights. Doggedly, the TFN continued their negotiations with the Federal government on the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, even though the issue of how to divide the territory was still being debated. By 1985, they had created a training program for young Inuit that both taught them the history of the land claim to date and focused on leadership skills. The TFN was also training community liaison workers. There were beginning to bring in fresh faces and fresh energy into the process. The Federal government had changed its personnel whenever there had been a change in government, but it had always fallen to the Inuit to educate the new Federal officers on the land claim. They now applied this skill to their own next generations.

By 1990 it had become clear to the Federal government, and the Federal Chief Negotiator Tom Molloy in particular, that the TFN was holding firm on their position that they would not separate the land claims issue from the creation of Nunavut. They had refused to separate the two issues for 20 years, there was little chance that they would do so now. The issue of dividing the Northwest Territory itself was being held up by lack of agreement between the various parties involved (GNWT, the Inuvialut regions, and the TFN) over the proposed boundaries of Nunavut. Amazingly, by 1991 the majority of the Land Claims Agreement had been fleshed out, save the boundary issue. In that year John Parker, former commissioner of the Northwest Territories, was appointed by the federal government to work with the people and proposal a boundary for division. His final proposal became known as the Parker Line, and Parker himself took the position on the behalf of the federal government that the proposal could be either accepted or rejected, “but if there were to be an east-west boundary, this was it” (Cameron, 1995, p. 95).

Meanwhile, in 1992 the Canadian Human Rights Commission released a report that reaffirmed Canada's commitment to Aboriginal rights. At the same time Ottawa announced that it was willing to apologize to the Inuit for the forced relocations of the past and talk to the Inuit about their demands. Some of these demands included restitution and relocation back to their original homelands for those who had been relocated into the southern provinces (James 2008, P143). It seemed like the right moment in time to revision the issue of the territorial division. In the atmosphere of this new national mood, a plebiscite was held among the territorial electorate of the Northwest Territories in May, 1992, on the issue of the Parker Line. Prior to the plebiscite, the TFN and the Federal government traveled (both teams together) across the Arctic visiting all of the communities of the NWT to explain the land claim and the plebiscite.

This time 54% voted in favor of accepting the Parker Line. The negotiation of the Nunavut Accord, the process by which Nunavut would be developed using the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) as an instrument, only took six months. On October 30, 1992, the Nunavut Political Accord was signed in Iqaluit, representing the "conclusion of a long process of negotiation between Canada and the Inuit people of the central and Eastern Arctic" (Cameron, 1995, p. 89).

The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement mandated new federal legislation that would provide for the creation of a new territory that would both supplant and divide the old one, the Northwest Territories (CARC 1993: 1). This came to be known as The Nunavut Act. The Government of Canada will recommend to Parliament, as a government measure, legislation to establish, within a defined time period, a new Nunavut Territory, with its own Legislative Assembly and public government, separate from the Government of the remainder of the Northwest Territories (NLCA, 1993, 4.1.1).

On May 25, 1993, Inuit and Federal Government representatives signed the NLCA. In almost lightning speed the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act and the Nunavut Act were adopted by parliament, and by November received Royal Assent. Between 1993 and 1999 the Nunavut Implementation Commission was charged with figuring out how the responsibilities of territorial government not outlined in the Accord or Act will be divided, and implementing them. On April 1st, 1999, the Nunavut Act went into effect, and the Territory of Nunavut was born.

Review of Literature on Nunavut

Francesca Polletta wrote a book on American social movement called *Freedom is an Endless Meeting* (2002). As with many movements, her title aptly describes years and years of Inuit political organization. Interestingly, while quite a lot has been researched and written about how Inuit are organized socially, not a great deal of scholarly attention has been given to Inuit were organizing politically. Inuit kinship structures have been particularly well-researched. In the colonial period Murdock established his “Eskimo kinship system.” Post-colonial researchers have all tended to reiterate the importance of adaptive kinship structures to Inuit survival (Honigmann & Honigmann, 1959; Willmott, 1960; Damas, 1963; Heinrich, 1963; Burch, 1975; Wenzel, 1991). Most also include analyses of the widespread practices of custom adoption, collaborative division of labor along kinship lines, and the nature of gender roles (Dorais, 1997). One of the first to examine the expression of emotion, emotional development, and social reproduction was Jean Briggs (1970); she is one of an entire cohort of ethnographers who began their work in the Arctic just as the Inuit were beginning to politically organize in a Canadian context.

In what would become Nunavut, settlements were in the process of being formed and converted into hamlets, territorial government was growing, social programs were being

implemented under Trudeau, and yet still many small Inuit communities were living on the land. These chroniclers were often caught up in the middle of the colonial transformation of Inuit societies. They wrote about issues of “white authority,” power, race, and the myriad ways in which the Inuit found themselves marginalized (Vallee, 1967; Fisher, 1969; Brody, 1975; Freeman, 1978). Popular authors like Farley Mowatt or filmmakers like John Houston captured similar stories for more general audiences, adding the pathos of fiction to personalized accounts. Mowatt, Houston, and others are now themselves being analyzed by contemporaries and scholars who attack their assumed authority (Lyll, 1979; Hanlon, 1994). Even with the best of intentions they were still speaking for the Inuit, not necessarily listening to them.

It would not be until the Inuit had spent over 20 years struggling to be heard that a very new cohort of writers would begin to chronicle the story of Inuit political development. Many were advocates and lawyers who had worked at one point in their career for the Inuit. Some wrote histories or gathered narratives that for the first time included significant elements of Inuit oral history (Crowe, 1974; Crnkovich, 1990), others began to lay out a legal case for Inuit territorial rights (Lester, 1981; Cumming, 1985) or assess Nunavut in light of Canadian Aboriginal policy development (Abele, 1983; Lester, 1984; Fenge et al., 1987; Jull, 1988; Merritt & Fenge, 1990). Scholars writing during the period often linked the economic development of the Arctic to the political development of Inuit or the development of an Inuit nationalist consciousness (McDonald, 1984; Bleakley, 1988; Kary, 1990) or to an Inuit-driven counter economic development that led to political organization (Boult, 1985; Mitchell, 1992). A small cohort of authors have sought to summarize the events leading to Nunavut (Duffy, 1988; Purich, 1992; Dickerson, 1992; Cameron, 1995; Amagoalik, 1998), and still others have gone further by trying to identify some of the variables that might have contributed to the successful conclusion

of the land claims agreement and the creation of the Territory of Nunavut (Dahl, Hicks, & Jull, 2000; McPhearson, 2003; Hanson, 2003). My work looks more closely at Inuit ontology, epistemology and leadership development and how Inuit took traditional or purely Inuit ways of political organization and incorporated them into Canadian ways of political organization to create a successful negotiation process.

Many contemporary scholars, however, are more concerned with outcomes and addressing the question of whether or not (or what ways) the Creation of Nunavut itself has been a success or failure (Craufurd-Lewis, 1995; Gallagher-Mackay, 2000; Wilson, 2002; McCready, 2003). For myself, I believe that Nunavut is still too new to be able to accurately assess the success of her institutions; I believe the value of these works will be to serve as solid measuring sticks within a much larger historical sample.

A number of Nunavut-focused or Nunavut-centered theses have emerged covering a wide range of fields and issues that in some way or other at least tangentially relate back to the history of political development, but most are more closely aligned with recent efforts to assess institutional success. These include: *Negotiating Health* (Kristiann, 2000; Healey, 2000; Jenkins, 2002; Macaulay, 2002); *Carving out Nunavut Identity in Cyberspace* (Forbes, 1998; Kolbeck & Christiansen, 2000); and film (Evans, 1999); *Contemporary Travel and Orienting* (Claudio, 2003), *Community-based Tourism* (Corless, 1999; Woodley, 1999; O'Hara, 2000); *Modern Economies* (Stern, 2001), and *The Impact of Contemporary Socio-economic Factors on Art and Traditional Practice* (Barber, 1999; Wachowich, 2001); issues in education ranging from the history of residential schools (King, 1998) to the effectiveness of contemporary schools in Nunavut (Douglas, 1999; Berger, 2001) to approaches to language education (Knowlton-MacRury, 2001); and changing definitions of Inuit community and gender roles (Rojas, 2001;

Connolly, 2002). There is also an emerging body of literature devoted to international comparative Aboriginal policy (Abele, Dahl, Jull, Branterberg, Niezen) but I will go into that in my conclusion.

Another area in which Nunavut is being looking at internationally is with regard to issues of the environment, specifically environmental change. These works include *Investigation into Issues of Ecology and Co-management* (Davis, 1999; Peplinski, 2001; Dunne, 2002; Shirley, 2002), *Persistent Environmental Pollutants* (Doubleday, 1999; Donaldson, 2002), and even *Inuit Women's Perceptions of Pollution* (Egan, 1999). With regard to the relationship between environment and identity, we ironically return to the beginning of this story – to Arctic pre-history, the role of climate change in shaping Inuit culture, and interestingly also to some of the theories put forward by Boas.

Boas asked what role the nature of the Arctic environment played in the shaping of Inuit culture, as well as what role Inuit interactions with other peoples may have played. Over a century later, we are still asking the same questions, as I will demonstrate in the next chapter when I discuss the origin and role of Inuit philosophy and ontology. If environment helped to shape culture, what role has Inuit culture played in the shaping of their contemporary political development? What role does their current capacity to act in the contemporary political environment of Canada play in their ability to preserve the very environment that originally helped shape who they became? And, is that really what is important to them? These questions have broad significance in explaining a möbius-like relationship between land, culture, and political development – not just within an historical context but also for the future.

Inuit have become increasingly politically identified with issues of environment. Some believe that this is just another form of marginalization, relegating Indigenous authority to the

safe and limited realms of environmental activism so that they can speak with the voice of some long distant memory of what life was like in the dawn of humanity, thereby becoming actors of the past, not the present. Others remind us that in the Arctic, possibly due to the impact of successful political movements, Indigenous peoples are more frequently included as research partners - especially on scientific studies dealing with climate change and global warming. Many, including Inuit, argue that the distinctness of Inuit society is important, not just to Canada but also to the world. If the Arctic is in jeopardy, then the Inuit are also in jeopardy. There are still others, Inuit included, who believe that no matter what changes take place in the Arctic environment, the Inuit will adapt and endure. Most Inuit that I have met, echoing a spirit of true post-modernism, believe both things simultaneously. As we will see in the next two chapters (on Inuit philosophy and the origins of the Inuit movement, respectively) the same lines of reasoning that are being used to lead people to action today against global-warming were used over 30 years ago to create an Inuit movement. The reason that this chapter both began and ended with the land is because of something that one of the Inuit Chief Negotiators told me when I first began my research:

You could pretty much say with us, everything goes back to the land. It's always about the land. (P. Quassa, personal communication, July 8, 2002)

Summary of a Movement

When I first entered the field I was unaware of the existence and emergence of a complex and multi-layered Inuit movement. While the exact moment of its origin may be difficult to pinpoint, it is clear to see through the history of Arctic colonization that colonial practices changed both the physical and social fabric of the Arctic, both intentionally and unintentionally, giving rise to living conditions Inuit could no longer tolerate. Three institutions in particular, Hudson's Bay

Company, the RCMP, and the Churches (both Anglican and Catholic), formed a troika that stepped into a power vacuum in the North and eventually took complete control of the lands and lives of those living there.

I have sought to highlight the most important issues that Inuit movement actors discuss regarding conditions in the Arctic prior to the establishment of Inuit organizations to lobby on their behalf, as well as the early experiences that Inuit had with institutions of education and government social services. Inuit movement actors were fairly young (late teens, early 20s) when they first got involved with the movement, and were most likely those who had been sent to residential schools; Churchill Vocational Center was a particularly rich recruitment ground for Inuit organizations. Many, especially those who created the movement, gained valuable experience working for the federal or territorial governments prior to the establishment of Inuit organizations.

In 1959 Inuit began to take advantage of government programs as well as take part in church sponsored organizations created to promote the well-being of Indigenous people. Ultimately, I demonstrate how over the course of 30 years Inuit then learned from other Aboriginal leaders and created a vast and complex network of their own organizations to address a wide range of issues as well as to negotiate important agreements at the local, regional, national, and international levels. They also demonstrated great foresight in creating leadership development programs and institutions to train subsequent generations of negotiators.

In the latter half of the chapter, I illustrate how the movement began through the establishment of a Pan-Inuit organization pursuing one comprehensive land claim against the Government of Canada, but then quickly sprouted regional branches as local circumstances created divergent needs. As this dissertation addresses only that branch of the Inuit Movement

that led to the creation of Nunavut, I do not outline the histories of the other regional Inuit organizations, but follow only those movement actors who play key roles in the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut. Still, even with that limitation, Inuit leaders often wore many hats; simultaneously served in several organizations; and were simultaneously engaged in several negotiations. Finally, I describe how the Inuit of Nunavut were engaged in four separate but co-dependent negotiation processes that led to the territory's creation: 1) The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) involving the federal and territorial governments and overlapping boundary agreements with other Indigenous neighbors; 2) The Nunavut Political Accord outlining the creation of the new territory; 3) The Canadian constitutional repatriation process that embedded Aboriginal rights into Canada's new constitution, and 4) The Nunavut Constitutional Forum and later the Nunavut Implementation Commission that sought to create and define the new territorial government. It is with the actualization of these agreements through the institutionalization of the new public government that the Inuit Movement in Nunavut ends. In the next chapter I will seek to describe and outline the philosophy or Inuit world view that most Inuit argue made all of this possible.

Chapter Three: On Being: The Inuuniq of Nunavut

Not unlike a flame, culture seems preternatural.

It obviously exists, but it is ghostly, continually shifting and elusive.

It seems paradoxical, for while it remains ethereal, it is capable of destruction.

It is dangerous, beautiful, useful, and delicate. Distance from the bed of fuel that is its home will eventually kill it.

Rachel Attituq Qitsaulik

Introduction

In this chapter I present an introduction to Inuit ontology, as far as I am capable of conceiving it, and suggest how understanding it may be useful in analyzing the movement as a whole by looking at how values and beliefs can influence both individual and collective actions/decisions.

I begin by describing how some of my own understanding of Inuit ways of being was developed, and how I then later shared what I had learned with eight students who took part in a program that I led in Nunavut in the summer of 2006, and 12 students I led in 2008. I then turn to Inuit philosophers and their students in an attempt to present Inuit ontology as a holistic interwoven system of being and knowing. In the final sections I summarize the fundamental elements of Inuit ontology or worldview, and enumerate three specific key values-themes that I use throughout the rest of this dissertation to assess both philosophical continuity throughout the Inuit movement and the significance that belief systems can have to movement actors. I illustrate how they may be applied using the contemporary experiences of my own students in Nunavut.

Some Inuit Ways of Being

The day was warming quickly, and I had just peeled off another layer of clothing when I realized that Mathew Alainga was standing next to me. I looked over to the group of hunters that he had

just quietly abandoned; they were all gazing out over the water, hands resting on their rifles, their bodies all in various poses of equal alertness as they rested against their Skidoos. The air was crisp, filled with the electricity of anticipation, but yet it was also still with the quiet of the hunt and heavy with patience of the hunters.

“Quiet bunch,” Mathew commented, nodding toward my students, “especially for Americans.” I looked over at him; he had that mischievous and uniquely Inuk twinkle in his eye with which I was so familiar; it was a twinkle that said, *I’m gonna test you a little now – and the subject is: ‘Inuit Ways of Doing Things.’* I smiled, nodded and said, “I trained them well.” Mathew narrowed his eyes at me, and raised his eyebrows, “What, you trained them not to ask questions?” “Nope,” I chuckled, “I teach them respect, and praise their curiosity. I leave it to them to find their own voices.” Mathew, a high school shop teacher in his other life, snorted a laugh and nodded approvingly. We both looked over to my students. In sharp contrast to the Inuit hunters whose body language communicated purpose and poise, my students were flopped and sprawled all over the Skidoos and *qaumotiqs* (sleds) – their heads constantly shifting back and forth between the hunters, myself, and each other, as if they were all observing a tennis match in which they had lost sight of the ball.

We had been out on the ice for several hours already, and I knew that each of my eight students was dying to know what the “plan” was, or at the very least when the next meal would be or what time we might expect to head home to Iqaluit. I was actually quite proud of them; not one acted out the impatience they were trying very hard to keep bottled up inside. They just tried to accept the situation they were in and adapt. In spite of their noble efforts, their faces still clearly showed both their amazement at the beauty of the alien land/seascape that surrounded us, and the confusion they felt because they did not know what was supposed to happen or when.

Of course the truth was that there was no plan; out on the land or the ice plans are fluid, based upon ever changing conditions. Only experience and my own optimism led me to understand some general certainties: eventually we would eat lunch; eventually we would get bored, play games, and get to know each other; eventually the hunters would get a seal or two – and miss or sink a seal or two; and eventually (who knows when) we would come home. I knew this because I had once been in the position that my students were now in, facing the unknown and not sure of the rules. What made it harder for my students was that it was not the Inuk way to explain things like that; the Inuk way of teaching and learning was to experience.

“Just go along and see what happens,” Jonah Kelly had explained to me the first time I had been asked out on the land (2003). It was the Inuk way, he taught me, that the person who wanted to learn something expressed a desire to learn it to an older or more experienced member of the community. Eventually, depending on how that person or the community assessed the sincerity of the potential learner, the learner would be invited to a place or into an environment in which the desired learning was possible; the person who wanted to learn was given the opportunity to first observe, and then ask questions. Unlike university environments, nobody was just going to offer up a lecture. This holds true when interacting with elders also; it is a mark of respect to that elder to take an interest in their life, their experience, and their relations. Those desiring to learn from elders must be willing to learn something about them, and then come to them with questions. Except when their jobs require it, for the most part Inuit do not seek opportunities to lecture. One teaches through example, and explains when asked.

The challenge for me in teaching Inuit ways of being and learning to my students was that I understood I had to let my students learn most of this for themselves; it took almost every

ounce of self-control I had not to tell them everything they should expect with any new experience, but to offer only enough to adequately prepare them to get the most out of it.

What made it easy for me on the day of the seal hunt was that this time Meeka Mike, the leader of our team of hunters, was in charge of everyone, not me. In typical Inuk fashion, the only rules that she gave us before we headed across the sea-ice of Frobisher Bay were: a) to immediately do whatever the hunters told you; b) be respectful at all times – of both the people and the ice; and c) ask questions about anything that you want to know more about. Although the instructions sound simple enough, the trick to them was to figure out first how to ask questions respectfully in a culture where truth and honesty is valued, but directness may be insulting and timing and environment is everything. Second, our team included one woman, one elder (who admitted to speaking only limited English⁴⁷), one teacher, and three young men; once you figured out what you wanted to learn more about, the next thing you had to do was to figure out whom to ask. Like swimming, you can teach the theory (in this case of Inuit ways of being respectful and Inuit modes of learning) but at some point, you have to get in the water, or in this case – out on the sea-ice.

The way in which this opportunity for me and my students to go along on a seal hunt arose in the first place can serve as another example of Inuit ways of doing things. It would never have happened had it not been for my good friend Siobhan and her kinship ties. Anyone who spends much time in the North soon discovers that most things in Inuit society have something to do with an individual's kinship network. In this case, Siobhan had put in a good word about me

⁴⁷ It has frequently been the case that I have been introduced to elders and informed that they do not speak English, only to find that, after they had assessed my sincerity and my purposes in seeking them out, they could converse quite well in English. I had many private conversations with elders in this way.

to her aunt, in spite of having just given birth to her third daughter the previous day! Meeka Mike, Siobhan's aunt, is a woman about my age who has the reputation across Baffin Island for being one of the best hunters and field guides in the region. We actually first met each other in Siobhan's hospital room; we had both come to visit Siobhan and her family and meet her newborn daughter. The first conversation that Meeka and I had with each other took place with one or the other of us holding the infant in our arms.

A couple of days later Meeka called me, after having checked the ice conditions and weather reports. She had been able to round up a team of hunters, including a respected elder, and agreed to take me and my students out with them. For the hunters, it would be one of the last few opportunities of the season to go hunting on the ice before it completely melted, closing down many routes of travel (except by boat) until the next winter. For my students, it would be a memory to last a lifetime.

For my part, going out on the ice with my students and Meeka's team gave me a chance to see two worlds meet and observe from somewhere sort of in the middle – or as far toward the middle as someone can get who still does not speak fluent Inuktitut. When it comes to Inuit culture, I am still an outsider and always will be, even though I am constantly learning not only Inuit ways of doing things, but the ways in which the Inuit see the world that then shape those ways of doing things.

Because of the Inuit movement, outsiders to Inuit culture (such as me) now have the very rare opportunity to observe how philosophy in an Indigenous society makes the transition over a long period of time, by being vetted among Indigenous intellectuals, to take a form that is now accessible to us. Prior to the Inuit movement, Inuit ontology had only been truly accessible to Inuit, learned as they learned the life ways of their people, passed down from generation to

generation through living, *doing*, and surviving several decades on the land, and through the oral teachings of elders and philosophers. Yet because of the Inuit movement, there have been some very serious efforts, specifically by those now in Nunavut's Department of Education and Department of CLEY, to systematically explore and express Inuit understandings of the world and Inuit values. I will address this process in much greater detail in Chapter Five. In the following section, however, I draw upon the fruits of those efforts, as well as my own experience and mentors to explain what I now understand of Inuit ways of being.

Inuit Ontology

I do not seek to define Inuit ontology; Inuit have indeed already done that for themselves and they continue to do it. I also want to reiterate that I am very aware of the concerns voiced by Sarris and Smith (Chapter One) with regard to the threat that outsider manipulation of Indigenous knowledge poses. Inuit epistemology and ontology will be explained here using the words of the people who seek to live their lives based on it, as expressed by Inuit who gave decades of their lives in the struggle to create political structures that could ensure that future generations of Inuit (and others) could also live their lives based on it. Further, in this dissertation I draw from or refer to only those aspects of Inuit philosophy that have already been discussed or addressed in public forums or that have been published in documents by Inuit institutions or organizations.⁴⁸ Any mistakes or misrepresentations of Inuit philosophy, worldview, ontology and their related values are exclusively my fault. As I mentioned earlier in my chapter on methods, because I am not an Inuktitut speaker, nor did I grow up in Inuit culture, I wanted to be sure that my methodology relied heavily upon the advice and guidance of those

⁴⁸ Including the Government of Nunavut.

who culture, language, history and values I was seeking to research. I therefore established an Inuit Committee to act as advisors to oversee the work that I was doing. Throughout the years that I have been working on this, I have continued to consult them from time to time, submitting my work to them for approval, guidance and comment. It is only within this context that I would feel comfortable presenting the work in the following chapter.

Before I outline the specifics of Inuit ontology, I want to address the concept of what qualifies as ontology – the study of [ways of] being – in the first place. A colleague of mine recently argued to me that there could be no such thing as Inuit ontology. I took his statement to mean he believed that as Indigenous societies became engulfed and influenced by dominant industrial societies, it would become increasingly difficult to either maintain or define an Indigenous worldview. The flaw of this argument is that it links a society's ontology to a particular time period and material life-style. No society lives as they did 500 years ago; very few live as they did even 50 years ago. In addition to principles developed around industrial and corporate capitalism, much of contemporary Western ontology is informed by the philosophies of ancient Greece together with many centuries of Judeo-Christian thought, yet people living today would have a difficult time relating to the life-ways of the people of ancient Greece, Rome or Judah. Ontology may be informed by the past, but it is fluid, changing even as the environment and technology changes.

Another thing that may be inferred from my colleague's comment is the more broadly held expectation that to qualify as ontology, there must be some degree of reflexivity in the society producing the philosophy. In other words, in order for there to be an "Inuit ontology," the tenants of Inuit philosophy and Inuit ways of being, must have been studied and debated within Inuit society. This has certainly been the case in Nunavut, as I will demonstrate in the next

chapter. Internal philosophical debate took place even prior to the colonial period within every level of Inuit society from the family to the fluid communities that lived on the land; further, because of the ability of Inuit to travel widely across all the polar regions prior to the formation of nation-states and national boundaries, their ontological debates included a wider range of worldviews than might at first be supposed.⁴⁹ In the post-colonial period, Inuit sought ways of clarifying and articulating their beliefs to outsiders, committing them to written forms that could be translated and expressed in terms that the broader Canadian society could understand.

Throughout the Inuit movement, Inuit leaders used the frameworks of Inuit philosophy as the foundation for all of their arguments supporting the land claim as well as to achieve all their other political and social goals. In the next section I will address the question how Inuit philosophy and/or ontology get communicated from generation to generation; who becomes recognized as a philosopher in Inuit society?

Who Teaches Inuit Philosophy?

Anyone who undertakes the study of Inuktitut will quickly realize that Inuit must have long ago begun to first ask the deeply philosophical questions that form the basis of any ontological inquiry: what does it mean to be human (*inuu*); what is the nature of human beings (*inuk*); how should human beings relate to each other and the environment (*inuuniq*); what does it mean to become a complete person (*inummarik*); what is the nature of the world/nature (*sila*); and how should human beings relate to nature (by becoming *silatujuq*)? Understanding the answers to these questions was as crucial to the average Inuk as it was to Inuit philosophers and leaders.

⁴⁹ This is demonstrated through the later formation of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, a pan-Inuit organization uniting Inuit from Russia, the United States, Canada and Greenland that has representative status in the United Nations since 1982.

Parents taught their children what it meant to be *inummarik*, a complete person, because their survival depended upon it. Being a complete person implies that one acts according to ones responsibilities to family, the community, and to the land, sea and environment. These relationships are learned and taught through the process of active learning⁵⁰ and oral tradition. Although everyone plays a part in this process, Inuit society acknowledges (and acknowledged) the specific contributions of people in four key roles: *unikaaq* or *unikaaqtuaq*⁵¹ (storytellers), *innatuaqat* or *inutuqaq* (elders), *isumataq* or *angajuqqaq*⁵² (leaders), and *angakkuik*⁵³ (spiritual leaders). The Inuit philosophers of today are people who generally have served in one or more of these roles. The roles of *isumataq* or *angaijuggaq*, and to some degree *angakkuik* will be discussed in Chapter Five, however here I will address two common questions: what is the role of stories and of elders in Inuit society?

In the book, *Interviewing Inuit Elders: Perspectives on Traditional Law*, (Oosten, Laugrand, & Rasing, 1991), Inuk elder Emile Imaruittuq recounts the different purposes of more contemporary stories (*unikaat*), and older sagas and legends (*unikaaqtuat*). “*Unikaaqtuat*,” he argues, “made each one of us think, made us think hard” (1999, p. 179). Most of them taught the moral lessons of Inuit culture such as how to treat people with respect. Imaruittuq uses the story of a mistreated child to say that it might remind people that they cannot abuse orphans. There were of course some stories were reserved for children, scary stories that had no great moral lessons; these were also called *unikkaaqtuat*. Through experience and exposure one knew the

⁵⁰ Active learning is an holistic approach to learning, including “learning by doing”

⁵¹ An *unikaaq* is a story that is not very old; it is contemporary. *Unikaaqtuaq* refers to a story that is ancient, a saga or legend or story that has stood for many generations (Kelly, 2004c).

⁵² *Isumataq* is used in the North Baffin region, where *angajuqqaq* is used more in South Baffin (Nutaraaluk, 1999, p. 113).

⁵³ Singular is *angakkuq*

difference between the two. However, Michael Kusugak, a contemporary author of children's books, demonstrates through his work that even scary children's *unikaaqtuat* can contain moral lessons such as the importance of obeying parents, lessons on safety and respect for the environment, and even the universal love of a parent for their child.⁵⁴

In contrast, the value of *unikkaat*, or more contemporary stories, does not necessarily lie in the moral lessons they teach, but in more immediate life experiences and knowledge passed on to contemporaries. *Unikkaat* illustrate how individuals survived an ordeal, such as a blizzard, traversing thin ice, or a plane crash. They reinforce concepts of unity or the value of certain skills, or aid in the distribution of new knowledge, experiences or acquired skills. It should also be noted that storytelling is/was not the exclusive purview of elders, although it is understood that stories told by elders tend to carry greater weight because of their greater life experience.

When discussing "elders" in the academy or even in government, the question is often asked: who is an elder? With regard to the Inuit concept of *innatuaqat/inutuqaq* I think the best explanation I have encountered comes from Janet Tamalik McGrath,

There is some concern over what the distinction is between someone who is an elder, a wise one, and someone who is merely old, or "elderly." There is a fundamental problem with this question, in terms of how Inuit relate to the elders. In Inuktitut...there is only one *inutuqaq* or *innatuaq*, meaning "Inuk (person) for a long time," or "adult for a long time." (Janet McGrath, 2005, p. 5)

McGrath continues her explanation by pointing out that the concept of an elder is actually foreign to the Inuktitut language; older people have accumulated more experiences and knowledge and hence should be respected for that alone. However, anticipating the likelihood of sociologists pointing out the fallacies behind the concept of "absolute authority" based on age,

⁵⁴ See books by Michael Arvaarluk Kusugak, including: *A Promise Is a Promise* (with Robert Munsch), Annick Press, 1988; *Hide and Sneak*, Annick Press, 1992; and *Northern Lights: The Soccer Trails*, Annick Press, 1993.

McGrath further explains that Inuit society functions in a web of relationships in which there is no absolute authority among peers. Each younger person has a network of elders to which they are answerable, curtailing the likelihood of abuse. She compares this network of elders to a library:

If one finds a book in the library that is subversive, do they work to lock the doors on the institution, or do they relax in the fact that there are thousands of good titles to draw from which together reflect a balanced picture and can counteract what is inappropriate? (J. McGrath, 2005, p. 6)

Although there is a general consensus among most Inuit I know that all elderly deserve respect, there is a distinction now being made by some between generations of elders. As Siobhan Arnatsiaq-Murphy, one of the first 11 students to graduate from the Akitsiraq law program⁵⁵ explained to me,

You know how highly we view elders in our society; there is a difference between someone who is older and deserves respect just for that and someone who has a *powerful mind*. An elder is someone who has a powerful mind; and today, to my mind, the most important elders we have and need to listen to and learn from are from that generation who were born in an igloo and lived a significant part of their life on the land. We have to learn from them before that knowledge is lost. And, I don't know if we will ever have elders as powerful as they are again, when the next generation comes to it. I sincerely hope that we will. (S. Arnatsiaq-Murphy, personal communication, June 1, 2006)

McGrath also acknowledges this when she urgently argues the immediate necessity of including elders in the contemporary governance process in a meaningful (Inuk) way because the number of traditional voices of Nunavut,⁵⁶ people who have first-hand experience living in the relationships to each other and to the land from which Inuit knowledge comes, is dwindling (J. McGrath, 2005, p. 15).

⁵⁵ The first program in Nunavut to bring education and educators to deliver a law degree program, funded by the Nunavut department of Justice, delivered through Nunavut Arctic College, and accredited through the University of Victoria.

⁵⁶ According to McGrath, less than 1,000

People become elders in Inuit society through the general unspoken acknowledgement of their communities. They are the ones consulted by the leadership or whose advice is often sought by parents and young adults. Also, age is only one factor in who is considered an elder. Even in late adulthood or early middle age, individuals are sometimes referred to as being *on their way to being an elder*. In my experience, elders tend to be people who have spent their lifetimes, however long or short, developing an awareness of the needs of their communities and the individuals within them, and have found some of the answers on how to meet those needs through keen observation or active pursuit. Elders, therefore, tend to see the bigger picture and are more *community-minded* than others in their communities.⁵⁷ However, just because someone is an elder, or even a storyteller or leader for that matter that does not automatically make him or her a philosopher. Elders and leaders are considered wise, but wisdom alone is not enough. As with any society, a philosopher is someone who has devoted considerable effort not only to the understanding of a given philosophy but also to the articulation or the teaching of it. Inuit philosophers were known through the stories of their deeds or actions and for their teachings in the tradition of active learning; they were not known for their writings. The term most often used to describe this knowledge is *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*. Again, Janet McGrath explains, “Qaujimaja[q] is ‘something known,’ and the suffix –tuqa[q] means ‘for a long time’; therefore, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit is translated as ‘what Inuit knew from a long time’ (2005, p. 6). When understood from this background, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit can be understood as a theory of knowledge articulated by these philosophers, but experienced, learned, and lived by everyone.

⁵⁷ That is not to say that they cannot be selfish, certainly there are people who are motivated by self-interest, however acknowledged Elders may be articulating a self-interest that is wide-spread, such as the need for higher wages or more fair treatment.

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ)

When the Government of Nunavut was being formed, Inuit leaders sought to outline an Inuk view of how the new government should work and how its policies should reflect Inuit values and worldviews. It had been a long time in coming; James Arvaluk, the second president of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), wrote of the need as early as 1975.

Many of our people are convinced that the territorial council in Yellowknife⁵⁸ cannot function effectively even if it tries its best because of cultural, political and economic differences. It does not have a philosophy of government in line with the Inuit philosophy. (Arvaluk, 1975, p. 4).

It would take over 25 years before a meeting on that topic finally took place. In 1999 the newly elected cabinet members of the newly formed Government of Nunavut came together at Bathurst Inlet to discuss the question of a government guided by Inuit philosophy. The document they produced, the Bathurst Mandate, represented a significant step toward the entrenchment of the movement ideals into the institutions of government and as such marks the end of the Inuit movement in Nunavut. Through the Bathurst Mandate, the concept of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* was elevated to become a guiding principle of the new government.

In the film created by the Government of Nunavut in 2003 to explain the concept primarily to non-Inuit audiences, narrator Paul Quassa states,

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit is a theory of knowledge, a set of teachings and practical truisms in our society. These teachings reflect Inuit traditions and culture, where decentralization and community based concepts are its roots since its creation.

It is the knowledge of environment and our interrelationship with the elements, it is a holistic, dynamic and cumulative approach to knowledge, teaching and learning; thousands of years of

⁵⁸ The governing body of what was then the Northwest Territories.

teaching allow Inuit today to pass on the values of our teachings and culture as far into the future as can be imagined (GN 2003).

On the surface, this appears to be a very well thought out definition that has emerged from a serious process of reflexive thought. Yet because it does not address the worldview from which it emerged, nor how it is passed on from generation to generation, expressed this way as a theory of knowledge, it is incomplete. Further, even with the great respect that I hold for the film's creators, Paul Quassa and John Amagoalik, more than one person has pointed out to me that it appears as if an argument for decentralized government, a contemporary political process of governmental restricting occurring in Canada at both the federal level as well as within the territorial government, has been embedded into this definition.⁵⁹ Whether intentional or not, the ability to relate the controversial concept of decentralization to a cornerstone in the expression of Inuit philosophy politicizes the philosophical principle with the result that it is perceived as less genuinely authoritative or representative of Inuit thought. This begs the question of how the concept of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, as expressed here, emerged in the first place, and who had a hand in its development.

Frances Abele at Carlton University has argued that the term “traditional knowledge:” emerges under two conditions: when there is something against which to contrast it (i.e., ‘modernity’), and when decision-makers are required to incorporate it into their policy making (vis-à-vis through a land claims process). Moreover, Abele posits, “there is both a beneficent and

⁵⁹ The goal of a decentralized government is to more equally distribute job opportunities and the economic benefits of having a government office across all of Nunavut's communities; the drawbacks of the plan are the lack of trained and educated people in all communities to undertake the positions offered.

malevolent aspect to these efforts – a tension between respect and control that is as old as colonialism” (Abele, 2007, p. 3).

At the time that I first entered the field in 2002 *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* was being translated or framed as meaning Inuit ‘traditional knowledge,’ and was more often appeared in print in *Quallunatitut*.⁶⁰: “IQ.” Debates in IQ dominated the public media (and to some extent still do. Government representatives from various divisions, members of the Hunters and Trappers Associations, other Inuit organizations and individual constituents from all them used IQ to argue at cross-purposes. Because IQ was so omnipresent, other researchers had begun to examine it in terms of how it could provide a standard that could measure everything from the efficacy of specific policies to the success or failure of the new Territory (Rigby et al., 2000; Wessendorf, 2001; Timpson, 2002). In effect, what some of these works attempted to do was to hold the new Government of Nunavut up to the standards set by its own rhetoric; to what extent was it able to/would it be able to meet its own ideals?

Whether or not some of these works might have been a bit premature, that there should be a gap in Nunavut’s stated goals and their ability to carry them out came as no surprise. In most societies, and even in most individuals, there tends to be a divergence between ontological beliefs (how one believes the world works and what ones role should be in it) and life practices. The ideal is struggled for but seldom achieved.

A Critique on the Chocolate Box Approach to IQ

Given the current international climate post 9-11 in which core elements of democratic philosophy have been seemingly divorced from their original contexts and used to support such

⁶⁰ The language spoken by the majority of white people, i.e., English.

practices as waterboarding and domestic wire-tapping and now forced feeding of hunger-striking detainees in Guantanamo Bay by the authorities of the U.S., it should come as no surprise that soon after its creation, different factions in Nunavut had begun to use *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* to support different, and often diametrically opposing, political and economic agendas. IQ has been used to justify anything from why a man from Coral Harbour should be denied the right to hunt polar bear with a spear, to why particular development projects should be supported, to why its current members voted against assuring future equal representation of women in the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut (Bell, 2001; McCready, 2002).

Little or no distinction has been made between Inuit empirical knowledge, worldview, values, culture or dogma; all have fallen into the great fissure of IQ. As I discuss below, including all of these things under one umbrella might indeed be appropriate within a holistic Indigenous worldview, yet what concerned me was the degree of reification to which *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* has become subjected. IQ-framed arguments often include tenants of other deeply colonial worldviews.⁶¹

“Aboriginal consciousness,” Little Bear argues, has become “a site of overlapping, contentious, fragmented, competing desires and values” (2000, p. 85). It appeared to me that Inuit were as equally susceptible to having what Little Bear referred to as “jagged worldviews” as any other Indigenous population. So long as definitions of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* remain nebulous, or is not articulated as part of a complete knowledge *system*, I will not be the only one to have a difficult time in understanding how to usefully incorporate the concept into either my

⁶¹ Including fundamentalist Christian thought used to support arguments against the equality of women or against gay rights (Nunatsiaq News 2003) or beliefs held by key political leaders that Christian fundamentalist thought is part of inherent Inuit tradition (McGrath, 2005, p. 5).

study on Nunavut's creation, or even into my life in the North. This would have remained the case had I not met Janet Tamalik McGrath, one of a small band of colleagues who are all asking the same sorts of questions with regard to Nunavut as they apply to different eras.⁶²

IQ as a Component of Holistic Inuit Ontology

McGrath, whose name in Inuktitut (*Tamalik*) means 'has both,' is not of Inuit heritage but was raised in an Inuit community; her worldview is dominantly Inuk and she is a fluent Inuktitut speaker. She has long been a student of the great Inuit philosophers. Having spent most of her life as a cultural interlocutor, McGrath has taken that role into the academy,⁶³ and in her ability to describe the divergence between Inuit worldviews and those of dominant society and analyze the root of conflicts emerging from that divergence she is probably the most capable person I know. From our first conversation together, we realized that we had a great deal in common. We were struggling in many ways to understand the same things; our work complimented each other. Where I was interested in how the Inuit movement emerged and remained cohesive and focused, Tamalik was interested in how contemporary Nunavut was incorporating (or not incorporating) Inuit worldview into its institutions. Over the past few years she has done some rather extensive analysis on difference among generational understandings of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, and the resulting gap between expressed policy and the actual role of elders in contemporary Inuit governance and systems of social justice. Based on her experience and research McGrath argues that because it was rapidly articulated under extreme pressure to see Inuit philosophical

⁶² Janet McGrath's work focuses on ways in which Inuit ways of being and the knowledge and role of elders can and should be incorporated into contemporary governance structures in Nunavut; Jackie Price's recent thesis (2007) covers the period during which the Government of Nunavut was developed (1999-present), criticizes its failure to effectively incorporate community-based models of governance, and proposes a model for the future.

⁶³ Having completed her Master's in Conflict Resolution at St. Paul University in Ottawa, she subsequently completed a Ph.D. in Political Economy at Carleton University.

principles embedded into the new government structures, *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* has become a convenient instrument for scapegoating.⁶⁴ “In Nunavut, the past has demonstrated that focusing on an ideology has pitted people against one another in the public eye and the larger government structures to which it is accountable (McGrath, 2003, p. 172).

As if to illustrate McGrath’s point, contemporary authors like Bell (2001) sometimes write of IQ as if it purported to represent the thinking of all Inuit at all times; at others, it is framed as a specific kind of knowledge relevant only to historical contexts or localized environments. Often these contradictions were to be found even within in the same paragraph:

Political leaders must be honest enough to admit that there are many areas of government where it’s absurd to talk about applying ‘Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit’... On the other hand, there are important areas of government where ‘Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit’ does matter deeply – because of the ethic of public service. For example, [it] may be useless for guiding a doctor through an emergency caesarean section. But it may be crucial in teaching her how to counsel the patient afterwards. [It] may be useless to the engineer who creates a structural design for a community wharf. But it may be crucial teaching him where to put it. (Bell, 2001).

How then to deal with the ubiquitous and universally applied concept, *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*? As McGrath (2003, p. 167) has suggested, there is a distinct difference between the ways that older generations of Inuit understand *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* and how the government or even the public understands it. And as a person frequently called upon to teach Inuktitut, she reminds me that such differences are often to be found in the core of the Inuktitut language itself. The government and younger generations of Inuit use the term like a noun, yet *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* is understood by older generations of Inuit as a process or a verb. As an object or policy tool, IQ has been developed outside of the conceptual framework

⁶⁴ Scapegoating theory was originally developed by Rene Girard, and incorporated into conflict theory by Redekop; according to Redekop scapegoats must be: different, powerful, illegitimate, and vulnerable (McGrath, 2003, p. 168).

from which it originally emerged. The social and kinship systems upon which Inuit knowledge production was based, such as the cohabitation of multiple generations in specific environments or locations, have been severely eroded through colonization. It is, therefore, paradoxical and ironic that *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* has been framed as a cure-all for the social challenges facing the Territory of Nunavut.

McGrath's work has helped me to realize that if *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* is truly viewed holistically, that is, as an epistemological approach placed within a broader contextual framework of kinship and social systems and environmental landscapes, it then becomes not only germane but an essential component to the understanding of Inuit worldview and ontology. In the examples Bell cited above *Qaujimajatuqangit* becomes relevant even to the person performing that cesarean section or creating those architectural designs. To an Inuk it informs everything; the task is inseparable from the person performing it, or from the person for which it is performed, or from the environment in which it is performed. As McGrath makes clear above in her lesson on Inuktitut grammar, *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* therefore cannot be understood as an object, or even in terms of a specific kind of knowledge, but only as a verb – as an epistemological process.



Inuuniq: The Inuk State of Being

If Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit is an epistemological process, or theory of knowledge, then *inuuniq* is its ontological counterpart. *Inuuniq* is the application of that knowledge in order to exist/live in uniquely human way. In Inuit philosophy, the state of being human, *inuuniq*, sets human beings apart from other beings. Both human beings and other beings are all a part of and dependent upon the same environment. The relationship between knowledge and being human (Inuit

epistemology and ontology), where environment is understood to include both the observed natural world as well as ones network of relationships, can be expressed as:

environment + human-ness = Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit

environment + Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit = *human* actions

Again I turn to McGrath (2003) to take me through the etymology of *inuuniq*, *inuusatigiit*, and review other related concepts:

Inuu- = to live or to be human (a verb)

-qatigiit = together with, plural form

-niq = similar to English –ness or –ion suffixes, inferring ‘human togetherness’

Inuk = human, singular

Inuuk = human, dual (two)

Inuit = human, plural

Inuk + -u (verb to be) = **Inuu-** verb for life, living (literally ‘being human’)

Inuuniq = Inuu- + -niq (way of being, more a feeling state)

Inuusiq = Inuu- + -siq (life, actions or activities that sustain life)

Other related nouns:

Inummarik = a complete person (human); **Inumarriit** = plural

Inutuqaaq = Inuk (human) for a long time

Qaujimaja[q] = something known

-tuqaaq = for a long time

Sila = outside

Silatujuq = wise person; has a lot of “outside

As mentioned above, to fully understand human ways of being or acting, one must understand the environment that informs them. The observed world and one’s network of

relationships are interdependent components of a person's worldview; together with the stories and narratives of a society, they inform one's beliefs. In a publication called "The Inuuqatigiit Curriculum," elders and educators describe these interrelationships by expressing the foundation of Inuit philosophy through what they call the "Five Pillars of Inuit Belief" (1996, p. 30).

However, the Inuit worldview that they explain and illustrate may be more clearly understood as three levels of being and awareness that are equally supported by two spheres of influence, all of which together forms the foundation of Inuit belief (see Figure 2).

Tunngavinga means the foundation, the place upon which things are built. This is how Inuit see the world. Because of the dynamic interrelationship of each component to another, each level of existence/awareness represented by the concentric circles above is equally influenced by two spheres: one's relationship to other people and one's relationship to the environment. At the center of Inuit belief is one's "Circle of Belonging." As the authors of *Inuuqatigiit* argue, *family and kinship* link an individual's identity to a group of people. This group of people exists in a relationship to their environment, which includes all of nature: land, plants, animals, water, ice, wind, and sky. People's families are often named after the places from which they came.⁶⁵ Inuit naming provides important links between generations, families, and even creates linkages between those who are not related by blood.

⁶⁵ For example, during project Surname, someone born in or near the place named *Idloutjuq* – 'has a lot of seals' might have taken or be given the surname *Idlout*.

