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PERCEPTIONS OF A NORTHERN LANDSCAPE AND SOCIETY:
INUIT VIEWS FROM IQALUIT

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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ABSTRACT

The region of the Eastern Canadian Arctic has undergone tremendous social, physical, and political transformation in recent decades, particularly since the early 1940s. The area of South Baffin Island, in the newly named Nunavut Territory, has been one of the most changed, as have the first nations people who inhabit the north. This study will focus on Iqaluit, formerly Frobisher Bay, the capital city of Nunavut, and will seek to identify, examine, and explain various social and physical changes that have taken place since World War II using archival material and interviews with Inuit residents of Iqaluit.

The Inuit are a people who have survived and existed successfully in the North for thousands of years, but who have felt the largest impact of increased exposure of this area to southern influences. They have, in recent years, faced daunting challenges and modifications as a result of the increased influx of southerners and their ways of life. For the Inuit, life is changing rapidly, and they are in a state of transition between the traditional and the contemporary. Roles of men and women are changing, the landscape around them is changing, employment and education are of significant importance in the new world of the Inuit, and many of the traditional hunting practices are being replaced by wage labour. Men no longer find themselves in the traditional roles of hunter and gatherer, but are now facing issues of wage employment and education. Women are moving into more contemporary roles, and are no longer assuming those of preparing skins and gathering berries on the arctic tundra. The Inuit are moving

away from practices that have seen them through millennia in the Arctic, and are attempting now to adopt the ways of the southerner, with issues focusing on education, employment, housing, and politics.

This is a study of the North and of the Inuit past and present. It is a study of their lives and the lives of their forefathers. This thesis examines the many landscape and social metamorphoses that have taken place in decades past, and addresses many of the issues facing the Inuit today. The future of the Inuit of Nunavut is uncertain, and this thesis aims to identify, examine, and explain some of the various factors influencing the lives of the Inuit today and in years to come through the employment of archival data and in-depth interviews with the Inuit.

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Chapter 1
Perceptions of A Northern Landscape and Society: Inuit Views From Iqaluit:
An Introduction

The Inuit represent all [these] symbolic connotations of survival. Threatened physically by hostile elements, threatened culturally, linguistically, and spiritually by a people and a government alien to their land, they have hung on, stayed alive, survived, a vestige of a vanished order. They are the Canadian survivors par excellence. This is why a small minority like the Inuit should be of concern to the rest of Canada.