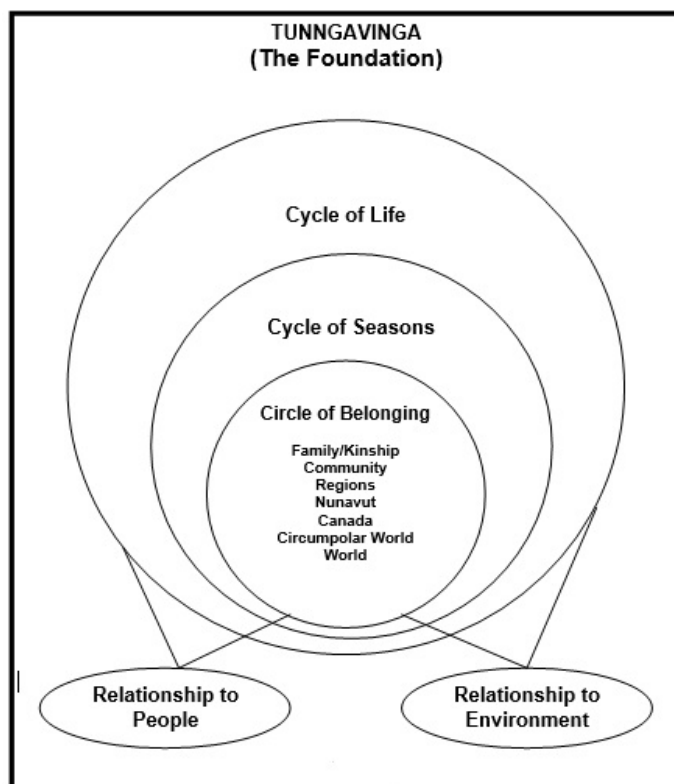


Figure 2

Learning about the multiple layers of kinship and naming in Inuit society, and truly understanding them, takes time. Kinship is determined in three ways: 1) through blood relations (genetic family); 2) through adoption; and 3) through *sauniq* – a system of honoring ancestors through namesakes. Most societies are quite familiar with the idea of kinship through blood or adoption. The only way in which Inuit society might be remarkable with regard to the latter practice is the extent to which it took/takes place. Traditionally, Inuit families routinely adopted-out children to more distant relatives and, in turn, adopted-in. This helped to create stronger bonds between families, and made sure that each generation would gain the teachings of a wide variety of parents. Today, common-law adoption is almost as common a practice; however the nature of it has changed a little to adjust families or provide families for children born to single parents. I know several families, for example, where parents have adopted their children's

children, particularly when the child giving birth was still quite young (15/16 years old). The baby is then raised as the sibling of the parent (usually the mother), and will know their grandparents by blood as his or her parents. I also have friends who gave birth in their teens or early twenties, while still single, who have adopted their children out to an older married relative such as an aunt. Even with such adoptions, however, the blood kinship is still recognized and generally those who adopt-out still play some role in their children's lives.

The concept more unique to Inuit culture is kinship through *sauniq* or namesake. The word *sauniq* means 'bone' in Inuktitut; when a living person is named after the ancestor, he or she becomes their *bone* – carrying part of who they were across generations. The living person receives the *atiq* – or name/soul of that person. Generally the *atiqiit* of those who have already died are passed on, however sometimes newborns are given the *atiq* of an older relative who is still living. Also, several people can become the *sauniq* of the same *atiq*; all are named after the same ancestor. When that happens, all who named after that person are called *atia'uaaluq* or 'namesharers' (Alia, 2005, p. 252).

I saw this principle in action when several generations of *Nuqaaluq* came together at my house one day. Siobhan was visiting with her newborn daughter when Joanna Awa stopped by. Joanna is the aunt of my host Marion's six-year-old son Nuq Arvaluk. As always, conversations begin concerning how everybody is related to everybody else, and Joanna reminded Nuq that the two of them were *atia'uaaluq*. Siobhan's eyes brightened because she also had given one of her daughters the same *atiq* from the same namesake. As Siobhan explained to me, in addition to passing on the name and memory, a person's *atiq* also passes on something of themselves. Therefore, if the ancestor *Nuqaaluq* had been Joanna's grandfather, then she would also call her nephew, six-year-old Nuq, "Grandfather" (*ataatassiaq*). In Nunavut, *atiqiit* are passed down

regardless of gender. Therefore, if the ancestor *Nuqaaluq* were Siobhan's great uncle, Siobhan would call Joanna *and* Nuq Great Uncle," Also a single person can be given several *atigiit*. Since most of us are unaware of what happens to us in the first few months of life, there are many Inuit who have received *atigiit*, but cannot name them all because they were not told, and *atiq* names are not always the name a person goes by publicly. However, the ways in which they create this form of nominal kinship tie between and among people and families is still very important and such relationships are recognized as a significant part of one's kinship circle or circle of belonging.

Continuing the explanation of *tungavinga* from Figure 2, the circle of belonging is also impacted by the "Cycle of Seasons." The seasons determine what activities are undertaken, what food is eaten, what relationships are needed between people within the circle of belonging and the environment. Each season has its gifts but is also spent preparing for the next. Seasons come and go as part of a greater "Cycle of Life." Within the Inuit worldview, everyone and everything has a role within the cycle of life.

Inuit believe that everything has life, or a spirit, and must be respected and valued. All living things are connected in a continuous cycle of past, present and future. If any part of the link is broken or damaged, there will be a ripple effect throughout the whole. There are many laws governing life in order to ensure that the cycle will continue (Inuuqatigiit Curriculum, 1996, p. 31).

The laws of a society reflect that society's values. Although derived from worldview and belief systems, specific values are often easier to describe than belief systems or even laws. In the next section I will look more closely at specific values that result from the Inuit worldview or belief systems described above, as I also suggest how such understandings may be useful in social movement analysis.

Using Principles of Inuit Philosophy in a Framework for Social Movement Analysis

In 1996 Keith Basso warned that unless both linguists and social scientists worked together to pursue ethnographies that explore culturally specific beliefs, then we will never understand the extent to which their metaphorical structures (emerging from the specific meanings of words, objects, events and the claims people make about themselves) influence patterns of thought and action (Basso, 1996, p. 69). Little Bear (2000) applies this concept to social movements and argues that although actors have individual agency, understanding their shared philosophy, culture and values is the key to analyzing both individual and collective action. Frances Abele unpacks the concept of ‘shared philosophy’ this way: “Shared interpretations are built of epistemological premises, ethical principles, empirical generalizations, human experiences, and collective reflection and analysis of all of this, over generations (2007, p. 2)”.

Finally, Marshall Ganz argues that a key difference in the outcomes of social movement actors can be found in how the life experiences of individual leaders shaped their modes of thinking, their repertoires of collective action, their access to networks and resources, their motivation, and the heuristic use they make of all of these (2000, p. 1005).

Basso, Little Bear, Abele, and Ganz, when taken together, seem to suggest that the field of social movement analysis is in need of studies that trace the linkages in a society between its epistemology and ontology, the life experiences of social movement actors, the philosophical rhetoric of the movement, and the actions, decisions, and behaviors of movement leaders across the course of the movement. In the following sections I begin tracing the linkages between belief systems, some specific values emerging from them expressed through movement/government rhetoric, and examine how those values may influence actions and behavior.

Summary of Inuit Ontology

Janet Tamalik McGrath, Jackie Price, and others remind us that for the Inuit, these human experiences and collective reflections took place in specific localities, amidst a network of kinship and other relationships. Therefore it is the observed world as well as the stories of that world as experienced by an individual within a network of relationships that determines how one perceives oneself and how one acts. Ontology informs belief, which in turn informs the values by which one strives to live or act, as illustrated in Figure 3.

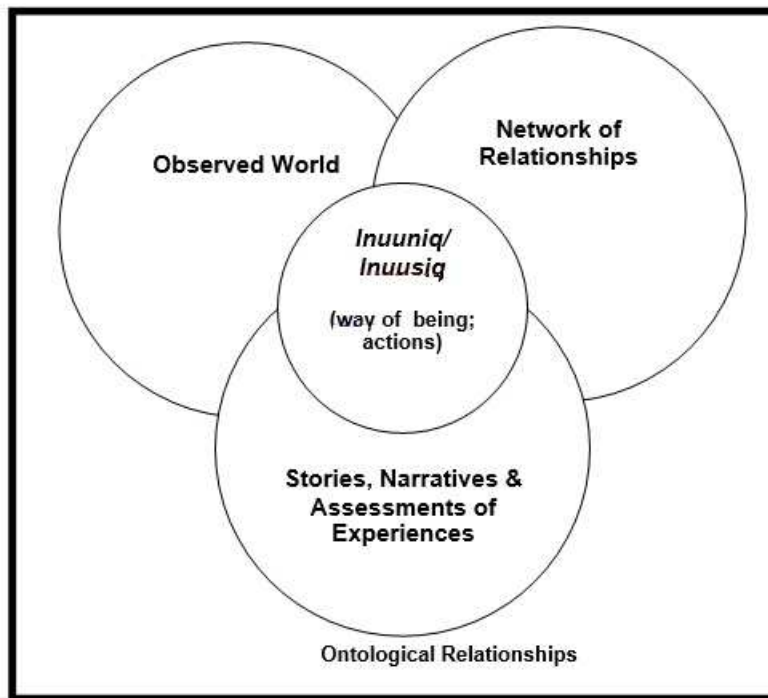


Figure 3

Through the Bathurst Mandate, mentioned previously, newly elected members of Nunavut's Cabinet articulated "Eight Guiding Principles of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*" or key values by which they hoped the Government of Nunavut would guide its policies and frame its actions. In the section below, I discuss and group these values into three distinct but interrelated concept areas. As McGrath's earlier arguments make clear, even as a researcher and an outsider,

I also must recognize that my beliefs are based upon my own life experiences, my network of relationships, and the stories that have been shared with me. This set of ontological relationships, as I acknowledged in Chapter One, informs my selection of specific key values that can then be assessed as they relate to actors in the Inuit movement.

Key Values Emerging from Inuit Beliefs

Through my research I have discovered certain consistencies in expression and experience among the participants of the Inuit movement. Informed by my experience in Nunavut, I view the majority of these principles or values as falling within three specific conceptual areas: things relating to service; things relating to the development of unity; and things relating to the relationship between people and the environment. Of course, none of these values stands alone. Each operates with the others in a network of relationships as complex as those existing between and among Inuit and between and among Inuit and the environment.

Pijitsirniq (Service). Although service and unity are both conceptually part of the Inuit belief system relating to how people should exist in relationship to other people, the concept of service deserves to stand alone because of the place that it occupies within Inuit society.

Pijitsirniq has been defined as the concept of serving others. The degree to which one demonstrates *pijitsirniq* in their life indicates a personal level of maturity and wisdom. *Pijitsirniq* is taught from a very early age in almost every aspect of life. It was a powerful concept that was a catalyst for how children were raised and how adults were valued by the group. An ultimate goal for everyone was that each person has a contribution to make is valued according to that contribution (GN 2003b).

When incorporated into a worldview that values close networks of relationships, it is easy to see that the principle of *pijitsirniq* is what informs everyone what their role in society is. A

hunter does not hunt for him/herself; he or she provides first for family and then for community, moving up the circle of belonging, according to season. A sewer does not just make his/her own clothing, but ensures that the family is well outfitted, the family hunters are protected from the elements, and also that the community as a whole is provided for. Because of *pijitsirniq*, both hunters and sewers also have an obligation to pass down their knowledge and skills to the next generation, as well and to continue learning and adapting to new environments and situations themselves. It is because of this relationship that I place the concepts *pilnimmaksarniq/pijariuqsarniq* (acquiring skills and knowledge) and *qanuqtuurungnariq/ qanuqtuurniq* (being resourceful) under the umbrella of *pijitsirniq*.

Further is it the principle of *pijitsirniq* and the related principles of *pilnimmaksarniq/pijariuqsarniq* and *qanuqtuurungnariq/ qanuqtuurniq* that place Inuit ontology, epistemology, and even cosmology within the sphere of a true philosophy in the first place. As former President Bill Clinton argued in a speech at Georgetown University (2006), there is difference between having a philosophy and having an ideology. The person with an ideology cannot incorporate new ideas or experiences into their worldview; they are often stymied by ‘inconvenient’ facts because their perception of reality is ‘fixed.’ A person whose actions are guided by a philosophy, Clinton argued, is adaptable to new situations and environments and able to incorporate them into his or her belief system (2006). As Inuit leaders have long demonstrated, adaptability has been the key to Inuit survival both physically as climate conditions changed over millennia, and psychologically as they have had to grapple with the question of what it means to be *Inummarrik* or even *Inuk* in a rapidly changing world.

The best and most immediate example of the application of these principles operating together is the way the written canon of Inuit philosophy was developed. It can be argued that

taking part in this development process, outlined in the next chapter, was an act of *pijitsirniq*. It involved elders, educators and other members of several communities coming together to serve the common good of their families, their communities and all Inuit and Nunavumiut (moving up the circle of belonging) to pass along their skills and knowledge. The act of translating principles generally taught through active learning, oral history, and participatory methodologies into written documents (even curricula) requires new knowledge and skills (not the least of which involve language) and resourcefulness, *pilnimmaksarniq/pijariuqsarniq* and *qanuqtuurungnariq qanuqtuurniq*. The canon development process can itself be viewed as a part of the Inuit view of the cycle of life, a continuous cycle of past, present, and future. What is produced from each cycle prepares for and informs the next event, just as with the cycle of seasons.

Inuuqatigiit (Unity) & Inuuqatigiitsirniq (Respecting Others). It is no coincidence that Inuktitut has so many words to express the concept of unity⁶⁶ or that 17 out of the 36 *Inuit Values and Beliefs* posters produced by the Department of Education for the Nunavut school system illustrate some aspect of it. In the Arctic environment, unity and the ability to maintain strong relationships between people is central to survival. As many authors have pointed out, Inuit have long been known for their ability to build consensus and avoid conflict. Inuit concepts of *piliriqatigiingniq/Ikajuqtigiinni* (developing collaborative relationships), *aajiqatigiingniq* (consensus decision-making, shared goals), and *tunnganarniq* (fostering good spirit through being welcoming and inclusive) all speak to the ideal or desired nature of human relations emerging from an environment where every member of society was needed and every member of society needed to be able to work in cooperation with others in a myriad of ways. Certainly

⁶⁶ *Nunaqatiigni* (coming from the same land); *Atausiuqatigiinni* (being one); *Ikajuqatigiinni* (trying to help each other out); *Katujjiqatigiinni* (working together) – to name a few.

having an ontology composed of an elaborate web of cooperative principles is one way of achieving this.

It should be noted that these concepts again express an ideal. As later chapters will demonstrate, unity and consensus should not be equated with either egalitarianism or unanimous decision-making. As with all societies there were and are hierarchies within Inuit society and Inuit communities. There are perhaps even hierarchies between and among communities themselves. As the ubiquity of the term suggests, however, shared perceptions with regard to *Inuuqatigiit* and its related values have noticeably contributed to many of the political and social development processes in Nunavut. They have also helped to create and perpetuate certain beliefs held by both Inuit and non-Inuit alike about the nature of Inuit society.

Avatittinnik Kamatsiarniq (Environmental Stewardship). Also translated as ‘respect and care for the land’, *avatittinnik kamatsiarniq* is important because of the symbiotic relationship that exists between Inuit and the environment. The environment is even the measure of wisdom. Returning to McGrath’s etymology, *silatujuq* is an Inuktitut word for wisdom; it means ‘has a lot of *sila*’ or literally, ‘has a lot of outside.’ The environment is a reflection of inner wisdom, so having a lot makes one wise. People of any age can be referred to as *silatujuq*, if they have certain ingenuity and resourcefulness that responds to the community’s challenges and needs (Janet McGrath, 2005, p. 7).

The importance of this relationship cannot be understated. Arlene Stairs (1992) even refers to Inuit identity as being eco-centric; Inuit core beliefs about what constitutes a complete person (*inummarik*) are inextricably intertwined with their relationship to the land and the environment. Dominant societies, she argues, encourage egocentric definitions of identity that are not linked to any particular ecology. This is an important distinction to note, as it begins to

suggest why so many Inuit would dedicate so many years of their lives to the pursuit of protecting the environment, and why they met so much resistance in doing that.

A people's ways of being are shaped by the environments/eco-systems that they occupy and upon which they learned to survive, therefore they are also a primary source of belief systems and the point of origin of a person's worldview. It can be argued that the Arctic environment was the source from which all Inuit philosophy sprang, yet the principle of environmental stewardship expressed in Inuit philosophy does not refer to any one particular eco-system or landscape. It must be understood as a principle, a value, one that is understood should be practiced universally.

Other Values: Optimism and Patience

Optimism and patience did not make the government's official list of guiding principles. Perhaps this was because the words were used so often in the rhetoric of the Inuit movement that the authors of the Bathurst Mandate took them for granted. As I was so often reminded, the political process of negotiating the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement took over 30 years from start to finish. Inuit leaders have often likened the experience to hunting; in addition to having the necessary knowledge and skills for the job, the hunter must believe that lunch is going to come by sometime (optimism), and s/he must also be willing to stand or lie unmoving for hours at a time (patience) to ensure the successful hunt. Although optimism and patience are almost universally valued by most societies, my experience would suggest that they might be even more vital to those living in extreme situations or under harsh conditions.

Putting Values into Practice

Returning to the story of the seal-hunt with which I began this chapter, my students and I were able to have a meaningful adventure filled with new experiences, learning, and fun because of

several factors including: a unique and rare confluence of good weather (*sila*) in the right season, access to kinship ties through Siobhan and her aunt, Meeka Mike (*piliriqatigiingniq/Ikajuqtigiinniq*), a network of hunters who welcome us (*tunnganarniq*), knew the land and ice (*silatujuq*), and had all the right skills, patience, and the ability to recognize and take advantage of opportunity (*pilnimmaksarniq/pijariuqsarniq* and *qanuqtuurungnariq/quanuqtuurniq*). All of these things, it could be argued, are the key components necessary for any successful Inuit endeavor – and are things that Inuit are taught from the time they are born.

In creating the Arctic Journey Program (2006 and 2008) in which these students took part, I sought to incorporate the principles that form the foundation, *tungavinga*, of Inuit philosophy into the ways in which the program would be run, as well as the lessons which my students would take home. Below I use the experiences of my students in the Arctic Journey Program to illustrate these principles of Inuit philosophy, their applications in everyday contemporary life, and their possible influence on behavior.

Pijitsirniq (Service). Prior to the either group's arrival in Iqaluit I had been in touch with friends and colleagues and had asked them to use their community networks to find out what kinds of things my students could do as community service. Although it was built into the program because of the principle of *pijitsirniq*, in my opinion my students eventually went beyond what was required of them and took it upon themselves to find ways of making themselves useful. It began as an assignment, a required way to spend 12 hours a week. It became a way of life. They began by working in the soup kitchen and taking turns helping out with laundry in the men's shelter (during the day when the shelter was empty). Among other things that they did were: visiting a home for developmentally challenged people; helping

teacher's aids in the local schools; volunteering at the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation; and just generally helping pick up trash wherever they saw it.

For the 2006 group, the turning point came, however, in the second week when we were asked by the Archdeacon of the parish to undertake a task that most members of the local community found too difficult to do emotionally. Their local cathedral, an igloo-shaped landmark of the community that had stood since the 1950s, had been burned down by an arsonist. The wrecking crews were scheduled to come at the beginning of the following week and the Archdeacon needed someone to go in and salvage whatever was salvageable both for the sake of preserving its history and art and because budgets and resources are always tight in the North.

Over the course of 10 hours, my eight students and I worked together with the Archdeacon sifting through the ash; pulling out dedications from burned and waterlogged books; finding pictures, historical documents, and many other valuable items from the sacristy; saving Inuit sculpture and art; and even pulling up benches and any usable salvageable item. All went into a shipping crate that could provide the parish with a lockable storage space until they could be sorted and gone through. Even though we had worn safety gear, we were all still covered by ash and soot by the end of the day. The next morning, my students had planned to go out and film the demolition – also as part of service to the community. One student managed to arrive early enough, but to everyone's shock and surprise by 10:00 a.m. there was no trace on the ground of where the structure had stood; all the debris had been carried away.

My students had taken part in these salvaging efforts at first because they were asked; it was something expected of them. By mid-day, however, it became a labor of love. By then, the third person from the community had come in to look, and quietly put their hands on one of my

students' shoulders out of gratitude. My students slowly understood what this strange burnt-out place meant to the community. My memory might be a little skewed from sentiment, but I could almost swear that my students began handling everything a little more gingerly after that.

What happened next was not called for or sought in any way. In fact, it had been my desire to keep our involvement in the church salvage operation quiet. However, the news got out. Over the next week my students reported many incidents of strangers coming up to them in the street and thanking them. Also, rather than being referred to as the "Americans from New York," they began hearing themselves called "the students from Syracuse."

The legacy of that act of service stayed with all of us over the next month. Long after it had been displaced from our memories by more immediate concerns or experiences, we were reminded of it by community members. More important, however, it made clear to all of us the true sense of *pijitsirniq*. Through that act, we were able to serve the community in deeply meaningful way. It was something we could do that no one else in Iqaluit could – members of the community were too emotionally connected to the place. After that, from time to time I could tell that some of my students began *looking* for meaningful ways to help and be mindful of the community. Also, from that time to this (2013) whenever Syracuse University is mentioned in Iqaluit, Inuit always follow with the comment, "you know, the students who cleaned up the church for us."

Inuuqatigiit/Inuuqatigiitsirniq (Unity/Respecting Others). In 2006, before ever proposing that her aunt could take my students out on the ice for a field excursion, Siobhan visited the class as a guest lecturer, and had even welcomed three of my students over to her home one weekend.

She also later arranged for her uncle, Lucien Ukalainuk,⁶⁷ to guest lecture to the class, and for her husband, Rubin Komiopik,⁶⁸ to conduct a field lecture and workshop. Siobhan, therefore, had first-hand experience not only with how my class had treated her, but how they had interacted with a respected elder, and she had heard from her husband how they interacted with each other on the land. Each interaction that she had with the group directly informed her decisions to invite my students increasingly deeper into her circle of kinship. It is through getting to know and becoming a part of this kinship circle that includes not on Siobhan but Meeka Mike, Meeka Kilabuk and many others that after ten years of working in Nunavut, that I finally understand how Inuit society functions.

From the perspective of most Inuit, Iqaluit may be quite large in terms of population; nonetheless it is still a small community and it generally only takes a matter of hours for any individual's actions or behaviors to become known throughout the community. During the three weeks that both groups lived in Iqaluit prior to going out the on the land, my students had developed a good reputation throughout the community – both because of the respect they had shown to everyone and their willingness to share of themselves and the stories of their own lives. Further, my students and I lived in White Row, thanks to the generosity of Nunavut Arctic College. White Row is located in the center of the community and is now predominantly occupied by Inuit;⁶⁹ my students therefore did not live apart from regular members of the Inuit community in Iqaluit. Rather, they were at its heart; they relied on the same grocery stores as the community, did their shopping on very meager budgets, and lived a lifestyle very like anyone

⁶⁷ Siobhan's uncle is Lucien Ukalainuk, a respected elder who has done extensive work for the Ministry of Justice, Nunavut on helping to integrate principles of Inuit traditional law into contemporary justice systems.

⁶⁸ Rubin Komiopik is a well-known and highly talented sculptor and artist.

⁶⁹ White Row was actually built to house non-Inuit (White) residents, hence its name.

who had perhaps just arrived in the capital coming from one of the communities for the first time. The only drawback that my students faced was that they did not have kinship networks to support them, as most Inuit would have had. Instead, they had me, my network of friendships – and *their* kinship networks. It was the respect that they showed to others, along with their service to the community, however, that really opened doors for my students and gave them a number of opportunities that they otherwise never would have had. For example, I was able to arrange a visit to the Ministry of CLEY. At first, the Deputy Ministers who had agreed to meet with us did not really know what it was we were hoping to get out of the visit. It turned out, however, that my student's interests in CLEY's language programs, cultural preservation, and education, and the roles of youth, elders, and women made the visit enjoyable for everyone. As a result of the respect and interest that they had shown, they were invited back to CLEY and introduced to the elder who serves the ministry as a consultant for IQ. Finally, they were invited to the Elder Center, a residence and community center in Iqaluit for elders. The visit to the Elder Center resulted in no few tears being shed by young and old alike as they shared life stories and learning. Living by and demonstrating the two principles of *Inuuqatigiit & Inuuqatigiitsirniq* made that experience possible.

In addition to the community networks we developed, my students also had each other. The program was budgeted such that in order for their food allowances to stretch, students were forced to pool their resources, plan their meals, and shop and cook communally. This means, even though personalities and life experiences were vastly different, they all needed each other. In the beginning, it was difficult; with one or two exceptions, they had never had to plan meals or cook anything from scratch before. By the time the program ended, everyone in the group had made allowances for the fact that some people had a difference sense of time (were perpetually

tardy), and some had different senses of order⁷⁰ and different sensitivities. This does not mean that everyone categorically liked each other and became life-long friends. I am quite sure that some of them never interacted again. However, during their time together everyone within the group itself had become aware of and acknowledged both their own weaknesses/shortcomings and strengths and those of each other; further, they had learned to compensate for their weaknesses by balancing their differences and using them to the group's advantage. Rather than rest on the shoulders of the individual involved, it became the group's responsibility to make sure everybody showed up to a specific event on time. If one person was late, everybody's reputation suffered. Those who were better cooks and had more experience in meal planning/budgeting were called upon for greater input in those areas, even though they may not have been as popular. If any member of the group had a particular phobia, regardless of that person's status in the group, everyone worked to reassure or to ease or address their concerns. These were all organic developments that took place without my direct intervention; my primary role was in making sure that my students understood the expectations of the community as a whole (Iqaluit in broad terms, our particular networks of people specifically) and that there were repercussions in not meeting them.

Avatittinnik Kamatsiarniq (Environmental Stewardship). Whenever my students first arrived in Iqaluit and first saw their accommodations in White Row, they were all very sorely disappointed. The apartments were fine, spacious in fact with everything that a person could need or want (except television or internet). But it was summer, and the snow, which was still

⁷⁰ Two students suffered from varying stages of obsessive compulsive disorder, for which they both first took much abuse; by the end, however, every member of the group was looking out for them and defending them from outsider abuse.

melting, had melted enough to reveal quite a bit of trash. My students viewed this with dismay. The problem often faced in Iqaluit is that throughout the winter people put their trash into plastic bags, and then put the bags into dumpsters. The extreme cold causes the bags to burst and often trash gets blown about, frozen to the ground, and then covered with snow.

One of the community service opportunities offered to my students from the day of their arrival was trash pick-up. I gave everyone rubber gloves and bags and said that whenever the mood struck them, it would be most appreciated and it was a valuable service that would of course count toward their requirements. At first my students balked at the idea of picking up semi-frozen diapers. They made very clever excuses: “If we pick up trash outside our residence, won’t our Inuit neighbors think that we are being critical of them and how they live?”; “I wouldn’t want to be the only one out there picking up trash, wouldn’t that look a little silly?”; and “Isn’t it dangerous, what if something cuts the rubber glove and the cut gets infected?”

Then as they were exposed to many Inuit guest lecturers, they kept hearing about how important the environment was to Inuit. The principle of *Avatittinnik Kamatsiarniq* even appeared on posters, and it was quoted to them countless times. Yet, they could not seem to reconcile what they were hearing with what they were living with every day. As they learned about and visited the community dump outside of town they realized how little that is manufactured and shipped North is actually recycled or biodegrades. The opportunity arose for them to attend a government conference on global warming, and those who attended came away even more disheartened. They had heard about contaminants that were leaching into the eco-systems across the Arctic from mines, military installations, and even from other countries carried by wind or ocean currents. One day during a guest lecture, the dam burst and they could no longer keep their frustrations to themselves.

The Honorable Peter Irniq, the former Commissioner of Nunavut, was speaking to the group about the importance of the environment and about *Avatittinnik Kamatsiarniq* – custodianship – specifically. One of my students raised his/her hand and confronted the commissioner about all the paradoxes they had seen. Peter, a diplomat of great experience, calmly gave them two answers. First he said, “Well, as to the trash, if you don’t like the trash everywhere – pick it up. I do.” Later, my students found out that even though he had been a very high ranking official, the commissioner did in fact have a reputation for carrying around large trash bags and picking up the trash wherever he walked. It was part of the way he lived; something that he felt required to do. His second answer was as profound.

This is not meant to be any kind of a personal critique of anybody, but just a question for you to think about yourselves... When you are at home in the United States, how much do you throw out that makes it way into the water – anti-bacterial soaps, mercury, lead?

In our thousands of years of history, we have never hunted anything to extinction ... We are environmental managers; we have to be aware of the impact that we have on everything.

We also know that we see changes and impacts that others do not know about. That’s why you find Inuit working at every level from here in Iqaluit...to the United Nations. We are still trying to educate people...And we will keep talking until they listen. [laughing lightly] I hope you listen and take the message back with you. (Irniq, personal communication, June 13, 2006)

Later, Simon Awa, Deputy Minister of the Environment echoed most of the same sentiments, colored by his own experiences. It was he who finally clarified the trash phenomenon in Iqaluit, The Inuk way [here] is that from the time the melting starts to when everything is uncovered, people generally try to pick up a little trash here and there – as an individual effort (S. Awa, personal communication, June 9, 2006).

Deputy Minister Awa then explained, however, that Inuit understood that there are some things that one individual could not possibly do alone. Therefore every year when the melt was

over (the specific weekend varies from year to year), the entire community would come out and in a matter of hours all the trash would be gone. The day always ended with a picnic held to celebrate everybody's help. He then invited all my students to participate in the community wide clean-up the following weekend.

The next weekend, my students and I were out with our rubber gloves and our bags, joining the entire community of Iqaluit in the great trash clean-up of 2006. Interestingly, it was a day that all of my students counted as being among their most fun. By the end of the day, we each had the privilege of being able to say that we had eaten hamburgers cooked over a grill and served to us by both the Minister and Deputy Minister of the Environment of Nunavut.

In the week between Commissioner Irniq's and Deputy Minister Awa's visits to the class, I was walking down a hill when I met some of my students coming up. We passed each other and a few moments later I overheard them defending the community to a stranger. A visiting scientist had stopped them and asked if they lived there.

"Yeah," my students replied.

"It's not a very pretty place," he said. "Doesn't anybody care?"

"Yeah, we care," my students said, "the whole community will be cleaning it up together this weekend – and, we think it's a pretty special place ourselves."

I smiled as I continued on down the hill.

Patience and Optimism. I began this chapter with the story of how Meeka Mike agreed to take my first group of students and her hunting party out on the sea-ice in Frobisher Bay in 2006. The students had waited three weeks for this opportunity, and had been fearful that they would have to leave Nunavut without getting out on the land or out on the ice. In the U.S., in particular, it is generally a tremendous challenge to anyone who is between the ages of 17 and 25 to

demonstrate patience; both the importance and rewards of having patience and maintaining optimism became valuable lessons.

From the day we arrived, they had been told, mostly by non-Inuit, that it had been such a warm spring and that all the snow and much of the ice had already melted. Whenever we asked about our being able to travel out across the land or across the ice, the most common response was a shaking head (no), followed by the comment, “doubtful.” This led to a great lapse in morale. By the end of the second week, I experienced what amounted to a mutiny. I knew where their frustrations lay, and I knew also that things would resolve themselves in time. But even I must admit that it was hard getting through those couple of days when two weeks of strangeness and communal living had taken their toll (along with the withdrawal they were suffering in being removed from the constant media-stimulation to which they were accustomed). Once again, I had to remind them how things worked.

Much had been planned for them, I told them, and community members were constantly keeping an eye out for opportunities. I reminded the students that their interactions with the community were establishing good reputations that would eventually demonstrate their sincerity as learners, and invitations would come. Opportunities had to be earned, I argued, even if they were paid for in monetary terms. Just because we had a budget that included a trip out on the land or across the ice doesn’t mean the weather and other conditions would cooperate. I tried to encourage optimism and patience; they had heard those terms so often from all our guest lecturers – just as I had heard throughout my field research.

I do not know if I got the message across with my words or not. At a minimum it bought one or two more days of relative peace. As it turned out, our invitations to CLEY took place the very next week; that was also the week that Siobhan gave birth and introduced me to her aunt.

The skeptic in me would say that I was very, very lucky; as group leader things could just have easily turned out badly. As the student of Inuk philosophers, my friend Janet Tamalik McGrath would tell me however, “nalunairumaaq”- a Nattilingmiut⁷¹ term for 'confusion usually resolves itself' or 'things come clear eventually.' Indeed, so they did.

Summary

In this chapter I have presented what I have learned with regard to the rudiments of Inuit ontology as taught to me by Inuit Grounded Scholars and Elders, and suggested that an understanding of Inuit belief systems and the principles of Inuit philosophy may hold some keys to understanding both individual and collective behavior and/or action. I focused on five key values or principles articulated through the Inuit movement (service, unity/respect for others, environmental stewardship, patience and optimism), and used my recent experiences with my students in Nunavut to illustrate how these principles can impact people's behavior in contemporary contexts.

I have outlined the basic foundations of Inuit belief and worldview to the extent that I am able to understand and illustrate them; I have outlined the problems that are presented by taking a “chocolate box approach” to Inuit knowledge or IQ, with the help of Inuit philosophers and their students I have attempted to present a holistic view of Inuit ontology and specifically, *Inuuniq* or way of being [human] as well as outline the key values that I feel may have informed movement actors actions and behavior in the Inuit movement, and illustrated how they may be applied in an analysis using the contemporary experiences of the students who took part in the Arctic Journey Program through Syracuse University in 2006 and 2008.

⁷¹ People from the Nattling area of Nunavut.

In the next chapter I will look more specifically at the processes through which these principles of Inuit philosophy became articulated through the Inuit movement, and present models that describe how understanding these processes may be useful in social movement analysis. In Chapter Five I will begin looking at the narratives of Inuit movement actors to see the extent to which *Inuuniq* may have influenced movement leaders.

Chapter Four: A Waterfall Model of Canon Development and Social Movement Analysis

Instead of directing our time and efforts towards maintaining our physical existence in a hostile, natural world, today we must use our intelligence to discriminate and choose among the many ways of living in the world, and direct our strength towards keeping to our chosen path.

Peter Ittinuar, 1st Inuk Member of Parliament, 1980

Introduction

In this chapter I illustrate how the principles of Inuit ontology, introduced in Chapter Three, were made accessible to outsiders to Inuit culture as a result of the Inuit movement, and propose models that illustrate how they may be useful in analyzing the movement as a whole.

In the first part of the chapter, I outline the process through which social movements require movement actors to create internal processes through which their foundational or philosophical principles undergo articulation and refinement in what I call a “Waterfall Model of Canon Development.” I then illustrate this model using the Inuit movement in Nunavut, summarizing 20 important occurrences in terms of the bodies of work, or rhetorical documents, they produced that contributed to this written canon. I would like to make it absolutely clear, however, that while I believe the internal debates illustrated through this model are essential to the articulation and development of any philosophy, its existence in a written form does not make any philosophy or knowledge system more legitimate than another. It only makes that process of internal debate transparent to outsiders.

In conclusion I present a “Waterfall Model of Social Movement Analysis” that illustrates how the outcomes of a social movement’s canon development process can then be used in conjunction with ethnographic narratives to provide an analysis of the extent to which such world views may have influenced movement actors’ behavior and decisions.

A Waterfall Model of Ontological Canon Development in Social Movements

As I wrote earlier, discussions of Inuit philosophy have taken center stage at both the beginning and the end of the Inuit movement, as well as periodically throughout the 30 years of negotiation. Throughout the course of my research as I heard participant after participant tell me about the “Inuk way” of doing things, and as I came to realize that what I was researching was the story of an entire movement from its emergence to its institutionalization, only then did I begin to realize the importance of culture or, more specifically, worldview among the movement’s actors. Leroy Little Bear clearly expresses this connection in his eye-opening work *Jagged Worldviews Colliding*.

Culture comprises a society’s philosophy about the nature of reality, the values that flow from this philosophy, and the social customs that embody these values. An individual within a culture is going to have his or her personal interpretation of the cultural code; however the individual’s worldview has its roots in the culture – that is the society’s shared philosophy, values and customs. (Leroy Little Bear, 2000)

I slowly began to see that the only way to understand the nature of the ties between and among members of the movement or their relationship to the dominant political system was to attempt to understand how they understood those relationships; how did movement actors view the world and see their role in it? Further, to what extent did/do movement actors share those worldviews among themselves? In asking these questions, I began to suspect epistemological and ontological understandings covered in the previous chapter would be the key to analyzing all aspects of the movement from the formation of its leadership to the strategies that were used within its organizations and in conducting negotiations. Perhaps tracing the course and consistency of worldview among the members of the Inuit movement along with the degree to which specific values can be shown to have informed or shaped actions, could provide some

insight on the likelihood of other social movements to maintain a similar cohesiveness. The first step, of course, was to trace the processes that produced the waterfall model.

Frances Abele has argued that political catalysts are often needed to begin either the process of dialogue around issues of traditional knowledge or their incorporation into government structures or processes (2007). Taking that one step further, I will argue here that political events also serve as catalysts for Indigenous people to begin the process of philosophical self-reflection and authorship. In seeking to understand Inuit philosophy today, for example, I am now the beneficiary of a series of cycles of ontological development that took place over the course of four decades.

As Inuit were increasingly confronted with colonial practices in which others assumed ever more control over their lives, they were forced to examine what it was that they found objectionable in those practices. In short, they had to describe not only what they wanted, but why it was essential to their survival. As different Canadian administrations came and went (Pearson, Diefenbaker, Trudeau, Mulroney, and Chretien), they were forced to repeat or further refine their demands to address new questions. Each stage in the movement development required new ways to communicate their visions and to articulate their needs and demands of the Canadian and Territorial governments and, eventually, the community of nations. Each new Inuit organization that was created to deal with different and ever changing mandates required vision statements reflecting a unified Inuit philosophy. What makes the Inuit movement as a whole and the case of Nunavut specifically unique is the absolute consistency in these statements over time and across an amazingly wide range of institutions and actors.

In the first stage of this model that I am using to illustrate the process of canon development (see Figure 3), a political event serves as a catalyst for a new phase of the

development process, or more accurately in this case, the process of articulating Inuit philosophical thought.

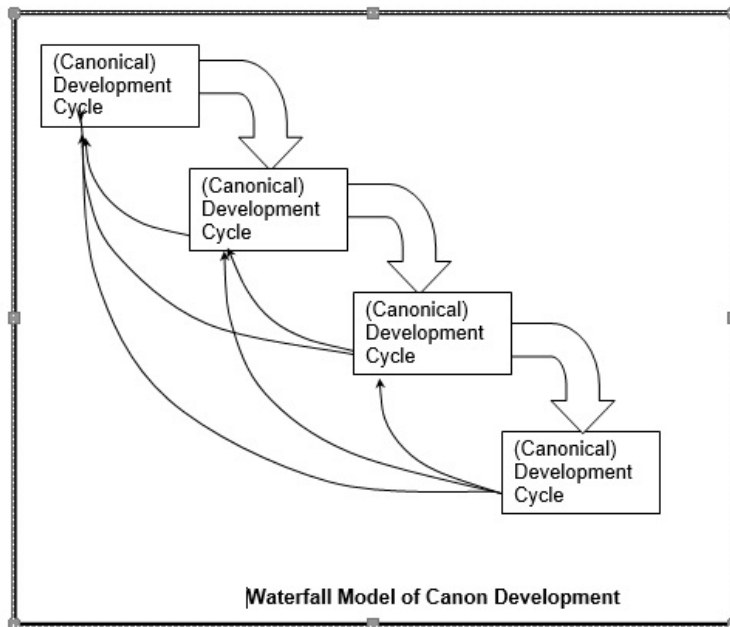
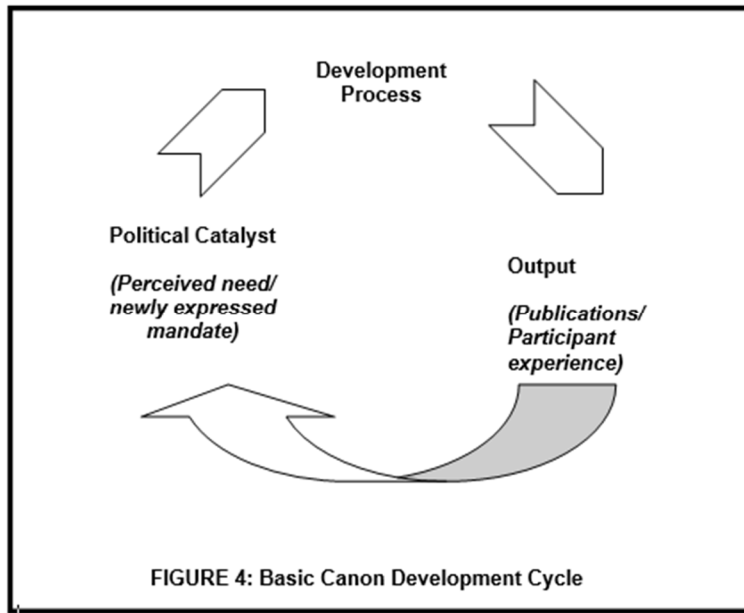


Figure 3

This development process has been in many ways similar to what is commonly referred to among software engineers as the “waterfall” model, which gets its name because of cascade effect as development moves from one phase to the next being moved along by the feedback from users (Lin, 2004, p. 29).

The writings, publications, and documents produced from that phase or vetting process (as well as the experiences gathered by those who participated) then informs the next phase. This model then places those occurrences as cascades on the waterfall, metaphorically collecting at the bottom as a pool of philosophical wisdom. Waterfalls exist, of course, in ecosystems. At each cascade, and again at the bottom of the waterfall there is an evaporation and feedback (precipitation) process that impacts the whole, as illustrated in Figure 4.



The Waterfall Model of Canon Development Applied to the Inuit Movement in Nanavut

As illustrated in the waterfall model, having written documents not only serves younger Inuit whose life experiences are vastly different from those of older generations but also provides concrete tools with which to confront skeptics from the dominant society. The experience of colonization made it necessary for those in the Inuit movement to seek out some of the most respected Inuit philosophers of today, like Mariano Aupilaarjuk or Rhoda Akpaliapik Karetak, to name only two, to ask them to more systematically define Inuit epistemology and ontology so that it could be included in a philosophical canon. Over the course of four decades such people were consulted many times, under many contexts. Each major catalyst caused a gathering, a conference or a coming together of such people and generally produced some product. The end product, as I have argued, served two purposes. First it provided vital affirmation of the movement purpose, and further helped define what exactly would be preserved by the movement – i.e. “what are we fighting for?” Second, it served a vital role in continuing the momentum of

the movement as part of a feedback loop, leading eventually to another catalytic event in the further definition of Inuit ontology. This is illustrated in figure 5 below.

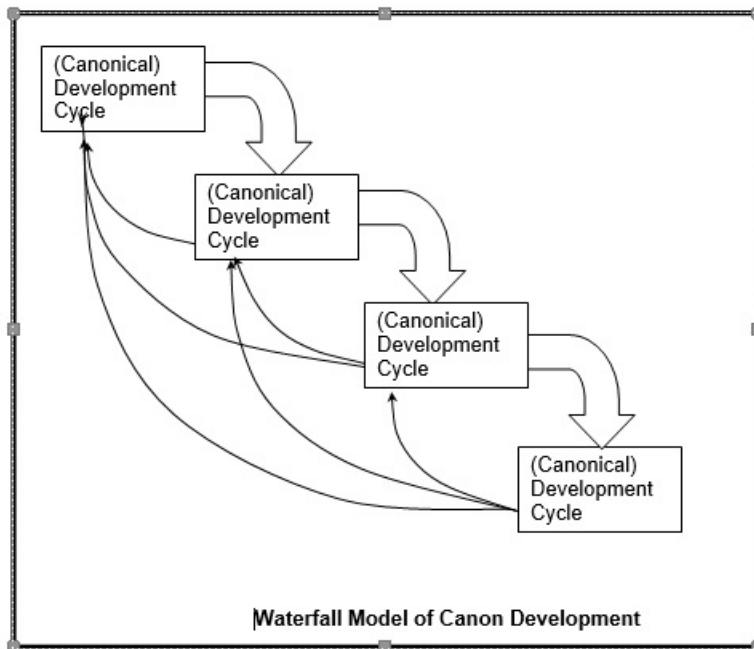


Figure 5

As yet there is no comprehensive work attempting to trace the history of the development of a written canon of Inuit philosophy.⁷² What follows is perhaps a small contribution toward that endeavor. However, even as unfold the history of this process and cycle of canonical development, I would like to once again strongly emphasize that I separate the existence of written canon of work from the concept of philosophical legitimacy. Indigenous philosophies are lived, passed down through life experience and oral teaching. Whether written down or maintained through oral tradition, they have equal value and hold equal legitimacy with any school of thought emerging from Europe, Asia or other script-based cultures. Having a written codex or canon only makes them more accessible to outsiders and/or Indigenous generations more removed from those lived experiences.

⁷² Note that what is being discussed is a history of the canonization of Inuit philosophy, not the origin or even the key principles of the philosophy or philosophies themselves. Any work attempting to include these would be an Oxford-like compendium. It would be a tremendous undertaking, one that is clearly beyond the scope of this dissertation. It should also be noted that Inuit philosophy has been discussed in depth in countless oral history projects, not the least of which the *Interviewing Elders* series⁷³ published by the Nunavut Arctic College.

Inuit Observations on the Dominant Society. Not only have Inuit in Canada been actively engaged in the debate over what constitutes the pillars or key beliefs and values of their own worldview, but they have also been astute students of the disparities between practice and ontological rhetoric in that dominant society as well. I begin with these because they are the works most often cited by movement insiders for the benefit of other movement insiders. The best-known Inuit authors in this area are Minnie Aodla Freeman, Alooktook Ipellie, and writing 30 years later, Zebedee Nungak.

Freeman first published her work, *Life Among the Qallunaat*, in 1978. Although most often characterized as an autobiography by academics, in actuality it is an Iethnography of dominant society written from an Inuk point of view with an Indigenous methodology that combines illustrative narrative (values-stories) with participant observation. Freedman, married to Dr. Milton Freeman, who conducted the 1973 land use and occupancy studies for the ITC, has spent her life in public service. She worked as a translator/interpreter for numerous government agencies and Inuit organizations, held some key positions in those organizations, and has also served as the assistant editor of *Inuktitut* magazine. *Life Among the Qallunaat* is an authoritative condemnation of the governing institutions and policies of dominant (Canadian) society.