-Duffy, 1988, xviii

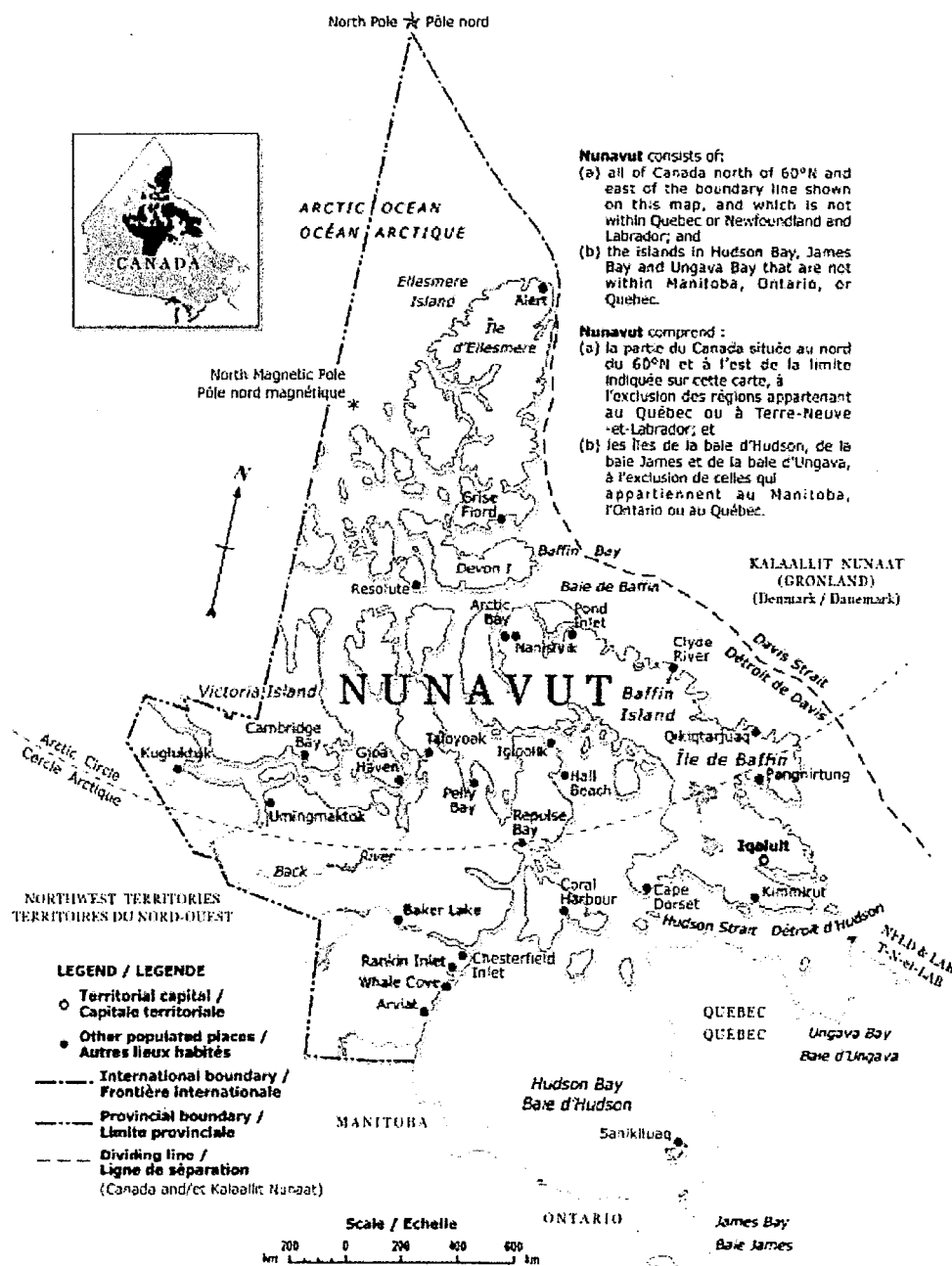
Inuit society in the Canadian Arctic has changed significantly since World War II. The Inuit were traditionally a hunting, fishing, and gathering people, semi-nomadic in nature, and known for high levels of adaptation and self-sufficiency in a very inhospitable environment. The years during and following World War II have brought drastic transformation to the lives of the indigenous aboriginal peoples in the Arctic, largely owing to a sizeable influx of southerners. The establishment of trading posts by the Hudson Bay Company over two centuries ago began this trend of interference, along with federal government and the RCMP. As early as 1890, the federal government of Canada began to flex its muscle in the Arctic, claiming that the Inuit needed to abide by federal law and would be governed as such, but a boom occurred in the early 1940s as a result of WWII and the subsequent Cold War. Larger numbers of southerners began moving to arctic regions, and fledgling communities began to grow rapidly. Along with more government and RCMP officials came increased numbers of Christian missionaries from the South instructing the Inuit in the ways of the

Bible and altering their traditional mythological worldviews. Prior to the arrival of the missionaries, the Inuit's spiritual set of beliefs constituted holistic traditions and perceptions of the environment in which they resided. Traditionally, the Inuit held very strong connections with the land on which they lived and depended, as the Arctic landscape was a landscape of home and life for them. Each and every aspect of the Arctic landscape held life and meaning, and demanded utmost respect and reverence. The Inuit relied heavily on their landscape for everything from clothing to food to oil with which to cook. Those perceptions of and interactions with the northern landscape began to change with the arrival of southerners, and continue to metamorphose today. With the influx and influences from the South, Inuit perceptions of their landscape and of the Arctic environment began to transform, as did their relationships with it. These changes have not, of course, all occurred in the period since World War II, but I chose this time as a point of departure for the study because it was a pivotal point in the history of the Arctic and in the lives of the Inuit. Changes in the Arctic have been developing since the 19th century when explorers first set foot on the tundra, but these changes have been escalating as time has passed. The era since World War II has been one of rapid and extensive transformation, and one in which the traditional ways of the Inuit seem to have largely been replaced by those of the southerner.

April 1, 1999, the birthday of the Nunavut Territory, was also a pivotal point in the history of the Canadian Arctic and of the peoples who reside therein. The acquisition of an Inuit-run territory, Nunavut, or "Our Land" (see figure 1.1)

signifies a shift in Inuit life and perception, as the native society of the Eastern Canadian Arctic has gained at last some degree of autonomy. The development of this new territory and the subsequent changes it has brought to the community of Iqaluit, formerly Frobisher Bay, (see figure 1.2) must also be examined to some degree when engaging in a study of its residents.

Figure 1.1: The Nunavut Territory



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Sa Majesté la Reine du chef du Canada, Ressources naturelles Canada.

Source: Natural Resources Canada
<http://atlas.gc.ca>

Figure 1.2: Iqaluit (circled), formerly Frobisher Bay, is located on the Southern Tip of Baffin Island



Source: Qikiqtani Inuit Association
<http://www.qikiqtani.nu.ca>

This is to be a study of the Inuit of Iqaluit and of their landscape, past and present, and of the ways in which the South has left its mark. It is also a study of Inuit values, worldviews, perceptions of and relationships with their native environment. The primary object of the study is to ascertain the ways in which Inuit perceive and interact with their environment and their landscape currently and to note and explain how this perception and interaction changed since the early 1940s. It is also important to note whether or not there is currently a shift back to more traditional values and lifestyles, and where those shifts are occurring, both geographically and demographically. The development of Nunavut suggests that, contrary to some beliefs, the Inuit spirit and tradition has not died after all, and that there may even be resurgence in some of the more traditional Inuit values and lifestyles. This study will address the way of the Inuit before, during and after the World War II years, and will note changes both in the physical landscape of Iqaluit as well as changes in relationships with it. From the time of hunting and gathering to present day, the Inuit have endured tremendous transformation, which has impacted the ways in which they see their land and their communities. Also examined in this study will be the contrasts, if any, between different generations of Inuit in Iqaluit in their perceptions of and relationships with the land.

This study will include two main sections taken from field research, namely landscape change and social change in Iqaluit. The study area of Iqaluit will be examined not only for its population but also for its physical geography,

and for the ways in which the landscape has been transformed during the years since the early 1940s.

In chapter one, the basic objectives of this research project have been outlined, and a brief explanation of the project has been offered. Chapter two will provide an examination of selected literature relating to the Inuit and to the Arctic regions, and will be divided up into four primary sections: Landscape, the North as Frontier, the North as Homeland, and Iqaluit. Chapter two will offer a review of the selected literature and will provide a literary point of departure for the study.

Chapter Two

Northern Perspectives: Landscape, Homeland, Frontier, and the Rise of Iqaluit

The central purpose of this chapter is to review selected literature regarding the Eastern Canadian Arctic landscape and the people who inhabit it. Owing to the broad scope of the primary objective, the chapter will examine literature from four primary thematic groups that directly relate to this particular study. The four literative groups discussed will be: landscape, the North as homeland for the Inuit, the North as frontier, and a brief history of Iqaluit, formerly Frobisher Bay. A variety of resources and authors will lend themselves to this review, and existing research on named subject areas will be addressed.

The landscape conveys an impression of absolute permanence. It is not hostile. It is simply there – untouched, silent and complete. It is very lonely, yet the absence of all human traces gives you the feeling you understand this land and can take your place in it
(Edmund Carpenter in Lopez, 1986)

Landscape

The first area of discussion is landscape, a broad and ambiguous term that lends itself well to discussion and various interpretations. With the onset of an endeavor such as the examination and exploration of landscape, it is prudent to begin with some basic definitions of the term. Over time, dozens of definitions in literature and in geography have been developed for the term “landscape”, and what will be presented in this chapter is not an exhaustive list of such definitions,

but simply a brief examination of some of the definitions that prove to be more relevant to this particular study.