Although seldom cited as a serious author,⁷³ Alooktook Ipellie's name is unavoidable in relation to the Inuit movement; his writing and satirical cartoons are present in every Inuit organization publication. By 1974 he had become a major contributor to *Inuit Monthly* then *Inuit Today*, the newsletter publication of the ITC. He later served as editor, and also became editor of

⁷³ A notable exception being Robin McGrath in her 1984 review of Inuit Literature (McGrath, 1984, p. 82).

Inuit published by the Inuit Circumpolar Conference. In one of his most recent works, *A Cultural Whiteout*, Ipellie writes:

... As an Inuk living in the Arctic, you can expect to get trapped in a whiteout several times each winter. The cultural upheaval we experienced in our community in the late 1950s and early 1960s seemed in retrospect a lot like being caught in a whiteout--trapped and unable to go forward since you could not see clearly where you were heading. So, our society had to rely on another society to be the guide dog to our blind culture... In the end the cultural white-out would not lift for many more years. (Ipellie, 2001, p. 63)

Having been one of the first “experimental Eskimos” to get a Southern education, and also been active in the Inuit movement, Zebedee Nungak’s most recent contribution to the ontological debate is his application of the methodologies of Eskimology⁷⁴ to dominant or Qallunaat society. His widely circulated article, *Introducing the Science of Qallunology*,⁷⁵ builds upon Freeman’s observations and, in fact, is in many regards much more direct. Using the accepted methods of participant observation, Nungak answers Little Bear’s challenge,

I don’t proclaim to be an expert on Qallunaat and what makes them tick. But my commentaries on Qallunology are based on having eaten, slept, and breathed their life for some years, learning their language, and tumbling along in their tidy-square thought processes. (Nungak, 2004)

Nungak speaks to a deep awareness of a difference not only in lifestyle and life ways, but also in ways of thinking. Tagak Curley became aware of this difference as early as 1964 when he first came to Ottawa to study, and then later when he began working for the Federal government.

I would chat with my bosses, in all night sessions, about why Inuit needed to regain their identity; their identity, culture and self-determination. And they could not understand it; they thought they were doing great things for the North – particularly the government. (T. Curley, personal communication, June 9, 2006)

⁷⁴ A legitimate term used in the academy prior to the introduction of “Inuit Studies,” and still in use at some institutions of higher education or in some academic journals. Nungak defines it as “the study, by others, of Inuit traditions, customs and languages” (Nungak, 2006).

⁷⁵ Zebedee Nungak coined the phrase “Qallunology” in November, 1999, during a series of radio commentaries on the CBC (Rasmussen, 1999).

Tagak knew the value of his Southern education and the burdens that came with it, including the necessity of understanding these divergences in worldview. He soon began to seek more clear and universally Inuit ways of describing what needed to be fought for. As was mentioned in Chapter Two, while working for the Federal and then territorial government as an adult educator, he was called upon to travel to many of the communities in the NWT.

The thing I remember about Tagak, he traveled and I traveled with him in adult education; we were just getting things started then. We'd get off the plane and within seconds he was gone. Tagak would be gone...and where was he? Well, he was visiting Elders. Half the time we spent in the community he would be with Elders and throughout the community. I didn't know what he was doing, but he was building networks or reinforcing networks he already had. (T. Forth, personal communication, April 4, 2004)

That was the tradition, ok? My dad would say, wherever you go, go and visit the older people...if I didn't they would ask me "what's wrong?" They would think that something was wrong if I did not. (T. Curley, personal communication, May 25, 2004)

In visiting the Elders of each community, Tagak sought their help in more plainly defining the philosophical basis for what would become an Inuit movement.

I listened to them. I sought them out and asked them: what do you want? That was my job, to listen to them. I listened; they said we must have a voice. They told me what they felt was most important to them; they saw the dangers, knew what we were losing. (T. Curley, personal communication, July 11, 2002)

Key Occurrences in the Development of a Written Canon of Inuit Philosophy

Tagak Curley and the generation that followed him began to articulate their concerns, entering Inuit ontology in written records first through government-sponsored Inuit publications, and then through the founding of their organizations and the creation of organizational mission-statements. The process continued through subsequent emerging leadership development programs, through negotiations with the Federal Government of Canada, and finally through the process of forming the Government of Nunavut. Although in Chapter Two I have already provided a background in which I outlined the emergence the key historical events surrounding

the creation of Nunavut; what follows here is a more focused list of the top 20 events, organizations and publications that have played an important role in the process of canon development. As I list each institution, publication, or event, I include a brief summary of how each contributed to the articulation of Inuit ontology and the development of its canon.

Inuktitut Magazine.⁷⁶ (1959-Present). Founded in 1959 by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (DIAND), *Inuktitut* is one of Canada's oldest Aboriginal magazines. Many who helped to create the Inuit movement, such as Leah Idlout,⁷⁷ began their political careers by coming to work for DIAND as some of the first Inuk translators and interpreters. Mary Panigusiq Cousins became the magazine's first editor; both Tagak Curley and Abe Okpik⁷⁸ credit Cousins with having come up with the idea in the first place – a publication that spoke directly to Inuit, in their own language, written *by* Inuit. When I asked her about her role in creating it, she avoided giving me a direct answer by instead crediting everyone in Indian and Northern Affairs for having supported the idea. I tend to believe Abe and Tagak's version, and I further believe that DIAND bought into the idea as a means by which to inform/teach Inuit about the structures and services of the Canadian government.

Based in Ottawa, it was published three times a year, in Inuktitut (syllabics), Inuinnaqtun, English, and French, and distributed throughout the Arctic. In 2005, it was re-launched by the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and published by Ayaya Communications, an Inuit-owned communications company based out of Kuujjuaq, Nunavik (Northern Quebec). *Inuktitut* now has a circulation of 13,000 and is also available on the Internet (<http://www.itk.ca>).

Inuktitut, the first publication written by and for Inuit, filled a growing void as opportunities for storytelling waned with changing lifestyles in the Arctic. It served the population of the time as well as future generations by chronicling community histories and

⁷⁶ Prior to *Inuktitut*, there had been one other government-sponsored Inuit publication. Written in Inuktitut syllabics and published through the Adult Education Program, this small newspaper was the first periodical to reach into Northern communities with news of the outside world as well as information that directly impacted the lives of Inuit. Tagak Curley was the publication's first editor (T.Forth, personal communication, 2004).

⁷⁷ Also known as Leah Idlout-Paulson or Leah D'Argencourt.

⁷⁸ McComber, 2005, p. 165.

legends as well as individual life-stories. From the outset, younger authors began to actively document traditional Inuit values and language changes.⁷⁹ As such it should be recognized as the first published chronicle of Inuit ontological thought.

Indian and Eskimo Association. (1960-1973). As discussed in Chapter Two, the mandate and mission of the IEA changed over time as they created increasingly autonomous vehicles for Indigenous activism. At the time that Tagak Curley first became a member of the IEA, however, its stated objectives were to:

...promote concern for the total well-being of Canadians of Indian and Eskimo background, encourage their acceptance and participation, stimulate understanding and cooperation, foster cultural expression, advertise services and benefits, strengthen local and regional action, disseminate information and provide education and consultative services, carry on comprehensive research, and develop policies on issues of the day. (McPhearson, 2003, p. 57)

The IEA directly involved young Inuit in the conduct of research on the rights of indigenous peoples in Canada and held workshops to help them to become involved in the political process. Although only a small collection remains of the documents they produced (housed at the University of Trent library), both of these processes involved the exploration and articulation of what is meant by Inuit *well-being*.⁸⁰ The IEA directly involved young Inuit in the conduct of research on the rights of indigenous peoples in Canada and held workshops to help them to become involved in the political process.

⁷⁹ Also through researching government archives they were able to find and reprint long neglected Inuit pictures and stories. Over 90% of the Inuit population was literate at the time of the magazine's founding, so the impact that it had was tremendous (Forth, personal communication, 2004).

⁸⁰ Additionally, the IEA brought together people that would work in future collaboration, such as young Inuit leaders (like Tagak Curley and Abe Opik) and young legal activists/lawyers like Peter Cumming. Cumming's book, *Native Rights in Canada*, was published by the IEA in 1972. Cumming also became the ITC's first legal advisor.

Churchill Vocational Center. (1963-1973). There are no documents from the Churchill Vocational Center in Churchill, Manitoba, to which one can point or use as a citation for a canon on Inuit ontology, however the yearbooks read like a who's who of Inuit thinkers. For the first time Inuit students from across the Arctic were brought together. They spoke different dialects and were from different environments (inland and coastal people), yet they shared their stories and experiences from home. In doing that they discovered that regardless of where they were from there was a tremendous disparity between what they were learning with regard to pluralist democracy in civics class and how they were living. Still a student there himself, Jose Kusugak lobbied and won the right to teach the first formal Inuktitut class, which by necessity incorporated the sharing and open learning of Inuit worldviews (Kusugak 2002).

It was not the intention of the educators or of the Department of Education or DIAND, their motivations were more economically driven (Forth, 2004), but CVC graduated a generation of social movement and government leaders who were not only bi-lingual but also cultural interlocutors.

Inuit Tapirisat of Canada/ Inuit Tapirit Kanatami. (1971-present). Today's website for the ITC states that the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada was formed to

Unite Canadian Inuit across the Arctic into a common movement with the strength and mandate to act on what the first ITC president Tagak Curley, referred to as 'the life and death issues that we can only overcome if we are a united people. ITC is part of a new way of life that is needed to help us protect an ancient way of life.' (ITK, 2005).

Four months after its founding in 1971, the ITC printed its first newsletter, *Inuit Monthly* (December, 1971). The first thing it did was to list their organizational aims:⁸¹

⁸¹ The transcript of the mandate passed at the original founding meeting lists these same organizational aims, but in a different order (5, 1, 6, 2).

1. To help preserve Inuit (Eskimo) culture and language and promote dignity and pride in Inuit heritage;
2. To unite all Inuit of Northwest Territories, Arctic Quebec, Labrador and Manitoba and to represent⁸² them with regard to all matter affecting their affairs;
3. To protect the rights of Inuit hunters and trappers in the Canadian North and to promote the formation of a Hunters and Trappers Association in each community⁸³;
4. To improve communication among the Inuit communities of the Canadian North by use of all available sources of communication;
5. To assist the Inuit in becoming aware of their own situation, government plans, aboriginal rights, legal matters, and educational opportunities so that they may determine those things of a social, economic, educational and political nature which will affect them and future generations;
6. To assist Inuit in their right to full participation in and sense of belonging to Canadian society, and to promote public awareness of those rights. (*Inuit Monthly*, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, Issue I, Volume I, December, 1971)

Shortly after it began to publish the newsletter, respected thinkers like Mariano Aupilarjuk⁸⁴ wrote lengthy letters to ITC from various communities, most of them in support of one specific aim,

I am happy that our children are taught many things but our language and our customs should be taught and practiced. Our people are not like they used to be. Even our young adults are too tired to go hunting. They just wait, wait, wait, wait to get helped. They are becoming like children... Yes, it is well that our children are taught English, but our way of life should not be lost. This can be done by cooperation. (Aupilaaarjuk 1972)

Through their newsletters, *Inuit Monthly* and later *Inuit Today* the ITC carried out a dialogue with Inuit activists, thinkers, and Elders across the Arctic (as well as academics who served in Inuit organizations) on how to define and preserve Inuit knowledge, philosophy, and values.

⁸² In the original founding document written in the presence of outside advisors the language used was to “speak for” Inuit; here it has been changed for an Inuit audience.

⁸³ Not included in the original mandate.

⁸⁴ There is significant variation in the spelling of Inuit names. Due to outsider ignorance and the lack of a standardized writing system, over the course of 30 years, the same person may have had their name spelled three or four different ways. Zebedee Nungak encapsulates the general feeling of his people in his article, *Rescuing Inuit Names From Phonetic Butchery*. (Nungak, 2006a)

Canadian Broadcast Corporation. (CBC), Northern Service. (1958 –). While *Inuktitut* and the ITC were creating written records of contributions to Inuit ontology, the CBC was instrumental in training young Inuit broadcasters in a more Indigenous-friendly and interactive oral medium. Although in 1958 when they first established their Northern Service, it was hardly interactive; broadcasts were recorded in Ottawa or Montreal and then flown north to be sent out via short-wave radio.

Jonah Kelly joined the CBC in 1965. It was then that they began producing the programs *Ikaluit Ukasigivuut*,⁸⁵ *Nitjauteet Ikalunni*,⁸⁶ and *Inunuut Ukalimagaat*.⁸⁷ He recalled their importance over 10 years later,

Ever since I first started back in 1965, the Inuit have said to me that the Inuktitut programming on CBC radio has done a great deal to help them understand many things that are happening around them as well as the outside world. The programs also help the Inuit understand their own people better, and that certainly is a big plus for the Inuit. (Kelly, 1976)

In 1972, when Canada's first domestic communications satellite AnikA⁸⁸ was launched, the CBC began a training program for a new Northern Service (Demmer & Clarida-Fry, 2005). By 1974 the CBC was able to broadcast the Berger Inquiry hearings live in five Aboriginal languages; Abe Opik (Project Surname) served as Inuk interpreter for those broadcasts. Other notable early Inuit broadcasters include Ann Pudloo and Aimo Nookiguak, who started at CBC before Kelly; Elijah Menarik, who worked with Kelly and later hosted the first Inuit television broadcast, *Tarqravut*; Anni Pallisar; Zebedee Nungak; former Ambassador Mary Simon; the current commissioner of Nunavut, Ann Meekitjuk Hanson; and eventually most of the Inuit

⁸⁵ Iqaluit (Frobisher Bay) variety program.

⁸⁶ Iqaluit records programs.

⁸⁷ Inuit Stories.

⁸⁸ Anik is Inuktitut for 'brother'; AnikA was launched in 1972, AnikB in 1978, Anik C & D were launched in 1982.

leadership. CBC became the proving grounds for many Inuit canonical authors and it provided the technology to interact across communities in a more inclusive and Inuk way in both gathering and sharing stories, information, and analyses.

Land Use and Occupancy Study (1973-1975). Although it was directed by Professor Milton Freeman and had major non-Inuk contributors like Peter Usher, the Land Use and Occupancy Study heavily involved Inuit researchers, field workers and community leaders. In documenting the 750,000 square miles of land north of the tree line and about 800,000 square miles of northern ocean traditionally used and occupied by the Inuit, this mapping project also gathered many stories, histories, and views.

ITC Youth Leadership Training Programs⁸⁹ (1974-1984). In 1974, Tagak Curley laid the foundation for what would eventually become the Nunavut Sivuniksavut (NS) program by creating Arctic Ambassadors, a youth program for Inuit between 17 and 25. When it was founded, Curley described it as having been designed to “help develop qualities of leadership; to encourage them in furthering their education; and to help bridge the generation gap” (Curley, 1975). A year later, ITC began working with Frontier College to create the Inuit Management Training Project, to prepare future generations of Inuit to administer and manage the “resources expected with the settlement of the Inuit land claims” (*Inuit Today*, 1976). These programs and subsequent workshops taught the Inuit philosophy behind Inuit methodologies as a part of leadership and management training; because they include a great deal of self-analysis, training manuals, workshop reports (for the most part reprinted in articles written for *Inuit Today*) comprise the solid start of an Inuit ontological canon.

⁸⁹ These specific programs will be discussed at greater length in Chapter Five.

Inuit Women's Conference (1975). While youth and leadership workshops helped to define Inuit ontology as it pertained to certain narrowly defined areas, the first Inuit Women's Conference marked the place where more holistic aspects of Inuit ontology began to be recorded. Held in Pangnirtung at the end of July in 1975, the conference brought together women of all generations from across the Canadian Arctic for the first time. More locally focused, they took on such issues as: inadequate housing and dangerous living conditions, child-rearing, bi-lingual and bi-cultural education, career development and capacity building, health care and the lack of infrastructure and personnel, cultural conflicts in dealing with the Canadian legal system, and the role of Inuit values in providing solutions to these problems. Along with the many ontological debates and discussions, the birth of many local initiatives can be traced to this conference. Leah Idlout, conference co-coordinator, produced an 80-page document summarizing the main arguments and recommendations of the women (Idlout, 2004b). This was another great building block in the written canon of Inuit ontology.

Inuit Organizational Explosion (1974-1985). Three years after the ITC was founded, in the spirit of the Trudeau administration, the Inuit leadership began to see the need to develop new organizations to address specific issues and mandates as they arose from local to global. The result was an organizational explosion in which a numerically limited leadership often simultaneously served in several organizations. From 1974 to 1985 over 20 Inuit organizations were created, each with their own stated mission, goals and aims.⁹⁰

Each one added volumes to the written documents supporting the Inuit ontological canon, although no single Inuit organization has contributed more than the Inuit Cultural Institute, also

⁹⁰ For a complete list, please see the Index of Inuit Organizations and their Abbreviations in the appendix.

known as *inummarikku*. Founded in the spring of 1974, its stated goal was to preserve the history, traditions and cultural identity of the Inuit people for future generations (Brisebois 1983). It soon expanded that mandate to include a wide range of educational initiatives designed to “assist [Inuit] to participate on an equal basis within the majority society through strengthening of cultural self-identity” (IN, 1980, p. 22). The ICI attracted many older leaders, including Rhoda Karetak, Ollie Ittinuar, and Eric Anoe. Anoe was a well-known author of an Inuktitut reader who became director of the Inuit Traditions project in 1975, the first major project undertaken by and for Inuit to create an epistemology of Inuit thought.

Election of Peter Ittinuar, MP (1980). On May 22, 1979, Peter Ittinuar was elected to become the first Inuk Member of the Canadian Parliament, representing the newly created riding of Nunatsiak in the NWT. The son of a recognized leader and Elder, Ollie Ittinuar,⁹¹ the grandson of a spiritual leader or *angakkuq* (Itinnuaq, 2002, p. 41), and well-educated by the standards of both cultures, Peter Ittinuar was in a unique position to explain the role of Inuit philosophy to diverse audiences. In his inaugural address to parliament he argued, “In the search for solutions to the question of political development in the north, the logical place to look is in the aspirations of the population itself” (Ittinuar, speech to House of Commons, 1979). A year later in a ground-breaking article for *The Inuit North*,⁹² he outlined those aspirations and the way to achieve them with absolute clarity.

The nature of ethics, for man, is that there is an apparently inherent desire for happiness. In this modern world we are faced with a dilemma, which is to find a working definition of happiness... We must, therefore, be fully aware of the disruptions which threaten a united, strong and flexible philosophy, while at the same time remain willing to

⁹¹ Ittinuar sometimes referred to as Itinnuaq.

⁹² An independent publication of Nortext publications and A. Barry Roberts Consultants.

incorporate those components which allow us to operate effectively in the world.
(Ittinuar, 1980, p. 7)

In a time when most Inuit leaders, including Ittinuar himself, were under the age of 30, it was important to recognize the need for a complete understanding of that “united, strong, and flexible” Inuit philosophy. He continued, “Young people today are making the choices which will determine our future. Let us hope that the wisdom of the past is fully utilized when these decisions are made (Ittinuar, 1980, p. 7).

Elder’s Conferences (1981-1983). On September 22, 1980, the Inuit Cultural Institute began a pilot project, a “permanent” conference of community Elders. Two Elders from each community of Repulse Bay, Coral Harbour, Chesterfield Inlet, Rankin Inlet, Whale Cove, and Baker Lake attended. The late respected Elder, Donald Suluk was among those present. He later said in interview,

This was the first conference of its kind, a conference in which communities got together to try to find out in what direction the Inuit as a group are heading. We wanted to find out if we were still distinguishable from the westernized way of living... It became evident to us during the meeting that we are still thinking as Inuit. (Qitsualik, 1981, p. 9)

Following the conference, participants kept in touch through CB radio, and although they were never quite able to keep their goal of bi-monthly meetings, they did manage to convene again several times. The conference in Pelly Bay held from April 26-30 had over 90 participants, and the following year a conference in Rankin Inlet brought over 50 people together from April 25-28. Among the topics discussed were leadership, kinship, marriage, values, faith and beliefs, the relationship between people and animals, and Inuit origins (ICI 1982/1983).

Creation of Nunavut Sivuniksavut (1984 – present). Founded in 1984 by the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut,⁹³ Nunavut Sivuniksavut is a unique eight-month college program now based in Ottawa. Although, as their website states, the program's original purpose was to train fieldworkers to keep people in the northern communities informed about the progress of land claims negotiations, it has evolved into a more general transition year experience, preparing Inuit between 17 and 22 years old for college or university or to go directly into the Nunavut workforce (Nunavut Sivuniksavut, 2006). Over the years instructors Murray Angus and Morley Hansen have pieced together materials from various original sources to create training manuals, histories and handbooks from which to teach. In addition, they have video-taped presentations by numerous members of the Inuit leadership, past and present, as well as the many advisors and Federal negotiators who played major roles in the creation of Nunavut. These documents are priceless because almost each one addresses valuable epistemological issues in the transmission of Inuit ontology to successive generations. Many of the younger Inuit working in the institutions now most responsible for the articulation and application of Inuit philosophy in policy are also graduates of the program.

The Nunavut Land Claim Negotiations (1982-1993). Documents produced throughout the movement like Inuit Nunangat (The N.W.T. Inuit Land Claims Commission 1978), the Nunavut Concept (1990), or even the Summary of the Agreement between the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area and Her Majesty in Right of Canada (1992) and then released by the

⁹³ The Tungavik Federation of Nunavut was an organizational offshoot of ITC, created for the sole purpose of representing the Inuit of Nunavut in the Nunavut Land Claims negotiations. It had three regional organizations under its umbrella, as well as other organizations with a Nunavut-centric mandate.

various incarnations of the Nunavut Land Claims negotiating body⁹⁴ increasingly perfected the rhetoric of Inuit worldview. Over the years Inuit leaders refined the arguments used to justify many provisions of the land claim, including those involving co-management and oversight of natural resources and lands not under direct Inuit ownership. In these documents, which were written for both Inuit and non-Inuit constituencies, Inuit authors frequently referred to Inuit philosophy or specific Inuit values. These then became significant reference materials in the formation of the Government of Nunavut and directly informed future documents like the Bathurst Mandate or Department of Education curricula. Further, the land claims agreement itself mandated the creation of the Nunavut Social Development Council (NSDC). While recognized, it was not federally funded but rather received its funding through the Inuit organization responsible for looking out for the interests of land claim beneficiaries, Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. (NTI). Before its dissolution in early 2002 the NSDC did manage to sponsor a series of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit workshops from 1998 to 2001, thus also contributing to the developing canon of Inuit ontology (McGrath, 2005).

Pauktuutit (1984-present). Pauktuutit, an organization formed to represent Inuit women, takes a very Inuk view of women's rights; it does not separate issues of women's well-being from the well-being of their families or communities, but aspires to motivate, lead, and support Canadian Inuit women to work for better social, economic, and political conditions. Pauktuutit has been heavily engaged in efforts to provide applied contexts to Inuit knowledge. One of the key principles of their mandate is to "provide resources to ensure that our children are raised

⁹⁴ The Inuit Land Claims project, the Inuit Land Claims Commission, the Nunavut Land Claims Commission, Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut, or the Inuit Ratification Committee are only a few of the incarnations of the arm of the Inuit Movement responsible for negotiating with the Federal Government of Canada on the Nunavut Land Claim.

with Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit – Inuit values, heritage, culture and language” (Pauktuutit, 2006). In addition to their landmark publication *The Inuit Way: A Guide to Inuit Culture* written in 1990 and revised in 2006, they have researched and published on such issues as Inuit approaches to healing and psychological trauma, on the prevention of violence and abuse, and have contributed to national and international dialogues on various applications of Indigenous knowledge.

The Nunavut Implementation Commission (1993 – 1999). The Nunavut Implementation Commission (NIC) was responsible for planning and implementing the transfer of services from the Government of the Northwest Territories to the new Government of Nunavut, including the creation of training programs and the organization of the first elections for the new territory. The NIC was composed of nine members named by the Government of Canada, six of whom had to be residents of Nunavut. They produced two publications, *Footprints in New Snow* (1995) and *Footprints II* (1996). Together they provided the early blueprints for the new Government, although *Footprints II* contained more concrete mandates.

The Bathurst Mandate⁹⁵ (1999). In August of 1999, Nunavut’s newly elected cabinet⁹⁶ members met for four days at the Bathurst Inlet Lodge where they approved the final version of The Bathurst Mandate. It is probably the most significant contribution to the articulation of Inuit ontology, primarily because it attempted to provide the first answer to single most important unanswered question of the negotiation process, what would an *Inuit* dominated public government look like? Implied in that question is the deeper question: how does or should Inuit

⁹⁵ Full text of the Bathurst Mandate is included in the appendices.

⁹⁶ Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs) are elected; they in turn elect the Premier and Ministers. The Premier determines which Ministers will hold which portfolios in the Cabinet.

philosophy inform or shape a society? Entitled, *Pinasuaqtavut*, or "that which we've set out to do," it was organized around four cornerstones of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit:

Inuuqatigiittiarniq: translated as *healthy communities*, the word's more organic meaning is the healthy interconnection of mind, body, spirit, and environment

Pijarnirniqsat katujjiqatigiinnirlu: translated as *simplicity and unity*

Namminiq makitajunnarniq: translated as *self-reliance*

Ilippallianginnarniq: translated as *continuing learning*

The Mandate then outlined for each one the beliefs pertaining to that concept as they relate to the broader community of Nunavut, the principles derived from that concept that the government will use in guiding them, the vision for the future suggested by that tenant of IQ, and concrete plans and objectives for the next five years relating to that core concept (1999).

Of all of these it is the last, *ilippallianginnarniq*, which has proven to be the most important in the development of the canon of Inuit philosophy. Almost every institution and division refers to this clause when pointing out the intention of the Mandate's framers to involve the Elders, leaders, thinkers and educators in further epistemological debates and discussions and to create materials and tools that can be used to pass down Inuit knowledge from one generation to the next.

GNWT & Nunavut Departments of Education (1996-present). Prior to the creation of the Government of Nunavut, The Department of Education, Culture and Employment of the Northwest Territories undertook the task of bringing together a team of about 60 Elders and 50 educators to work on developing culturally relevant curriculum for Inuit youth. The result was probably the most significant contribution to the canon of Inuit philosophy, the *Inuuqatigiit: Curriculum from the Inuit Perspective* (1996). Drawing from the life experiences of those who

took part in its creation, along with documents published and collected by the Inuit Cultural Institute, the curriculum was primarily designed to teach Inuit worldview as well as how to incorporate Inuit worldview into every other subject taught.

The foundation for Inuuqatigiit comes from the Inuit philosophy. The name of the curriculum, *Inuuqatigiit*, means Inuit to Inuit, people to people, living together, or family to family. This is the foundation of the curriculum: a unity of Inuit philosophy for the benefit of the children, teachers, schools and communities. (Inuuqatigiit, 1996, p. 3)

Although *Inuuqatigiit* stands alone as a seminal work, it is currently being further developed, as the authors intended, under the Government of Nunavut's Department of Education through *Sivuniksamut Ilinniarniq*, "a philosophy of education developed from the foundation of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, and from the objectives outlined in the Bathurst Mandate" (FFNCD, 2001, p. 5).

In another initiative of the Early Childhood and School Services Division of Nunavut's Department of Education, Caroline Anawak and Margaret Joyce compiled a list of values in consultation with Elders from across Nunavut and the circumpolar world (Hansard, 2001). Illustrated by Donald Uluadluak, an Elder, Culture & Heritage Advisor, these *Inuit Values and Beliefs* posters were disseminated across the Nunavut school system. The same division also works in conjunction with Elders to produce *Sivunirmut Ilinniarniq*, a bi-annual newsletter intended to circulate reports on IQ activities within the division.

Also operating under the Department of Education, the Language and Culture Program of Nunavut's Arctic College has published two series of books that are also significant contributions to the canon of Inuit philosophy, *Inuit Perspectives on the 20th Century* (Oosten & Laugrand, 2002; Kolb & Law, 2001; Oosten & Laugrand, 2001; Tungilik & Uyarasuk, 1999), and *Interviewing Inuit Elders* (Briggs, 2000).

Unfortunately, none of these materials are as widely disseminated as they perhaps should be, and their incorporation into curriculum in the school system of Nunavut itself has fallen far short of the expectation of the creators. Nonetheless, these works are directly informing many educational and training initiatives currently underway, including initiatives to further develop the concepts and principles that they contain.

Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth (1999-present). The Department of CLEY, the only government department like it in the world, was established to provide leadership in the development and implementation of policies, programs and services aimed at preserving and enhancing the culture, language and heritage of Nunavut (CLEY, 2004). Under the umbrella of CLEY, the Nunavut Language Bureau provides language interpreting and translation services in the four official languages of Nunavut, and manages the Living Dictionary project; the Heritage Division engages in archaeology, toponymy, and manages museums and archives; and the Community Programs Division assists non-profit community-based organizations. Almost by definition, every document produced by CLEY contributes to the documentation and development of Inuit ontological canon.

IQ Task Force 2002 Annual Report. In September, 1999, an IQ Workshop took place in Niaqunngnut, Nunavut, that brought together 17 elders and over 70 representatives from 15 different departments and divisions of the Government of Nunavut. The recommendations of the workshop called for the increased and tangible infusion of Inuit culture into the government workplace and increased accommodation of Inuit life-ways; additionally it called for the creation of a “monitoring body” to assess the degree to which this was accomplished each year (GN, 1999, p. 2). An Inuit Qaujimajatuqanginnut Task Force was established at the end of 2000 to evaluate the implementation of IQ into Government, and in August of 2002 co-chairs Louis

Tapardjuk Jr. and Simon Awa presented their first and only report. Jack Anawak, then Minister of CLEY,⁹⁷ wrote in the introduction,

As you will see, the Nunavut Government is not succeeding in incorporating IQ into itself. For this reason we are recommending that government adopt a very different strategy. Rather than trying to introduce IQ into itself, we recommend that it follow the advice of the Bathurst Mandate and integrate itself into the Inuit Culture. We have spelled out the implications of this new and different strategy. (GN, 1999)

On the behalf of the taskforce, in their report, Tapardjuk Jr. and Awa address the nature of IQ, define its guiding principles, then discuss these principles in relation to what they define as the four primary relationships of Inuit Culture: a) the relationship of a people to their land, and by extension to their culture; b) the relationship to one's family; c) the relationship of the individual to his or her own inner Spirit; and d) the relationship to one's social grouping (to one's community or organization) or the relationship between social groupings.

Though we tend to think of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit almost exclusively as traditional knowledge, it is more properly defined as *the Inuit way of doing things: the past, present and future knowledge, experience and values of Inuit Society* (Jonah Kelly, personal communication, 2014). This definition makes clear that it is the combining of the traditional knowledge, experience and values that prepare the way for future knowledge, experience and values.

IQ, in its traditional context, consists of six basic guiding principles:

1. Pijitsirniq. The concept of serving (a purpose or a community) and providing for (family and/or community)
2. Aajiiqatigiinni. The Inuit way of decision-making. The term refers to comparing views or taking counsel.
3. Pilnimmaksarniq. The passing on of knowledge and skills through observation, doing and practice.
4. Piliriqatigiingni. The concept of collaborative working relationships or working together for a common purpose.

⁹⁷ Jack Anawak was also one of the authors of the Bathurst Mandate (Anawak 2002).

5. Avatittinnik Kamatsiarniq. The concept of environmental stewardship.
6. Qanuqtuurniq. The concept of being resourceful to solve problems. (CLEY, 2001, pp. 4-5)

Further, the taskforce report included an analysis of dominant culture and contrasted Inuit culture to the institutional culture inherent to public government. Formed under the general purview of the Government of Nunavut (GN), the IQ Taskforce was eventually placed within a division of CLEY and members were not reappointed. However, parts of their report are to be found in later documents, including those from the Department of Education, the Department of Human Resources, and most importantly, *Pinasuaqtavut (2004-2009)*.

Pinasuaqtavut (2004-2009). Following the elections in February, 2004, the Government of Nunavut undertook the task of outlining the guiding principles of its second mandate.⁹⁸ Within months it produced a document that bore the same title as the Bathurst Mandate, *pinasuaqtavut*, or again *that which we set out to do*. In essence, it was a marriage of the original Bathurst Mandate with the 2002 IQ Task Force Report that also included some elements of the Inuuqatigiit Curriculum. Key differences were increased references to the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement*, specifically to Article 23,⁹⁹ and the addition of two more guiding principles:


7. Inuuqatigiitsiarniq. The concept of respecting others, relationships and caring for people.
8. Tunnganarniq. The concept of fostering good spirit by being open, welcoming and inclusive (GN, 2004).

⁹⁸ The second time elections were held for the Government of Nunavut; the first elections took place in 1999. Prior to that Nunavut fell under the jurisdiction of the Northwest Territories.

⁹⁹ Article 23 of the NLCA states that the number of Inuit employed by the Government should reflect the ratio of Inuit to the total population of Nunavut.

By 2006 a poster of the *Eight Guiding Principles of Inuit Qaujimaijatuqangit* was developed in all four of the official languages of Nunavut, and distributed to all government offices and buildings (see Table 3).

Table 3: Eight Guiding Principles of Inuit Qaujimaijatuqangit

	<p>The illustration to the left shows a poster depicting “Eight Guiding Principles of Inuit Qaujimaijatuqangit,” (www.inuitq.ca/learningresources/Educators_guide.htm). The principles are:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Inuuqatigiitsiarniq: Respecting Others, Relationships, Caring for People 2. Tunnganarniq: Fostering Good Spirit by Being Open, Welcoming, and Inclusive 3. Pijitsiarniq: Concept of Serving 4. Aajiqatigiingniq: Consensus-Decision Making 5. Pilimmaksarniq: Concept of Skills and Knowledge Acquisition 6. Qanuqtuurungnarniq: Concept of Being Resourceful to Solve Problems 7. Piliriatigiingniq: Concept of Collaborative Relationship of Working Together for a Common Purpose 8. Avatimik Kamattiarniq: Concept of Environmental Stewardship
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Canon Authors

It is not an easy or clear-cut thing to point out specific authors of Inuit epistemological and ontological thought. There are two reasons for this. The first is that it is not the Inuk way to take credit as an individual for any major accomplishment; the second reason is that so much of this kind of work, defining epistemology and ontology, is communal. These publications, recordings, and other documents involved the participation of over 100 Inuit Elders, some 40 to 50 younger Inuit cultural interlocutors, 20 to 30 Inuit translators and interpreters, and over 40 Inuit educators. Nevertheless, there are names that do bear mentioning because either they have been

quietly a part of most if not all of these events and undertakings or because they are universally acknowledged as Inuit philosophers and thinkers.

Beginning with the older generations, both Mariano Aupilaarjuk and Rhoda Akpaliapik Karetak have been involved with just about all of these processes, institutions, and publications. Both are regarded as key Inuit philosophers, as are Donald Uluadluak, Mark Kalluak, and Jaypeetee Arnakak. Although younger, Arnakak has been acknowledged as a respected thinker and has been the principle author of most of the articles explaining Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit. Lucien Ukaliannuk (the traditional law instructor for the Akirsiraq law program) and Elijah Erkloo (resident Elder and advisor to CLEY) are also often mentioned as respected Inuit thinkers. Other respected Elders who took part in *most* of these processes include: Donald Suluk, Ollie Ittinuar, Lucassie Nutaraaluk, and Elisapee Ootoovak although there are indeed so many others. (For a complete list see appendix.)

Among the younger generations of people not yet mentioned are those who worked on the development of *Inuuqatigiit* as members of the Inuit Subject Advisory Committee (ISAC): Liz Apak, Guita Anawak, Elizabeth Karetak, Manito Thompson, Eva Noah, Rosemarie Mayok, Josie Tuktoo, Millie Kuliktana, Naulluq Arnaquq, Peesee Pitseolak, Shuvina Mike, and Rose Marie Kirby. This group of women bear mentioning primarily because most of them have followed a career in public service and are still working in government or in the sphere of education or consulting, expanding on their earlier work in this area. Another person the authors

wish to remember from that project was the only male member of the ISAC, the late respected educator, Simon Alaittuq Ford.¹⁰⁰

Summary: A Waterfall Model of Movement Analysis

In this chapter I have attempted to explain how the Inuit movement as it unfolded in Nunavut affords social scientists with the unique opportunity to gain access to a basic understanding of the principles of an Indigenous ontology.

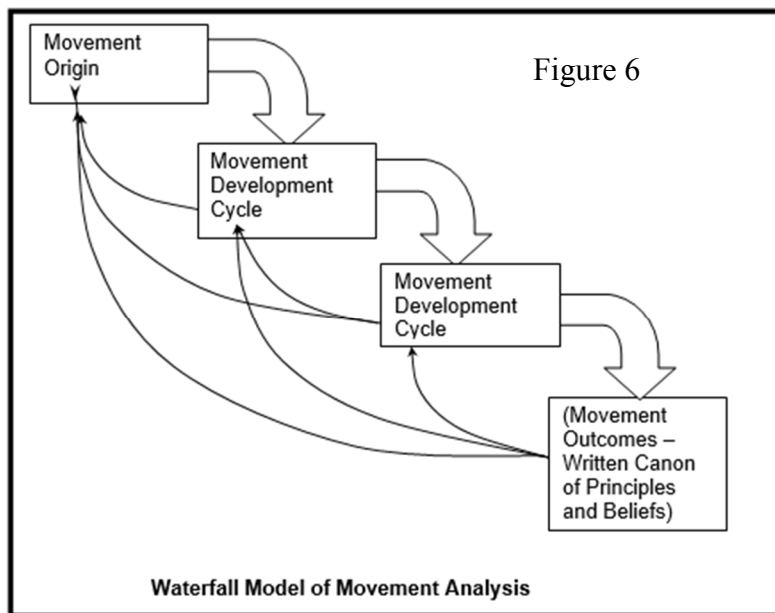
With regard to analysis, I have proposed a waterfall model for explaining the process of internal vetting and development that social movement actors and institutions undergo as they seek to define and refine better means of articulating their core beliefs for the benefit of both insiders and outsiders, including their antagonists; I have attempted to illustrate that model by highlighting the 20 key occurrences that contributed to the articulation of Inuit ontology in the form a written canon with regard to the Inuit movement in Nunavut.

In the next chapters I will begin to search for ways in which these values and beliefs may have influenced key areas of the movement. I would be remiss, however, if I did not point out the paradox of this approach. In fact the very processes that I am about to analyze led to the final articulation of these principles of Inuit philosophy. Using a Waterfall Model of Social Movement Analysis I will now take the rhetoric of these movement outcomes and return to the beginning of the movement to look at how those who lived through the movement actually experienced it. I will compare these now well-articulated principles discussed in Chapter Three to both the things

¹⁰⁰ The first Inuk to become a school principle in the Kivalliq, Somon Alaituuq Ford was still quite a young man when he died, however even though he was not an elder he was admired as both *silatujuq* (p.53) and *ajungittuq* (McGrath, 2006).

that movement participants said about why they got involved, and why they made the decisions/ took the actions they did.

Where the Waterfall Model of Canon Development (Figure 5) illustrates the process through which a movement's core philosophies get articulated and refined, the Waterfall Model of Movement Analysis (Figure 6) illustrates how when those core philosophies are articulated in such a manner as to be made accessible to outsiders, a social movement analyst may then use them to assess the degree to which they may have influenced behavior/decisions of movement actors throughout the movement.



In the case of the Inuit movement, Inuit philosophy and components of Inuit worldview as parts of a greater or holistic ontology from which specific values emerge that can be concretely described and then analyzed in terms of the degree to which they may have informed the various stages of the Inuit movement in Nunavut.

Although I expect a degree of “evaporation” as I move through time, the purpose of such an analysis is to see the extent to which there is any demonstrable continuity in philosophy; do

the narratives and/or life stories of the movement actors accord with Inuit philosophy as it is expressed here? To what extent are the worldviews of the movement actors truly shared? To what extent did movement participants share the same fears or see the same threats or opportunities? What experiences or events in the lives of these movement actors influenced these interpretations? To what extent did these worldviews influence their network of relationships? Finally, can it be demonstrated these principles influenced the actions/decisions of individuals or groups, and if so to what extent? I will begin this analysis by looking at the extent to which they may have influenced the development of Inuit leadership.

Chapter Five: Inuit Governance, Epistemology, and Leadership Formation

I am always amazed at Inuit ‘Being,’ at how strong family responsibility is, and how well Inuit Governance works.

Meeka Mike

Introduction

Even though I had spent almost two years speaking with, researching the histories of, and writing about Inuit leaders, it wasn’t until I went out on the land with friends for the first time in Spring, 2003, and began talking about those experiences with elders that I really began to think in terms of *leadership* and to question what actually shapes a leader. In business circles as well as in politics, one frequently hears the question, “Are leaders born or are they taught?” While there may be inheritable genetic traits that might prove useful in leadership practice, it seems to me that what lies at the root of this question is the subject of leadership epistemology, or how leadership and/or leadership culture and practices are passed on from generation to generation. While the importance of discussing both leadership and leadership epistemology with regard to social movements might be self-evident, when discussing Inuit movements it becomes even more vital, especially when one considers the nature of Inuit governance.

Prior to the extensive colonial intrusions that began after the mid-50s, Inuit governance was family-based or rooted in small communities of related families. Inuit were living together with anywhere from 15-50 or so people. Each community had its own leadership network that functioned at various levels including that of the nuclear family, the immediate community of related families, and more broadly across each region. If the population of Inuit in the Central and Eastern Arctic of North America was approximately 27,000, divide that by 30 and you already have over 900 individuals with experience leading an entire community under extreme

conditions. When one considers that Inuit never lead/led alone within the family/community and also were well networked with other family/community leadership cohorts across various regions, and might then intermarry to create new family/community leadership cohorts, then the actual number of people with leadership skills and decision-making experience could potentially expand geometrically.

The relevance of these two statements will be made even clearer after I have described more completely the nature of Inuit leadership and governance. In Chapter Two I described the Inuit movement that led to Nunavut from its origins to its institutionalization as a government. I discussed how several generations were involved, and mentioned some of the experiences that were shared by a majority of the Inuit leadership cohort. In my appendices I include as complete a registry as I was able to reconstruct¹⁰¹ of how many people were involved in the movement and what roles they played. Under close analysis it become apparent that a comprehensive leadership cohort of about 200 people facilitated the Inuit movement, and included leaders at all levels of Inuit society and political organization. With a little deeper scrutiny, one can clearly argue that the movement was strongly influenced and led as a whole by fewer than 60 women and men who were members of several cohorts of leadership. What becomes impossible to discern however, even under the deepest scrutiny, is the primacy of any particular leadership cohort.

Theories of Leadership

As briefly discussed in Chapter One, scholarship in the area of leadership theory as a whole has undergone swift development over the past decade. It has emerged from the exclusionary domains of organizational theory in the field of business, and decision-making theory developed

¹⁰¹ The participant lists included in the appendices constitute as complete a record as currently exists.

in the social sciences, to become a dynamic, multi-faceted, and moderately contentious area of investigation in Social Movement theory. Within that literature, current theories of leadership address the relative importance of leadership in relation to other factors of movement success (Ganz, 2000; Nepstad & Bob, 2006; Boal & Schultz, 2007), leadership dynamics and the nature of successful leadership (Atonakis, Ciansiolo, & Sternberg, 2004; Beach, 2006), leadership emergence (Guastello, 2007), and even the relationship between culture and leadership (Nepstad, 2004; House et al., 2004). Leadership typologies have been developed, along with several nuanced approaches to the study of leadership, with various degrees of usefulness. There remain, however, several areas in need of greater attention: studies that discuss leadership development or epistemologies of leadership emerging from a specific ontological base, the relative importance of life experiences (expressed through biographical narratives), and the extent to which the latter have been shared by a leadership cohort.

While on the surface it would seem that the concept of leadership development has been broadly researched, closer investigation reveals the over-arching assumption of a great many authors that leadership is a set of skills, and/or behaviors that can be learned (Northouse, 2006). Much of the work in this area, therefore, has been on leadership training (i.e., curriculum development and/or training delivery) rather than on substantive and nuanced comparative studies of leadership emergence, leadership development, or the specific cultural epistemologies of leadership. The literature lacks comparative analyses on the correlation between ontology, governance structures, and the life experiences of leadership cohorts. With regard to ontological frameworks for leadership, the two areas that have been most well-developed are within business literatures discussing varying concepts of corporate culture, or the body of work addressing cultural typologies of governance and leadership emerging from the field of political

anthropology (Feinmann & Marcus, 1998). Only recently are Indigenous authors and scholars in the newly emerging field of Indigenous Studies looking more closely at the link between Indigenous knowledge systems and leadership development epistemologies.

Within the social sciences, much attention has been given to the biographies of individual leaders, including in-depth psychological analyses on the relationships between life experience and behavior, especially with regard to decision-making (Hermann, 2001). In summary, the primary focus of scholarship in the area of leadership development has been on the individual and not on the societies from which the individual leaders or leadership cohorts have emerged, nor upon the concept of collective leadership, moving across scales from local to global, nor upon collective leadership cohorts operating within networks. When examining leadership in most Indigenous societies, this is a glaring oversight.

Leadership, It's All “Relative”

Before describing Inuit leadership and leadership epistemology in practice both in pre-colonial times as well as throughout the Inuit movement from 1960-1990, it is important to discuss and unpack some common misconceptions still prevalent within the social sciences with regard to Inuit governance. In current literature, most of the nuances of Inuit leadership and leadership development practices have been overlooked or ignored. Academic discussions of Inuit governance are often limited to the fact that political organization was centered on the family or that leadership was primarily by consensus. Both of these qualities have tended to be essentialized. Authors often fall back upon ‘big man’ paradigms of political organization so often articulated in anthropological literature:

In traditional Inuit society political organization had evolved no further than the level of the extended family, the group that lived together and hunted as a single ecological unit for the greater part of the year. Leadership of this group generally fell to the oldest male,

to the father of adult sons, or to the oldest among a group of brothers. He gave the signal for the start of hunting or fishing, and he decided matters relating to migration and camp selection. But the leader took all decisions informally, gently, and usually in consultation with other members of his extended family. (Duffy, 1988, p. 196)

Duffy's explanation of leadership and/or governance is problematic, not only in terms of what he has written, but because of what is omitted. He fails, for example, to explain what he means by an *extended family*. Depending upon the reader's own conceptualizations this could mean anything from a handful of people (children, parents, or grandparents) to a large clan of hundreds (including distant cousins).

As explained in Chapter Two, pre-colonial Inuit communities on the land or *ukialivikiit*, generally included anywhere from 12- 30 people from two or three related families and two or three other families, more distantly related or not related at all. Communities of interrelated extended families shared resources and belongings, and divided labor. Such communities would move from region to region, in relation to other communities with whom they shared common ancestry and a common dialect (Purich, 1993, p. 28). These larger populations might encompass as many as five hundred people, with each nuclear family connected to family networks extending across the Arctic.

Even Duffy's (1988) language is problematic, and he is not alone. Through inappropriately evoking the concept of evolution in his discussion of Inuit political organization he appears to frame leadership that is family-based or is rooted in family systems as being primitive or less developed than other leadership systems. To some extent this may be understandable as Eurocentric conceptions of family-based leadership are by their nature feudal, contentious, and exclusively hierarchical. They emerged from ontologies that presupposed absolute power, divine right, as well as modern concepts of sovereignty and are considered today

to be less desirable than political structures that are democratic and citizen-/participation-based. Even though Duffy acknowledges family-based governance as practiced by Inuit as being by its nature consultative and devoid of absolute power, he erroneously transmits the hierarchical systems of feudal inheritance to Inuit culture. This is a frequent pitfall of non-Indigenous scholars who are often unable to break away from colonial ontologies and methodologies that presuppose superiority, hierarchy, and ownership. The greatest challenge to any social movement researcher working in the area of Indigenous movements is, in my opinion, to avoid such pitfalls. Family-based governance is often depicted as colloquial and authoritative, or if not authoritative then either ad hoc or ineffectual.

Further, Duffy clearly limits his discussion to that of secular leadership, or the role of the *Isumataq* ('person who is wise'; from the Inuktitut *Isuma*, meaning 'wisdom') introduced in Chapter Three. *Isumataq* were those upon whose wisdom the community relied for survival. If today's credentials were used to evaluate the best of such individuals, it would be the general consensus of opinion they would hold degrees in: ecology, marine biology, land and marine resource management, meteorology, structural engineering, philosophy, psychology, personnel management and conflict resolution. In addition to having in-depth knowledge of the region they occupied, *Isumataq* were also responsible for knowing the strengths and weaknesses of those in their communities, for coordinating activities from hunting to travel and relocation, and for logistics and long term planning, not to mention emergency management. *Isumataq* may not always personally have possessed all the required expertise in all these areas, but generally knew whom to consult with regard to each. Contrary to Duffy's belief that leaders were the oldest males in each community, my research reveals a more nuanced understanding of Inuit leadership.

Leadership roles fell most often to the most able and the most willing, not necessarily the oldest. As described in Chapter Three, Inuit kinship systems created many layers of connection between and among families. Leadership was also not passed down as in a feudal system from father to son; rather, leadership responsibilities could pass to others within the same community more distantly related to the leadership families, or even from another nuclear family. Further, leadership responsibilities were shared among both genders, with women assuming equally important leadership roles in each community. Contrary to the idea that Inuit governance was inflexible and limited because it was based on kinship, Inuit governance, as Inuit describe it, actually appears to have functioned effectively across scale as a highly complex and nuanced system. Family-based governance structures, while rooted in very small, localized, traditionally migratory communities, extended beyond that to encompass regional and trans-regional networks and systems of governance. Networks of relatives, who were mutually dependent upon each other for their well-being and even their survival, developed norms of cooperation and interaction that extended across the Arctic. Inuit governance in practice, in fact, conforms almost perfectly to the paradigm of John Locke, who sought to find balance between the arguments that while no individual has absolute authority over another, men and women are subject to the laws of nature and to reason. "The state of nature has a law of nature to govern it, which obliges every one: and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind, who will but consult it" (Locke, 2nd Treatise on Government, §6).

Foundations of Leadership

As I outlined in Chapter Three, kinship/belonging and environment/place are the foundations, *tungavinga*, of Inuit belief; understanding the importance of both is essential to truly realizing one's *inuuniq*, the state of being Inuk or human. Where you were born, the place/s that you knew

and learned growing up, and the people that you were surrounded by all shaped the ways in which you came to feel your *inuuniq* and came to know or perceive *inuusiq*, ‘life’ or the human actions that are necessary for sustaining life. The *tungavinga* here relate to *inuuniq*, as *innuniq* relates to *inuusiq*; all are the building blocks that inevitably determine action or behavior. A person’s circle of belonging (kinship/community), the environment upon which they depend for life, the natural cycle of the seasons, and a person’s life cycle are all also inextricably intertwined and interdependent (Figure 2). Inuit ways of being require individuals to not only understand all of this, but also to take the actions that are necessary to maintain the balance that keeps all of these things healthy and in harmony. To do this, to follow this life path, is to follow what is referred to in Inuit philosophy as *maligait*.

In simple terms, *maligait* can be understood as law, but it is more than law. It is a concept that dictates action. Whereas the Euro-American concept of law puts primacy on what is prohibited, what one must not do, *maligait* emphasizes what one is required to do, what one’s responsibilities are. According to Inuk philosopher Marino Aupilaarjuk, *maligait* means the ‘things that had to be done’; more powerfully, he describes it as a “force that Inuit lived by” (Price, 2007, p. 39).

Aupilaarjuk explains that each member of the family and community must recognize and respect the “intrinsic spiritual network of relationships that guide Inuit existence, be constantly aware of their surroundings and actions, and when necessary, be critical of their own conduct” (Price, 2007, p. 40). In following *maligait*, a person is called upon to develop an intuitive understanding of what is right and what is wrong through observing the ways that members of their family and community interact with each other, as well as how they interact with and respect other forms of life and the environment as a whole. Yet, the kind of mindfulness of

which Aupilaarjuk speaks also refers to an awareness of neglect or personal negligence. Examples of not following *maligait* could be something as simple as buying a plant and then failing to water it to something as serious as neglecting or ignoring your wife/husband or children, or failing to notice a significant change in the weather or the migration patterns of the *tuktu*, caribou. The consequences of not following *maligait* were/are dire, and could threaten the survival of the individual concerned, the family and community of which they were a part, or now in the context of global warming, even the entire world. *Maligait*, it can be argued, combines Locke's concept of governance incorporating both his ideas on the "law of nature" and "applied human reason" and takes it further, to the realm of mutual responsibility or contemporary concepts of civic action or citizenship. An individual's personal chain of or rather sphere of responsibility travels along a continuum from immediate family, community and along kinship networks to the rest of humanity and creation.

Where one is born, the community of people one is born into, and the times one is born into determine the needs of one's people and hence one's understanding of *maligait*. Just like the concept of Inuit *Qaujimaqatuqangit*, Inuit knowledge, and ways of knowing covered in Chapter Three, there are elements of *maligait* that are constant. For example: Inuit or human beings will always be required to respect each other; food and resources will always be shared among the family and community; and Inuit or human beings will always respect the environment, the animals, and the spiritual balance in which all creation exists. Under the principle of Inuit *maligait*, it will also always be required of an individual to publicly confess their wrongdoing to the community.¹⁰²

¹⁰² Public confession helped restore harmony to a community; it was a way of ensuring that no one else was blamed for that individual's transgressions and opened the way to restoring that person's role in the family and community.

However, there are aspects of *maligait* that are defined by the times. My friend Siobahn Arnatsiaq-Murphy, (personal communication,) explained this to me one day in conversation:

S: If a husband and wife were having an argument, or worse – let's say there is actual physical abuse going on, the way we would have handled it is as a family and community. First, the parents of both people would talk to each to try to find out what was wrong. Why is he hitting her? Why is she hitting him? What are they feeling that they act this way? Maybe she feels overwhelmed with the children; maybe he feels stressed because there's not enough money. Both sets of parents would work with them. The thing would be to catch it the moment that it started, and bring the two together to start resolving the problems – not like today. In the Canadian system – or in your case American – justice system, what is the first thing you do with people who are fighting like that?

H: We separate them.

S: Right. But that's not the Inuk way. So the Canadian system deprives us of the very thing that used to keep us together – as families and as communities, our way of solving what is wrong – our way of following what is right – *maligait*.

H: And what if bringing the parents in didn't work, and the two kept at it?

S: Well, then the grandparents would be brought in, or elders of those families or that community; in any case the circle would widen, they would get more advice, and also there would be more eyes watching them – making sure that they were not violent or that the couple's children would not get hurt either.

H: And the circle would just get wider?

S: Yes, but it's not just a circle, it's a network – the whole community. Imagine if your parents, your grandparents, your boss at work, your church leaders, the friends that you play soccer with – everybody -- was there, both to support you – out of genuine concern for your well-being – and also to keep you on track, make sure you didn't backslide.

H: Wow. But there have still got to be some people that wouldn't get it.

S: Sometimes. There was also public shaming, but only if the support didn't work. And if worse came to absolute worst, then and only they could that person be banished. But remember, banishing somebody was the same thing as punishing the entire community, because that person was needed.

H: And that's *maligait*?

S: No, that's only a part of *maligait*. It is not about understanding what not to do, it's about understanding what **to do**, not just in terms of right and wrong, but also in terms of

what is **good** – what is good for you as an Inuk, a person, what is good for your family/community; what is good for the balance of everything. The balance has to be respected and maintained – that's *maligait*.

H: But what about that couple that's been separated by the Canadian authorities, how do you follow it today?

S: The same things still happen, if they can, but sometimes too much time has passed. Sometimes there aren't any parents or they are too far away. Sometimes there aren't any elders that we are directly connected to. That's our challenge, finding ways of healing what separates us from what it is that we know we ought to do. Like bringing restorative justice back into our communities as a part of it... but there's more. Living in a modern world, we have to learn new balances – but family has still got to be the heart of it.

In the next sections I am going to look at narratives from the lives of Inuit who played key roles in the Inuit movement that led to the creation of Nunavut, either shared with me in interview or published elsewhere. Specifically, I have selected those stories that seem to relate most to their development from child to adult, and that might provide some insight on what may have influenced them in choosing various life paths that led to their taking on leadership roles. As I mentioned at the conclusions of Chapters Three and Four, I have sought for stories that illustrate or reflect the extent of an individual's awareness of the three key concepts of Inuit philosophy (*Pijitsirniq*, *Inuuqatigiit/Inuuqatigiitsirniq*, and *Avatittinnik Kamatsiarniq*¹⁰³), and the extent to which that knowledge/awareness may have had an influence on individual or collection action.

To summarize, *Pijitsirniq*, *Inuuqatigiit/Inuuqatigiitsirniq*, and *Avatittinnik Kamatsiarniq* are all fundamental aspects of *maligait*; expressly they describe values. *Maligait* refers to actions, or inactions, that relate to those values. Because of their relationship to each other, I begin this analysis of the Inuit movement and its leadership by looking at how Inuit leaders have

¹⁰³ (*Pijitsirniq*, service to others; *Inuuqatigiit/Inuuqatigiitsirniq*, unity and respecting others; and *Avatittinnik Kamatsiarniq*, environmental stewardship)

described those things that have shaped their understanding of *maligait*; where they were born, who their families were, where they grew up, and how they describe what they felt was expected of them.

The Importance of Place (*Avatittinnik Kamatsiarniq*)

In thinking about the importance of place, I am drawn to the foothills of Smoky Mountains of my own childhood and how important a role that its specific geography played in shaping my understandings of the world. Also, I am brought back to the ways in which contemporary Inuit (like my friend Siobhan) or Nunavumiut (like my host Marion) describe the differences in Inuit generations as being between those who are: 1) born in an igloo and grew up on the land, 2) born in an igloo and grew up in a community, and 3) born in a hospital. As the world changes and older generations disappear, soon these distinctions may become a distant memory. For now, however, they remain very indicative of a person's life experiences, and their worldviews.

Before I had even done the life-mapping to concretely prove it, I knew that most of the people who led the Inuit movement were born in a time of significant transition in the 1950s or early 1960s; they grew up really on the cusp of two generations. Most were born in an igloo and grew up on the land – at least until they reached a certain age where most also were sent to boarding school. Some were sent to Chesterfield Inlet, a Catholic boarding school, at a younger age for primary school; by the time they were 14-17, they might then be sent to either Churchill, Manitoba or Yellowknife, NWT. Still others from the Kitikmeot were more likely to be sent to Inuvik. And some rare few, such as Tagak Curley, Zebede Nungak, Abe Okpik, and Peter Ittinuar, were sent to Ottawa. Most Inuit leaders then took up their roles in the movement directly from wherever it was that they had gone to school, going to work in government,

communications, or directly for an Inuit organization. In the later years of its operation, some were even recruited directly out of the CVC.

In the early days of the Inuit movement, many present day communities had not yet been established; people were still moving into them. Most of the families from which the movement leaders came were still quite nomadic at the time that generation was born, or at least their families were not tied in any permanent way to a single community.

Most of the Inuit of that generation that I interviewed could recall the camps where they were born; or as I described in Chapter Two, their communities on the land, *ukialivikiit*. These were the places where they spent summers or winters, and most do not appear on the official maps of Nunavut.

Yes, I was born in a place called Qijjujuaq, which means the place where the driftwood was always normally available. It is now a hunter's campsite – which is operated by Sandy Anawak, who I grew up with. (J. Kelly, personal communication, February 13, 2004)

Here is Iqaluit right here [pointing to a map], and here is Kimmirut...so here [pointing to an unmarked part of the shoreline somewhere in between]...yeah, this is about where it would be. (N. Arnaq, personal communication, February 20, 2004)

My parents and grandparents grew up in Igloolik, but when my siblings and I were born they moved outside of Igloolik to a smaller area, where there was fox, whale and fish available; it was called Aatko. We moved to Igloolik when my father became ill; he started to vomit blood and we had to go to Igloolik because my older brother passed away from this as well. (L. Ukaliannuk, personal communication, March 29, 2004)

I was born near Pond Inlet; we had summer camp and winter camp. We were familiar with all that area. I never went out hunting don't ask me much about that; I had seven brothers -- my father was a camp leader. ...My mother made all our clothing...but we children, among ourselves we would talk and be out on the land -- we had, you call it 'freedom'; we had plenty of that. (L. Idlout, personal communication, June 17, 2006)

The importance of knowing the place of one's birth and where one grew up is ubiquitous, as is the sharing of experiences and life stories, that I eventually got very good at explaining my

own roots in Alabama, and my experiences growing up. I was recently reminded of this as I reviewed the first conversation that I ever had with Rhoda Karetak. Her daughter, Charlotte St. John, had gone to school in Churchill and was interpreting for us. The following conversation (personal communication) picks up long after the initial introductions and welcome; as usual, I was sharing “the binder” with both of them:

H: [Pointing to a chart of Inuit organizations] So, I am trying to put in the story all of that – who was in the co-op movement, who was in the church, who was in the Indian-Eskimo association, and then the ITC and so on...

CSJ: Wow. This is great.

H: So I am doing this for three reasons, one is the dissertation of course, but another is so that we can have a book that will include all of these voices...

CSJ: Can I explain some of this to my mother ... ah - [making a ‘rewind’ gesture] first, your *birthplace* again?

R: [After listening to my story] It is good be heard – where you come from, what happened to you in the progress of the whole – from there to here, and what took place; it is good to be heard.

I eventually understood that what Rhoda means above is that not only is it good, but it is necessary. It is a part of *maligait*, that which must be done or is expected. In sharing my life story with Rhoda and Charlotte, it becomes clear through what I describe of my childhood and the places I grew up not only what my interests are (and probably what led me to them), but also what I am likely to understand or relate to in the stories of their lives. Rhoda continues our dialogue (personal communication) by seizing upon something that, in her perception and experience, we might have common frames of reference for – Martin Luther King Jr. Knowing that I am from Alabama, she knew that regardless of my age, we both shared the legacy of King’s assassination.

CSJ: [Translating for Rhoda, after a digression in conversation] Let's get back to where we were – Alabama. Yes, she knew all about Martin Luther King and what he was doing, and when he got shot – she could feel all that.

I explain that I had only been two years old when he was killed, but that for my generation growing up in the Huntsville public school system, a community that never knew the outward violence of the times, his legacy still shaped all of our lives. Birmingham was only two hours away. Later, Rhoda (personal communication) tells her story – and starts at the beginning:

CSJ: [For Rhoda] She was born in an igloo, she traveled by dog team. Her friends were dogs! [laughs] She is a dog person.

In fact, one rather surprising thing that emerges when looking at a general overview of the life experiences of those who played key roles in the Inuit movement is how widely traveled they were, for most even in childhood. Mary Cousins, for example, had already traveled across the entire Canadian Arctic before she was ten years old. Her son-in-law, Kenn Harper, recalled her early travels in a CBC Interview shortly after her death in 2007. Mary was “only six years old when she accompanied her grandmother and uncle on a famous east-to-west voyage of the Northwest Passage [and on to British Columbia] aboard the RCMP schooner St. Roch with Capt. Henry Larson” (CBC News, April 30, 2007). She herself told me about the two years it took her family to travel back to her home in Pond Inlet (from Herschel Island) traveling by dog team.

Tagak Curley, for example, had traveled to every community in the Northwest Territories, most of the Territories and Provinces of Canada, as well as Alaska and Greenland by his mid-20s (Curley, 2006). John Amagoalik had done the same (Amagoalik, 2008). Leah Idlout, and Moses Kilabuk had served as interpreters aboard the CD Howe and traveled to every coastal community while still in their teens, not to mention Churchill, Manitoba where they assisted in triage that helped determine who of their patients would be sent to Edmonton or further south.

Catherine Pilakapsie, whose own story will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Seven, traveled with her husband Louis to Loon Lake near Churchill following mining opportunities. Most of the leadership coming from Rankin Inlet (Ittinuar, Curley, Pilakapsie, and Tagoon families) shared similar stories. Still others, like John Amagoalik and Leah Idlout, also shared the experience of having been relocated to the high arctic in 1953 and 1957. When I asked John, who he learned the most from in preparing for his career, he answered,

I guess it was the re-location model from when I was a kid, observing how my parents and other adults were treated by the government, the RCMP when I was growing up, living a pretty tough life-I think that's what it was. (J. Amagoalik personal communication, May 25, 2004)

Two years later, speaking to my students, he said,

The kind of Arctic that I grew up in, in those days it was a very different world, as you may imagine. In those days it was what I would call a colonial Arctic. We were referred to as "wards of the government," it's not something that you hear very much these days, but it was a term that described our situation these days. The government was all powerful; it could decide whatever it wanted to do with you. In those days, living in Resolute Bay, was extremely isolated – so so different from the world I had known for the 10 years before we were moved. (J. Amagoalik, personal communication, June 9, 2006)

As so many have taught me, the place that one grew up – the land, the sea, the environment – is important to each individual and each family in teaching the next generation their understandings of the world. In traveling regionally, one gained specific understandings of one's homelands and waters. In traveling further afield, one gained a comparative perspective and greater understanding of the sources and destinations of life/wildlife and of the interconnectedness between communities. While there were some things/knowledges that were shared across the Arctic, there were others that were not. Once again, as John Amagoalik explained,

Stewart Hodgson, the last Colonial Commissioner, he had this idea of the NWT as one happy, harmonious society; and he wanted to keep it that way. But we knew, even at the time, that it wasn't going to be like this the whole time because our priorities were very much different from theirs [East vs West]. They were a land-based culture and society, and we were a marine-based culture and society. What is important to us are seals and wolves and polar bears; over there its grizzlies and moose. (J. Amagoalik, personal communication, May 25, 2004)

Here, John is not just explaining the difference in habitat, but in all of the systems – *tunngavinga* – that Inuit of Nunavut shared as opposed to those who were not Inuit, or who were Inuit living in the inland West. Sometimes the connection between place, ontology and leadership is perceived as very, very local.

Yes, I was born in a place called Qijjujuaq, which means the place where driftwood was always normally available. It is now a hunter's campsite – which is operated by Sandy Anawak, who I grew up with. But anyway, the way I understand my leadership begins from other parts of the family. My father, and my father's parents, and their parents and Uluaukaluk family were connected somehow, through sisters or brotherhood or somewhere on that line. So I want to start from there, because my father from there onward until his death, he was a leader – somewhat- within that community. ...my home, my community of Qijjujuaq, we came there because of my father being tied to another family, that was Okalik, that he separated himself from the family...and came to Qijjujuaq. (J. Kelly, personal communication, February 13, 2004)

Place may inform a family's ontology, but it is family that informs and creates leadership.

The Importance of Kinship (Pijitsirniq)

The importance of kinship, as well as the many styles and variations that kinship can take in Inuit society, have already been discussed at length in Chapter Three. What has not been discussed is kinship in relation to leadership; leadership is shaped and created through kinship, and kinship systems are the ties that bind leadership to their communities and communities to each other.

Who did I learn the most from? Oh there were so many of them. My own outpost camp, 30 miles from Holman Island – a group of eight families, my Grandfather who I was adopted to was – we didn't have chiefs like tribes or nations of Indian groups down South, we just kind of notice who happens to be a leader. My Grandfather was recognized as one; he was a great hunter, a good family man. He had many daughters, sons, he had an extended family – they all kind of looked up to him. When I was a little

child I said to myself, “Someday, when my body is as big as his, I am going to be almost as good as him.” (J. Kupeuna, Sr., personal communication, April 30, 2004).

After I had been gathering stories for a while, particularly the stories of those who had been leaders first in the movement and then in the Inuit organizations throughout the negotiation process, I started to see patterns they had in common. Life experiences, things they had learned from their families and particularly the older generations and also how they were related. I had come home one evening, and as usual, my host Marion looked at me expectantly. We had become so familiar with each other that she didn’t even have to ask the questions: “So, where did you go? Who did you talk to? What stories did you hear?” All of this was just communicated with an expectant look as she plopped herself down on the sofa. I raised my eyebrows in the Inuk sign of agreement, as if to say, “Yes, it’s been a very full day.” And slowly I let me breathe out as I struggled to express what it was that I had finally stumbled upon.

Marion was my sounding board for all of my ideas and understandings, and it is to Marion that I must give the lion’s share of credit for all of my understandings of leadership and revelations about the most intimate details of Inuit family life, and hence governance. In sharing her family with me, *a leadership family*, all that she shared with me was, in a way, personal.

I took a deep breath. “This consensus-decision making thing,” I began, “egalitarian society – it has a limit doesn’t it?”

Marion smiled and brought her glasses down from her nose, to look at me, prompting me much like the stereotypical professor. “Mmmm?” she inquired.

“I’m gonna break the myth, and argue that there are *leadership* families within Inuit society.” I declared, somewhat controversially.

“Finally.” Marion said flatly. “This is something that I have been arguing for years.”

I had spent the day at an IQ session that had been held at the Department of Executive and Intergovernmental Affairs. Jonah Kelly had been discussing leadership, and in the way of

most Elders, he related experience through memory, storytelling. It was for us to extract the knowledge or remember the story that resonated most with us. The knowledge that he shared in that one day was so rich that it could have filled a book. Yet as I was listening, I suddenly realized I was hearing the story not only of how leaders were chosen, but of how new communities were formed. It was a story embedded in his own personal narrative:

[My father] he separated himself from the family - so, my father he wanted to establish his home, our own community – Qijjujauq, when he did that – he already had a son and four daughters with him. Now, those five in the family they were much too young to have a husband or a wife, they were much too young yet. Now having to say that because the immediate family always has a tie with somebody else who is outside of the camp. The people or the person or the men, especially men, had men to support potential leaders – they always had followers. And those followers always followed a potential leader to somewhere within their reach. So, that's what happened to my father; my father was a potential leader, and at the same time his wife and her family had also had potential support for my father as a leader within this new community. So the support that he already had coming into the new camp was already established as a community-level of local government. (J. Kelly, personal communication, February 13, 2004)

So the children of two leadership families from two different communities came together, one having left their family's community to join their spouse's, later leave off on their own, taking followers with them, to create their own community. Yet they are not so far away as to be beyond help of their more experienced elders should they need them, now there are also some other camps within, I don't know, three or four miles apart. But this particular community, for some reason or another, was a little bit more popular than the other communities, because perhaps their leadership in that community was receptive to other families who needed to have some kind or form of leadership within the community – [pauses, smiling] – so that's what I am hoping, is that it happened that way! [laughter] Napatwsie, another lady from Kimmirut, her family was in a different camp, so...we came to a new community because the leader and the family were already established as respected within that community – they had to have a replacement within that small group of people to take as a, we'll call it a second in command – or a potential vice-leader who was respected - and perhaps also tied to that same family, either through the wife or the husband. (J. Kelly, personal communication, February 13, 2004)

Through Jonah's narrative we begin to understand the important role that kinship plays in creating the ebb and flow of communities. Communities are formed, join others, break from others and so forth, creating a complex system of connections between and among communities

across a region, and even between and among regions. But how did leadership families develop the next generation of leaders? You became a leader in Inuit society, not because your parents had been, but perhaps because you paid more attention. Being from a family of leaders meant that you had more of a chance to observe leadership, and individually had a chance to understand your strengths or weaknesses. In an excerpt from her regular by-line, *Nunani* in the *Nunatsiaq* News, Rachel Attituq Qitsaulik explains it best,

Anyone who thinks that Inuit childhood was always carefree has never been to a spring camp. Competition could be fierce. There were many children of different ages living together and trying — perhaps not hard enough — to get along. Rivalries entered the picture once skills were developed to the point of being considered useful. Children were often compared to one another. I tried to use my siblings and other kids as living lessons. My half-sister, for example, was having difficulty shooting, so I vowed to become the best shot I could. One of my youngest brothers always got dragged out of bed by his hair. I wanted to avoid that. I decided to focus on the things I was best at — especially those skills others were deficient in.

And it wasn't until adulthood that I realized such games offered us a chance to develop strong individuality in an otherwise very egalitarian, communal existence. Strangely, even though the experience served to individuate us, we came away from it with a deeper awareness of the group — perhaps because we now knew the strengths and weaknesses of all its members. Our heightened individuality, ironically, forged us into a better community. Instead of a mass of people, we were taught to be individuals working together. (Qitsaulik, June 29, 2001)

In describing her childhood, Rachel not only illustrates some of the most important Inuit values (*maligait*), but also the nature of applied Inuit epistemology, or pedagogy. These are the kind of pedagogical practices that determined leadership. With Jonah and Rachel's narratives, one soon comes to perceive a far more nuanced and layered approach to leadership and the roles of individuals within Inuit society, and these, taken together with Siobhan's description of conflict resolution, we also come one step closer to understanding how Inuit governance works.

Individuals matter, and each person is responsible for understanding and becoming aware of their own strengths and weaknesses as well as those within their own community. The ways in

which leadership qualities are recognized and nurtured are also not random. Simon Awa once shared with me this story:

My father once called all of us together, all the boys, his sons and nephews, adopted sons, I think there were ten or more of us ranging in age from seven or so to sixteen. We were all reaching the age where we wanted a harpoon. And he told us this story, there was a harpoon, back at our summer camp. We could go and get it if we wanted it. Summer camp was a couple days travel. But the thing was that it was under this boat, and under the boat, he told us, there was a body... a *human* body. Of all of us, only two dared to go and get it.

H: Who were they?

[smiling] Me and James Arvaluk. It was a test, you see. There was no body of course. But which of us trusted ourselves enough to know that we could find our way there and back, which of us were interested... you know, had been paying attention. Which of us wanted it. So we got it. And we shared it. (S. Awa, personal communication, June 9, 2006)

Those to whom Inuit turn for leadership must not only also be aware of their own strengths and weaknesses and those of others, but also be able to use or deploy them along with the resources at hand, recognizing challenges and opportunities as they arise and make the most of all of these. On the surface, this sounds like what is required of any leader in any environment. There are two major differences in the leadership paradigm that would seem to be manifest within Inuit society, however. They are the same two qualities that differentiate Inuit family-based governance systems from nepotism or feudalism. First and foremost is the fact that Inuit leadership is by popular consent. As many Inuit leaders have told me in discussing Inuit governance, one of the beauties of the system was that should any leader or leadership family become ego-centric and begin to put their own interests ahead of those of the community, the community was quite capable of “voting with their feet.” Over the years I have heard more than one story of a leader who woke up one morning to find that he, and perhaps his wife and children, were alone on the tundra.

Second, in most Western environments, while it is expressed as an ideal that members of organizations or communities, such as Greenpeace or Black Lives Matter for example, share a common culture of philosophy, seldom is a consensus and cooperation-based ontological harmony a “given.” Even more rare is the idea that both leaders and followers be aware of and recognize their own strengths and weaknesses. If they do, they are more often cast in an environment of competition and hierarchy rather than cooperation.

Family-Based Leadership Networks

That first evening after I spent time with Jonah Kelly, who would become one of my many mentors, Marion and I proceeded to discuss the concept of leadership families in depth, and the concept of how families and relations work in networks of cooperation. We spent that evening (and many others) looking over the rolls of individuals and families involved and active in the Inuit movement, and it soon became very clear what and who was meant by a leadership family. Certain families just *stood out* as having had many participants in the movement. Many of them had shared the same experiences. In looking at the rolls of names, for example, many of the same families had children who had attended Churchill Vocational Center, or who had worked for CVC, many of those children were known to have had parents who were community leaders, leaders on the land or later among the churches. Family names and relationships began to correspond. So too, did the concept of colonial experience coincide with leadership.

Colonization had begun with leadership families. The institutions of colonization, the troika (Hudson Bay Company, RCMP, and churches) turned first to community leaders in order to take root in the Arctic and begin to understand Inuit society. Those leaders then sent their children to learn about these institutions, often working for them. [See Nunavut Leadership Development Part One Figure]

Because of the close kinship systems among Inuit in Nunavut, it is difficult to say who comes from a “leadership family” or not. The concept, as I mentioned is one that has some inherent problems because of the cultural taboo on making distinctions between people. If something wonderful is accomplished, one individual cannot take credit for it, it was a collective effort. If something heinous took place, it is not the role of any individual to place blame on anyone else. Add to that the very human fact that every parent plays a leadership role to their children at some point in their lives, and it is difficult to objectively analyze how others perceive one’s parents or the roles that they play in the larger community.

Tables 2, 3, and 4 illustrate profiles of three family-based leadership networks. They are by no means complete, and are only included here to illustrate the relationships that exist between and among family members as well as the extent to which leadership threads may run through families.

Table 2: Lyall Family Profile: “An Arctic Dynasty” (Excerpt of generations; generational differences are distinguished by shading.)

John Lyall’s father came directly from Scotland		Ningooya (f)	EXCERPT OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS ACROSS GENERATIONS
Christina (f) & John (m) Lyall (from Ireland& Labrador; had 19 children including: Elder Ron Lyall; Bella Lyall)	Kavavouk (m)	+ Anaija (f) Nipisha Ootookee Napashee Kooyook Johnny Tucktoo (m)	Kavavouk was a community leader, along with his nephew, Takolik (m) and his wife’s stepbrother, Inuk (m) . Originally from Cape Dorset, they settled in Cambridge Bay. Megan Pizzo-Lyall (22 in 2007) is the Vice President of the National Inuit Youth Council and received an National Aboriginal Role Model Award for 2006.
Ernest Wilson Lyall (m) (3 rd Generation Hudson’s Bay Company man, born 1910)	+ Nipisha Aqpik(f)		Ernie Lyall spoke fluent Inuktitut, lived on the land until he helped found the community of Taloyoak (Spence Bay); he is the author of the book, <i>An Arctic Man</i> published in 1979. Nipisha Lyall served on the Territorial Committee on Land Claims (NWT).
	Bella Ningooya (f)	+ Wilcox(m)	Bella , who eventually settled in Cambridge Bay, married a Ministry of Transport Inspector in Newfoundland.
	William (Bill) (m)	+ Jessie (f) 6 children 2 adopted children	The Honorable William Lyall is the founding president of Arctic Co-operatives Limited, served as vice-chairman of the Nunavut Implementation Commission, and several boards as well as in

			territorial government (MLA GNWT). Order of Canada.
	Barbara(f)		Barbara settled in Taloyoak (Spence Bay).
	John (m) (raised by Kavavouk)		John Lyall has served as Chairperson of the Community Beneficiaries Committee of the Kitikmeot Inuit Association.
	Pat(m)	+Leah(f)	Pat Lyall was the Vice-President of the Kitikmeot Inuit Association; fmr Chair (12 yrs) of the Nunavut Planning Commission; played key roles in the development of the IBC and APTN, and was the longest serving board member of the NorTerra Group of Companies. There is a Marine Vessel, MV Pat Lyall, named in his honor.
	Betty (f)	+ Brewster(m)	Betty Brewster is an interpreter who has worked for territorial government for three decades (GNWT & GN); she has played integral role in creating Nunavut.
	Dennis(m)	+ Christine (f) Sandra Lyall	Dennis Lyall began as a pipeline worker in 1979, and is now the Mayor of Taloyoak, and has also served on the boards of several companies. Sandra Lyall is a student activist and advocate for Inuit culture and language; while studying leadership at NS in 2005 she took part in the campaign to challenge animal rights activists with regard to seal hunting and other practices central to Inuit economy.
	Charlie(m)	+Gina (f)	Charlie Lyall began as an RCMP Special Constable and field service worker for Inuit organizations in 1979, and is now the President of the Kitikmeot Corporation.
	Winnie (f), Winifred(f), Frederick (m)		Winnie and Winifred died at ages 3 and nine months, Frederick also died young.
	Bobby (m)	+Elizabeth(f)	Robert (Bobby) Lyall has served as Chair of the Nunavut Planning Commission, Yellowknife 79
	Kathy (f) Lyall - Meyer	+Dean Meyer (m)	Kathy moved to Yellowknife in 1976 to attend Sir John Franklin High School, along with Hunter Tootoo and Nancy Karetok-Lindell.,
	Sylvia(f)	+ Dave Ritchie (m) David (m), Amanda (f), Danielle (f), Jayko (m), Matthew(m)	Sylvia Lyall , the youngest of her generation, finished school in Yellowknife and became a mother of five. She had been working as an executive secretary to the Finance Minister of Nunavut, Leona Aglukaaq, when her life was tragically cut short.

Betty Brewster was a major and consistent figure in the Inuit movement who served as a translator and interpreter throughout the movement. Through her, I came to know the Lyall family, who have been described as “a modern-day Arctic dynasty from the Kitikmeot” (Colbourne, 1998). Most Nunavummiut recognize Lyall’s family name because of the historical role that Betty’s father, Ernie, played in helping establish the community of Spence Bay, now

called Taloyoak. Ernie Lyall, a Hudson's Bay clerk from Labrador and author of the book *An Arctic Man*, helped many Inuit, including his future wife Nipisha, relocate from Cape Dorset to the Kitikmeot. Once settled, the Lyall family blossomed into an influential force, raising in addition to Betty:

- Charlie Lyall, President of the Kitikmeot Corp., the development branch of the Kitikmeot Inuit Association
- Bill Lyall, a prominent member of the Arctic co-op movement, and former MLA in the government of the Northwest Territories
- Dennis Lyall, former mayor of Taloyoak; and Pat Lyall, former head of Nunasi Corp., Nunavut's main birthright development group

As the press has described:

It began as a little family in Fort Ross, a trading Post on the Boothia Peninsula. Now the Lyalls are a dynasty scattered throughout the North. Today, the 10 descendants of the first Canadian Lyalls have etched themselves into the Arctic landscape, creating jobs and contributing to a healthy future for Inuit and non-Inuit alike. (NNSL, Dec. 08/97¹⁰⁴)

¹⁰⁴ The Lyalls of Taloyoak Northern family name into fourth generation by Jeff Colbourne, Northern News Services

Table 4: Curley Family Profile

					EXCERPT OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS ACROSS GENERATIONS
	Melanie (f) +	Joe (m) Curley	+ Mary (f)		Joe Sr. was a respected elder / leader in the Coral Harbour area.
	Joe (m) Curley Jr.		Kelly Curley	+	
	Mary(f)	Note: not all Joe Curley's children are listed here.	Rhoda (f) (Akpaleapik) Karetak	+ John (m) Karetak Charlotte (f)+ Daniel St. John James (m)+ Elisapee Karetak Nellie(f) + Jose (m) Kusugak Nancy(f) Karetak- Lindell Joe (m) + Susanne (f) Pilakapsi Karetak Selma (f)+ Chris Eades? Sally (f) + Lorne(m) Quassa Kusugak Emily (f)+ Patrick Tagoona	Elder, Rhoda Karetak , has won awards for her work in community healing and is often consulted as an authority on Inuit philosophy. Elisapee Karetak is a filmmaker, her documentary film, <i>Kikkik</i> , is a profile of the life of her mother. Jose Kusugak has helped lead the Inuit Movement across Canada. The Honorable Nancy Karetak-Lindell is the MP for Nunavut. Louis Pilakapsi , Susanne's father, was a respected elder, negotiator, and Mayor of Rankin Inlet. Donat Milortok , Louis Pilakapsi's brother, was also a prominent leader in the Inuit movement who has served as Mayor of Repulse Bay. The Honorable Lorne Kusugak is the Mayor of Rankin Inlet. Patrick Tagoona is president of Kiggavik Training and Consulting Services, and sits on the board of Nunavut Broadband Development Corp.
Sally(f) + Joe Kayakjuaq Curley	Tagak (m) Curley		Manitok (f) Thompson	+ Thompson (m)	The Honorable Tagak Curley is MLA for Rankin Inlet and is the visionary most often cited with regard to the founding of the Inuit Movement and Nunavut. The Honorable Manitok Thompson has served as MLA in Nunavut; she was

					also the first woman to serve in the Cabinet of Nunavut.
	Veronica(f)		Annie (f) Napayok	+ Tommy (m) Napayok	Annie Napayok has served as President of the Status of Women Council in Nunavut and is also a traditional midwife. Veronica Curley has served as President of Pauktutit (National Inuit Women's Association).
	John(m) Curley		James (m) Tagalik		James Tagalik is a community leader and served as Hamlet Foreman. John Curley has served as Mayor of Cape Dorset, and president of the Hunters and Trappers Association.
			Abraham (m) Tagalik	+ Nanci (f) [David & Dorothy Aglukark are Godparents to Abe & Nanci's children]	Abe Tagalik helped create Canada's Aboriginal People's Television Network. Nanci Tagalik has served as manager of Human Resources for Nunavut Arctic College. Rev. David Aglukark was a Chief Negotiator on the Nunavut Land Claim.
Abe(m) + (Auktalik) Okpik +	Rose (f) Kathy Okpik(f)				The Honorable Abe Okpik was the 1 st Inuk on the NWT Territorial Council. Rose Okpik is one of only three Inuit women to serve as a negotiator during the Nunavut Land Claim negotiations. Kathy Okpik is Deputy Minister of Education, Government of Nunavut.

The Curley family profile best illustrates the connections between and among families. It is a veritable who's who of the Inuit movement; noteworthy, for example, is the fact that at least two chief negotiators (Tagak Curley and David Aglukark), as well as four movement founders (Abe Okpik, James Tagalik, Jose Kusugak, and Louis Pilakapsie) all come from the same family connections. When one also looks closely at the lists of organizational officers year by year, it

becomes even clearer how often members of the same family were accustomed to working together.

Table 5: The Awa Family Profile

				EXCERPT OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS ACROSS GENERATIONS
Awa (m)				Awa (Aua) was a community leader in the 1920's from Igloolik profiled in the 2006 film <i>The Journals of Knud Rasmussen</i> .
Joanasie(m) Uyarak	+ Hannah(f) Panikpakuttuk			
Mathias Awa(m) (Awa's grandson)	+	+ Apphia*(f) Agalakti Siqpaapik		[Apphia is the daughter of Suula and Kublu ; raised by her uncle, Arvaarluk and his wife Illupaalik]
		Oopah Qaunaq (m)		Oopah Qaunaq is a respected elder and community leader.
		James Arvaluk	+ Marion Love (f) Nuqalluq Arvaluk** Aapaq Arvaluk	The Honorable James Arvaluk has served as a leader in the Inuit Movement and is currently MLA of Tunnunuiq riding. Marion Love has served the NWT and GN in many capacities.
				** Nuq and Aapaq are also nephews to Siobhan Arnatsiaq Murphy , whose uncle was Lucienne Ukalainuk , whose aunt is Meeka Mike
		Simon Mala Awa (m) Laban Awa Adam Awa	+ Quatsia Qavavau (f) Ulami Awa Inukpaujaq Awa	The Honorable Simon Awa , fmr CBC broadcaster, currently serves as Deputy Minister of the Environment, GN.
		Jacob Awa (m)		
		Rhoda* Kaukjak Palluq Katsak (f)	+ Joshua Inuksuk Katsak (m) [son of Ishmailie + Jokepee] Sandra* Pikujak(f) Mona Lisa Inuguk(f)) Sheila Suula (f) Dawn Nuqalluq (f) Lucas Nattiq Katsak (m) Ruby Ituutiq (f)	* Apphia, Rhoda and Sandra are profiled in the book <i>Saqiyuq</i> by Nancy Wachowich.
		Solomon Awa (m)		Solomon Awa is a keeper and teacher of Inuit knowledge;

				Executive Director of the Qikiqtaaluk Wildlife Board and IQ Advisor to the GN.
		Joanna Awa (f)		Joanna Awa is a CBC broadcaster and vice-president of the Canadian Media Guild, Iqaluit.
		Salome Awa (f)		Salome Awa is also a CBC broadcaster and reporter in Iqaluit.
		Philip Awa (m)		
		Ida Awa (f)		
		Nary Awa (m)		

In Inuit oral histories, great leaders are remembered down through the generations. In the last century, Awa, Joe Curley and Ernie Lyall are each remembered in that way. Ernie is well remembered as someone who came from outside of Inuit culture, learned to speak fluent Inuktitut, married into Inuit society and whose children became strong advocates for Inuit rights. Joe Curley was a well-known spiritual leader and visionary, who children have each been recognized for their achievements and some of whom have also been called *visionary* for their work on behalf of their people. Awa was regarded as a strong community leader, wise in Inuit ontology. Many of his descendants have become strong community leaders.

As I began to discuss in Chapter Three, it was through living with Marion Love that I came to understand family connectedness and obligations. Her son's father, James Arvaluk, had obligations to his family, and in return his extensive kinship network had obligations to her and her sons. When they had first been married, it had taken Marion a while to understand the extent to which she was now connected to families across the Arctic, not just within Canada. She described how bands of relatives would come together to work on big projects,

In the old days...the larger and more dangerous hunts (such as walrus), coordinated efforts, such as seal or caribou hunting. In more contemporary times, cousins might even band together to get a business going, or help someone build a camp. Groups of related men were accustomed to working cooperatively together, those who were younger

respecting those who were older and who had greater knowledge than they did. It was a respect that was acknowledged and shared. (M. Love, personal communication,

I personally have experienced this on quite a few occasions. In the summer of 2008, for example, when I took yet another group of students North to learn from my mentors and Inuit family members, I tried to be considerate to an overburdened friend. Meeka Mike is one of the world's most well-known guides and as such is in great demand. Not wanting to bother my dear friend Meeka again, knowing that she had an important project, I approached a known and respected Elder Hunter, Joshua Kango, through his brother (Joshua is mostly uni-lingual) to see if he would be willing to take us out on the land as a group. Must to my surprise and private delight, I discovered that when Joshua said yes, he enlisted another Elder along with my friend Meeka Mike to take us out. Being his relative and his junior, Meeka could not refuse. She and I were both somewhat amused. I had tried to be considerate, but failed to understand how far kinship circles stretched and that Joshua wouldn't go without Meeka.

In late June, 2008, after all of my students were gone, a Polar bear was sighted approaching the community. He had come too close to the place where community members fished for char, and would soon smell the town dump where he could become a danger and menace to the community. It is a given that in Inuit society, those who are older and wiser are more experienced at some things, so the community always turned to the elderly. Those who are hunters, for example, become better and more accurate shots. They understand the behavior of wildlife better, and can therefore anticipate behaviors more accurately. Members of the team of hunters who were called upon to take down the bear and protect the community were all over the age of 75; some were in their late 80s. It took them less than half an hour. When the bear was brought back to the community, the meat was divided and given to those families in the greatest

need. The skin was given to the family whose chief provider (hunter) most needed winter clothing.

With regard to the nature of family-based leadership systems and Inuit governance, one can point out who is from a leadership family if one can find enough supporting evidence of the presence of family members in the oral histories or chronicles of various communities or later their presence in the emerging institutions of leadership. One cannot, however, conclude that one is *not* from a leadership family by the absence other family members in those same institutions for several reasons. First, the person may be from another region or area where their family has had leadership roles that are not visible on more regional or national levels. Second, the person may be adopted out of a leadership family but may have maintained enough of a contact with them to gain exposure to the values of service that have been mentioned. Third, their name may have been changed through project naming. Fourth, they may be the last of their line. One cannot make any conclusions about anyone based on names, only through the stories that they tell and their own accounts of their lineage. Therefore, the only exceptions that I can include in this dissertation, by way of contrast, are those people who have specifically pointed out to me that they do not come from leadership families. Of the over 70 key Inuit participants in the Inuit movement, only four expressed to me that they were from “ordinary” families, or indicated that their families were not particularly recognized as leaders. Two of them, however, were chief negotiators: Bobby Kadlun and Paul Quassa.

I should note here the limitation of this study. Because I was able to spend a great amount of time with members of the three families that I have outlined here, and indeed formed deep friendships with some of them, my view of the legacies and contributions of these particular individuals is by association somewhat weighted. I want to be clear that these families are

Baffin Island families, mostly from South Baffin. By narrowing the focus on leadership and the role of leadership families to the exploration of these particular families, I am only providing a representative sample of how these structures work/ed. I will further argue that until and unless someone else charts out the relationships of other leadership families across the Arctic, I have no way of knowing just how representative they are.

In the next chapter, I will try to map out some of these relationships to illustrate the complex network of kinship ties that, in part, helped to create the support structure of the Inuit movement and of Inuit organizations.

Chapter Six: The Roles of Women

It's not about being who we were, it's about giving our people the chance to be who we are.

Martha Flaherty

Introduction

“She was outspoken,” was the comment I heard whenever I asked someone to tell me about any particular woman who was active in the Inuit movement. Whether speaking about Meeka Kilabuk, who sat at the table as a negotiator, or about Joanna Awa who is a well-known radio commentator, this was the first and most common response. It did not matter whether the speaker was Inuk or ally, male or female, after a bit of reflection each person began his or her narrative with this observation. It was applied equally to women who were leaders in the movement and who held office and sat at the negotiating table, to those who became well known in their role as Inuit broadcasters on public radio, and even to community leaders who may have played pivotal roles quietly organizing at the local level. This phrase, more than any other, serves as a reminder of both the status of women in even contemporary and changing societies, as well as the extent of the neglect of which social scientists have been guilty in considering the role of women in social movements.

For over three decades, the social sciences have been working toward the goal of inclusion in their studies and literature. As mentioned in Chapter One, in the 1950s and 1960s, Franz Boas and his students (Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict, for example) argued for ethnographies that included examinations and perceptions of the role of women in society. From the 1950s through the 1970s, a new “Anthropology of Women” attempted to compensate for the lack of research into the roles of women by focusing on women’s lives and lived experiences.

With regard to Nunavut, Jean Briggs, as has been mentioned before wrote her groundbreaking work in 1972 *Never in Anger*, and through her rich descriptions and ethnography she provides us with a portrait of what life was like living as the adopted daughter of a family living in a remote community. Theoretically, her work forms the basis of our understanding of conflict resolution and views of conflict within Inuit society. Ironically, while she describes the lives, actions and interactions of those around her, including women, she focuses most of her attention on interpreting the meaning behind the actions of the male head of the household, Inuttiaq. Concurrently, feminist anthropologists such as Jane Collier (1974) led the call for works that moved beyond ethnography to analysis, most specifically with regard to the sphere of agency or the extent to which women have control over their own lives and/or are able to influence their environment (political, economic, or social structures). Feminists like Louise Lamphere (1974) argued for a more nuanced and layered approach to our understanding of women's roles in society by first highlighting the fact that women themselves had different and sometimes conflicting interests, and that it was impossible to understand women's roles or experiences without reference to men because "gender is socially constructed and produced relationally" (p. 4). Sadly, Mini Aodla Freeman's book, *Life Among the Qallunat* would have been a seminal (or should I say ovarian) contribution to woman-centric analytical ethnographies had it not been for one thing. The year that it was published, 1979, the Canadian Government's Department of Northern Affairs acquired half all the copies printed and stowed them away in a closet (Freeman 2015: 273). It would not be until 2015 that it would be found and re-issued the University of Manitoba Press in their First Voices Series.

In the 1980s the field took a pragmatic turn toward the use of practice research inspired by Karl Marx' argument that all social life is essentially practical. The field of women's studies

was growing and more women were entering the academy and were increasingly asking the questions: “Where are the women? And what did the women do?” Studies involved the role of women in society in general and the value of unpaid work (DeVault, 1999). The most common answer to these two questions is that while the men performed the public work – negotiation – women were responsible for keeping community together. When culture became a more central focus of work concerning specifically Indigenous cultures, women’s roles with regard to social reproduction have been studied as well to some extent. However, women remain perceptibly absent from the ranks of leadership in social movements and therefore there is also a great gap in leadership theory concerning the role that women play. This chapter will focus of the role of women in the Inuit Movement in Nunavut.

Traditional Roles of Women in Inuit Society

The role of women in Inuit society has been so very often interpreted through the eyes of outsiders, and seldom presented by Inuit women themselves. Because Eurocentric societies tend to privilege public life, and because of European social structures have defined “public life” as being *outside* the home, early social scientists often places those values on non-European societies. In Inuit society public life took place within the home, within the community, as much as out in the wilderness hunting.

Countless entries in Inuit Studies (formerly Eskimo Studies) are filled with accounts that describe Inuit women as being “chattle” or as “property.” Popular fiction in books and films has helped to perpetuate that perception (for example, *The White Dawn: An Eskimo Saga* by James Houston; and *Julie of the Wolves* by Jean Craighead George). Many stories are often taken out of context. Frequently, I have heard people offer up this or that narrative by women who were

sent by their parents to another community to get married as an example of how primitive or misogynistic Inuit society was. Traditionally, Inuit marriages were arranged by their families, and women had no choice as to either who they were going to marry nor when. But, I argue, neither did the men.

The best description that I have of the traditional role of men and women in Inuit society is from Elder Lucien Ukuleinuk:

In those days I thought nothing about men and women. I still don't. Women can do amazing things. So can men. We all do, and we all do [them] together in order to survive. (L. Ukuleinuk, personal communication, June 4, 2006)

Elder Jonah Kelly put it this way,

Men and women had traditional roles, but each needed the other. Neither one was better than the other. Women could sew, that was her greatest skill. She can sew something that fits you, is waterproof and lightweight and will keep you dry and warm to minus 70 degrees. She can't do that without materials. Men were hunters. That is still what I put down as my profession. Are there women hunters? Sure. Some of the best. And most men can sew, because we have to repair our own clothing when we are out on the land. But when we come home, we bring the meat to the women. Why? Because she knows who needs it most. We are different. We have traditional roles. But we each one without the other cannot survive. If that is not equality, I don't know what is. (personal communication, February 13, 2004)

The Ulu, the rounded knife that women use to cut up meat and also to scrape and process skins, is now often used as a symbol of women's power among Inuit. Its proliferation in Inuit jewelry and on women's clothing is an example of how contemporary Inuit culture reminds society of the traditional role of women and of women's power.

Jean Briggs in her early work characterized Inuit society as being male dominated and hierarchical as is made clear in her chapter, "Men and Women, the Warmth and Luxury of Male Dominance" (Briggs 1972: 96). In that chapter, and throughout her book, she describes the actions of women at work, boiling water, cleaning etc.. The way she interprets that work is

traditional, as work that is subservient to that of the men. Their behavior is deferential.

However, later having interacted with other women of the women's organization Pauktutit she does acknowledge that Inuit women themselves do not see it that way, but rather view their work and their lives as collaborative. Billson et al are quite clear in their book, *Inuit Women*. Women were leaders as well as men. There was a complex relationship between the two and while the lines were often blurred between the spheres of male and female power, there were also clear divisions. Male authority, Billson et al argue, was dominant in matters relating to moving to new hunting areas whereas women were deferred to on issues having to do with the community (Billson et al 2007: 56). My personal experience has been that while men generally are regarded as hunters and women as sewers, hunters must be able to sew if they are on long journeys and the best hunter I know, or anyone of my acquaintance knows for that matter, is Meeka Mike, who as I may have mentioned before is all of 5' tall and 90 pounds wringing wet. Meeka herself often explained to me that leadership was a question of wisdom, Isuma. A person earns respect for their skills and knowledge, man or woman. Leadership was shared within communities, and many responsibilities were also shared. Aodla Freeman recalled that her mother brought together many members of the community, those whom she felt could contribute something to her upbringing, to be present at her birth. Those people, both family member and community members, male and female, became responsible for ensuring that she grew up and learned the things she need to know. The first person to dress her, she wrote, guided her in the ways of her people, taught her to know herself and was responsible for shaping her mind – she called him 'sanariarruk' – he forms me into (Freeman 2015: 70). It is clear from her description that men also played a very important role in the raising of both boys and girls.

In 1929 the famous explorer Rasmussen wrote a list of taboos, or things forbidden to women. His work helped set the stage for the perception of Inuit society as male dominated and even misogynistic. In her chapter, “Rules for Women” Bernice Kootoo reflected on these rules and all of the women elders that she had interviewed. Not one of them, she wrote, followed these taboos (Kootoo 1999: 132). There were of course taboos, mostly relating to menses and designed to give women the time they needed. With regard to traditional leadership, however many Inuit told me that they felt that men and women were both equal in Inuit society, even if women were “more subtle” in their approach to leadership. In some cases well respected and wise women would “make a suggestion” and everyone who heard it knew that it was more by way of being a command. It also goes to the general indirectness of Inuit culture, directness being somewhat rude. There was, however, a very notable exception, that of the role of Angakak or Shaman. Women were just as likely as men to be spiritual leaders within a community, and women who took on that role were both feared and respected for their directness. Whether male or female Angakuit were likely to have a unique personality, generally higher developed sense of perception and overall understanding of events and people (d’Anglure 2001: 73).

If it was the case that women had assumed fairly significant roles in community leadership, and had even been Angakak, why then would leaders always say “She was outspoken” when they referred to women leaders in the movement? Tagak Curley tried to answer that for me once,

I think its democracy. No seriously. Before we adopted these external ways of choosing our leadership, we had our own ways. Those ways always included and respected women in their leadership roles. We knew who the leaders were, those who cared the most for the community and kept track of the community’s needs. They were leaders, and they were respected. No one elected them; everyone knew who they were and it was earned. Now, you have to be elected. It’s a popularity contest. Early on, women ran for Inuit positions in our organizations... Mary Cousins ran, and lost. That was tragic. Nobody realized

what they did when they didn't vote for her. (T. Curley, personal communication, June 15, 2006)

From Cultural Reproduction to Community Leadership

One of my greatest mentors in researching Nunavut, and the role of women, was Mary Cousins. It can be argued that Mary is one of the “Mothers of Nunavut,” if not THE Mother of Nunavut. Her involvement in the movement began, as with so many, in childhood. Born to a leadership family, she knew first-hand how great an impact military planes were having on the caribou, and consequently the hunting in her community. Constant fly-overs and fuel dumps were making it very difficult for Inuit to hunt. So, having been one of the first Inuit to learn English because of her family's connection to the Hudson's Bay Company, she wrote a letter. Written in English, it was the first letter from an Inuk that attempted to bring to the attention of the authorities the ways in which military and corporate practices were threatening the ecology of the Arctic and – because she understood the connections here – how that had an impact on the physical and cultural survival of her people. The letter was three quarters of a page long, and Mary was 12 when she wrote it. What impact did it have? Well, as Mary put it, “I just hope somebody got a paper cut” (M. Cousins, personal communication,). While the Federal Government of Canada may not have noticed it, that letter is now famous among Inuit; it has been published several times by Inuit organizations in their newsletters to their constituents.

Realizing how little impact it had, however, Mary decided that in order to make a difference for her people, she would have to go beyond her community. While still a teenager, when the first opportunity to go and work for the Federal Government arose, she took it in the hopes that she could somehow use her position to help her people. She went to work for the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, and eventually became editor of the first publication

written for Inuit in Inuktitut, Inuktitut Magazine. This put her in an excellent position to be aware of opportunities that might arise that her people could take advantage of. It was Mary Cousins who first called Tagak Curley one of the “Fathers of Nunvut” when an opportunity opened up for someone to be funded to educate young men in the communities, a position he later used to begin community organizing. Mary Cousins was one of the movement actors in the Inuit movement who was there from the beginning. Her suggestions helped inspire the creation of the first Inuit organization.

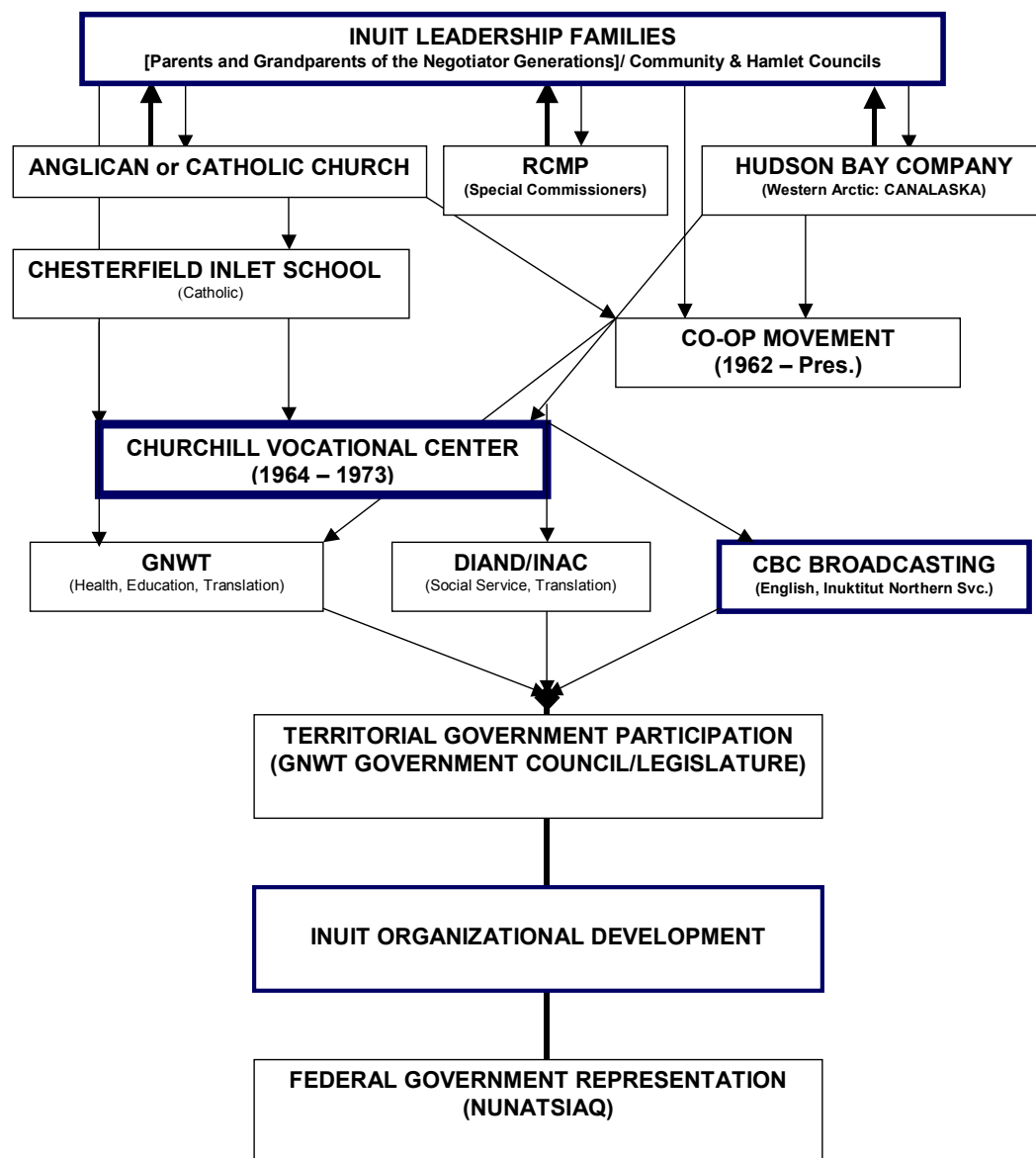
Mary’s actions were quiet and behind the scenes, but as anyone who knew her will tell you, essential to early organization. She not only believed in Nunavut, but also in the importance of having to become a part of something in order to change it. She brought this philosophy to the Inuit movement and to the Inuit leadership who, both male and female, infiltrated the Canadian Government at both the regional and national levels, as well as through the public airwaves through the CBC. Her path was very similar to that of Mini Aodla Freeman who also worked behind the scenes as both an interpreter for the Department of Northern Affairs. Both women became writers and editors of Inuit publications, and were directly responsible for recruiting much of the Inuit leadership – both male and female.

Getting Involved in the Movement – A Different Path

As illustrated in Chapter Five, for most males, involvement in the Inuit movement grew organically out of having first come from leadership families who had access to or were a part of the Hudson’s Bay Company, The RCMP, the Boarding School experience (either CVC or Chesterfield Inlet or both), and working for the CBC. Often men would be recruited directly out of school into Inuit organizational jobs, or in some cases such as Tagak Curley or Zebedee

Ningak, directly into government jobs. In the table below I illustrate this standard path to participation and the connections through which people entered, progressed, exited and re-entered the movement. As I have outlined earlier, most Inuit movement participants came from leadership families. It was precisely because of the status of their families that most of the children who ended up being taken away or sent to the boarding schools, specifically Churchill Vocational Center, were sent there. Many leadership families had been the ones to most frequently interact with first Church officials, the RCMP and the Hudson's Bay Company, and later Government offices and agencies, eventually becoming interlocutors between officials and their community and in many cases being recruited into jobs supporting them. Forced into settlements, in many cases especially in the central Arctic there was little choice left to them but to take these jobs. Those from leadership families were more inclined to work in leadership positions, those from the rest of the community were more likely to end up working in the mines and other paid labor positions. As I have mentioned before, one of the first Inuit-centered organizations was the co-op movement when Inuit living in settlements and who were beginning to live a hybrid existence, began having difficulty affording food and other supplies necessary in the wage-labor economy. Inuit leadership in the co-op movement grew from those who had experience in the HBC stores, and was a natural progression toward self-actualization. These formed the experimental incubators for movement leadership. The schools and CBC provided the education incubators. From there young Inuit leaders who participated early in the movement progressed into regional, territorial and then national government.

NUNAVUT: HOW TO MAKE A LEADER (OR A MOVEMENT) PART ONE

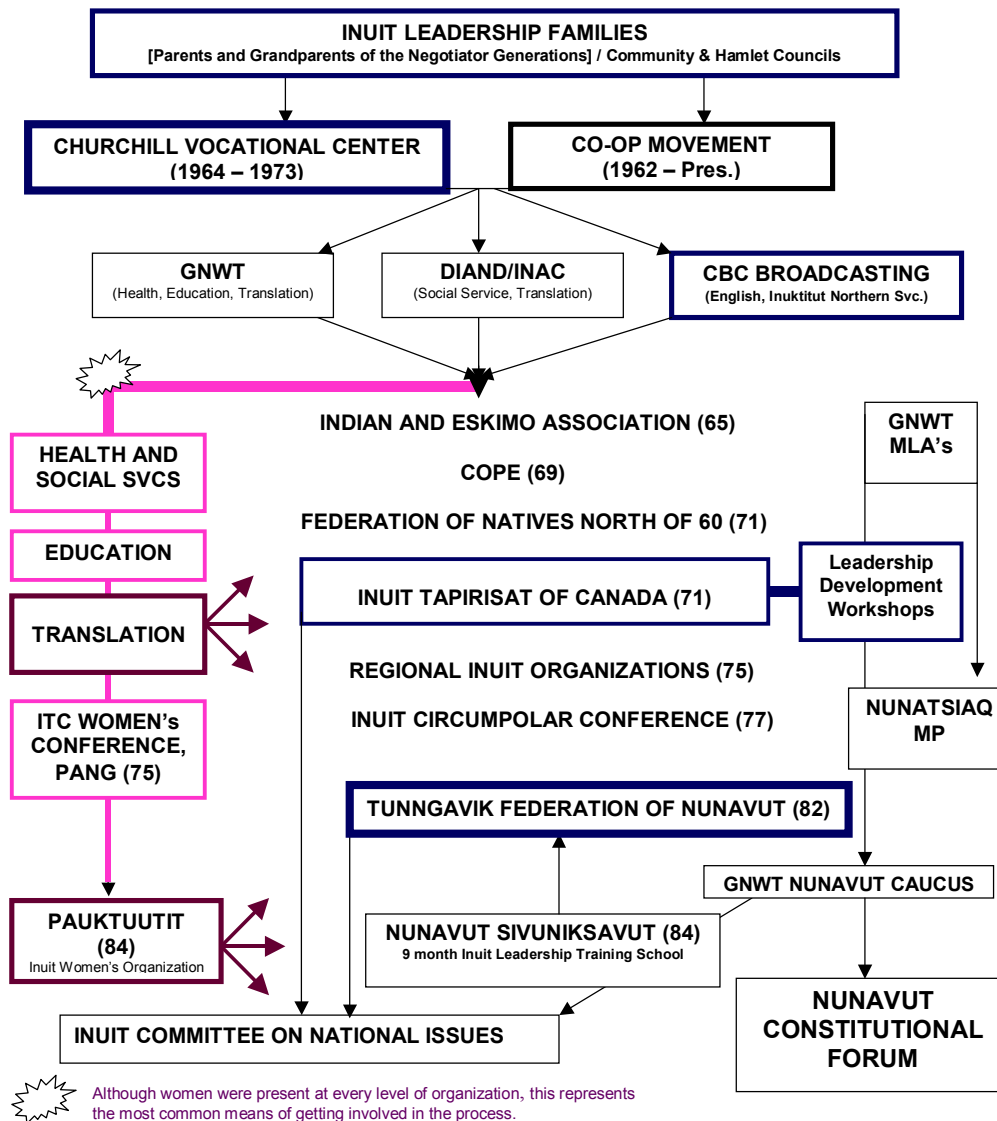


Women, however, often came into the movement from another vehicle and often at a much earlier in age than the men. They too were overwhelmingly from leadership families (see charts previous chapter), but were often conscripted into federal or social service early because of their

bilingualism. In the chart below, I highlight the ways in which the entry into the Inuit movement differed for women.

They came from the same leadership families, and were even more likely to become cultural interlocutors at an earlier age. In the earliest days of colonization and colonial experience on the part of the Inuit it was common for male community leaders and hunters to work side by side with Canadian authorities, but more often than not they were often accompanied by their young daughters. Meeka Kilabuk, Leah Idlout, Betty Brewster and Mary Cousins all told me stories about accompanying their fathers out on the land and through their interactions. A few of the women in leadership also had another advantage, they came from mixed families and so grew up with one foot in each world. Even those who did not, those who like Leah Idlout had to teach themselves English, their parents had deliberately chosen to encourage them in pursuing their multi-cultural and bi-lingual learning. While women may have entered the movement as cultural interlocutors (teachers, nurses, social service actors, editors), they were able to secure positions within the Information and Governing structures that gave them the inside knowledge from which to recruit others. If it were not for the women working for the CBC, or DIAND, or regional or Territorial Government, the men would not have known when, where and how to enter the movement or how to be the most effective. In the latter half of the movement women moved from support positions to taking over key organizational leadership roles while many of the men were occupied at the negotiation table. Because of the length of time it was taking and the experience they gained, they were also instrumental in pushing for the idea of a Inuit leadership training program to prepare future generations, and in creating much of the content taught there.

NUNAVUT: HOW TO MAKE A LEADER (OR A MOVEMENT) PART TWO



Early Bi-Cultureless, Bi-Lingualism. According to the many Inuit whom I interviewed, the general perception among movement participants when considering the role of Inuit women is that young women and girls had an advantage when it came to both language and communications skills. Both men and women in the movement felt that females picked up

English much faster than the boys and men did, and learned about mainstream culture more quickly. Whether this was due to expectations that were placed on them by their communities or by outsiders is not certain. This was also in part due to the encouragement of the Federal government who designed specific programs to target young girls and women as health care providers (Naullaq Arnakaq, 2006). Because of this early language training, many girls were recruited into the social services at what we would consider today to be very early ages. As mentioned, a significant number of women who had prominent roles in the Inuit movement, like Betty Brewster, Mary Cousins, Nellie Cournueay and even Mini Aodla Freeman were from bi-cultural or mixed families. Growing up with both languages, but more significantly, the stories from both cultures made them better cultural interlocutors and more likely to accurately interpret the meanings of outsiders with whom they would later negotiate. This was particularly true in the context of understanding the differences in world-view, but not necessarily direct life experience. People like Nellie and Mini traveled with their parents, but all grew up on the land in a typically Inuit lifestyle with Inuktitut as their first and home language. Most women I interviewed told me stories of their first interactions with the Western culture and recalled their confusion over many things. The women were, perhaps, more swift to overcome those cultural hurdles the least because in most cases they were focused on immediate tasks with clear goals.

Kidnapped by Social Services/Health Canada. Among those aforementioned goals was to participate to help serve their people in times of illness and trouble and to assist with assimilation efforts. Another great mentor of mine, as well as a respected interpreter and Elder was Leah Idlout. Leah also grew up bi-lingual, and by the age of 12 she was already displaced from her community, working for the Canadian government. Her first encounter with Canadian colonialism was far earlier.

As I discussed earlier, the Canadian Government found Inuit naming systems to be too complex, so first the government issued Inuit with dog tags containing numbers as their identity. When that became politically difficult, they created a program called “project naming,” headed up by Abe Opik, which tried to provide Inuit with Canadian style last names. Leah recalled the day to me when she received her last name of “Idlout”:

Most names, even our naming system, tell you who your family is; who your mother is or who your father is. In this, there was a table, and there he was sitting behind that table, and then when it became my turn it went up to the table and I was given the name “Idlout”. *Idlout* in Inuktitut can either mean ‘seal’ or ‘caribou fetus.’ To this day, I don’t know which one I am supposed to be! (L. Idlout, personal communication, June 17, 2006)

Even 60 years later, toward the end of her life, Leah still struggled with her identity. But that was a lesson to her then that someone outside her family could even determine what her name was going to be. This made her want to do something to help empower others. She spent the rest of her life devoted to helping her people. She was one of the first to “infiltrate” the Canadian Government through her work in DIAND, and along with Mary Cousins was a primary recruiter of many of the men who became prominent leaders.

Because of her excellent English, Leah was quite literally kidnapped by the Canadian Health Services to serve aboard the CD Howe, a medical transport ship that ferried patients from remote communities to Churchill where there were medical facilities. She was brought on board one day in her own community to assist as an interpreter for a patient, and before she could finish the job, the ship had cast off and was already underway. She was not allowed to return; she remained on board for the rest of the duration of that season’s mission.

In the 60s and 70s, Churchill was three distinct communities. It was a triage center for medical patients. Patients were transported to Churchill from their communities, and those in the

worst condition were stabilized before being sent further south to hospitals or sanitariums. Some were treated in Churchill. Also Churchill was the site of the Churchill Vocational Center where so many young men and women from leadership families were sent to get a “western” education or training for work in construction and shop-keeping (men) or service and nursing (women). Churchill was also a Dene community, a First Nations band who are neighbors to the Inuit.

In Churchill Leah had her first contact with the Dene, with whom she would later serve as interpreter for negotiations. While in the triage center, she longed for country foods (caribou, fish, etc.) and the Dene would often share with her. She would also sneak away to the CVC to meet up with other Inuit who were studying there. There they shared experiences and ideas.

Later, when Leah was 14, she was brought to Iqaluit and hired to teach English in the schools there. Her students were not much older or younger than herself. It was she, in fact, who taught John Amagoalik, one of the Fathers of Nunavut, chief negotiators, and winner of the Order of France, how to speak English. She did it using materials that were on hand at the time, namely comic books that American GIs had thrown out on the trash heap. She shared with John her experiences on the CD Howe in Churchill at the triage center, and shared what she had learned from students at CVC. John was later called by Tagak Curley (who had been called by Mary Cousins) to join the Inuit movement. He and Leah Idlout landed in Ottawa working with Mary as editors of *Inuktitut Magazine*. Later each of them ended up working for just about every Inuit organization that existed. She wrote the first Inuit organizational newsletter (*Inuit Today*) in Inuktitut by hand. There Leah and John shared their life experiences. John had been forcibly relocated to the high arctic and had watched as his entire community suffered and starved. When they relocated his family and others, the Federal Canadian Government failed to ensure that there were strong leadership families in those communities and also failed to understand the ecology

of the environment and its ability to sustain a population. Leah was not the only woman to get her start through the nursing program, Mini Aodla Freeman did as well.

From Assistant to Interpreter – Women in “Support Roles.” As Inuit organizations were founded and grew, women first served in secretarial and communications positions. As the leadership relay continued, however, more men in leadership roles were being called to the negotiating table to serve in more public capacities. The common result was that women were being called upon to fill those organizational vacancies. Organizations could not continue to run without local, hands-on leadership. Women who stepped in to fill those roles came from a community service tradition, most often stemming from their proximity to leadership families. Women who took part in the Inuit movement often had a double burden however. While they took important support positions in the Inuit organizations or working for local, regional, territorial or federal government, because they mostly came from leadership families, they had a second obligation – *pijitsirniq*, service. Working full time did not abrogate them from their obligations to care for their communities and be aware of the needs of the members of their communities. While on one level this added responsibility aided them in their official functions for Inuit organizations or government, on another it meant they had to juggle work and family life with what we in western or mainstream society would call volunteer or social work. It meant visiting the elders, delivering food stuffs to those who needed it, making sure members of the community got to health care providers or government agencies (or school) when necessary. Every woman I have spoken to who was a part of the movement is glad they were a part of it, saw it as fun and exciting, but also felt a little regretful that it took so much of their time and attention. As with the men, being a part of the movement often meant living apart from their families for years, even decades at a time. Even within the communities, women bore a double

burden. They were still mothers and local community leaders. Their work in the movement did not erase those responsibilities, it just added to them. Women bore that burden in the way that many men did not. Men were more often absent from home when working for the Movement, while women often brought their children with them. However, for the women too, many would have to leave their children in the communities with relatives while they traveled for the work.

From Care-Giving to Community Development. Some women, like Helen Magsaghak were reluctant leaders. Her husband was one of the most well-regarded chief negotiators on the land claim, but over time Helen became the first Inuk Commissioner of Nunavut, and was awarded the Order of Canada. Her community service began as being part of family. Typical of many women leaders, she observed a need and filled it. Churchill was also a mining community, and like many, Helen followed her husband to Churchill when he took a job at the mines. She knew neither where they were going, nor what they would find. What they found, was a lot of Inuit in need.

Because of the mine, the triage center, and CVC many displaced Inuit families were living in close proximity. Helen began to notice how widespread that displacement was and that her community had need of rootedness. She opened her home to families of people in the triage center and provided that community anchor. Later, when she returned to her home community, she continued and took up pivotal roles in local Inuit organizations and was frequently heard on the local radio.

Catherine Pilakapsie is another example of a leader who came by it through taking care of family. She was the wife of Louis Pilakapsie, the late community leader, negotiator, and mayor of Rankin Inlet. She is now one of the leaders of the Inuktitut Literacy Council. She too found her way to Churchill through her husband's mining job. She too found a need in her

community. For the first time she saw domestic violence in her community and observed that it was becoming increasingly widespread. She opened her house as a shelter for battered women. Leah, Helen, and Catherine were all in Churchill at the same time, along with the large numbers of Inuit youth who were studying at CVC. It is around the kitchen tables of these women that so many Inuit needs were identified, and organizations planned to address them. The work they began in those years continues today through the work of government agencies, Inuit organizations, and community institutions. The creation of the Women's Shelters, and Paututiit, and even the housing advocacy organization are central to life in Nunavut today, and vital parts of each community.

Community Action – From Housing to Social Service. A vast network of women emerged organically out of several institutions and communities. Organization among the women grew out of the translator and interpreter pool for at first just the Department of Northern Affairs. It was made up of a host of women who were each exposed to the inner workings of government at the local, regional and national levels. As it expanded, and the official mission of DIAND grew, women like Leah Idlout made their way from serving in support roles as interpreters or behind the scenes in secretarial and organizational support. Eventually every major female player in the Inuit movement eventually served a vital role in publishing, most becoming editors of major and influential publications like Inuit Today published bi-lingually by DIAND and the monthly newsletters from the Inuit organizations. These publications became the primary source of news and information for all the community members and serve as written testaments documenting and corroborating each stage of the Inuit movement, their successes and their failures. They were artfully designed and written to communicate both insider and outsider messaging. Every Inuit household in Nunavut received them. Successive generations of leaders

followed that same route of entering the Inuit movement through media, and landed alongside their male counterparts at the CBC or later Inuit-owned Broadcasting. Radio became a vital component of the Inuit movement, and still is in contemporary Inuit life.

From Finding Voice to Giving Voice: Women on the Radio. Anni Palisar was the first Inuuk to work for the Canadian Broadcast Corporation. She paved the way for many who followed, including Simon Awa, Paul Quassa, John Amagoalik, and Jonah Kelly. As radio stations took root in communities, increasingly women were responsible for their programming and at the same time responsive to their communities. Grassroots organizing became much easier, as it was literally only a five-minute walk to the radio station, and eventually radio-stations were established in nearly every community. Since many of the same people who ended up on radio were the same ones who had been working in Inuit organizations, local radio became an easy conduit linking community or constituency to their Inuit representatives. A great deal of this work was done by women. While men may have dominated the microphone, women were largely responsible for the program planning and content. They were the writers, translators, and then as the CBC trained them, proper research journalists and field reporters. Because of their experience women were also communicating much more easily across communities because in their roles working within Inuit organizations, they traveled alongside the male negotiators at the table. They were able to report first hand what they had seen and communicate it to local community members in a way that was much more relatable. And, as Janet Tamalik McGrath and others have often pointed out, the conversations that were begun on the radio often continued around the kitchen table. The reverse was also true.

The Women's Conference. 1975 arrived bringing with the "International Year of the Woman." In response to increased presence of women and out of a desire to be perceived as being in keeping with the times, offices of The Federal Government of Canada (DIAND) and Inuit Organizations banded together to fund and organize a Women's Conference to bring forward issues from the community that were of most concern to women. Once again, Leah Idlout, translator and interpreter and editor of the *Inuit Monthly*, was the principle organizer behind the first Inuit Women's Conference held in Pangnirtung in 1975. On the one hand, the conference did bring issues such as language and cultural education, domestic violence, health care and housing to the table. On the other, there was a great deal of disappointment that many of the concerns voiced by women never seem to have their way to final land claims agreement. Also only one male leader of a major Inuit organization, Peter Irniq, attended.

According to Leah it was kind of thrown together at the last minute as no one had actually ever either considered what "women's issues" were nor organized a full conference. When I spoke to him about it, Peter Irniq recalled the event fondly. He remembers however that he felt quite bewildered. "I felt very strange having such a prominent role at what was supposed to be a women's event, but I came to see my role as that of listener. I was there to listen and to learn" (Irniq 2004). He expressed his regret that more men had not been present, but the upon reflection he wondered if it might not have stifled the dynamic conversation and event. It was from this women's conference that the Inuit women's organization Pauktutiit was born, and while it mostly concerned itself with social issues it was clear that it did take some of its cues from other feminist organizations of the time. Health care and education were their chief foci and concerns, but eventually their work spread to encompass all social services. They pushed other Inuit organizations to continue their work and to also focus on issues relating to social

well-being. This turned out to be a very important role for Pauktutiit because many in the negotiations process feared that it was far too “male-centric” focusing on issues pertaining to land and hunting rights while leaving out issues relating to culture, health and economic well-being. Over the past few years within the Nunavut government, women have increasingly been at the helm holding key positions, including the office of Premier. The work that was started by Pauktutiit and outlined in the Women’s Conference continues today. Some of that work, such as that done by Naullq Angakak and others in helping to articulate Inuit ontology and cultural curricula, has contributed greatly to the Nunavut education system, and Government as well as aided Indigenous communities globally.

“They Were Outspoken” – Inuit Women in Leadership. Women were present throughout the Inuit movement, in supporting roles within Inuit organizations, eventually taking over leadership roles heading up Inuit organizations, and working throughout regional and national government agencies to address the needs of their local communities. While they may have entered the Inuit Movement and the Inuit organizational processes from a more tangential route often being recruited as translators, interpreters and support staff, how did their upbringing differ from those of the men. To what extent did being from leadership families influence their decisions to become a part of the movement or help determine how they saw their role in the movement?

From Leadership Families & Descended from Explorers/Filmmakers. As with the men who took part in the Inuit movement, most women were descended from leadership families. Many were also, however, from mixed heritage family backgrounds. Mary Cousins, Leah Idlout, Betty Brewster, Martha Flaherty, Nellie Cournea, and Anne Hanson grew up bi-

lingual because one of their parents were either well known figures from mainstream society (descendants of filmmaker and explorers like John Houston or Robert Flaherty) or were children of people like Bill Lyall, the Hudson's Bay Company man who learned to speak fluent Inuktitut, became a master hunter, and adopted Inuit ways of being. They were advantaged both bilingually but also bi-culturally. They were also, as a rule, more widely traveled even before having been coopted in service as interpreters.

Furthermore, they were all from families that had prepared them for leadership. In the case of Leah Idlout, her parents had eight children. Four were made to learn traditional ways, four were made to learn modern ones. Leah, having been chosen to learn the ways of mainstream society, was made to sew with cloth instead of skins. She later learned to master both. Certain children were also chosen to be brought along on tasks and duties with their parents, to interact with outsiders or start acting as interpreters at an early age.

Martha Flaherty told me that she remembered being expected to be present and aware of her community's needs. It was something that she picked up from being around the women who were leaders in her community. Her own interest and their invitation kept them coming. Martha served not only as an interpreter but in several key positions in Inuit organizations.

Three at the Table

While women eventually became ubiquitous as heads of Inuit organization (at one point in 1983 holding the presidencies of each Inuit organization), only three were actually present at the negotiating table throughout the 30 years of negotiations with the Federal Government of Canada: Meeka Kilabuk, Rhoda Karetak, and Nellie Cournoyea. Nellie became the primary public figure of the Inuvialuit Land Claim of the Northwest Territories and served in several public and powerful roles in regional government and now serves as Chair and CEO of the

Inuvialuit organization. The Inuvialuit land claim had to break away separately from the Nunavut claim because of development pressures in their main waterway.

Along with Nellie Cornoyea, Meeka Kilabuk and Rhoda Karetak have also both held public office, and are both well regarded today for their depth of cultural knowledge and have helped to shape the field of education in both Nunavut and the NWT. It is with these three leaders, and their use of public space over time, that the focus of the land claims began to shift toward the role of traditional knowledge and the preservation of language and Inuit ontology. They took up the torch that Mary Cousins and Leah Idlout had left them. Where Mary and Leah worked quietly through publications and the development of educational curricula, Meeka, Rhoda and later Catherine Pilakapsie and Helen Maksagak, along with a whole generation of younger women leaders, worked to have concerns like language, culture, and social services included in the movement goals.

While these concerns did not make it into the actual language of the land claims agreement, because of their work and that of Paututit in the 1980s, Inuit organizations created subdivisions to work in such areas. When the government of Nunavut was created, the organizational structures they created, along with the vast work they had done on developing organizational canon (see Chapter Four) made it into government agencies such as the early Departments of Education and CLEY.

As I discussed their work with them, one thing that became universally clear to me whether I was speaking to Meeka Kilabuk, or Sheila Watt Cloutier when she served as head of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, each of them was not just engaged in policy or policy making in a space removed from their communities but were a part of their communities.

As the Inuit movement progressed, women increasingly served ever more key roles in the Inuit organizations across the spectrum. They held every major office in every major organization, participating equally in the relay of leadership across the scale from local to territorial to federal to global and back again. They also moved in and out of significant roles in mass communication and media. While they were doing all of this, many were also raising families and keeping communities going, bearing the double and often triple burdens unique to women in leadership. And, similar to women in leadership everywhere, they were also being judged more harshly and criticized for everything from their outspokenness to the way they dressed to their time away from home, and occasionally even on their policies.

Conclusion

Being invited for Sunday dinner, or more often brunch, was something that I came to both look forward to and to dread. I looked forward to it because for those few hours I was going to be in the middle of everything, in the center of life in whatever community I happened to be a part of at the time. I dreaded it for the same reason. Here is what I most often encountered:

I would come to house, knock and enter, and remove my shoes. Invariably there would be some 12 to 15 people scattered about the living room, or great room and the kitchen. Newspapers and cardboard would be spread out across the kitchen floor and either a good chuck of caribou or a whole seal would be laid out on top of it. Everyone would have a cup of tea and, depending upon how well I knew the family, I would either be handed one or make my way to the kitchen to get it myself. Elders would occupy chairs at the kitchen table or the most comfy places on the sofas. Young people would be on the floor or in chairs. Mothers would be helping to organize kitchen things or seeing to the needs of Elders. Sons would be helping to put together extra furniture or helping to move plates and pots. Those of us in between would be listening to both

old and young, although the younger the person the more silent they would generally be. It is a flurry of life and activity. There is raw meat to eat, and invariably a cooked pot of stew, along with potatoes and/or pasta and bread. Sometimes, on rare occasions, there were veggies.

What was discussed would range from everybody's health, to the hunting, to weather, to who needed what and to many, many, community issues, and even politics. Sometimes there would even be extended periods of silence, and people would just enjoy their food, or quietly enjoy each other's company.

What I have learned after years of working and living in Nunavut is that these Sundays are what keeps the community together. They are not just family gatherings, they are community gatherings. They are the equivalent to an elected representative having an open house or a town hall in their constituency. This parallel was brought home to me when I went to the open house of a local Iqaluit Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) in March, 2013. I had been to them before, and generally they included the MLA handing out cards, shaking hands, thanking people for their vote and giving a small speech. They generally last about an hour. Chairs, if there are any, are placed in rows.

This time, the MLA was a woman, Levinia Brown. Her open house was posted for three hours. I showed up in the second hour. Chairs were placed in a circle against every wall of her reception room. In the middle of the room was a big table with all kinds of food and tea. Sitting around the room were her constituents, old and young, Inuit and non-Inuit, and it was just like Sunday dinner! She was there, just like every female community leader I had ever known.¹⁰⁵ All

¹⁰⁵ Other community leaders I spent time with were: The Honorable Sheila Watt-Cloutier – Chair of the ICC; The Honorable Meeka Kilabuk – Head of the Interim Government; the Honorable Cathy Towntangie – Head of the NTI; Catherine Pilakapsie – Head of the Literacy Council; The Honorable Meeka Kigutak - Mayor of Grise Fiord; my friend and community leader, Meeka Mike and my dear mentors Mary Cousins and Leah Idlout.

were rooted in community, served community and family, and their homes were the center of where they gathered their advisors, listened to needs and grievances, planned action and policy, and garnered feedback. These were the methods and methodologies of their foremothers, leaders of their communities.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion: Putting the Case of Nunavut in Context

Learning does not consist, as the schools now make it consist, in the knowledge of languages, but in the knowledge of things to which language gives names.

Thomas Paine (The Salem Press, 2015)

Nunavut as a case study for social movement is the study of a success, in so far as an Inuit Movement emerged from a strong leadership base, formed organizations, sustained action, and remained focused on two predominant goals that were then achieved, the land claims agreement and the creation of the territory of Nunavut. It has often been argued that a social movement ceases to become a movement when it becomes a government. The goal then of the applied social scientist is to seek within the case study of Nunavut what elements might be able to serve others seeking to achieve similar outcomes.

Why did the Inuit succeed? According to Ganz, a key difference in the outcomes of social movement actors can be found in how the life experiences of individual leaders shaped their modes of thinking, their repertoires of collective action, their access to networks and resources, their motivation, and the heuristic use they make of all of these. They are more likely to succeed, Ganz argues, if “a leadership team includes insiders and outsiders, strong and weak network ties, and access to diverse repertoires of collective action” – and if an organization conducts regular, open meetings; has multiple constituencies, and is accountable to them (2000, p. 1005).

In the case of the Inuit of Nunavut, their leadership was rooted in Inuit life ways and in knowing their reasons for practicing them. They learned the ways of mainstream and political Canada. Most were descendants from generations of traditional leaders; they know how to delegate by taking the best advantage of the individuals involved. They had a wide range of problem-solving skills that included a code of conduct with regard to anger, and they were

accustomed to being innovative. They also had strong family ties to each other as well as across all the regions of the North. Inuit organizations swiftly brought in outside advisors for research and legal advice. As the network of Inuit organizations grew, interaction and accountability increased. Annual general meetings were held, more Inuit were included in the voting constituency, and the entire Inuit population ratified final agreements.

Furthermore, behind the scenes, an immense amount of cultural reproductive work was being done involving participants on every level helping to define for both insiders and for outsiders a) what it was that the Inuit wanted and b) why they wanted it. They were consistently forced to refine their messages and distill their ontology from recognized and reliable sources (Elders) and translate them into contemporary language and practice. This served to both reinforce shared life ways and experiences for movement actors and keep the focus of what it was they were fighting for under discussion at the community levels.

Many of these processes and policy shaping took place at the kitchen table on Sundays, and involved people from all generations. While public leaders may have been removed from their constituencies because of their years spent in Ottawa for negotiations, the community-based leaders that they left behind to run the organizations never lost their deep connections to and understanding of their communities. This connection was reinforced by newsletters and publications and radio broadcasts that kept the awareness of what negotiators and representatives in Ottawa were doing ever present in the everyday lives of Inuit. Community needs were expressed, and incorporated if not in the land claims agreement then in the institutional and organizational structures of the Inuit Organizations and now government agencies.

The surest predictor for success is previous success. While the Inuit certainly constitute a distinct society, the values and skills that Inuit tell us led to their success are *not* unique. In any

social movement, we say that we value the individuals involved, acknowledge the importance of anger management, have deep convictions about what we need to survive physically and as a people, and that we try to be pragmatic in our approach. The difference is that the Inuit were able to put these into practice, because they were never *out* of practice. Nunavut was created by those who could, and those who were willing. Looking at where Inuit leadership came from, the kinds of families they came from, the kinds of experiences the majority of them shared, and how the values and life ways that they learned and used informed their approach and strategies to negotiation, it might be possible to learn where we might draw future leaders of other social movements.

Inuit are optimistic. They are and were constantly thinking about the future. In Ottawa, Nunavut Sivuniksavut, which began as a nine-month training program to teach future negotiators the history of the negotiation has become a two-year Inuit leadership training for the next generation of leaders, and will very soon become an accredited degree program. Most young Inuit who choose to attend, will self-select to attend based upon interest and ability, will come from leadership families from various communities, and will share to a certain degree, an Inuit worldview. When they graduate, having shared the experience of living together for two years, studying their history, language, and ontology, they will share that worldview even more.

Nunavut in Comparison

Although many authors, particularly Indigenous authors, are arriving at the same conclusions regarding the relationship between Indigenous ontologies, land, and leadership (Abele, 2008; Alfred, 2005; Niezen, 2000), only very recently are any providing suggestions as to how to channel the connection between Indigenous ontologies and leadership development in real and concrete ways to develop future generations for Indigenous movement leadership. Some of the

most extensive work has been done among the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois), the Hawai'ians and the Maori of New Zealand. All three are working on ways to define or canonize their ontologies, and apply them leadership development.

Specific Case Studies

Haudenosaunee Onkwehonwe. Taiaiake Alfred, a scholar from the Kahnawake Mohawk Nation, has tackled this question of Indigenous movement, governance, and the relationship between ontology and action in a body of work culminating in the book *Wasa/se: Indigenous Pathways to Action and Freedom* (Alfred, 2005a). He argues, similarly to Leroy Little Bear, that the impact of colonization on Indigenous peoples, specifically governance, has been devastating. It has led, for the most part, to the loss of Indigenous pathways of governance as they [in his case specifically the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois)] have adopted the colonial frame of self-determination in terms of nation or nationhood and issues of sovereignty. This, he argues, means that any struggle for self-determination or self-governance must exist in opposition to whatever system may be in place at the moment and places the definition of movement or struggle in purely legalistic or political terms that are outside indigenous experience [i.e., the structures and institutions of government] (Alfred, 2005b).

In a personal conversation with me, Alfred explained that his work, which examines Haudenosaunee ways of being, was the result of a personal journey he took in an effort to understand what “native self-government” is:

It is not as simple as reviving traditional government either – actually governing communities isn't something we've had experience doing. Our people are not the same as when these traditions emerged; we don't have the training, experience, worldview. (Alfred, personal communication, 2005)

He continues to argue that the reason that so much of his leadership has failed is that they fail to personally live by the principles that they espouse. Similar to the concept of Inuit Inuumariit (being a real person) is the concept of Haudenosaunee Onkwehonwe (being a real human being). Like Inuumariit, one is not born Onkwehonwe, but must spend a lifetime striving to become one. In Haudenosaunee philosophy that is the purpose of life, to strive to have a good heart, a good mind, and a good spirit that one can become Onkwehonwe.

Alfred sees his personal journey toward becoming Onkwehonwe as being something of an answer to his own critique concerning the failure of leadership. For too long, he argues, both scholars and Indigenous people have been looking to external or even internal organizational and social structures for clues as to the likely success or failure of leadership and therefore movement actors. Leaders fail, it was believed, because they did not have enough opportunity structures or resources. Yet often outcomes could not be explained solely based on the quality of these structures, or even of the particular skill sets of certain leaders. In their comparative work *Exploring Leadership Dynamics and the Dynamics of Contention* (2001), Aminzade et al. argued that the goals of certain leaders, and their relationships both to each other and those they represent can lead to specific outcomes (2001, p. 129). When they examined revolutionary leaders in Tanganyika, the Americas, and China they found the “character, goals and abilities of leaders were highly determining factors in their movements’ success and outcomes” (Aminzade et al., 2001, p. 151). Alfred would most likely want to look at the correlation between their Indigenous ontologies, leadership cohorts, and the extent to which they put them into practice. Based upon my work in Nunavut, I would ask to more closely examine how the process of gathering, refining, or distilling their core beliefs and philosophies into insider and outsider

messages, and then look at the extent to which constituent publics were exposed, shared, or eventually bought into those beliefs and messages.

After several books and extensive interviews with Haudenosaunee leadership, Alfred has come up with several key ideas that are aimed at helping other Haudenosaunee journey down the path toward Onkwehonwe:

- a. Decolonize your diet. The goal is to return to self-sufficiency within their communities, and recover the relationships that people have to their environment and the foods that it naturally provides.
- b. Language is power. Words are ways of thinking.
- c. The Land is our life. It sustains us spiritually, physically and collectively.
- d. Freedom is other side of fear. Confront fear by going to the source, confront authority.
- e. Change happens one warrior [person] at a time. Use indigenous ways of learning.

Interestingly enough there are many parallels to the work of the Inuit organizations in Nunavut in both developing their ontological cannon but also putting it into practice during the movement and today.

- a. The Promotion of “Country Foods”. Inuit organizations and contemporary Nunavut government agencies have spent a great deal of money to promote the consumption of country food (fish, game, seafood, berries, etc.) as being far healthier and more economically sound.
- b. Emerging from the women’s conference in 1975 as well as the continuing process to define Inuit ontology, language and the preservation of language was and is central to the goals of Nunavut, the reason for its existence – the preservation of Inuit world views for the benefit not only of Inuit but all humanity.
- c. Land has always been the focus of the Inuit Land claims agreement. Again, as Jonah Kelley argued, “If we lose our language, the land will teach it to us again.”
- d. Countless workshops were organized to address internalized colonization, how to overcome fear and anger throughout the Inuit movement (Idlout 2008). Also, Nunavut Sivuniksavut continues to address the issue of how to find ones voice and participate.
- e. Indigenous ways of learning are not found in classrooms, but by individuals who want to learn choosing to spend time with those they want to learn from. Learning was, and continues to be indirect with regard to leadership. Those who show interest and promise are THEN sent to Nunavut Sivuniksavut.

Taiaike Alfred sums up the role of Indigenous knowledge, of becoming Onkwehonwe, and leadership development for the Haudenosaunee in this way: “Seek not the footsteps of your ancestors, but seek what they sought.” Only by looking inward, can we hope to develop good leaders. He is currently the head of a program at the University of Victoria, British Columbia, that offers an accredited graduate degree in Indigenous Leadership.

Hawai’ian Pono. For the Indigenous people of Hawai’i, the concept of *pono* means what is good, what is moral, what is one’s duty [to ones people]; it also means what is to be hoped for, what is done right or well, and is in balance (Chun 2006). Those who help people to find or recognize or practice *pono* are *kapuna* (elders and ancestors). There is currently a great deal of focus among Indigenous academics in Hawaii to explore the relationship between pono, and other elements of Hawaiian ontology have informed or might inform leadership development and cultural reemergence among the native people of Hawaii, the Kanaka Maoli.

However, as L. Kehaulani Kauanui argues in her book *Hawaiian Blood* (2008), the legacies of colonization have deeply sabotaged the perception of and development of Indigenous leadership in Hawai’i. Apart from a series of illegal and devious moves whereby the Federal Government of the U.S. tricked Queen Lili’ukalani to abdicate her throne in 1893, the US Government also employed a successful tactic to divide the Kanaka Maoli by introducing the concept of “blood quantum”. It was argued that the “fifty percent rule” as it became known, originally existed to help preserve the Kanaka Maoli, but inevitably became a vehicle for both deracializing and displacing (disinheriting) thousands of native Hawaiian people (Kauanui, 2008, p. 11).

Indigenous rights movements in Hawai’i began the moment that Hawai’i achieved statehood and have continued to the present day. While the sovereignty movement has gained

momentum, it remains sp. interred. The greatest amount of energy of Hawai'ian indigenous organizations has been spent in defining and redefining who counts under what authority as being native Hawaiian (Kanaka Maoli). The legacy of the 50 percent rule is that it has divided the population into the "fifty percenters" and the "less than fifties" and legally entrenched so many rights and claims to land, and thus culture, into this paradigm that it is impossible to avoid the argument. Those who do, who would rather focus on ontology and non blood quantum definitions of Hawaiianness or of being Kanaka Maoli continue to be marginalized (Kauanui, 2008, p. 196). The result is fragmentation and no clear pathway for Kanaka Maoli leaders to explore Indigenous pathways to leadership, to borrow Alfred's phrase.

The Inuit of Nunavut avoided this argument altogether. Early in the movement they argued that while Canada did have blood quantum structures in place for First Nations or Indian peoples, Inuit were not Indian. Further, they had never signed a treaty with any western authority and therefore had never relinquished their right to allow anyone else to define who they were. Having had bitter fights with various First Nations over issues of blood quantum in land claims agreements, the Federal Government of Canada was quite happy to allow the Inuit to define for themselves who was Inuk or not (Merritt, 2004).

There have been efforts in Hawai'i to follow some of the ideas that have emerged in New Zealand, Nunavut, and other places to help educate younger generations with regard to language, culture, and ontology. New Zealand has successfully been able to reverse centuries of language loss with the promotion of language schools for Maori students and the mainstreaming of the Maori language into the first few grades of elementary school. In Hawai'i, however, efforts to create similar schools have come up against the blood quantum issue once again. The question arises, who is qualified to attend such schools, especially since they are publicly funded. This

makes it particularly difficult to nurture existing shared ontological world views and affirm them in public spaces, much less do the work necessary to refine how those world views can be communicated both internally to insiders and externally to outsiders.

However, there has been some recent progress in the area of leadership research. Guy Kaulukui and Daniel Naho'opi'I from the Kohala Center in Kamuela, Hawai'i conducted an extensive study of "Exemplary Hawaiian Leadership Behaviors" situated in Hawai'ian traditional knowledge and contrasted them with standard known exemplary leadership behaviors in mainstream society and published their findings in *Hulili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawai'ian Well-Being* in 2008. They based their study on four main principles of leadership development: 1) leadership can be learned 2) leadership behaviors are values-based and culturally dependent, 3) leadership behaviors are observable, and 4) that research methodology must be culturally significant (Kaulukukui and Naho'op'I 2008: 97-99).

Following Kauzes and Posner (1987) who developed the concept of breaking down leadership behaviors into a Leadership Practices Inventory (LPI) of 30 behavioral statements on a 5 point Likert scale (p. 98), Kaulukukui and Naho'op'I developed an Inventory of their own. Working with Hawai'ian *kupuna* (elders) they identified a set of behaviors practiced by exemplary Hawai'ian leaders based on *pono*, and came up with 85 items. The process was lengthy one, composed of several phases, each one distilling behaviors and values to the lowest common denominator. In fact, it was a remarkably similar process to that the Inuit followed that I outlined in Chapter Four, and would fit well within the waterfall model of canon development. Once they had identified behaviors and values, they developed a survey of behavior statements and distributed it to both Hawai'ian and non-Hawai'ian leaders. The survey, also included 10 behavior statements from the original Kauzes and Posner study. Their "Inventory of Exemplary

Hawaiian Leadership Behaviors included 30 items that describe exemplary leadership behaviors based on cultural values”, and their conclusion was that the exemplary Hawaiian leader “acknowledges the Hawaiian culture as the source of leadership” (p. 130).

Not only does the multi-year process by which Kaulukukui and Naho’op’I helped to define Hawai’ian ontology and leadership behaviors mirror that of the Inuit, but their intent behind the research is also the same, namely to form the basis for leadership development programs, create curricula and provide a means by which to identify emerging Hawai’ian leaders (p. 130). The Inuit were under greater pressure comparatively because of the land claims negotiations and the dire need to define for the greater outside world what it was that they were fighting for, but the seeds for the vision behind both Nunavut Sivuniksavut and the Inuit Cultural Centers were germinated in that process.

It is in the third point, the means by which to identify emerging leaders, that the Inuit were less formal. The first generation (visionaries/founders) of Inuit movement leaders were already self-selected by virtue of their relationships with the colonial powers who established the boarding school at Churchill, and had already targeted the children of leadership families. While the vast majority of those young leaders who followed them in the second (negotiators) and third generation of leaders came also from leadership families, identifying them after the first generation was almost a process of snowball sampling. Someone in the movement would know someone who might be promising for a certain type of role, and so forth. Once Nunavut Sivuniksavut was established, the process became a little more formalized, requiring little more than a nomination or today, self-selection through the application process. Inuit culture, however was/is far more egalitarian than Hawai’ian or Maori culture in terms of who holds leadership. Unlike the Inuit, leadership is mostly inherited directly from father to first-born son (although

there are also forms of female leadership, and both historically and today women who held and hold significant power and influence). It will be interesting to see how the leadership development programs that spring from this research will be institutionalized.

Maori Whakapapa. Traditional Maori leadership is rooted in *Whakapapa*, a concept which can superficially be described as genealogy, but for the Maori of New Zealand it is everything that defines one's identity; it determines not only individuals' relationships to each other but also the relationships of all Maori and all things/creations in the world/universe to one another and to their creator (Barlow, 1996, p. 173). *Whakapapa* is the ontological foundation of Maori culture; it is a system of knowledge that not only includes understanding of the order of creation, but also one's duties and responsibilities within it. It means knowing one's ancestry, lines of heredity that be traced back to the founding of Aotearoa (New Zealand) by their arrival in *waka* (great canoes) as well as back to the places from which they came and to the beginning of all creation. A Maori will know their ancestral *waka*, their *iwi* (territorial tribe/ culture group), their *hapu* (community), and their *whanau* (family). It is what informs the Maori worldview (*te Ao Maori*).

Traditional Maori society is hierarchical, divided into classes and roles that were determined by heredity; Maori leaders came strictly from the aristocracy. Formal leadership was divided into two main classes, the *ariki/rangitira* and the *tohunga*. The *rangitira* were the chieftans of their communities, and much like Inuit leaders were required to have extensive knowledge of their lands, know the strengths and weaknesses of their communities, as well as have alliances and networks based on kinship. The *ariki* were the supreme leaders, the highest status that is attainable in Maori society. *Tohunga*, on the other hand, were both spiritual or ritual leaders as well as experts in various areas of knowledge having to do with the land, fishing,

architecture, weaving, and environment. While leadership was passed down from father to first born son, Maori culture also emphasizes/d the personal values and characteristics of the leader, particularly strength and *manu* (presence) (Katene, 2010, pp. 4-5).

Similar to the Inuit, a Maori community's belief in their leader was greatly determined their ability to lead. If a *rangatira* was found lacking, the community could vote with their feet and move out of the area (presumably choosing a new leader), or the old leader could be usurped. There was one way in which someone other than a first-born son of a leader could be chosen for leadership; they could be said to have inherited the *mana* of an ancestor who had been a leader (Mahuika, 1992, p. 44). Unlike the Inuit who learned leadership from being in small close-knit communities and learned directly from their community leader, Maori society had a formalized school structure, the *whare wananga*, where the sons of *rangatira* and *tohunga* would learn tradition, ritual, and undergo rigorous training (Katene, 2010, p. 5).

Another more informal form of leadership that plays a very important role in Maori society is held by the *kaumatua* or elders. In today's Maori communities, traditional leaders and elders work together to preserve their language and culture and traditional knowledge working through a variety of institutions. Because of the social structures of Maori society, the process of distilling those elements of *whakapapa* to both clear canonical concepts is far more complex than for the Inuit. Identifying exemplary leadership behaviors is also challenging. However, because traditional Hawai'ian society shares much of its worldview with the Maori, a lot of collaborative work is being done. Because of traditional leadership schools, however, the literature on Maori leadership is far older. Te Rangikaheke, for example, wrote *The Principles of Chieftainship of Maori Society* in 1850.

Maori academics have also led the field in defining and redefining Indigenous methodologies for doing research on ontology, society, and Indigenous leadership. Linda Tuhiwai Smith was one of the first to write about the extent to which Western or mainstream understandings of the world, classifications of knowledge and biases about societal roles had undermined Indigenous ontology; she argued for a new methodology that would reclaim Indigenous control over how knowledge was researched and presented (1999). *Kapapa Maori* is an emerging Maori methodology that,

(a) is related to being Maori, (b) is connected to Maori philosophy and principles, (c) is concerned with the struggle for autonomy over Maori cultural well-being, and (d) takes for granted the validity, legitimacy and importance of Maori language and culture. (Kaulukukui, 2008, p. 99)

Central to the movement is the idea that only a cultural insider, one who understands Maori worldview, should be doing this kind of research.

Kapapa Maori emerged just as the Inuit were reaching the climax of their negotiations in 1990. It helped to inform the movement for language learning in New Zealand, which for a time was very successful. Recently, however, there has been some more conservative backlash against the Maori language learning schools and many mainstream New Zealanders are questioning the relevance of requiring Maori language for all students.

Contemporary Maori leadership in a democratic New Zealand society is even more complex. In addition to traditional Maori leadership, contemporary Maori leaders occupy many fields and follow several intersecting and even oppositional sets of behaviors. Selwyn Katene analyzes contemporary Maori leadership by drawing on Parry (1996), who defined leadership as being either *transactional* or *transformational* and on Nutt and Backoff (1993), who identified four stages of *strategic leadership*. According to Parry, transactional leadership implies a

transaction between leaders and followers, specifically leaders outlining expectations to followers and rewarding, monitoring and or controlling behavior (1996, p. 11). Transformational leadership builds on that but through setting high expectations and clear goals, leads followers to accomplish more than they thought they could (Parry, 1996, p. 31). Strategic leadership includes: “co-creating strategy with the stakeholders; framing vision for public acceptance; blurring the leader-follower distinction; and pushing the action forward (Nutt & Backoff, 1993). Katene argues that traditional Maori leadership is transactional, but that with colonization new modes of leadership were necessary to interact with the colonial powers. In the face of tremendous adversity, they needed leaders with vision. Transactional leadership serves primarily to maintain the status quo. Transformational leaders emerged primarily from the spiritual leadership class, at first to help communities hold onto their worldviews and knowledge in the face of war and violence, but then to negotiate for recognition. Unlike the Inuit, the Maori had already signed a treaty with the British Federal Government in 1840 (The Treaty of Waitangi). Like many treaties with native peoples, it promised certain rights to Maori, and the Maori and English versions of the treaty were not the same. One thing it did do, however, was to establish a principle of partnership stating that the Federal Government had to consult with the Maori even extending to co-management of environment and resources. The Maori movement in the first half of the 20th century was focused upon improving the social conditions of the Maori, but as more Maori became educated, they began to fill the role *tohunga* and became bi-cultural interlocutors. One of the early leaders to emerge was Tahupotiki Ratana who was not *rangatira* and was not part of a traditional Maori community. He walked the line between that of a spiritual leader and a political one (Katene, 2010, p. 8).

Katene (2010) argues that contemporary Maori leadership is diffuse, consisting of both traditional leaders and transformational ones that cross once traditional understandings of Maori *Whakapapa*. Those who have been most successful in helping to secure Maori rights and recognition, he argues, are those who combine the elements of transformational and strategic leadership. The challenge is that with urbanization came the decentralization of leadership and the rise of new generations of leaders in various fields, including the emergence of Maori leaders in corporate-style contexts. There is a need for leadership development programs for Maori, Katene argues, especially at a time where much of what had been achieved for Maori is under threat and that is difficult to do while traditional Maori society is weakening when the social unity and stability that they afford are most needed (p. 10).

The Inuit, by contrast, have been very good at strategic leadership. Throughout the movement they involved community members in formulating and defining goals, called upon them for input on their knowledge to help frame the vision they had for their future, and were extremely good at blurring the lines between leaders and followers. Also, while there were certainly different roles that Inuit played in leadership, sometimes complimentary to each other, and sometimes overlapping, there were no Indigenous hierarchies that had to be navigated in order to work together. Inuit culture and ontology translated into best behaviors and practices were simply more conducive to successful unified leadership outcomes. Maori and Hawai'ian scholars, however, have been far more successful in outlining Indigenous methodologies and attracting more and younger students into exploring their own ontologies and now from that, they are turning their attention to leadership behaviors.

The Haudenosaunee, the Hawai'ians and the Maori are three distinct societies separated by vast distances geographically, but with similar colonial experiences that are all heading the

same direction as Nunavut in so far as establishing foundations upon which to develop future generations of leaders. The increase in the number of Indigenous academics doing research from an insider perspective, often guided by the same principles as the leadership cohorts themselves, has directly contributed to the ever-increasing depth of the research and the unfolding of the various Indigenous ontologies upon which their communities and nations are built. While there are very strong similarities in Indigenous worldviews, one should not make the mistake of drawing too many parallels in either in ontology or in the colonial experience endured by each society. Indigenous worldviews, Indigenous authors continue to affirm, are shaped by the lands upon which the specific peoples and societies developed. Languages emerged to describe that topography and those specific life experiences that came to ultimately shape the myriad and diverse principles of Indigenous philosophy and social and governance practices.

The case of the Inuit in Nunavut, and the story of the social movement that led to the creation of both the Territory and the Land Claims Agreement fits well into the context of what other Indigenous societies are doing locally. Throughout the decades of Inuit movement Indigenous leaders from across the globe, and especially from Alaska, Hawaii, Australia, and New Zealand would come to Nunavut to see firsthand what the Inuit were doing, and how they were pursuing not just the land claim, but also the preservation and reclamation of their knowleges and practices. Those in Inuit leadership throughout the movement were also some of the savviest internationalists, reciprocating travel to other Indigenous societies to compare best practices. Many earned the respect and recognition of world actors. John Amagoalik, for example, was awarded the Medal of Freedom from France for his efforts on behalf of the Inuit. As soon as they were organized, Inuit began focusing their attention globally. Nunavut represents almost a textbook case of Keck and Sikkink's (1998) boomerang model of shaming,

having to become international actors in order to effect local policy change. Together with the Haudenosaunee and the Maori, the Inuit worked hard to become recognized actors in the International arena. The United Nations Declaration of Indigenous Peoples' Rights serves as a testament to those efforts, as does the Five Year Study on The Arctic Climate of 2005 that involved hundreds of scientists and Indigenous regional experts working together, which was repeated in 2015. Thanks to the ever increasing number of Indigenous organizations, combined with the rise in the number of Indigenous academics and of international Indigenous academic societies, the opportunity is ripe for great strides to be made in the comparative study of Indigenous social movement research with regard to the relationship between ontology, Indigenous leadership development, and successful outcomes. The extent to which that can be turned into real institutions and practices that serve each respective society well remains to be seen. The concurrent rise in Indigenous leadership institutions along with Indigenous academic centers, and even more specifically emerging degree programs in Indigenous leadership such as those offered by the University of Victoria, British Columbia, or Nunavut Sivuniksavut, or the at the Universities of Otago or Massey in New Zealand, or at The University of Queensland in Australia would seem to suggest a strong basis for optimism.

Situating the Inuit Movement in Global Contexts

While the primary interest of my research was to learn from those who participated in the Inuit Movement in Nunavut those factors which may have most contributed to their cohesion and success so that other Indigenous peoples would have a solid case study upon which to help shape their own movements, the question remains to what extent can the experience of the Inuit in Nunavut provide more universal lessons for social movement actors generally?

Lessons from the Case of Nunavut. Building on Ganz, Nepstad, and Bob, (Indigenous)

Social Movements are more likely to be successful if their leadership teams:

- a. Share ontological orientation (are first steeped in Indigenous life-ways and then later become cultural interlocutors)
- b. Consist of different types of leaders (Visionaries, Negotiators, Implementers, Charismatic, Symbolic)
- c. Have prior experience working together toward common (non-political) goals
- d. Acknowledge and seek to include from the outset the specific strengths and roles of women throughout all strata of the represented society and organizations, from leadership to support (including community-building, cultural reproduction, communication, etc.)
- e. Share specific life experiences (hunting/survival skills on the land; community building and cooperation that aid them in developing a wide range of repertoires of collective action (negotiations, community organizing, use of public radio and publications, use of environment) and both strong and weak network ties (from kinship systems to outsiders/advisors)

Nunavut as a case study validates these findings. Further, we learn or surmise that these leadership teams can be developed or sought, especially within Indigenous societies that still possess living connections to their languages and the lands from which their languages and ontologies were developed. Further, it can be argued that the closer Indigenous societies are to their pre-colonial experience, or the more they have resisted the diffusion of leadership, the more successful they could potentially be in undergoing a process of canonizing their ontology in order to adapt it to provide the foundations for curricula or for leadership development programs. Another key to the success of the Inuit seems to lay within a paradox between the need to have the kind of leadership experience and understanding of the role that comes from leadership families, but also combined with non-hierarchical egalitarianism that makes followers feel included and somewhat blurs the lines between them.

Whether or not the things learned from the experience of the Inuit in Nunavut can translate into successful best practices for non-Indigenous actors would seem to depend upon the

extent to which the leadership cohorts share ontological worldviews, have complimentary and different types of leaders, have prior experiences working together on common (non-political) goals, share similar life experiences and have both strong and weak network ties.

For Indigenous societies, the case of Nunavut helps us to understand where and how to look for clues to rich organic sources of leadership, the role of kinship or leadership families in leadership development, the role of ontology and/or worldview in shaping leadership character, and the relationship between character and the ability of movement leaders to effectively navigate the space between their communities and the institutions and individuals with whom they have to negotiate.

Further research should explore the direct link, if any, between leadership character, the choices they make as movement actors, and their repertoires of action as measured against outcomes. It might also be beneficial to adapt Kaulukukui and Naho'opi'i's model of Exemplary Hawai'ian Leadership Behaviors to Nunavut in order to make a direct comparison.

Further, I would return to the arguments made by Jessica Shadian that the Inuit Movement first helped to create and define an internationally recognized Inuit indigenism, and that is also helped to redefine issues of sovereignty. The Inuit Movement and the non-governmental structures that it created in the form of Inuit organizations at the regional, territorial and international levels helped define Inuit identity. The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement specifically helped to redefine sovereignty through its co-management structures. As we increasingly realize an Arctic that is being impacted by climate change and global warming, more actors will seek to venture into both Northern waters and the North. A new group of studies by the United Nations and others make the compelling argument that those environments inhabited by indigenous populations tend to be better preserved. Indigenous people around the

world are looking to the Nunavut Land Claims agreement to see whether it is up the challenge of helping mitigate the disaster that development with inevitably bring. The Indigenous Peoples of Brazil, who have been the custodians of one of the world's most valuable ecosystems upon whom this entire planet relies for vital carbon mitigation, oxygen production and species diversity, are now under greater threat than ever before. As they fight the battle to remain in their homelands, there are lessons to be learned from the Nunavut experience and the Inuit movement. As Shadian argued, Inuit NGOs worked across scale and did not seek state-based solutions to either issues of self-determination nor environmental and resource management issues Shadian argues, Inuit have set down a course of action that is less threatening, and therefore often more likely to be successful (Shadian 2014: 211). Brenda Parlee also draws lessons from Nunavut that can be applied elsewhere. Economic development will always be a necessity, and depending upon how it unfolds it can present social challenges for Indigenous peoples. Like Shadian, however, Parlee also looks at the role of Inuit NGOs, social economy organizations, in helping to solve some of these local problems by redefining advocacy at the local level (Parlee 2015: 81).

Twenty years later, the Inuit Movement in Nunavut has now successfully transitioned from “movement” to government with Inuit organizations now playing the role of watchdog and constituent advocacy, continues to have much to teach us.

Appendix A

List of Interviews and Key Discussions

Inuit Movement Actors, Land Claim Beneficiaries, and Constituents¹⁰⁶

1. Adams, Willie	May 24, 2004 (on-board airplane)
2. Aglukark, David	April 26, 2004; July 17, 2002 (tel)
3. Alaingi, Mathew	June 2006*
4. Akeeagok, David	July 11, 2002
5. Akeeagok, Pauloosie	May 2005 ^α
6. Allakariallak, Madeleine	June 2008*, May 2004 (telephone conversations)
7. Amagoalik, John	June 2008, June 9, 2006*; May 25, 2004 ; July 8, 2002
8. Anawak, Jack	Feb 2013; June 2008; May 19, 2006; Feb. 11, 2004; July 12, 2002
9. Angoshadluk, Mary Rose	May 10, 2004
10. Angulalik, Emily	May 9, 2004
11. Archer, Jennifer	2008/2006 ^α
12. Arnaquq, Naullaq	Feb 2013, June 2008*, June 10, 2006*; February 20, 2004,
13. Arnatsiaq-Murphy, Siobhan	Feb 2013, June 2008*, June 1, 2006*; May 2004; March 15, 2003
14. Arreak, Lazerus	April 6, 2004
15. Arreak, Malachi	March 13, 2003; July 17, 2002
16. Arvaluk, James	April 17, 2004; July 24, 2002
17. Arvaluk, Nuq & Aapak	2004 ^α
18. Audlakiak, David	May 25, 2006*
19. Awa, Joanna	Feb 2013, March 13, 2003
20. Awa, Simon	Feb 2013, June 2008*, June 9, 2006*; April 19 & 10, 2004; March 12, 2003; July 25, 2002
21. Brewster, Betty	Feb. 2013, June 2008, March 12, 2004
22. Burke, Tocasie	June 8, 2006*

¹⁰⁶ *Movement Actors* are Inuit who played some role in the organizational development or negotiation processes that were a part of the Inuit Movement. *Land Claim Beneficiaries* are Inuit who became beneficiaries of the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement (NLCA) that was finalized in 1993. The term *constituents* in this case refers to Inuit who were politically represented at some level by the Inuit Leadership or “Movement Actors.”

* Indicates that the interview/conversation took place as a part of “Arctic Journey”, a field program on the Inuit Movement that I directed through Syracuse University. Discussion may have included a formal presentation followed by Q&A period, or may have taken place in the field during excursions.

^α One of many who I never formally interviewed, although wish to acknowledge because of the countless conversations we shared that directly informed this research and enhanced my understanding of Inuit society and Nunavut.

23. Coley, Miali	2008*, 2006*, 2004 ^a
24. Cousins, Mary Panigusiq	2004 ^a
25. Cousins Obed, Leetia	2004; 2003 ^a
26. Curley, Mali	February 25, 2004
27. Curley, Tagak 11, 2002	Feb 2013; June 15* & 9, 2006; May 25 & 12, 2004; July
28. D'Argencourt, Guy	2008; 2006; 2004
29. Dean, Bernadette	May 9, 2004
30. Eetoolook, James	April 29, 2004
31. Erkloo, Elijah	June 9, 2006
32. Evalik, Charlie	May 2, 2004
33. Flaherty, Jamie	June 1, 2006; 2004 ^a
34. Flaherty, Martha	October 13, 2004
35. Gordon, Anne	March 29 & 22, 2004
36. Idlout-Paulson, Leah 25, 2004	Feb 2013; June 2008; June 17, 2006*; April 2, 2004; March
37. Ipirq, Jenny	June 2006*
38. Illnik, Emily	June 9, 2006
39. Irniq, Peter	June 2008; June 13, 2006*; March 13, 2004; July 23, 2002
40. Ittinuar, Ollie	May 10, 2004
41. Kadlun, Bobby	April 27, 2004
42. Karetok, Joe	May 5, 2004
43. Karetok, Rhoda	May 5, 2004
44. Kelly, Jonah	June 2008; June 7, 2006*; February 13 & 25, 2004
45. Kelly, Elizabeth	June 2008*, June XX, 2006*
46. Kilabuk, Becky	June 2006*; 2004; July 22, 2002
47. Kilabuk, Peter	June 2006* (with Tagak Curley)
48. Kilabuk, Pitseolak	June 2006*
49. Kilabuk, Meeka	June 2006; April 2, 2004 ^a ; July 22, 2002
50. Kilabuk, Mosese	March 5, 2004
51. Komioipik, Rubin	June 2006*; March 2003 ^a
52. Komoartuk, Madelaine	March 16, 2004
53. Kootoo, Tooneejoulee	May 18, 2006*
54. Kupeuna Sr., Jack	April 30, 2004
55. Kuptana, Rosemarie	October 14, 2004
56. Kusugak, Elizabeth	May 11, 2004
57. Kusugak, John	June 8, 2006*
58. Kusugak, Jose	October 12, 2004; July 26, 2002

59. Kusugak, Mike	May 10, 2004
60. Maksagak, Helen	April 30, 2004
61. Mike, Meeka	February 2013; March 2009; June 2008*, June 2006*
62. Mike, Pauloosie	June 16, 2006*
63. Mike, Shuvina	June 8, 2006*
64. Ningeiogan, Alice	2004 α
65. Ningeocheak, Raymond	May 9, 2004
66. Obed, Natan	June 8, 2006*
67. Okalik, Paul	March 15, 2003; July 18, 2002
68. Omilgoitok, David	October 2005; 2004 α ; March 10, 2003; July 5, 2002
69. Onalik, Jimi	July 10, 2002
70. Papatsi, Ame	June 14, 2006*; March 16, 2004
71. Pelly, Laura	May 18, 2006*
72. Pilakapsi, Catherine	May 10, 2004
73. Pitseolak, Peesee	June 6, 2006*
74. Quassa, Paul	June 2008; June 2006; March 12, 2003; July 8, 2002
75. St. John, Charlotte	May 5, 2004
76. Simailak, David	May 2004 α (with Tagak Curley)
77. Suluk, Thomas	May 6, 2004
78. Tagalik, Abe	July 22, 2002
79. Tapardjuk, Louis	May 23, 2004
80. Taparti Jr., Louis	May 11, 2004; May 9, 2004
81. Tookoomi, Robert	June 2006 α
82. Ukallainuk, Lucien	June 4, 2006*; March 29 & 22, 2004
83. Watt-Cloutier, Shiela	2006, 2004 α ; July 18, 2002
84. Watt-Cloutier, Silvia	2006*; 2004 α
85. Watt, Charlie	May 2004 α (in-flight conversation)
86. Wilman, Mary Ekho	May 23, 2004
Quara and Kumaarjuk	Inuktitut Instructors, 2004/ 2006

Non-Inuk Advisors¹⁰⁷ to Inuit Organizations (During the Movement Period)

87. Abele, Francis	May 18, 2006; October 14, 2004;
88. Angus, Murray	May 2008*, September 28, 2004
89. Crawford, Anne	March 12, 2003
90. Creery, Ian	March 2003 α
91. Crnkovich, Mary	September 28, 2004
92. Fenge, Terry	2003 telephone --
93. Forth, Terry	June 2, 2006*; April 4, 2004
94. Hanson, Morley	May 18, 2006*
95. Hicks, Jack	March 12, 2003; July 26, 2002

¹⁰⁷ Includes people who are not Inuit but worked directly for the Inuit leadership in Inuit organizations; they generally had a background in law, advocacy, organizational experience with a demonstrated knowledge of Indigenous issues. They played many roles from legal representation to research support to office administration and accounting.

96. Jull, Peter	April 1, 2005
97. Lloyd, Hugh	April 15, 2004; March 4, 2003
98. Merritt, John	September 28, 2004; June 26, 2002
99. Shuldice, Mike	May 10, 2004
100. Wiehs, Fred	March 12, 2003
101. White, Graham	May 20, 2004

Federal Government Representatives¹⁰⁸ (During the Movement Period)

Adams, Willie (see Inuit Movement Actors above)

Anawak, Jack (see Inuit Movement Actors above)

Suluk, Thomas (see Inuit Movement Actors above)

102. Campbell, Alastair ¹⁰⁹	June 8, 2006*; 2005 ^a ; February 24, 2004
103. Crowe, Keith	October 13, 2004
104. Gamble, Bob ⁴	April 27, 2004
105. Molloy, Tom	September 29, 2004
106. Ritcie, Ralph	July 2008
107. Sarafini, Shirley	March 23, 2004
108. Van Loon, Richard	September 28, 2004

Territorial Government (GNWT) Representatives¹¹⁰ (During the Movement Period)

Arvaluk, James (see Inuit Movement Actors above)

Curley, Mali (see Inuit Movement Actors above)

Curley, Tagak (see Inuit Movement actors above)

Jull, Peter (see Non-Inuk Advisors above)

Irniq, Peter (Inuit Movement Participants above)

Maksagak, Helen (see Inuit Movement Actors above)

Suluk, Thomas (see Inuit Movement Actors above)

109. Kakfwi, Stephen	May 2, 2004
110. Nerysoo, Richard	October 2005
111. Patterson, Dennis	March 20, 2003; July 25, 2002 (tel.)
112. Sneider, Liz	March 2003
113. Picco, Ed (MLA)	June 20, 2006; July 17, 2002
114. Wah-Shee, James (MLA)	April 27, 2004

¹⁰⁸ Includes people who served as Federal Chief Negotiators, worked at the Ministry or Cabinet level in key positions, or who represented the GNWT in the Senate, or “Nunatsiaq” as a Member of Parliament (MP).

¹⁰⁹ Although having served as representatives of the Federal Government for much of the Movement period, also later worked for Inuit organizations as advisors.

¹¹⁰ Includes people who served in the territorial government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) whether as Ministry staff, as Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs), as Commissioner, Government Leader or Premier.

Non-Inuk Community Members/ Educators/GNWT or GN Staff/ NTI Staff/Era Witnesses

115. Aglukark, Kylie 2004 ^a
116. Anawak, Caroline Feb. 2013; June 2008; 2005; 2004 ^a; July 18, 2002
117. Bainbridge, John March 4, 2004
118. Bell, Jim July 5, 2002
119. Brody, Hugh March 12, 2003
120. Chemko, Erika June 2006*
121. Clarida-Fry, Kathy¹¹¹ May 18, 2006*; February 4, 2005; 2004
122. Demmer, Marianne² 2006 ^a; February 4, 2005
123. Dobbins, Edward Dr. April, 2005
124. Earle, Yvonne 2004 ^a
125. Harper, Ken July 13, 2002
126. Henderson, John March 10, 2004
127. Horn, Carol June, 2008; June 8, 2006*
128. Irving, Ae'lene February 26, 2004
129. Lavallee, Phillippe June 2006*
130. Love, Marion¹¹² 2004 ^a
131. Lovely, Ken April 10, 2004
132. Mallard, Mary Ellen March 20, 2004 (RCMP flight)
133. McComber, Louis 2004 ^a
134. McGrath, Janet (Tamalik) May 19, 2006*; February 6, 2006; February 4, 2005
135. McGregor, Cam 2004 ^a, 2013
136. McGregor, Cathy 2006*, 2004 ^a; November 12, 2003
137. Nagle, Patrick 2008*, May 2004; June 2006
138. Parungao, Marcelo June 2006*
139. Pimmik, Linda (CVC) January 15, 2004 ^a
140. Plaza, Danielle 2004, March 2003, July 2002^a
141. Rose, Bert April 6, 2004
142. Quirke, John June 2006*
143. Sanders, Nora March 10, 2004
144. Thomas, Mary Ellen 2008*, 2006*, 2004, July 5, 2002
145. Tyrell, Fr. John May/June 2006
146. Wright, Shauna-Leigh June 8, 2006*

¹¹¹ Co-directors of *Entheos Productions*, for whom I served as a consultant on their project "Staking the Claim". As a result of the project we worked intensively together for several days over the course of a year reviewing the history, people and events not just of the Inuit movement in Nunavut, but as a whole.

¹¹² Again, although I never formally interviewed her, Marion Love was my host during my Fulbright year in Iqaluit. Hardly an evening went by that we didn't spend talking over some issue relating to this work. Many key observations, specifically with regard to Inuit leadership, Inuit culture, and important relationships between Inuit ontology and leadership come directly from her.

147. Ziegler, Anna June 8, 2006 *

Global Indigenous Leaders/Authors

148. Alfred, Taiaikai,
Mohawk; Author of
“Wasase” Syracuse, NY 2005
149. Barraria Jose
150. Borrows, John
151. Champlaine, Duane April 2008, 2007
- Kakfwi, Stephen, Dene Leader (see Territorial Government above)
152. Erasmus, Bill (phone interview) – Dene Negotiator for NCLA, 2004
153. Jacques, Frieda, Onondaga Clan Mother, May 2008*
154. Lyons, Oren, Onondaga Faithkeeper May 2008, May 12, 2006, April 2005
155. Lynge, Aquiluuq, Iqaluit, Nunavut January 2004
156. Mankiller, Wilma, Cherokee, Former Chief – Western Band, Syracuse NY 2005
157. Little Bear, Leroy 2006
Wah-Shee, James, T’chlo Negotiator 4-27-2004
158. Walker, Polly, Cherokee 2005
159. Williams, Michael, Australian Aboriginal leader, University of Queensland, 2005

Appendix B

Key Events in the History of Nunavut

1870
Northwest Territories purchased from Hudson Bay Company, NWT Act passed by Parliament that lays the foundation for the future Legislative Assembly ⁱ .
1897
Titles “Executive Council” and “Premier” used for the first time.
1905
Northwest Territory Amendment Act becomes new “NWT Act”; A single Commissioner in Ottawa administers affairs of NWT.
1910
Hudson’s Bay Company begins to establish permanent trading posts across the central and western Arctic; many of these posts become the foundation of what will later become communities or permanent settlements.
1919
NWT administered by appointed Commissioner of NWT and federal Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs.
1920
Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) begin to establish a presence in the Arctic. ⁱⁱ RCMP Posts locate near or in HBC trading posts. These frequently become the locations of future Inuit settlements.
1921
A Six Member Council is appointed in Ottawa to oversee affairs in the Northern Territories. (None of those appointed reside in the NWT.)
1920s
Church missionaries (Catholic and Anglican) begin building permanent missions in the North; competition between the two becomes more open, prevalent and divisive of communities.
Aviation pioneering and economic boom draws adventurers, prospectors and mining companies to the North.
The influenza pandemic of 1918 is not short-lived in the Arctic; it spreads widely through many land-based communities in the first half the decade.
1930s
After the crash of the 1929 market, most of the mining and mineral exploration ventures in the Arctic (mostly in the west) were abandoned.
1931
Hudson’s Bay Company publishes <i>The Eskimo Book of Knowledge</i> , written by George Binney outlining a long list of rules by which Inuit were to live their lives.
1942

<p>U.S. military establishes an airbase at Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit) at a site scouted by Nakasuk, the Inuk credited with being the founder of the settlement of Iqaluit (today's capital of Nunavut).</p> <p>By 1943, the U.S. has built a military hospital to treat soldiers suffering from severe burns and traumatic injuries. The location is chosen because it is removed from major population centers.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1944</p> <p>The Canadian Government passes the “Family Allowance Act”; a scheme meant to provide minimal support for families facing severe economic difficulty - similar to welfare payments in the United States. However, Inuit benefitted little or not at all from the programⁱⁱⁱ. What meager payments that were paid were distributed by officers of the RCMP, making payment even less likely.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1946/Post WWII</p> <p>US Military Hospital built in Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit) Americans ignore Canadian protocol of separation, treating and interacting with Inuit. US military calls international attention to the conditions under which Inuit are living.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1947</p> <p>John G. McNiven becomes the first Northern resident to be appointed to the NWT Council.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1947 –1949</p> <p>The Cold War Era begins; Polio epidemic strikes Inuit living inland on west Hudson's Bay (outbreak origin is traced to military installation at Churchill, Manitoba but Inuit lifestyle is blamed^{iv}); Tuberculosis (TB) epidemic sweeps across the Arctic, literally decimating communities on the land.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1950</p> <p>Anglican and Catholic church leaders begin to inform the Canadian government in Ottawa of the problems being faced by the Canadian Inuit.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1951</p> <p>NWT Act is amended increasing the Territorial Council from six to eight members; three are to be elected by Mackenzie District (first elected members since its founding in 1905).</p> <p>The CD Howe, a government floating hospital is put into the service with the mission of sailing the waters of the Arctic, treating people in harbor communities and/or transporting people to the triage center in Churchill, Manitoba. (It remained in operation until 1968).</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1952</p> <p>Measles and influenza epidemics strike southern Baffin Island.</p> <p>Farley Mowat publishes “<i>People of the Deer</i>” as a serial for <i>The Atlantic</i>, graphically exposing the conditions under which Inuit were dying. (It is later published as a book in 1959 under the title “<i>The Desperate People</i>”).</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1953</p>

<p>Widespread starvation takes place across the Arctic, particularly devastating the eastern Arctic.</p> <p>Rankin Inlet Nickel Mine opens, Inuit from across the Keewatin region are “relocated” there to work as hard rock miners^v. (The mine operates until 1962).</p> <p>In the summer, the government relocates ten families (over 50 people) from northern Quebec and Baffin Island to two locations in the High Arctic (Grise Fiord & Resolute Bay).</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1954</p> <p>D.E.W. (Defense Early Warning) line construction begins, hiring Inuit hunters from across the Arctic to protect their construction workers from polar bears.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1955</p> <p>Fr. André Renaud organizes a group to study problems encountered by urban Indians. The issue is placed on the conference agenda of the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE)^{vi}.</p> <p>Seven more families (over 40 people) are relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1957</p> <p>Widespread starvation takes place in the arctic for the second time in the decade.</p> <p>Fifty-five members of the inland communities at Ennadaidai and Garry Lakes in the Keewatin are moved 100 miles north to Henik Lake in an attempt to save them from famine conditions.</p> <p>Nursing stations / Settlements Formed (when was first Hamlet Council created in Coral Harbor?/Pang?)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1957</p> <p>CAAE creates a standing committee called the “National Commission on the Canadian Indian.”</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1959</p> <p>Government begins to make concerted efforts to bring Inuit into settlements.^{vii} Settlement managers are largely former Hudson’s Bay Company managers.</p> <p>May 25^h, 1959 Abraham (Abe) Okpik, Mary Panigusiq (Cousins), and Elijah Menarik, meet for the first time at Meech Lake in a week long meeting with federal officials, including Prime Minister Diefenbaker, and Inuit from other regions inquiring the wants and needs of Inuit ^{viii}</p> <p>Mary Panigusiq Cousins becomes editor of “Inuktitut” Magazine, a publication for Inuit produced by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (which would become DIAND).</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1960</p>

<p>Indian Eskimo Association (IEA) is founded, formed from a sub-committee of the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE).</p> <p>Peter Ittinuar, Eric Tagoona and Zebedee Nungak are brought to Ottawa in an experimental program to test how well Inuit adapt to education in a standardized public school environment.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Early 1960s</p> <p>In spite of screening aboard the CD Howe, and triage centers established in Churchill, Manitoba, tuberculosis among Inuit. Continues to spread with devastating effects.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1961</p> <p>NWT Council first raises issue of Territorial Division.</p> <p>Alaska North Slope Inuit settle land claim agreement with the United States?</p> <p>Arctic Co-Op Movement begins; West Baffin Cooperative (Cape Dorset) is founded in 1961; 1963 first Conference of Arctic Cooperatives takes place in Frobisher Bay., by 1966 22 co-ops are established, 8 underway.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1962</p> <p>Mine closes at Rankin Inlet. Over 80 Inuit families now having adapted to wage-labor economy are left unemployed.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1963</p> <p>Construction on Churchill Vocational Center (CVC) residential school is begun.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1964</p> <p>Tagak Curley is brought from Coral Harbour to Ottawa to attend public high school as part of an experimental program.</p> <p>CVC brings young Inuit from across the North for secondary education and vocational training (1963/4 – 1973).</p> <p>Some families from Rankin Inlet are relocated or find their way to mine at Loon Lake, near Churchill, Manitoba.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1965</p> <p>Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson (Nobel Prize Winner) appoints Abe Okpik as the first Aboriginal (Inuk) member of the NWT Council.</p> <p>Okpik becomes the founder of the Northwest Territories section of the Indian Eskimo Association.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1966</p> <p>Three eastern Arctic ridings (electoral districts) are added; Simonie Michael becomes first elected Inuk Member of NWT Council.</p> <p>Seven Council Members for the NWT are now elected; five are still appointed.</p>

Churchill Vocational Center (CVC) prints its first yearbook.
Abe Okpik chairs the first panel of Inuit convened to discuss problems facing Inuit and the newly emerging communities and settlements.
1968 – 1970 Federal government and NWT sponsor an Adult Education Program and hire Inuit as Adult educators to travel across the Arctic helping Inuit deal with economic development. There were three phases: one – men and housing; two – women and home economics; three – forming housing associations.
1969 In June, the Trudeau administration produces the now famous “white paper” espousing the liberal ideal of a Canadian society in which all citizens possess equal rights and no special consideration. Aboriginal groups (National Indian Brotherhood et al) object, calling attention to the treaties and other agreements designed to protect rights to culture and autonomy. IEA announces plans to provide research support to Aboriginal groups wishing to pursue “treaty and aboriginal rights” in the Canadian courts. IEA also sponsors the Tundra Conference (first discussion of COPE and ITC). In the United States, <i>Custer Died for Your Sins; An Indian Manifesto</i> by Vine Deloria Jr. is published. It outlines the common experiences and grievances of Indigenous peoples in North America.
1970 Conference co-sponsored by the IEA brings 33 Inuit together in Coppermine in July. Conference leads directly to the formation of Committee for Original People’s Entitlement (COPE) and plans for a wholly Inuit organization. IEA hires Tagak Curley (age 26) to serve as a liaison to Inuit communities.
1971 IEA announces policy change to support Aboriginal people to found their own organizations. In February, a Peterborough board meeting takes place leading to the founding of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC). ITC opens first office in Edmonton, Alberta. In December the first issue of “Inuit Monthly” is published. IM is a newsletter for the Inuit of Canada written in both English and Inuktitut. In addition to reporting on their activities, it also provided valuable insight for Inuit on how Canadian government worked, as well as law. Movement begins for the creation of community radio stations; only Baker Lake has a radio, and it only reaches a five mile radius.
1972 James WS and Tagak C attend the oil company meeting in Paris and meet several other Northern indigenous peoples also attending.

COPE becomes an affiliate of ITC because it cannot get direct access to Federal Funding.

Northern Quebec Inuit Association (NQIA) is formed in a meeting in Inoucdjouac.
Charlie Watt becomes the first president.

ITC's Land Claims project begins.

ITC blocks Federal Government from transferring lands to GNWT administration.
ITC blocks FG from allowing German icebreakers in to facilitate the transport of ore. (1st two victories against the FG)

Federation of Natives North of 60 is founded.

Tagak Curley and James Wah-Shee crash a meeting of oil company executives and the Federal Government demanding to be included in a meeting in Paris.

CBC Northern Service begins training program.

1973

Landmark Calder Case decision establishes the existence of Aboriginal rights under the law and marks the beginning of a Land Claims policy in Canada.

Communications Satellite Anik is launched, making live TV broadcasts possible in the North for the first time.

IEA becomes the Canadian Association in Support of Native Peoples (CASNP), reflecting the fact that they no longer play any role beyond that of support with regard to the Aboriginal organizations that it helped launch.

ITC hires Milton Freeman to direct a Land Use and Occupancy Study of lands in Nunavut, with \$440,000 in funding from the Federal government negotiated with Jean Chretien, DIAND minister.

Land Use and Occupancy Study is the first time Inuit from the communities are asked for their input in what will become the land claims process.

Inuit representatives (Tagak Curley) and Saami representatives meet for the first time to discuss an International Arctic forum.

1974

The Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI) is formed, along with the Labrador Inuit Association and ...

Joanasie Salomonie stars in film "White Dawn."

Eskimo TV Program “Tarqavut” is broadcast through Anivik; Elijah Menarik is the broadcaster for CBC Northern Service.

February 13, ITC President Tagak Curley and COPE President Sam Raddi meet with Jean Chretien.

He agrees to hold continuing discussions on question of land claims, hunting rights, and territorial land regulations as long as they were “confidential, exploratory and without prejudice.” IM v. 3, no2, p. 32.

First circumpolar conference of indigenous peoples takes place in Copenhagen, leading to the formation of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference and later the ‘World Council of Indigenous Peoples.’

1974 – 1977

Commissioner Thomas R. Berger begins his inquiry into the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline.

In 1977 he produces a report on the North resulting from formal hearings at thirty-five northern communities. It contained the recommendation to postpone pipeline construction arguing that before development proceeded Native peoples believed, “their right to their land their right to self-determination as a people must be recognized.”

1975

March 10th, the first fully elected council of the NWT begins their term.

Baffin (March), Keewatin (May), and Kitikmeot (October) Inuit Associations are formed. Presidents become board members of ITC.

First Inuit Women’s Conference held in Pangnirtung, coordinated by Leah Idlout of ITC.

ITC “Land Claims Project” gets underway; Tagak Curley is the Director.

First land claims meeting takes place in Pond Inlet. On November 3, the DC-3 with 23 passengers who constitute the majority of the ITC leadership and land claims negotiators with their lawyer crash just north of Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit). All survive, but must wait two days for rescue.

John Amagoalik becomes the Information Officer for the GNWT at Frobisher Bay.

ITC creates Community Liaison position; Ian Creery is chosen to fill it.

CBC Northern Service (Bob Charlie) covers Mackenzie Valley pipeline hearings in all native languages.

The first World Conference of Indigenous Peoples is held in Port Alberni, British Columbia in October; it brought indigenous peoples together from over nineteen countries

James Bay Agreement (Northern Quebec Land Claim) is signed on Nov. 11.

1976

ITC offices are in Ottawa; at their annual general meeting 130 delegates from 48 communities takes place.

Simon Awa and Paul Quassa become Training Coordinators for ITC, providing training for the increasing number of Inuit coming on board in various positions. Ian Creery becomes Field Coordinator to help structure work in the communities. Hugh Lloyd and Mark Stiles become Management Training Field Coordinators.

Land claims proposal put forth on February 27th to the Federal government.

Igloolik turns down television service by CBC.

Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) submits land claims project proposal to the Northern Affairs Minister, Judd Buchanan March 4.

Pressure on ITC from exploration and development agencies increase.

November, ITC withdraws its Land Claims proposal, asking the Federal government for more time to consider it.

COPE's "Inuvialuit Nunangat" claim is hurriedly put forward because of pressure from the Mackenzie Pipeline schedule.

1977

Berger Inquiry Report is released.

Drury Commission is formed.

Telephone service reaches 27 communities by March.

Inuit Circumpolar Conference is founded by Eben Hopson on June 6th in Point Barrow, Alaska.

ITC production, "Nunatsiaq, The Good Land"

French Film released; "Nunavut Igloolik" (shot 1976)

ITC changes "Land Claims Project" to "NWT Land Claims Commission".

The Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI) withdraws from ITC.

<p>Inuit Youth Movement (IYM) is formed; Paul Quassa becomes first President of the Youth Council; Abelie Qumaluk is Vice President of the Northern Quebec Youth Council.</p> <p>DIAND releases the Cape Dorset Report.</p> <p>Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) presents Land Claim to Federal Government.</p> <p>Willie Adams becomes the first Inuk Senator for the NWT.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1978</p> <p>COPE breaks away from ITC and the Nunavut land claims process. Their “Inuivialuit Land Rights Settlement Agreement-in-Principle” is signed in October.</p> <p>ITC realizes that having one body negotiate all land claims is unrealistic. Also, for internal reasons the Land Claims Commission under John Amagoalik is dissolved and ITC forms the “Nunavut Negotiating Committee”.</p> <p>First democratic election takes place.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1979</p> <p>Greenland Home Rule is established.</p> <p>Inuit Tungavinga Nunamini (ITN) Inuit group in Northern Quebec splits from NQIA and is given a seat on the ITC board (but no vote).</p> <p>Nunavut Caucus is formed in the NWT Legislative Assembly.</p> <p>Inuit Committee on National Issues is formed September 7th, to deal with the upcoming debates on the patriation of the Constitution from GBR to Canada.</p> <p>Peter Ittinuar is elected the first Inuk Member of Parliament, Nunatsiaq riding.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1980</p> <p>Drury Report is issued and recommends against division of the NWT until all land claims settled.</p> <p>Inuit “Political” Organizations now include:</p> <p>Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC)</p> <p>Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI)</p> <p>Committee for Original People’s Entitlement (COPE)</p> <p>Northern Quebec Inuit Association (NQIA)</p> <p>Labrador Inuit Association (LIA)</p> <p>Kitikmeot Inuit Association (KIA)</p> <p>Keewatin Inuit Association (KIA)</p> <p>Baffin Region Inuit Association (BRIA)</p>

<p>Canadian Arctic Co-operatives Federation (CACF) Canadian Arctic Producers Co-operative Limited (CAPCL) Makivik Corporation Inuit Tungavinga Nunamini (split from NQIA) Taqramiut Nipingat (Inuit broadcasting company) Kativik School Board Kativik Regional Government La Federation des Co-operatives du Nouveau-Quebec Nunasi Development Corporation</p> <p>ITC creates a committee to solve problems that Inuit encounter in the South.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1981</p> <p>Nunavut Affairs Planning Office (NAPO) is created; Thomas Suluk becomes the first director.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1982</p> <p>The Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN) is formed, taking over from the ITC the major role in land claims negotiations. John Amagoalik is President of the ITC, Bobby Kadlun becomes chair of the TFN board of directors; TFN board consists of TFN officers and regional (BRIA, KIA, KIA) Presidents.</p> <p>In Canada the Constitutional Alliance of the NWT is formed in February, and in July two sub-groups, the Nunavut and Western Constitutional Forums (NCF and WCF) are established to look into the constitutional implications of dividing the NWT.</p> <p>In November the Canadian government announces its approval, in principle, of an agreement for the formation of Nunavut.</p> <p>In Canada, the Constitution Act passes; it sets terms for the creation of a new province - the "consent of at least seven of the provinces representing at least 50% of the population of all the provinces."</p> <p>The plebiscite is held regarding the division of the NWT into two territories. It passes with 56% of the vote in a 52% voter turnout.</p> <p>Following the plebiscite, Ottawa announced that it would commit to an agreement in principle on the creation of Nunavut if certain conditions were met. (see 1992)</p> <p>Nunavut Constitutional Forum is established to develop a constitution for Nunavut; Western Constitutional Forum is the NWT counterpart.</p> <p>Inuit Committee on National Issues (ICNI) forms with the mandate to embed Aboriginal rights in the new Canadian constitution.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1983</p>

<p>The ICC meets in Iqaluit, Canada, to draft a “comprehensive policy to be urged on the Governments of Denmark, Canada, and the United States.” (Duffy 1988:261)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1984</p> <p>Inuvialuit settlement is signed, the land claim of the Inuit of the Western Arctic who broke away from the Nunavut negotiations in 1978.</p> <p>Pauktuutit, the first Inuit women’s organization is formed; its first president Jeela Moss-Davies is asked to join TFN board of directors.</p> <p>Nunavut Impact Review Board, proposed by TFN, is accepted by the Federal Government.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1985</p> <p>TFN begins to train Community Liaison Workers.</p> <p>Virginia Mooney and Murray Angus begin a training program for young Inuit in Eskimo Point (Rankin). Program becomes Nunavut Sivuniksavut (NS).</p> <p>The United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Peoples (UNWGIP) is formed and begins working on the draft for a Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1986</p> <p>Land Identification Project gets underway involving the Inuit constituency in the communities more directly than ever before.</p> <p>Training program moves to Ottawa and becomes Nunavut Sivuniksavut (NS).</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1987</p> <p>Canada’s Meech Lake Accord recognizes Quebec as a “distinct society.” (The accord fails, but the recognition achieves precedent).</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1988</p> <p>TFN and Makivik (organization representing the Inuit of Quebec) sign a Memorandum of Understanding regarding “Offshore Boundaries and Areas of Overlapping Use”</p> <p>TFN and Federal government agree to a process that will determine the amount of land that Inuit will own upon the settlement of the land claim.</p> <p>Five sub-agreements of the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement are negotiated.</p> <p>Seven TFN Trainees are sent to London, England to take part in opening of a special exhibit at the British Museum of Mankind.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1989</p> <p>TFN Board of Directors sign an agreement on the “Cessation and Surrender of the Aboriginal Title to the Lands and Waters of the Settlement area.” Through this they exchange “Aboriginal title” for legally recognized ownership of 16% of the land mass of Nunavut, a cash settlement, and an extensive management system giving Inuit oversight over any development of the remaining lands and waters.</p>

December 8, 1989 the TFN and Canadian Government sign a tentative land claim agreement-in-principle.

1990

At the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe: The Conference on the Human Dimension. The International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) and ICC collaborate on the venue of “Indigenous Rights”. Among the events listed were: 1) “Military Militarization of the Arctic Areas” and 2) “The rights of Indigenous Peoples to their own resources” (Gaup 1990: 61).

In Canada, the Meech Lake Accord fails; riots at the Oka Mohawk Reservation halt all land claim negotiations for a time. (Peace is negotiated later that year through the aid of members of the Onondaga Nation of New York).

Nunavut Wildlife Management Advisory Board convenes for the first time.

1991

Nunavut Land Claim Agreement-In-Principle finally signed by TFN and Government representatives in Igloolik, April.

In Canada, John Parker, former Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, is appointed by the federal government to recommend a boundary for division.

The ICC hosts the first Arctic Indigenous Leaders Summit.

In Canada, Bourque Commission on Constitutional Development takes place.

1992

Canada releases its Human Rights Commission Report affirming its commitment to Indigenous rights.

The ICC’s Arctic Policy is adopted by the Inuit delegations from Greenland, Canada, Alaska and Russia.

In January of 1992 Ottawa announces that it is willing to apologize to the Inuit for the forced relocations of the past and talk to the Inuit about their demands.

Ottawa makes a critical decision stating that if the conditions outlined in 1982 were met, it would commit to the creation of Nunavut.

A plebiscite is held among the territorial electorate of the Northwest Territories in May of 1992 on the issue of the “Parker Line.

In May of 1992 the Inuit of Nunavut ratified the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement in vote of 84.7 per cent of the Inuit population. (Hicks and White 2000: 95)

<p>In September of 1992 the federal government made a last attempt to separate Nunavut from the final land claims agreement</p> <p>On October 30, 1992 the Nunavut Political Accord was signed in Iqaluit.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1993</p> <p>May 25, 1993 Inuit and Federal Government representatives signed the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement.</p> <p>The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act and the Nunavut Act are adopted by parliament in November.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1994</p> <p>The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is passed at the 12th session of the United Nations working group in 25-29 July.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1997-1999</p> <p>Nunavut Implementation Commission works on defining the shape and nature of the institutions and personnel of the new Government of Nunavut.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1999</p> <p>The Nunavut Act comes into force; the new Territory of Nunavut is created; the first Territorial elections are held.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">2004</p> <p>Second Territorial elections are held. Federal funding is guaranteed for another five years.</p>

Appendix C

Preliminary Period Division in the Negotiation Process on the Creation of Nunavut

1965-1971	<p>Formative Period <i>This was from the time of the release of the Carruthers Commission Report and the activity of the co-op movement along with the Indian and Eskimo Association to the forming of the ITC. This involved the 1st generation of Inuit leadership.</i></p>
1971-1974	<p>1st Negotiation Period <i>Includes the people who were involved in the first attempt at creating a Nunavut agreement. An agreement was proposed in 1974 and put forward in 1975.</i></p>
1975-1977	<p>1st Transitional Period <i>Many of the 2nd generation leadership were brought on board during this period; the initial land claim proposal drafted by Peter Cumming, was rejected and rescinded by Inuit by 1976; the Inuvialuit – Inuit from the McKenzie Valley in the NWT in COPE, split away from the Nunavut claim in 1976 to pursue their own claim under the pressure of imminent development . Under Tagak Curley the “Land Claims Commission” was formed to better deal with the Nunavut land claim. Inuit regional organizations became more developed and Inuit began also to participate in International forums resulting in the creation of Inuit Circumpolar Conference.</i></p>
1977-1979	<p>2nd Transitional Period “The Purge” <i>Factionalization began to occur between organizations under the ITC umbrella; particularly between the regions. The Land Claims Commission was dissolved because of internal disagreements. Dispute arose between leaders regarding the issue of whether or not to separate the Land Claim from the creation of Nunavut. Those who wanted the creation of a new territory were “purged” from the organization.</i></p> <p><i>Another view is that this was a split over loan guarantees over the Nunasi Corporation, an entity developed to build relations with corporations for the future development of Nunavut. Some viewed it as an attempt to both spend</i></p>

	<i>and risk Land Claim money that was not even flowing yet (due to the lack of a land claim).</i>
1979-1982	3rd Transitional Period <i>In 1979 the leadership was changing again, and many of the 2nd generation Negotiators were brought back into the organizational fold. After considerable re-organization, the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut is formed to negotiate the land claim agreement for Nunavut exclusively. It's officers now also serve on the ITC board.</i>
1982-1987	2nd Negotiation Period/ Boundary & Constitution <i>This period most heavily involved negotiations with other 1st Nations, such as the Dene and Metis, over where to draw the boundary to divide the GNWT, and what overlapping boundary and land use rights were to be shared. It was also the time period where national debate was taking place on the issue of embedding aboriginal rights into the Canadian constitution as it was being patriated from Great Britain. The Committee on National Issues was formed to represent Inuit on this issue.</i>
1987-1989	3rd Negotiation Period/ Land Selection <i>While negotiations were underway with Dene and Metis, work continued on determining what lands were to be under complete Inuit control in Nunavut. Inuit began working more intensely with the communities on the issue of land selection. At the same time, some of the most difficult negotiations regarding articles on Wildlife management and article 4 on the creation of the Nunavut territory were taking place.</i>
1990-1992	4th Transitional Period <i>In 89/90 the Inuit won their debates with Dene and Metis. This period involved heavy lobbying and community outreach on the part of Inuit leaders to the broader Inuit population, first for agreement on the final proposal, then for the plebiscite and Inuit ratification vote. Because of personal problems many of the Inuit leadership were incapacitated, and others stepped forth to take their place in the final rounds and signing.</i>
1993-1999	1st Implementation Period <i>This was a seven-year period to prepare people to take over the new positions in government that the new territory would create. The 3rd</i>

	<i>generation begins to work with the 1st and 2nd under the auspices of the Nunavut Implementation Commission to work with the communities to prepare for new government.</i>
1999-2004	2nd Implementation Period <i>The first Nunavut government is elected and appointed, with most leadership roles being filled by members of the 3rd generation with one or two exceptions from the 2nd generation.</i>
2004-2009	3rd Implementation Period <i>The second Nunavut government is elected and appointed, bringing back some notable members of the 1st and 2nd generation leadership.</i>

Appendix D

List of Abbreviations

AGM	Annual General Assembly Meeting
AIM	American Indian Movement
BRIA	Baffin Regional Inuit Association
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
COPE	Committee for Original People's Entitlement
CVC	Churchill Vocational Center
DIAND	Department of Indian and Northern Affairs
GN	Government of Nunavut
GNWT	Government of the Northwest Territories
HTO	Hunter's and Trapper's Organization
IBC	Inuit Broadcasting Corporation
ICC	Inuit Circumpolar Conference
IEA	Inuit – Eskimo Association
ICNI	Inuit Committee on National Issues
INAC	Indian and Northern Affairs Canada
ITC	Inuit Tapirisat (Brotherhood) of Canada
KIA	Keewatin Regional Inuit Association
MLA	Member of the Legislative Assembly
NAC	Nunavut Arctic College
NCF	Nunavut Constitutional Forum

NIC	Nunavut Implementation Commission
NLCA	Nunavut Land Claims Agreement
NS	Nunavut Sivunuksavut
NTI	Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated
NWT	Northwest Territories
QIA	Qikiqtani Inuit Association
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
RIA	Regional Inuit Association
TFN	Tunngavik Federation of Nunvut

APPENDIX E

NUNAVUT MOVEMENT PARTICIPANT CHARTS

The following charts were put together through fieldwork done between 2004 – 2010. It is based upon both the contents of all of the following Inuit Movement and DIAND publications, as well as triangulated with in person interviews with over 240 movement participants and community members. The following charts present visual proof of the thesis of my dissertation, namely, the role of leadership families. They illustrate the relatively small cohort of leaders and the ways in which they maintained a relay of leadership, often taking on several leadership roles simultaneously or occasionally dropping out and then dropping back into the organizational or community structures.

Inuktitut Magazine. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). 1960 – 1980.

Inuit Monthly. Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC). 1971 – 1982

Monthly Newsletter, Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN). 1982 – 1999.

ITC/TFN OFFICERS, MEMBERS & NEGOTIATORS

INUIT CHIEF NEGOTIATORS	SUMMARY	ITC/TFN	
Curley, Tagak	Chief Negotiator	President of ITC	1971-1974 (Jul 31)
Arvaluk, James	Chief LC Negotiator	Land Claims Coordinator	1972
Kusugak, Jose		Land Claims 'Promoter'	1973
Arvaluk, James	Chief LC Negotiator	Land Claims Coordinator	1974-1976
Curley, Tagak	Chief Negotiator	President of ITC	1974-1975
Amagoalik, John	Chief Negotiator	Director of Land Claims	1974-1975
Amagoalik, John	Chief Negotiator	President of ITC	1981-1985
Suluk, Thomas	Chief Negotiator	TFN	1981-1983
Aglukark, David	Chief Negotiator	TFN	
Maghagak, Allen	Chief Negotiator	TFN	1983-1984
Kadlun, Bobby	Chief Negotiator	TFN	1984-1989
Quassa, Paul	Chief Negotiator	TFN	1989-1993

1962 – 1968 CO-OP MOVEMENT
Fr. Fornier (Repulse Bay) [84] 462-9912
Raymond Ningocheak; George Quiaut; Bert Woodward (Rankin); Colin Adjun (Copermine)
Fr. Andrew Goussart, President Canadian Arctic Co-operative Federation Limited (Cam Bay) Formed Feb. 1972; by 1975 34 co-ops have joined
1961: West Baffin Cooperative (Cape Dorset) 1963: First Conference of Arctic Co-operatives, Frobisher Bay [chair: Don Snowden] 16 co-ops represented 1966: 2 nd Conference, Povungnituk 22 co-ops established, 8 in process of organizing [Can. Arctic Co-op Federation forms] Louis Tapardjuk, President CACFL; Pauloosie Kadluak, President FCNQ [formed 72]; Mary Ipeelee; Dominique Tungilik

INDIAN ESKIMO ASSOCIATION 1960 – 1971
1955: Fr. Andrew Renaud – proposes it at Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAEE)
Norman Dunn/Alex Stevenson (Administrator of Arctic) Supports idea
1958: John Melling first Director
1960: Indian Eskimo Association Incorporated
Abe Opik, George Korneak, Minnie Freeman, Anne Lidbetter, Elijah Menarik
1970: IEA hired Tagak Curley to create organization

INDIAN BROTHERHOOD of the NWT & NATIONAL INDIAN BROTHERHOOD OF CANADA
James Wah-Shee; Richard Narysoo; George Manuel; George Erasmus; Bill Erasmus

1968 – 1970 FEDERAL/NWT ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM	DIAND sponsored through CMHD
PHASE ONE: MEN AND HOUSING	PHASE TWO: WOMEN AND HOME ECONOMICS
Al Simpson (Director); Ralph Ritchey (CVC Principle) Terry Forth (Kivalik Coord) Tagak Curley (Repulse – later settlement coordinator), Peter Irniq (Coral) – housing educators John Snowden (Baffin Coord) Elijah Irkloo, Joanasie Salamonie – housing educators Keith Crow (Arctic Quebec Coord) Inuk Helicopter Pilot Program: Mike Kusugak, Thomas Suluk, (Peter Ittinuar also Private Pilot)	Miriam Leath (Coordinator) deceased N.C. Esther Crawford (Coordinator) deceased, accident with plane propeller Ekho Lister (Yellowknife) wrote 10 yr history Territorial: Mary Wilman; Eva Arreak; Marion Love
	PHASE THREE: FORMING HOUSING ASSOCIATIONS

1970 Informal Meeting in Coppermine (more extensive list of participants) future ITC
1970 Quebec Inuit Association conceived (Keith Crow, 10/73 IM)

1970 1st Arctic Winter Games held in Inuvik

**ITC FOUNDING MEETING THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1971/Founding
CONFERENCE 23 DELEGATES/Representing 17,000 Inuit**

1971 INUIT TAPIRISAT of CANADA (ITC)					
Qumak, Noah	1	Sugluk	P.Q./ Nunvik	Deceased	
Oweetaluktuk, Jacob	1	Port Harrison	P.Q./ Nunvik		
Makpah, Celestina	1	Whale Cove	N.W.T./ Nunavut		
Kadlusiak, Josiah	1	Igloolik	N.W.T./ Nunavut	Igloolik	
Kilabuk, Ipeelee	1	Pangnirtung	N.W.T./ Nunavut	Deceased	
Curley, Tagak E.C.*	1	Edmonton	Alta./	Rankin/Iqaluit	President 1971- 1974
Cousins, Mary	1			Iqaluit	Worked for DIAND
Clark, Mr.		I.E.A. Director			
Dunne, Mr.		I.E.A. Director			

1st OFFICE OPENED Edmonton, Alberta FALL 1971/DECEMBER 1971**(1st Monthly Newsletter published)**

Aug 25th, 1971 ITC	FOUNDING	GENERATION		(primary residence at time)
Curley, Tagak E.C.	President	Coral Harbor	Gov, Can/Ind. Esk Assn	Edmonton
Menarik, Elijah	Vice President	N. Quebec	CBC announcer/prod	Montreal
Wilson, Meeka	Secretary/Treas	Pangnurtung	Gov. Can (secretary)	“Frobisher Bay”
Kilabuk, Ipeelee	Board Member	Pangnurtung	HBC Asst. Mgr	Pang
Kadlustiak, Josiah	Board Member	Igloolik	Pwr plant operator GNWT	Igloolik
Berthe, Ed	Board Member	Ft. Chimo, Qbc	Driver GNWT	Churchill, Man.
Panika, Mike	Board Member	Coral Harbor	Hunter and Trapper	Coral harbor
Goose, Wallace	Board Member	Holman Island	Hunter and Trapper	
Qumak, Noah	Board Member	Salouc, Qbc	Hunter and Trapper	
Salomonee, Joanasie	Board Member	Cape Dorset	Cultural Consultant, Adult Ed-QNWT	“Frobisher Bay”
OFFICE STAFF				
Tagak Curley	Executive Director		<i>Also Adult Educator</i>	
Cecelia Cooper	Exec. Sec./Editor Inuit Monthly	Israel	Librarian, Teacher	Edmonton
Sarah Seeloo	Clerk/Typist	Baker Lake	Indian Esk. Assn. Toronto	Edmonton
Wallace Goose	Comm. Devt. Officer (C Arctic)			
Paul Pudiat	Comm. Devt. Officer (Baffin)	Coral Harbor	GNWT Adult Ed./Area Clerk	“Frobisher Bay”
Meeka Wilson	Executive Secretary	Pang.	Baffin Regional Office	“Frobisher Bay”
Consideration being made for a Communications Development Officer for Keewatin Region				

OTHER MEMBERS				
Makpah, Celestina	Whale Cove	N.W.T./Nunavut		
Oweetaluktuk, Jacob	Port Harrison	P.Q./Nunavik		

Funding received from” Federal Government, Canindis Foundation, World Council of Churches

Organization moves to Ottawa (Albert Street)

1972 ITC			BOARD	OTHER MEMBERS	
Curley, Tagak	1	President	Arvaluk, James	Edmunds. William	72
Maerik, Elijah	1	Vice President	Berthe, Ed	Magsagak, John	72
Kilabuk, Meeka	1	Secretary/Treasurer	Kadlutsiak, Josiah	Moss-Davies, Jeela	72
Kusugak, Jose	1	Asst. to Curley		Pedersen, Lena	72
Ittinuar, Peter	1	Editor: Inuit Today		Peters, john	72
Joamie, Billy	1	Co-Editor			
Farris, Jennifer	1	Consultant Editor		Raddi, Sam	72
Arvaluk, James	1	Director Comm./Land Claims Coord			
Cumming, Peter	1	Advisor/Lawyer →	Also Lawyer for COPE	Watt, Charlie	72
Haines, Fran	2	Accountant			
Brice-Bennett, Carol	2	Researcher			

COPE becomes a regional affiliate of UTC because it cannot get direct access to Federal Funding.

NQIA formed in a meeting in Inoucdjouac/ Charlie Watt (President)

Federation of Natives North of 60: James Wah-Shee (President)

Indian Brotherhood of NWT: James Wah-Shee (President)

Land Claims Project begins

Early 1973: Communications Satellite Anik launched, live TV broadcasts possible to North

1973 ITC			BOARD	Other Members
Curley, Tagak	1	President	Watt, Charlie (NQIA))	Arvaluk, James, Coordinator of Communications
Manerik, Elijah	1	Vice President	Pedersen, Lena	
Wilson, Meeka	1	Secretary/Treasurer	Edmunds, William	Berthe, Ed (resigns)
Kusugak, Jose? (until creation of ICI)	1	Language Commissioner	Kadlutsiak, Josiah Baffin Field Representative	
Ittinuar, Peter	1	Editor: Inuit Today	Magsagak, John	
Farris, Jennifer	1	Consultant Editor	Moss-Davies, Jeela	
Cumming, Peter	1	Advisor/Lawyer	Raddi, Sam (COPE)	
Kusugak, Jose	1	Land Claims promoter(10/11 IM)	12/73 working with Tony Welland on land use and occ study Kee	...Tony Welland was former Churchill Voc. Center supervisor and Coral Harbor Co-op mgr.
Hunt, Connie		Land Claims Study Lawyer (10/73)	Peters, John	Mautaritnaaq, Michael – Tagak's assistant
Chiang, Leo		Accountant	Martin, Martin	
Brice-Bennett, Carol		Researcher	12/73 Keith Crow joins NQIA for a year	Harvision, Lynn – Exec-secy Tagak Curley (fr Australia)
Gamble, Al		Executive Director		
Tagoona, Eric	1	Audio-Visual Consultant		
Pierce, Terry		A/V		
Ipellie, Alooook		Artist/Translator (12)	(was CBC Radio ann. In	“Frobisher Bay”)

[Sept. 25, 1973 Chretien and Curley complete arrangements for \$440,000 over two years for land use study. Milton Freeman will direct.]

1st International Arctic Conference takes place **November 22-25, 1973**. Copenhagen, Denmark (attended by 20 organizations from Canada, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Greenland). Sponsored by: Federation of Natives North of 60, attending: ITC and regional affiliates, Indian Brotherhood of NWT, Yukon Native Brotherhood, Yukon Assn of Non-Status Indians, Inuit delegates from countries above) speaking: MP Wally Firth, Peter Cumming (Osgoode Hall Law School), Milton Freeman (Assoc Prof. Anthro, McMaster) James Wah-Shee, conference President. **Canadian Delegates:** Tagak Curley, Elijah Menarik; Peter Cumming; James Wah-Shee; Sam Raddi; Rosalee Tizya (COPE); Chief Vital Bonnetrouge (Indian Brotherhood of NWT); Chief Elijah Smith (Yukon Native Brotherhood); Joe Mercredi (Metis Assn of NNWT); Joe Jacquot (Yukon Assn of Non-Status Indians).

12/73 Tagak has decided not to hold position of President after next ITC general meeting/steps down July 31, 1974.

1974 ITC		65 Delegates	BOARD	Other Members and Staff
Arvaluk, James (9/20)	1	President	Raddi, Sam (COPE)	Cournoyea, Nellie (COPE)
Kadlutsiak, Josiah	1	Vice President	Watt, Charlie (NQIA)	Angulalik, Aggie (Secy)
Wilson, Meeka	1	Secretary/Treasurer	Edmunds, Bill (LIA)	Maggo, Amos (Interpreter)
James Arvaluk (until 9/20)/ Tagak Curley		Coordinator: Land Claims Project	Amarook, Michael (Keewatin Field Worker/ fmr teacher of Inuktitut – Baker Lake	Tologanak, Helen (Secy);
Marquand, Luci		Editor: Inuit Monthly	Moss-Davies, Jeela – (Broughton Island) R	Williams, Vicki
Farris, Jennifer		Consultant Editor	Magsagak, John (ICI)	Partridge, Jacob (ICI exec dir)
Qitsualik, Maudie		Editorial Asst		Lyall, Bill
Ipellie, Alooook		Artist/Translator		Martin, Martin (86, LIA)
Otis, Mary		Reporter/Translator		Cloutier, Sally (Exec secy to pres)
Gamble, Al		Exec. Director	Peters, Johnny – R	McKuen, Roy?
Cumming, Peter	1	Advisor/Lawyer (also for COPE)	Ningocheak, Raymond (settlement counselor Coral Harbor)	Mouat, Ivan: co-ordinator of Inuit Cultural and Education Center
Brice-Bennett, Carol		Exec. Asst. to President	Pedersen, Lena (Coppermine)	Okpik, Peter
Usher, Peter		Land use consultant (also for COPE)		Kadluk, Titi
Freeman, Milton		Land use study Coordinator		Oshoweetok, Naudia
Tagoona, Eric	2	Audio-Visual Coord		Adjun, Colin
Kalleo, William		Photographer		Gruben, Charlie
Hunt, Connie		LC Lawyer		Hilda Lyall
Tologanak, Helen		Membership Clerk		
Kalleo, William				
Uviluq, Marie				

1974 CONTINUED

JOANASIE SALAMONIE starred in the film “White Dawn”;

Eskimo TV Program: “Taqravut” broadcast through Anvik/Elijah Menarik broadcaster CBC Northern Service; CBC President: Laurent Picard

Feb 13, 1974 Meeting in Minister Chretien’s office: ITC President Tagak Curley, COPE President Sam Raddi and COPE board member Peter Thrasher agreed to old informal, continuing discussions on questions land claims, hunting rights, and territorial land regulations – as long as they were “confidential, exploratory and without prejudice” (IM v. 3, no2, p. 32)

Indian Brotherhood of NWT: James Wah-Shee (President);
NQIA President: Charlie Watt;
LIA President: Sam Anderson;

Three Inuit serving on NWT Council: Lena Pedersen (Central Arctic), Willie Adams (Rankin Inlet). Paul Koolerk(?)/ Wally Firth reelected NDP MP for NWT.

June -- \$75,000 budget approved by Federal and Territorial Government for a legal center in “Frobisher Bay”/ Malilganik Tukisiiniakvik (a place where people go to get help and information about the law) Law Center was created.

MT Board of Directors: David Munick (Co-op); Pauloosie Kilabuck (Katavik Community Association); Carol Coulter (legal aid committee); Arnaitok Ipelee (Village council); Michael Moore (NWT Government); Lucassie Nowdiak (Hunters and Trappers); Markosie Peters (ITC); Adia Korgak (Housing Assn); John Bayly (NWT Bar Assn). President: David Munick; VP: Pauloosie Kilabuck; Secretary (Inuktitut): Adia Korgak; Secretary (English): Carol Coulter.

December – Dennis Patterson (Lawyer from Vancouver) appointed to MT as Director.

Land Claims Negotiating Committee formed – Tagak Curley as Director of land claims project; two representatives from each of four regions of NWT.

Kadlutsiak & Wilson working on Baffin Regional Org; Michael Amarook working on Keewatin.

Rosemary Qitusalik of Canadian Arctic Producers Ltd speaks of Conference in 1975 as part of Intl Womens year

Jeela Moss-Davies resigns from ITC board in December.

1975 ITC		BOARD MBRS	BAFFIN	KEEWATIN	KITIKMEOT
Arvaluk, James	Vice President	Kalujak, Leo	Michael, Symonie	Aglukark, David	Maksagak, John
Kadlutsiak, Meeka	Secretary/Treasurer	Qitsualik, Maudie	Wilson, Meeka	Kashla, Bill	Akuauigak, Bob
Curley, Tagak	Land Claims Director	COPE Pres; Raddi, Sam	Akeeshoo, Atsainak (Iqaluit)	Tagoona, William	
Gamble, Al	Exec, Director		Cowan, Susan		Lysy, Eugene
Williams, Vicki	Exec. Secy				
Idlout (d'Argencourt), Leah	Women's Conf. Coordinator	NQIA Pres: Watt, Charlie	DIRECTORS:	DIRECTORS:	DIRECTORS:
Marquand, Luci Baxter, Helen <i>Consultant ed</i> Qitsualik, Maudie <i>Asst.</i>	Editor: Inuit Today Alooktook, Ipellie (Artist)	LIA President: Edmunds, William	Arreak, David (Clyde River)	Tattuiniq, Jerome (Rankin Inlet)	Estoolook, James (Spence Bay)
Annanowt, David	Administrator		Salamonie, Joanasie	Alugut, Peter (Coral Harbor)	Ivarluk, John (Coppermine)
Cumming, Peter Bayly, John	Lawyers (also for COPE)		Inoaraq, Charlie (Pond Inlet)	Kemaleargyuk, Elee (Chesterfield)	Kuptana, Robert (Holman Island)
Brice-Bent., Des Brown, Doug	Exec. Asst Research		Kadlutsiak, Josiah (Igloodik)	Inuktaluk, Lucassie (Sanikilluaq)	Tologanak, John (Cam Bay)
Dodge, Chris Ms.	ITC Liaison (fmr social cons DIAND)		Paniloo, Pauloosie (Clyde River)	Taperti, Lucien (Rankin Inlet)	Apsimik, William (Cam Bay)
Brewster, Betty Noah, Martha	Translation		Quappik, Peterosie (Pang)		
Rhomer, Richard	Fundraising				
Carter, Patricia	Membership Clerk				
Annanowt, Sarah	Arc Amb Assn				
McEwen, Roy	Housing Officer				

Quarquarq, Theresa	Receptionist (formr DIAND)				
Patterson, Dennis	Law Center Lawyer (FB)				
Morisette, Michael	IM Consultant				
Anka, Marilyn	ADM secy				

1975 CONTINUED

February: 25 office staff in Ottawa

Berger Hearings underway

February 11: proposal to form an Inuit Territorial govt presented in land claims meeting in Frobisher Bay

ACTIVITIES:

Land Claims Project [staff: Tagak Curley (director); Sally Cloutier (secretary); William Tagoona (NQIA); Roy McEwen (secy for negotiating committee); Michael Mautaritnaaq (translator)]

Negotiating Committee: Gordon Nelson, Roy McEwen, Jaonasie Salomonie, William Tagoona, Michael Amarook, Nellie Cournoyea, Walter, Audia, Ralph Porter, Jackie Napayook, Gideon Qaiqqjuaq IM march p 27

DC-3 Airplane Crash with all Inuit Leadership on Board.

Nov. 3, 1975: 23 passengers, 3 crew: John Amagoalik, Meeka Kilabuk, Peter Cumming, Albert Netser, Yokipa Audlakiak, Richard Carson, etc.

Land Use and Occupancy Study Begins

Language Commission for common writing systems

Inuit Cultural Institute (Eskimo Point)

Legal Services Center (Frobisher Bay)

Production of Legal

Guide "Inuit and the Law"

Publication of Inuit Monthly [funding from: Samuel and Saidya Brnfman Family Foundation; Hugh Faulkenr Secy of State; Judd Buchanan DIAND]

ICI President: Anawak, Jack;

Executive Director Inuit Language Commission: Kusugak, Jose [Alex Stevenson, project co-ordinator]

BRIA founded March 1975 [April 2nd meeting?] Josiah Kablutsiak heading meeting; Marie Uviluq staff (Igloodik) Feb, IM

KeeIA founded in May 28 of 1975/ Kit IA founded late 1975 /Inuit Development Corporation
 Founded late 75./ President: Richard B. Carson/LAND CLAIMS MEETING: POND INLET study
 LIA submits land claims project proposal to Northern Affairs Minister Judd Buchanan: Amos
 Maggo (director); Ian Strachan (asst) – 30 people to hired for land use and occupancy
 National Indian Brotherhood President: George Manuel
 Native Council President: Kermot Moore

CBC Northern Service (Bob Charlie) covers MacKenzie Valley Pipeline hearings (in all native languages)

Eric Tagoona and Peter Ittinuar set up audio-visual program, films in Unuktitut for DIAND in Ottawa (IM, v4, n1 p. 49)

John Amagoalik (Information Officer, GNWT, Frobisher Bay)

Billy Lyall (Cambridge Bay) part of 6 Inuk devt task force

Women's Conference

September: new Land Claims Staff: Allah Gibbons (Special Asst to Director); Gary Yabsley (ITC Lawyer); Paul Koasak (Information Officer); Ian Creary (Community Liaison Officer); John Bradford (Development Co-ordinator) p58

1976 ITC		BAFFIN	KEEWATIN	KITIKMEOT
Arvaluk, James	President	Michael, Simonie	Aglukark, David	Maksagak, John
Kadlutsiak, Josiah	Vice President	Oshooweetuk, Nadluk (Dorset)	Kalujak, Leo	Pigalak, Tommy
Wilson, Meeka	Secretary/Treasurer	Wilson, Meeka	Kashla, Bill	Apsimik, William
Curley, Tagak - 7/31/Arvaluk, James/Amagoalik, John	Land Claims Directors	Akeeshoo, Atsainak (Iqaiuit)	Tagoona, William	
Steen, Vince	Exec. Director	Cowan, Susan	Tautu, Andre	Lysy, Eugene
Idlout, (d'A) Leah Tagoona, Susan (Asst)	Editor: Inuit Today			
		DIRECTORS	DIRECTORS	DIRECTORS
Gamble, Al/ Steen, Vince	Executive Dir.	Arreak, David (Clyde River)	Tattuiniq, Jerome (Rankin Inlet)	Eetoolook, James (Spence Bay)
Cumming, Peter	Advisor	Salamonie, Joanasie	Alugut, Peter (Coral harbor)	Ivarluk, John (Coppermine)
Freedman, Milton	Land Use & Oc	Inoaraq, Charlies (Pond Inlet)	Kemaleargyuk, Elee (Chesterfield)	Kuptana, Robert (Holman Island)
Amagoalik, John	Dir. Land Claims	Kadlutsiak, Josiah (Igloodik)	Inuktaluk, Lucassie (Sanikiluaq)	Tologanek, John (Cam Bay)

McEwen, Roy	Dir. Inuit Non-Profit Housing C	Paniloo, Pauloosie (Clyde River)	Taparti, Lucien (Rankin Inlet)	Apsimik, William (Cam Bay)
Brown, Dougald	Exec, Asst.	Quappik, Peterosie (Pang)		
Areak, Lazarus	Transl. Coord.	Ukalianuk, Lucien Field Worker		
Lapage, Eva	Translator	ITC	Wilson, Harold	Director Administrator
Locke, Anne	Translator	ITC	McDonald, Kathryn	Exec. Secy
Brewster, Betty	Translator	ITC	Mautaritnaaq, Michael	Research Fieldwork
Ipellie, Alooook	Artist/Writer	ITC	Talpagak, Paul	Research Kit IA
Awa, Jake	Translator	ITC	Kuptana, Rosemary	Adm Off Trainee
Koperqualuk, Annie	Translator	ITC	Izatt, Lesley	Senior Secy Admin
Awa, Simon	Training Coord	ITC	Dixon, Kaija	Accountant
Koasak, Paul	Training Coord	ITC	Naukatsik, Robert	Senior Office Clerk
Creery, Ian	Field Coord	ITC	Pallisar, Annie	Research Fieldwork
Fisher, Marilyn	Adm Secy	ITC	Buchok, Paula	Bookkeeper
Baxter, Helen	IM Consultant	ITC	Mason, Ken	Director Info Svc PR
Kalingo, Adamie	IM Asst Editor	ITC	Tukkiapik, Eva	Receptionist
Lloyd, Hugh	Mgmt Training FC	ITC	Puttayok, Elizabeth	Receptionist
Stiles, Mark	Mgmt Training FC	ITC	Ellis, Wendy	Adm Asst
Green, Lyndsay	Communications	ITC	James, Deborah	Clerk-Typist

1976 CONTINUED

ITC Board of Directors: David Aglukark (Rankin Inlet), Elijah Menarik (Cartierville), Sam Raddi (Inuvik), Charlie Watt (Fort Chimo), William Edmunds (Makkovik), John Maksagak (Cam. Bay), Jack Anowak (Repulse bay), Symonie Michael (Frobisher), Tagak curley (Eskimo Point), Jose Kusugak (Eskimo Point), Garritt Ruben (Paulatuk)

ITC ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING: 130 Delegates/ 48 Communities [Offices in Ottawa]

ICI: Jack Anawak (President), Eugene Amarualik (VP), Andrew Tautu (ST), **ICI Board:** John Maksagak, Josie Tookalook, Solomon Vaisey, Exec. Dir: Tagak Curley//Director of Language Commission: Jose Kusugak

NQIA: Charlie Watt (Pres. & Exec Dir.), George Koneak (1st VP), Johnny Williams (2nd VP), Sebedee Nungak (ST), **NQIA Directors:** Johnny Watt (Ft. Chimo), Lazarus Epoo (Inoucdjouac), Peter Inukpuk (Inouc.), Robbie Tokallok (Grt Whale Rvr), Tommy Cain (leaf Bay), Mark Annanack (George River), Charlie Arngak (Wakeham Bay) [Offices in Ft. Chimo and Montreal]

COPE: Sam Raddi (President), Garret Ruben (VP), Nellie Cournoyea (Exec. Dir)/ **Directors:** Annie C Gordon (Aklavik), Jimmy Jacobson (Tutoyaktuk), Frank Elanik (Aklavik), Rosie Albert (Inuvik), Agnes Semmier (Inuvik), Albert Elias (Sachs Harbor).// Field Rep: Bertram Pokiak/ Land Claims Officer: Nellie Cournoyea

LIA: William Edmunds (Pres.), Desmond Brice-Bennett (Exec Dir), Amos Maggo (Dir. Land Claims), **LIA Directors:** Boaz Jararuse (Makkavik), Bustave Boss (Hopedale), Philip Hunter (Hopedale), Edward Flowers (nain), Gus Bennett (Nain), Aloa Kojak (Nain), George Ford (Happy Valley)

PROPOSAL PUT FORTH FEB 27 BY: ITC Pres. James Arvaluk, ITC Founder Tagak Curley. Land Claims Dir. John Amagoalik, and COPE Pres. Sam Raddi
NOVEMBER: ITC ASKS FED FOR TIME TO RECONSIDER PROPOSAL
JAMES BAY AGREEMENT SIGNED

Allen Maghagak – settlement secretary Cambridge Bay/
 Lucassie Ivvalu – settlement secretary Igloodik
 Elijah Erkloo – Adult Educator Pond Inlet

IGLOOLIK turns down television service by CBC

Fieldworkers: Walter Audia (Resolute); Joseph Akeeshoo (Frobisher); Caleb Sangoya (Frobisher); Gideon Quaqjuaq (Spence Bay); Robert Kuptana (Holman Island); Jonah Klengenberg (Coppermine); Michael Amarook (Baker Lake); Thomas Tiktak 9Rankin); Peter Tapatai (Baker); Michael Mautaritnaaq (Baker); Nellie Cournoyea (Inuvik); Rex Cockney, Frank Cokney (COPE)

NQIA – Mary Simon Advertising for Translators – December

DECEMBER: James Arvaluk and Sam Raddi (COPE) inform Warren Allmand Western Arctic to settle own claim (In mutual support)

1977 ITC		BAFFIN	KEEWATIN	KITIKMEOT	
Amarook, Michael	President		Tautu, Andre		7 7
Steen, Vince	Vice President				7 7
Wilson, Meeka	Secretary/Treasurer		Henry Kablalik (Regional Officer)		7 7
	Exec Director				
Amagoalik, John	Land Claims Director	Cowan, Susan (Regional Director)	Tapatai, Peter (LC fieldworker)		7 7
Idlout, (d'Argencourt), Leah	Editor: Inuit Today	Ukalianuk, Lucien Fieldworker	Mautaritnaaq, Michael Land Claims Regional Officer)		7 7
Tagoona, Susan	Asst – Editor	Alaing, Simonie (cultural activities)			
Ipellie, Alloktook	Artist/Writer				7 7
Baxter, Helen	Consultant				7 7

Palliser, Aani	Communications Field Worker	Akeeshoo, Joe (LC Field worker – Iq)			77
Manning, Charlie Pootoogook, Itee Manning, Annie	Interpretors/Translators				
Creery, Ian	Field Coordinator				
Awa, Simon	Training Coord				
Koasak, Paul	A/Training Coord				
Mason, Ken	Information Officer				
Tagoona, Irene	IM assistant				
Patterk, John	IM assistant				
Locke, Annie	Information Officer				
Brown, Dougald	Exec. Asst				
Kaomayok, David					
Kaludjuk, Leo					

1977 CONTINUED

Elected to ITC Board: Joanassie Solomonnie, Raymond Ningeosiak, Louie Pilakapsi and Elijah Menarik (Broadcaster CBC Montreal)

NQIA President: Watt, Charlie/ Zebedee Nungak

INUIT YOUTH MOVEMENT:

LIA President: Edmunds, William

Paul Koasak (Igloodik)

COPE President: Raddi, Sam, VP Vince Steen

Abelle Qumaluk (NQ Youth Cou VP)

ICI President:

(Director, Language Department: Jose Kusugak)

ITC PRODUCTION: NUNATSLAQ, The Good Land

BERGER Report Released

1977 Continued

CREATION OF LAND CLAIMS COMMISSION: 3 Commissioners

LIA PRESENT CLAIM TO FED

ICI WITHDRAWS FROM ITC

First Inuit Circumpolar Conference

ICC CREATED – JUNE 6th – Point Barrow, Alaska

DIAND Dorset Report

NWT LAND CLAIMS COMMISSION: John Amagoalik, director: Lazarus Arreak/ Walter Audia (Chair), Qilurqissaq (chair of commissioners3); Leah Qavavauq (Arctic Bay land Claims Committee); Jaimesie Piugaattuaaluk (land claims fieldworker Pond Inlet); Maurice Agmaalik (Hall beach settlement councilor); Levi Kadluk (Arctic Bay settlement councilor); Joanasie Tuurngaq (Pond Inlet land claims committee)

Film (French): “Nunavut Igloolik” released (shot in 1976)

1978 ITC		BAFFIN	KEEWATIN	KITIKMEOT
Tagoona, Eric	President	Arvaluk, James		Mahagak, Allen
Peters, Johnny	Vice President			
Wilson, Meeka/ Locke, Annie (2)	Secretary/Treasurer			
Tagoona, Eric	Exec Director			
Kilukishak. Gamaillie	Chair, Inuit Land Claims Commissiona			
Amagoalik, John	Land Claims Director			
Idlout (d'Argencourt), Leah	Editor: Inuit Today			
Ipellie, Arlooktooka	Artist/Writer			
Ittinuar, Peter	Exec Director (2)			
Brown, Dougald	Oil Gas Consultant			
Kashla, Bill	Oil/Gas Cons Trainee	BOARD MEMBERS		
Harvison, Peter	Oil/Gas Consultant	Pilakapsi, Louis		
Utatnaq, Alexis	Chief, Translation	Inoapik, Guy		
MacKay, Domina	Translator	Watt, Charlie (NQIA)		
Tagoona, William	Exec Coord			
Baxter, Helen	Consult IT	NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE		
Buchanan, Enid	Housing Liaison O	Amarook, Michael	Eskimo Point	
Warden, Loretta	ICC Secretary	Miloktuk, Donat	Repulse Bay	
Kudzia, Jo- Anne	Exec Secy	Muckpa, Celestino	Chesterfield	
Boileau, Andre	Accountant	Panika, Mike	Coral Harbor	
Dixon, Kaija	Accountant	Suluk, Thomas	Eskimo Point	

Chaulk, Pamela	Asst. Accountant	Kitsualik, Gideon	Goja Haven	
Lock, Annie	Information Officer			
Dayman, Lena	Purchasing & Printing		ITC	
Tutannuaq, Percy	Library Trainee		Palliser, Aani	Communication Officer
Lysy, Eugene	Dir. Of Admin		Tagoona, Irene	Snr Adm Secy
Mason, Ken	Director Info Svc		Angatajuak, Joan	Receptionist
Green.Lyndsay	Comm Officer		Estrin, David	Environ Lawyer
James, Debi	Adm Secy/Printer		Vogel, Diane	It Consultant
Ellis, Wendy	Exec Asst			

1978 CONTINUED

Inuit Tugavingat Nunamini (ITN) Inuit group in Northern Quebec splits from NQIA given seat on ITC board – but no vote

Inuit Development Corporation: Jens Lyberth (president)

1979 ITC		BAFFIN	KEEWATIN	KITIKMEOT
Amarook, Michael	President	Arvaluk, James	Tiktak, Thomas	Maghagak, John
Amagoalik, John	Vice President(s)	Kellypalik, Maniak Imaroituk, Emil	Alariak, Peter (acting)	Tologanak, John
Towtongie, Cathy	Secretary/Treasurer	Kooneliusee, Leslie	Kritterdilk, David	Eetoolook, James
Golder, Martin	Non-Profit housing Proj			
	Executive Director	Tulugak, david	Aglukark, David	Evalik, Charlie
Samailak, David	Anik-B Proj			
	Land Claims Director	Alainga, Simonie Outpost Comm Prog	DIRECTORS	DIRECTORS
Gazee, Cliff	Editor: Inuit Today		Eli Kimaliardjuk	Pat Ekpakohak
Ipellie, Arlooktook	Artist/Writer		Octave Sivaerktuk	Tommy Pigalak
			Raymond Ningeocheak	Kane Tologanak
			John Narkganerk	John Maksagak
			Philip Sheetoga	Tom Ashevak
			Donat Anawok	Pat Lyall
			Peter Aleriak	
Vogel, Diane	Info Officer			

BOARD OF DIRECTORS: Leah d'Argencourt (Pond), Charlie Watt (Chimo), Guy Enuapik (Coral), Allen Makhagak (Cam). John Tinashlu (Repulse), Louis Pilakapsi (Rankin), William Edmunds (Nain), Thomas Tiktak (Rankin)

CACF: Louis Tapardjuk (president); Colin Adjun (vp); Ted Sabine (s/t); **Directors:** Louis Tapardjuk, Raymond Ningeocheak, Mary Ipeelee, Dominique Tungilik, Colin Adjun, Bob Simpson, Maurice Arnatsiak, Alex Nitsiza, Pauloosie Kasudluak, Barry Shead, Gunther Abrahamson

Canadian Arctic Producers Co-operative Limited: Willie Adams (president); **Directors:** Simon Kataoysk, William Lyall, Tony Eecherk, Seanna Attagotak/ Mark Evaluardjuk, Louis Tapardjuk, Willie Adams, Arnaitok Ipeelee, Mosesie Kolola

Makivik Corporation: Charlie Watt (president); Kakinerk Nalulyuk (1st VP); Willie Watt (treasurer); Mathew Amarualik (secy)

LIA: William Edmunds (pres); Bob Lyall (vp); William Anderson III (s/t); **Directors:** William Kalleo, Aba Kijak, William Onalik, Zack Karpik, Paul Obed, Marvyn Andersen, Annie Evans, Silpa Edmunds, Bill Allen/
Exec dir: Jim Lyall, **Fieldworker:** Carol Brice-Bennett=

ITC 1980		BAFFIN	KEEWATIN	KITIKMEOT
Amarook, Michael	President			
Amagoalik, John	Vice President			
Towtongie, Kathy	Secy/Treasurer			
Maghagak, Allen	Land Claims Director			
Gazee, Cliff	Editor: Inuit Today			
	Reporter. Transl			
Ipellie, Arlotook	Writer/Trans PT			
Amarualik, Salome	Transl PT			
Hill, Sadie	Transl PT			
Okkumaluk, Therese	Transl PT			
Bureau, Gloria	Financial Officer			
	Advisor			
Suluk, Thomas	Chief Land Claims Negotiator			
Pilakapsi, Louis	Board Member			
Pirjuaq, Barnabus	Board Member			
	Coordinator ITC Dir. Adm			
	Land Claims Secy			
	Lawyer			
	Accountant			
	Pastor, Native People			

ICI PRESIDENT: Thomas Kutluk

ITC 1981			BAFFIN	KEEWATIN	KITIKMEOT	
Amagoalik, John		President	Awa, Simon		Kadlun, Bobby	81
		Vice President				81
		Secy/Treasurer				81
Suluk, Thomas		Executive Dir	Alainga, Simonie			81
		Land Claims Director				81
Ipellie, Alootook Onalik, Pauloosie	Ed. Asst	Editor: Inuit Today				81
Bureau, Gloria		Financial Officer				81

OTHER STAFF: Betty Brewster (Trans), Leah Idlout, Sadie Hill, Paul Onalik
NAPO (Nunavut Affairs Planning Office) Created. First EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Thomas Suluk

ITC 1982			BAFFIN	KEEWATIN	KITIKMEOT	
Amagoalik, John*		President	Ell, Ben (President)	Alurut, Peter (President)	Eetoolook, James (President)	82
		Vice President				82
Idlout, Leah		Secretary/ Treasurer				82
		Land Claims Director				82
		Editor: Inuit Today				82
		Administrator				82
		Advisor				82
Bureau, Gloria		Financial Officer				82

- John Amagoalik is ITC President to 1985, and again from 1988-1991/
- 1985 – 1988 Rhoda Innuksuk; 1991-1996 Rosemary Kuptana

TUNNGAVIK FEDERATION OF NUNAVUT

(Founded in 1982, took over all major negotiations and organizing pertaining to Nunavut)

TFN OFFICERS

REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

TFN 1983			BAFFIN	KEEWATIN	KITIKMEOT
Kadlun, Bobby	2	Chair, Board of Directors	Ell, Ben (President)	Albrut, Peter (President)	Eetoolook, James (President)
Pilakapsi, Louis		Vice-Chairman			
Ukaliannuk, Lucien	1	Sec/Treasurer			
Milortuk, Donat		TFN Director/ITC member			
Ningocheak, Raymond		Director/CO-OP Fed. Pres	Ivvalu, Lucasie (Speaker)		
Suluk, Thomas		Project Director			
Ivvalu, Lucasie	2	Project Director			
Maghagak, Allen		Chief Negotiator			
Taipana, Simon	2	TFN Negotiator			
Merritt, John	2	TFN Legal Negotiator			
Duvekot, Jan Crnkovich, Mary	2	Researchers/Negotiators			
Ichol, Diane		Newsletter Editor			
Ittinuar, Ollie	1	ICI President			
Bureau, Gloria		Financial Officer			

ITC PRESIDENT: John Amagoalik

LIA President:

Nunatsiaq MP: Peter Ittinuar

NQIA PRESIDENT: Charlie Watt

TFN 1984			BAFFIN	KEEWATIN	KITIKMEOT
Kadlun, Bobby	2	Chair, Board of Directors			Kupeuna, Jack Regional Negotiator <i>Holman Island</i>
Pilakapsi, Louis		Vice-Chairman		Ernerk, Peter TFN Board Member	
Milortuk, Donat		TFN Director			Taipana, Simon Regional Negotiator <i>Coppermine</i>
Ningocheak, Raymond		CO-OPS LTD Rep & Board Member			
Ivvlv, Lucasie	2	Project Director			
Maghagak, Allen		Chief Negotiator			
Aglukark, David	2	Co-Chief Negotiator			
Arvaluk, James	1	TFN Negotiator			
Merritt, John	2	TFN Legal Negotiator			
Bureau, Gloria	2	Financial Officer			
Brewster, Betty	1	Translation			
Duvekot, Jan Crnkovich, Mary Brown, Dougald Bankes, Nigel	2	Reasearchers/Legal Advisors/Negotiators			
Skean, Lynda		Managing Editor			

ITC PRESIDENT: John Amagoalik

Peter Ittinuar

IRC PRESIDENT:

Charlie Watt

MP Nunatsiaq:

NQIA PRESIDENT:

LIA PRESIDENT” William Anderson III (84-93)

IWA/PAUKTUUTIT: Moss-Davies, Jeela

Nunavut Impact Review Board propped by TFN, accepted by FED

TFN 1985			BAFFIN	KEEWATI N	KITIKMEO T
Milortuk, Donat	2	Chairman/ITC Rep		Kadjuk, Anthyme (President)	
Kadjuk, Anthyme		Vice-Chairman		Ernery, Peter TFN Board Member	Kupeuna, Jack Negotiator <i>Holman Island</i>
Eetoolook, James	1	Sec/Treasurer			
Ningochea k, Raymond		CO-OPS LTD Rep & Board Member	Quassa, Paul Negotiator <i>Igloolik/N Baffin & High Arctic</i>		Taipana, Simon Negotiator <i>Coppermine</i>
Sammurto k, Paul Kritirliuk, Peter	2 Ass t	Project Director	Okalik, Paul <i>South Baffin</i>		
Maghagak, Bobby <i>Resigns October</i>	2	Chief Negotiator			
Kadlun, Bobby	2	Chief Negotiator			
Aglukark, David	2	Co-Chief Negotiator			
Brewster, Betty	1	Translation			
Arvaluk, James	1	TFN Negotiator			
Merritt, John	2	TFN Legal Negotiator			
Wiehs, Fred	2	Corporate Affairs Dir.			

Ames, Randy Researchers Bankes, Nigel Brown, Dougald	2	Researchers/Legal Advisors Negotiators	McDonald, Allysson – Researcher/Negotiat or Benett, David Lawyer	Duvekot, Jan? Crnkovich, Mary?	Community Liaison Worker Trainee: Andre Uttak, David Panegyuk, Michael Haapi, Jaypatee Akeeagok, Moe Kilabuk
Chambers, Lynda		Managing Editor	Flaherty, Marthya Writer	Bureau, Gloria <i>Financial Officer</i>	Eskimo Point Trainers: Virginia Mooney & Murray Angus

ITC PRESIDENT: Rhoda Innuksuk
NQIA PRESIDENT: Charlie Watt
(84-93)

PAUKTUUTIT: Jeela Moss-Davies
LIA PRESIDENT: William Anderson III

TFN 1986			BAFFIN	KEEWATIN	KITIKMEOT
Milortuk, Donat	2	President/ITC Member	Evaloarjuk, Mark Exec Comm Rep	Pilakapsi, Louis Member at Large	Eetoolook, James Member at Large
Kupenua, Jack		Vice-President Nunasi Trustee	Nattaq, Annie Member at Large	Ernerk, Peter Board Member. Nunasi Trustee	Kakklianum, Guy KIRC Board Member
Tapardjuk, Louis	1	Sec/Treasurer			
Ningocheak, Raymond		CO-OPS LTD Rep & Board Member	Quassa,, Paul N. Baffin Negotiator <i>Iglolik</i>	Kadjuk, Anthyme Member at Large	Taipana, Simon Negotiator <i>Coppermine</i>
Smmuurtok, Paul Kritirliuk, Peter	2 Asst	Project/Exec Director	Okalil, Paul/Negotiator <i>South Baffin</i>	Kalluak, Mark KRC Board Member	
Maghagak, Allen		Chief Negotiator	Patterk, John/Negotiator <i>Rankin</i>		
Kadlun, Bobby	2	Chief Negotiator	PAUKTUUTIT: Eva Voisey Board Member		
Aglukark, David <i>Leaves for Ministry</i>	2	Co-Chief Negotiator	Omik, Sam Nunasi Trustee		
Quassa, Paul <i>By June</i>	2	Co-Chief			
Karetuk, Rhoda		ICI Rep & Board Mbr	Riewe, Rick <i>Land ID Coordinator</i>	Burich, Denise <i>Land use plan Coord</i>	
Brewster, Betty Idlout, Leah	1	Translation	Akeeagok, Jaypatee <i>Land ID</i>	Suluk, Luke <i>Land ID</i>	
Arvaluk, James	1	TFN Negotiator	Maqpi, Michael <i>Land ID</i>	Hay, Keith <i>Land ID</i>	
Merriitt, John	2	TFN Legal Negotiator	Kilabuk, Moe <i>Land ID</i>		

Wiehs, Fred	2	Corporate Affairs Dir.	Andre Uttik <i>Land ID</i>		
Ames, Randy Researcher Bankes, Nigel Brown, Dougald	2	Researchers/ Legl Advisors Negotiators	McDonald, Allysson – Researcher/Negotiator Benett, David Lawyer	Bureau, Gloria <i>Financial Officer</i>	Trainees: Connie McCrae, Nick Adjun, Sam Erkloo, Malachi Arreak, Harry Iyerak, Vital Nauya, Thomas ALogut, Joan Arngna'naaq
Chambers, Lynda	2	Editor	Flaherty, Marthya Writer/Reporter/Trans Dufton, Rebecca	McRae, Connie <i>Translator</i>	Ottawa Trainers: Virginia Mooney & Murray Angus

ITC PRESIDENT: Rhoda Innukshuk
NQIA PRESIDENT: Charlie Watt

IRC PRESIDENT:
LIA PRESIDENT: William Anderson III (84-93)

TFN 1987			BAFFIN	KEEWATIN	KITIKMEOT
Milortuk, Donat	2	President/ITC Member	Evaloarjuk, Mark Exec Comm Rep	Pilakapsi, Louis Member at Large	Eetoolook, James Member at Large
Kupenua, Jack		Vice- President Nunasi Trustee	Nattaq, Annie Member at Large	Ernerk, Peter Board Member. Nunasi Trustee	Kakklianum, Guy KIRC Board Member
Tapardjuk, Louis	1	Sec/Treasurer	BRIA President		
Summurtok, Paul	2	Project/Exec Director	Okalil, Paul/Negotiator <i>South Baffin</i>	Kalluak, Mark KRC Board Member	Adjun, Nick <i>Regional Negotiator</i>
			Patterk, John/Negotiator <i>Rankin</i>	Kugak, Solomon <i>Regional Negotiator</i>	
Kadlun, Bobby	2	Chief Negotiator		Kadjuk, Anthyme Member at Large	Taipana, Simon Negotiator <i>Coppermine</i>
Quassa, Paul	2	Co-Chief Negotiator			
Karetuk, Rhoda		ICI Rep & Board Mbr	Riewe, Rick <i>Land ID Coordinator</i>		
Brewster, Betty Idlout, Leah	1	Translation	Akeegok, Jaypatee <i>Land ID</i>	Suluk, Luke <i>Land ID</i>	
Arvaluk, James	1	TFN Negotiator	Maqpi, Michael <i>Land ID</i>	Hay, Keith <i>Land ID</i>	

Merritt, John	2	TFN Legal Negotiator	Kilabuk, Moe <i>Land ID</i>		
Wiehs, Fred	2	Corporate Affairs Dir.	Andre Uttik <i>Land ID</i>		
Ames, Randy Bankes, Nigel Brown, Dougald	2	Researchers/ Legl Advisors Negotiators	McDonald, Allysson – Researcher/Negotiator Benett, David Lawyer	Duveko, Jan? Crnkovick, Mary?	
Chambers, Lynda	2	Editor	Flaherty, Marthya Writer/Reporter/Trans Dufton, Rebecca	McRae, Connie <i>Translator</i>	Ottawa Trainers: Virginia Mooney & Murray Angus

ITC PRESIDENNT: Rhoda Innukshuk

IRC PRESIDENT:

Pauktuutit:

NQIA PRESIDENT: Charlie Watt

LIA PRESIDENT: William Anderson III (84-93)

TFN 1988			BAFFIN	KEEWATIN	KITIKMEOT
Milortuk, Donat	2	President?ITC Member	Evaloarjuk, Mark Exec Comm Rep	Pilakapsi, Louis Member at Large	Eetoolook, James Member at Large
Kupenua, Jack		Vice-President Nunasi Trustee	Nattaq, Annie Member at Large	Ernerk, Peter Board Member/ Nunasi Trustee	Kakkianiun, Guy KIRC Board Member
Tapardjuk, Louis	1	Sec/Treasurer	BRIA President	Kadjuk, Mark Member at Large	Taipana, Simon Negotiator <i>Coppermine</i>
Wiehs, Fred	2	Acting Exec Director	Kilabuk, Meeka <i>Regional Negotiator</i>	Kalluak, Mark KRC Board Mbr	Adjun, Rick <i>Regional Negotiator</i>
Kadlun, Bobby	2	Chief Negotiator	Patterk, John/Negotiator <i>Rankin</i>	Anawak, Jack Board Member	
Quassa, Paul	2	Co-Chief Negotiator	Illupalik, John <i>Regional Negotiator</i>		Sammurtok, Paul <i>Director, LI Project</i>
Karetak, Rhoda		ICI Rep & Board Member	Kuptana, Rosemarie <i>IBC Founding Pres.</i>		Ivvalu, Lucasisi

					<i>Asst. Director LI Proj</i>
Merritt, John	2	TFN Legal Negotiator	Riewe, Rick <i>Land ID Coordinator</i>	Pierce, Jon <i>Land use plan coord</i>	Allen, Joe <i>Coord, West C Arctic</i>
Fenge, Terry	2	Director of Research	Akeeagok, Jaypatee <i>Land ID</i>	Suluk, Luke <i>Land ID</i>	Illuitok, Levi <i>Coord. East C Arctic</i>
Thomas, Elizabeth		Legal Council	Haqpi, Micheal <i>Land ID</i>	Hay, Keith <i>Land ID</i>	Sandy, Tungola <i>Coord. Keewatin</i>
			Kilabuk, Moe <i>Land ID</i>		
			Andre, Uttik <i>Land ID</i>		Arreak, Malachi <i>Coord. East High Arct</i>
Ames, Randy Researcher Bankes, Nigel Brown, Dougald	2	Researchers/Legal Advisors Negotiators	McDonald, Allysson – Researcher/Negotiator Gilles, Bruce <i>Resource Person</i>	Black, Susan <i>Exec. Asst. President Milortuk</i>	
Chambers, Lynda	2	Editor	Flaherty, Martya Writer/Reporter/trans Dufton, Rebecca	Krimmerdjuar, Joe <i>Translator</i>	Ottawa trainers: Virginia Mooney & Murray Angus

ITC PRESIDENT: Rhoda Innuksuk

Pauktuutit:

NQIA PRESIDENT: Charlie Watt

IRC PRESIDENT:

LIA PRESIDENT: William Anderson III (84-93)

TFN 1989			BAFFIN	KEEWATIN	KITIKMEOT
Milortuk, Donat	2	President ITC Member		Pilakapsi, Louis Member at Large	Eetoolook, James Rep to TFN
Kupenua, Jack <i>Interim Chief Neg.</i>		Vice-President Nunasi Trustee	Keyootak, Pauloosie Member of Board	Tukturdjuk, Peter	Lyall, Charlie Board Member
Evaluardjuk, Mark	2	Sec/Treasurer	Mingeriak, Pudloo Member at Large	Kritaqiluk, Peter	

				Regional Council	
Kadlun, Bobby <i>Resigns as Chief</i>	2	Chief Negotiator/KIA M at L			Taipana, Simon <i>Negotiator Coppermine</i>
Quassa, Paul	2	Chief Negotiator	Kilabuk, Meeka <i>Regional Negotiator</i>		Adjun, Rick <i>Regional Negotiator</i>
Karetak, Rhoda		ICI Rep & Board Member	Patterk, John/Negotiator <i>Rankin</i>		Maksagak. John
Merritt, John	2	TFN Legal Negotiator	Illupalik, John <i>Regional Negotiator</i>	? Director, LI Project	Sandy, Tungola <i>Coord, Keewatin</i>
Fenge, Terry	2	Director of Research	Saunders, Doug <i>IBC President</i>	Ivvalu, Lucassi <i>Asst, Director LI Proj</i>	Manning, Charlie <i>Coord. Baffin</i>
Thomas, Elizabeth		Legal Council		Allen, Joe <i>Coord. West C Arctic</i>	Arreak, Malachi <i>Coord. East High Arct</i>
Suluk, Thomas	2	Exec. Director		Illuitok, Levi <i>Coord. East C Arctic</i>	
Okalik, Paul		Special Asst to Quassa & Kupenua			
Ames, Randy Bankes, Nigel Brown, Dougald	2	Researchers/Legal Advisors Negotiators	McDonald, Allysson – Researcher/Negotiator Gilles, Bruce <i>Resource Person</i>	Black, Susan <i>Exec. Asst. President Milortuk</i>	Sara Arnatsiaq, Willie Qamukaq, Joanasie Kanayuk, Hanna Oolayou, Lena Autut, Robert Tookoomie, Darlene Tologana, Sylvia Ritchie, Dan Klengenberg, Angelee Kuliktana, Rita Kamingoak, Bareb Adjun
Chambers, Lynda	2	Editor	Paniaq, Melanie Writer/Reporter/trans Dufton, Rebecca	Krimmerdjuar, Joe <i>Translator</i>	Suvuniksavut Instr. Murray Angus

ITC PRESIDENT: Rhoda Innuksuk

IRC PRESIDENT:

Pauktuutit: Makivik

PRESIDENT: Charlie Watt

LIA PRESIDENT: William Anderson III (84-93)

ESKIMO POINT BECOMES ARVIAT

TFN 1990			BAFFIN	KEEWATIN	KITIKMEOT
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Kadlun, Bobby		Vice-President	Keyootak, Pauloosie Member of Board	Tukturdjuk, David	Lyall, Charlie Regional Council
Evaluardjuk, Mark	2	Sec/Treasurer	Mingeriak, Pudloo Member at Large	Kritaqiluk, Peter Regional Council	
					Taipana, Simon Negotiator <i>Coppermine</i>
Quassa, Paul	2	Chief Negotiator	Kilabuk, Meeka <i>Regional Negotiator</i>		Adjun, Rick <i>Regional Negotiator</i>
Karetak, Rhoda		ICI Rep & Board Member	Patterk, John/Negotiator <i>Rankin</i>		Maksagak. John
Merritt, John	2	TFN Legal Negotiator	Illupalik, John <i>Regional Negotiator</i>		NUNAVUT PLANNING COMMISSION: *
Fenge, Terry	2	Director of Research	Saunders, Doug <i>IBC President</i>		Bobby Lyall
Thomas, Elizabeth		Legal Council			Bob Kadlun
Suluk, Thomas	2	Exec. Director			Tongola Sandy
Okalik, Paul		Researcher/Negotiator			Guy Alikut
					David Mablick
					<i>Robert Hornel</i>
Ames, Randy Researcher Bankes, Nigel Brown, Dougald	2	Researchers/Legal Advisors Negotiators	McDonald, Allysson – Researcher/Negotiator or Gilles, Bruce <i>Resource Person</i>	Black, Susan <i>Exec. Asst. President Milortuk</i>	
Chambers, Lynda	2	Editor	Paniaq, Melanie	Krimmerdjua r, Joe	Suvuniksavut Instr. Murray

			Writer/Reporter/trans s Dufton, Rebecca	<i>Translator</i>	Angus; Morley Hanson
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*Appointed by Titus Alloo, Territorial Minister or Renewable

Resources & Pierre Cadieux, DIAND

ITC PRESIDENT: John Amagoalik,;LIA PRESIDENT: William Anderson III (84-93)

TFN 1991			BAFFIN	KEEWATIN	KITIKMEOT	
Quassa, Paul		President	Pauloosie Keeyotuk	Raymond Ningocheak	Charlie Lyall	91
Kadlun, Bob 1st		Vice-President	Sam Omik Member at Large		Jack Kupeuna Member at Large	91
Evaluardjuk, Mark		Secretary/Treasurer			James Eetoolool Member at Large	91
Amagoalik, John		Pol. Advisor				91

ITC PRESIDENT:

IRA PRESIDENT:

NQIA PRESIDENT:

LIA PRESIDENT: William Anderson III(84-93)

TFN 1992			BAFFIN	KEEWATIN	KITIKMEOT	
Eetoolook, James (Acting President)		President	Pauloosie Keeyotuk	Raymond Ningocheak	Charlie Lyall	92
Kupeuna, Jack 1st Pilakapsi, Louis 2nd		Vice President	Sam Omik Member at Large	Anthyme Kadjuk Member at Large		92
Evaluardjuk, Mark		Secretary/Treasurer			James Eetoolool Member at Large	92
Amagoalik, John		Political Advisor				92
Merritt, John		Legal Advisor				

LIA PRESIDENT: William Anderson III (84-93)

TFN 1993		BAFFIN	KEEWATIN	KITIKMEOT	
Quassa, Paul	President	Pauloosie Keeyotuk	Louis Pilakapsi	Charlie Lyall	93
James Eetoolook 1st Raymond Ningocheak 2nd	Vice President				93
Makpah, Bernadette	Secretary/Treasurer				93
Amagoalik, John	Pol. Advisor				93
Merritt, John	Legal Advisor				

NUNAVUT POLITICAL ACCORD NEGOTIATIONS 91/92-93

FEDERAL NEGOTIATIONS		
Stagg, Jack	Director General	Intergovernmental Affairs/DIAND
Campbell, Alistair	Indian Programs Claims Policy	Intergovernmental Affairs/DIAND
Cameron, Kirk	Chief of Political Development	Northern Affairs/DIAND
Doer, Audrey	Director	Indian Self-Government Policy Sector
Van Loon, Richard	Asst. Deputy Minister	DIAND

TFN		
Amagoalik, John	Chief Negotiator	TFN/NUNAVUT
Merritt, John	Chief Advisor	TFN/NUNAVUT
Crnkovich, Mary	? (came in once at end}	TFN/NUNAVUT
Sneider, Liz		GNWT
Funston, Bernie		GNWT

NUNAVUT ACT NEGOTIATORS

Campbell, Alistair	Indian Programs Claims Policy	DIAND
Cameron, Kirk	?Chief of Political Development	DIAND
Temple (Douglas), Mary	Lawyer	JUSTICE
Merritt, John	Lawyer/Chief Advisor	TFN
Aglukark, David	(silent at table)	TFN/GNWT
Sneider, Liz	GNWT Negotiator	GNWT
Funston, Bernie	GNWT Negotiator	GNWT

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Vitae

RESEARCH: I am a practitioner in inter-disciplinary dialogues and grass-roots programs dedicated to understanding and aiding community development, advancing the rights and recognition of marginalized populations including women, minorities, adult learners, and especially Indigenous peoples and Indigenous knowledges. My interest is in increasing opportunities and access to knowledge for those outside the mainstream academy, and helping to shape public policy along those lines. My dissertation, (Nunavut: A Creation Story/ The Inuit Movement in Canada's Newest Territory), examines how Inuit ontology informed Inuit governance, leadership development, social movement formation, and over thirty years of negotiation strategies.

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The Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs

Concentration: Social Movements and Indigenous Studies

Certificate in University Teaching

Certificate of Advanced Study in Conflict Resolution, 2009

Syracuse University (SU)

Program for the Advancement of Research on Conflict and Collaboration (PARCC)

Concentration: Advocacy and Activism

MA International Affairs, 1990,

The George Washington University (GWU), Elliott School of International Affairs,

Concentrations: IR Theory, Eastern Europe, US Foreign Policy

BA International Studies, 1988, Cum Laude

Texas State University (TSU), Concentration: Europe, Political Science

Other research: the agency of music; role of women in indigenous movements; the transferability of indigenous experiences across other communities pursuing issues of social and environmental justice.

RESEARCH GRANTS: **Fulbright Scholar**, Fulbright Foundation of Educational Exchange Between Canada and the U.S., January – September 2004.; **Roscoe Martin Scholar**, Program on the Analysis and Resolution of Conflict, Maxwell School, SU 2003; **Goekjian Scholar**, Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs, Maxwell School, SU 2002.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

17-Pres: Adjunct Instructor, Munson Williams Proctor Art Institute/Pratt University (MWP), Utica, NY

11-Pres: Adjunct Instructor, Department of Social Sciences and Public Services (SSPS), Mohawk Valley Community College, Utica and Rome, NY

09-11: Visiting Assistant Professor/Adjunct Instructor, Department of Environmental Studies, State University of New York, College of Environmental Science and Forestry (ESF), Syracuse, NY.

08-11: Visiting Professor/Adjunct Instructor. Departments of Political Science & Sociology. SUNY Oswego.

08-09: Program Associate. Scholarship in Action Initiative, Graduate School, Syracuse University.

08-09: Fulbright Teaching Mentor, Graduate School. Taught Fulbright Foreign Language TAs pedagogical methodologies, cross-cultural training and orientation prior to departure to assigned universities.

08: Instructor. Aboriginal Public Policy Program, First Nations Technical Institute/Ryerson University, Ontario.

07: Instructor. Native American Studies, School of Arts and Sciences, Syracuse University.

02-05: Teaching Fellow. Mentored and instructed newly hired Teaching Assistants; helped coordinate a week-long intensive seminar on university teaching, and balancing study, family and work.

02 -05: Instructor. Onondaga Cortand Madison (OCM) County BOCES (Communication, CR Certifications)

00-01: Instructor. Program for Native American Studies, SUNY Oswego.

95- 96: Instructor, Daimler-Benz. Intl Cross-cultural training program Coordinator, Germany/Alabama.

COURSES TAUGHT

Introduction to Sociology	SUNY Oswego 2008 -10; MVCC 11- Pres;
MWP 2017	
Social Science Methodologies	MVCC 2012- Pres
Comparative Religions	MVCC 2018 – Pres
Sex, Sexuality and Gender/Queer Studies	MWPAI PRATT 2019 - Pres
Introduction to Psychology	MVCC 2012 – Pres
Global History to 1800	MWP Fall 2019
Culture, Identity & Power	MWP Fall 2019
Social Movements	SUNY Oswego 2009 - 2011
Comparative Politics	SUNY Oswego 2009
Introduction to American Politics/Government	SUNY Oswego 2009
Senior Seminar Capstone Course (Sociology)	SUNY Oswego 2009
Introduction to Human Services	MVCC 2011 - Pres
Native Peoples, Lands, and Cultures	Spring 2010 ESF
Ecology, Environment and the Anthropocene	Spring 2019 MWP
Environmental Perception and Human Behavior (Graduate Course)	Spring 2010 & 2011 ESF
Environmental Advocacy and Conflict (Resolution) (Graduate Course)	Fall 2009 ESF
History of the US Environmental Movement	Fall 2009 ESF
Comparative Aboriginal Sovereignty (Graduate Adult Leadership Course)	First Nations Technical Institute/ Ryerson U (Canada)
Arctic Journey Field Program	Syracuse University 2006/2008
Arctic Regional Studies	(Undergrad/Graduate Course)
Canadian Aboriginal Policy and Inuit Political Development	(Undergrad/Graduate Course)
Introduction to Native American Studies	Syracuse University 2007

(Developed Gateway Course) Students)	(Haudenosaunee	Promise
Introduction and Survey of Native American Studies	SUNY Oswego 2000 - 2001	
Interpersonal Conflict Resolution	Syracuse University 2004/2005	
Effective Communication	OCM BOCES Adult Education 2001-2005	
Conflict Resolution	OCM BOCES Adult Education	
German Language and Culture	OCM BOCES Adult Education	
Classic Fencing	SUNY Oswego	
TEAM TAUGHT COURSES:		
Global Communities (Globalization) 2001 - 2003	Syracuse University, Deans Initiative	
Magic and Religion (Anthropology)	Syracuse University Spring 2003	
American Social Movements (Political Science)	Syracuse University Fall 2002	
Peoples and Cultures of the World (Anthropology)	Syracuse University Fall 2001	

Guest Lectures:

Lessons on Sportsmanship from Inuit Hunters, Symposium, Oswego State University, 2010

Indigenous Perspectives on Conflict Resolution (Avoidance), Wells College, 2009

Native American Histories, SUNY Cortland 2005

Internationalism, the key to success, SUNY Oswego 2001

Comparative Systems of Education, SUNY Oswego 1999

American Perspectives on Global Affairs & International Law and Internationalism (Germany)

SAMPLE CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS:***Nunvut: A Creation Story. The Inuit Movement and the creation of Canada's Newest Territory.***

Government of Nunavut, Department of Culture, Languages, Elders and Youth (Culture & Heritage). 2013/2018

Intercultural Dialogues Symposium on Race, Gender, and Ethnicity, Mohawk Valley Community College 2012

When Sportsmanship is a Matter of Survival; Lessons on Leadership and Community Development From Arctic Hunters. Annual Sportsmanship Day, SUNY Oswego, Sociology Department 2010

Can Indigenous, Local Culture be Sustained? 8th Annual Activism Symposium, Wells College, Aurora, NY 2009

Opening Doors to Frozen Spaces: Kicking and Holding them Open. Second Interdisciplinary Meeting of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association. Athens, GA. 2008

The Future of Minority Studies (FMS) Dialogues. Syracuse University. 2007

Who Should be at the Table? Briefing, Adult Prior Learning Assessment, Nunavut. First Nations Technical Institute, Tyendinaga Mohawk Territory, Ontario. 2006

ARTICLES:

"Recognizing Grounded Scholars. An appeal for Scholarship that Includes, Recognizes and Serves Community." Syracuse University Graduate Press submission, 2010

"A Creation Story: the Inuit Movement and Nunavut Negotiations." 14th Annual Symposium on Conflict

Resolution. Peacemaking and Peace Building. Carlton University, U. Saint-Paul, Universite d'Ottawa. February 4, 2005.

"Int'l Indigenous Movement: Arctic Influences." International Conference of Arctic Social Scientists. 2004.

"Indigenism: A Whole New Word", International Studies Review, Book Review, September, 2003.

"With One Voice: Indigenous Harmonies" (Under peer review for publication; Indigenous music as a form of agency comparing social movements in Australia, Canada, and the U.S.)

HONORS:

Dean's Dissertation Writing Fellowship (Social Science) – 2005-2006 (SU); Fulbright Grant Recipient, 2004 (SU); Who's Who in American Universities – 2003, 2007 (SU); Roscoe Martin Grant Recipient, PARC, Maxwell School 2003 (SU); Outstanding Teaching Assistant Award, Maxwell School 2003 (SU); Goekjian Scholar (Global Affairs Institute), Maxwell School 2002 (SU); Awarded Teaching Fellowship, Graduate School 2002 (SU); Awarded Teaching Associate (MAX 132), Maxwell School 2001 (SU); LEAD Center Adviseement Award 5/00 (OSU); Faculty Presenter Honors, Leadership Development Series (OSU); Who's Who in American Universities – 1987 (TSU); Honor's Program Graduate (TSU); Golden Key International Honor Society (TSU '85; SU '07); School of Liberal Arts Award for Excellence (TSU); Phi Eta Sigma (TSU).

ORGANIZATIONS

Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA)
 Future of Minority Studies Project (FMS)
 International Arctic Social Sciences Association (IASSA)
 International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA)
 Central New York Native American Consortium (CNY-NA)
 Native American Indian Education Association of New York State (NAIEA)
 NAFSA: Association of International Educators (former member)
 American Association of University Women (AAUW)
 Red Cross Volunteer, International Committee 2010 - 2015

**COUNCILS/
COMMITTEES**

Board of Directors: International Center of Syracuse 2004-2006
 Co-Chair: Graduate Student Committee on the Soul of Syracuse
 Search Committee: Teaching Fellow Interviews 2005 (SU)
 Search Committee: Director of Social Science, Maxwell School 2004 (SU)
 Native American Studies Program Advisory Council (OSU)
 New Faculty Orientation Committee (OSU)
 Peace Institute & Center for Mediation Advisory Council (OSU)
 Student Ambassador Association, Faculty Advisor, Founder (OSU)
 Dean's Advisory Council (GWU), Graduate Student Forum (GWU)

LANGUAGES:

Native English, Fluent German, Basic French & Spanish, Remedial Inuktitut;
 Broad exposure to other Indigenous languages, as well as to Mandarin Chinese.

TRAVEL: Indigenous Populations: Extensive travel across the Arctic Circle (Norway, Canada, And Alaska), Yucatan - Mexico, Australia, New Zealand, and remote regions of Scotland, Ireland, Wales. Lived for over a year in Nunavut, Canada. **Other:** Lived and worked in Germany 4 years, extensive European travel (before and after communist era). **In US:** Extensive travel and residence in the SE, NE and SW.

ADDITIONAL EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

2017: Co-Founder, Guide, Coordinator. Lost Creek Nature Retreat, Bernhard's Bay, NY.

05-09: Project Assistant. Future Professoriate Program Instructor. Graduate School, Syracuse University.

05-06: Dissertation Fellow. Dean's Dissertation Writing Fellowship (Social Science), Maxwell School, SU.

04-06: Consultant, Documentary Film and Educational Module. "Staking the Claim: A Unit of Study for Secondary Schools in Nunavut and Canada." EnTheos Films, Ottawa, Canada.

04: Consultant, Oral History Project. Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., Iqaluit, Nunavut, Canada.

04: Guest Social Policy Researcher. Office of Circumpolar Affairs, Department of Executive and Intergovernmental Affairs, Government of Nunavut, Canada. Funded by the Fulbright Foundation.

03: Communications/ CR Training Consultant. Solvay Paperboard, Syracuse, NY; Upstate Medical Hospital, NY

01- 04: Teaching Assistant/Associate & Research Assistant. Program for the Advancement of Research on Conflict and Collaboration (PARCC), Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.

98-00: Visiting Consultant (Secondment). University of Waikato, New Zealand & Australian Catholic University, Sidney, Australia. Conducted organizational analysis on the extent to which Internationalism informed the curriculum, development and administration of various colleges and departments.

97- 01: Senior Study Abroad Advisor/Recruiter. State University of New York at Oswego (OSU).

95- 96: Consultant, International Support & Training. Mercedes-Benz US International (MBUSI), Human Resources Division, Stuttgart, Germany. AAV project/ Alabama plant start-up.

93- 94: International Admissions Counselor. The University of Maryland University College, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Germany. (UMUC/SG) Coordinated activities of the Marketing and Recruiting Team, Represented UMUC/SG abroad. Advised students, supervised program staff.

1993: Fulbright Seminar Coordinator. Institute of International Education (IIE), Washington, DC. Responsible for program creation, implementation, administration, budget and evaluation of the 1993 Fulbright Foreign Student Enrichment Seminar sponsored by the US Information Agency.

91-92: Program Assistant. The Washington International Studies Council, Washington, DC.

90-91: International Assistance Coordinator. "Europ" Assistance, Washington, DC. Handled medical, legal and financial emergencies as well as concierge services. Trained and supervised new employees.

89- 90: Research/Administrative Assistant. Elliott School of International Affairs, GWU.

VOLUNTEER WORK:

10 – Pres: International Red Cross Volunteer. Syracuse, NY.

06-08: Community Service Volunteer. Iqaluit, Nunavut, Canada.

94-96: Field Volunteer. Malteser Hilfsdienst, Schwaebisch Gmuend, Germany.

1992: Campaign Volunteer. Worked in event support and for the Democratic National Committee, Radio Projects Division, Washington, DC (Clinton-Gore campaign).

1985: Mayan Relocation Assistance Program Volunteer. Texas State University Program, Yucatan, Mexico.

COMMUNITY SERVICE:

In addition to occasional volunteer duties, my husband and I strive to be anchors in our community, providing support to those who need to get back on their feet, or sometimes shelter to those who need it. We have also facilitated fundraising for those facing dire emergencies and health crises. Additionally, we occasionally sponsor musicians just starting out in their careers.

PERSONAL INTERESTS:

Increasing awareness of Nature, serving as a local Tour Guide and Cultural Interpreter, Kayaking, Fishing, Hunting, Writing, Fencing, Tai Chi/Martial Arts, Hosting International visitors, Theater & Performance.