The term “landscape” finds its genesis in the German term *landschaft*, literally meaning “the shape of the land”, and has long been used to indicate either a specific restricted parcel of land or an appearance of the land as we perceive it (Jackson, 1986, 65). Although this is the earliest recorded European origin of the word, components of the term actually date back to the ancient indo-European idiom out of Asia thousands of years ago, and find their counterparts in the Latin word *pagus*, meaning “a defined rural district” (Jackson, 1986, 65). Geographers for generations have struggled to establish a universally accepted definition of landscape, but really to no avail, as there are many distinctions in the existing definitions, and much ambiguity surrounding the term as well.

One of the most important and well received definitions of landscape is that developed by Carl Sauer, who believed that “landscape is the English equivalent of the term German geographers are using largely, and strictly has the same meaning: a land shape, in which the shaping is by no means thought of as simply physical. It may be defined, therefore, as an area made up of a distinct association of forms, both physical and cultural” (Sauer, 1925, 321). In this definition, Sauer was a bit ahead of his time, as he included the presence of humans in his view of the landscape. Many others, such as Passarge, did not consider humans to be a part of the landscape or to have had any significant influence upon it, but viewed the landscape to be solely the “shape of the land”,

and only physical at that (Butlin, 1993, 133). The landscape work following Carl Sauer and J.K. Wright continued into the 1930s with Hartshorne's *The Nature of Geography: A Survey of current Thought in the Light of the Past* in 1939 and with Dickinson's *Landscape and Society*, also published in 1939 (Butlin, 1993, 132-133). The British geographer Dickinson offered his definition of landscape in his 1939 article *Landscape and Society* when he stated that: "...it is the scene within the range of the observers' vision. It is subjectively experienced by the artist. The geographer tries to describe it objectively and to understand it in its entirety" (Dickinson, 1939, 1-2). This is a broad definition, but one accepted in the 1930's British geographical community. The 1940s brought such early practitioners as Hoskins, Beresford, Darby, and Evans, all of whom focused on the historical changes in landscape, but most notable was Darby's paper "The Changing English Landscape" published in 1951 (Butlin, 1993, 133). This and later papers point to a shift in the conception of landscape, and illustrate how the concept of landscape increasingly came to include the human element and the ways in which this element affected the shape and condition of the land. The 1950s brought a new facet to landscape studies with the emergence of two extremely influential British works: *Making the English Landscape*, published in 1955 by Hoskins, and *History on the Ground* in 1957 by Beresford. The thing that makes these works so influential is that they reflected the new-found enthusiasm for discovering history in the landscape, an element that was just emerging at this time (Butlin, 1993, 134). This element is of tremendous import

to this study of the Inuit and of the Arctic landscape, as historical factors play an enormous role in the shaping of the Iqaluit landscape.

As of about 20 years ago, a paradigm shift occurred in the focus of historical landscape geography away from the mere examination of the landscape to a more interdisciplinary approach...the “new, cultural/historical geography of landscape” (Daniels and Cosgrove, 1988, 8). This shift became most apparent in the publications of Duncan, Cosgrove, and Daniels in the 1980s and early 1990s (Butlin, 1993, 139). This new cultural/historical geography of landscape views “landscape as ideology, as symbol and as moral statement...” (Duncan, 1985, 175), and will be the context in which landscape is discussed in the remainder of this thesis. In the 1980s and 1990s definitions from Duncan, Jackson, and Cosgrove emerge, all of which include the social and human element. According to Duncan, “The landscape serves as a vast repository out of which symbols of order and social relationships, that is ideology, can be fashioned...The landscape should thus be viewed as a text that can be interpreted by those who know the language of built form” (Duncan, 1985, 182-183). Jackson follows in 1986 by stating that: “A landscape is a space deliberately created to speed up or slow down the process of nature...it represents the man taking upon himself the role of time” (Jackson, 1986, 66). In 1985, Cosgrove brings in the perspective of landscape as seen from a social-political perspective: “landscape is a way of seeing which is patrician because it is seen and understood from the social position of the landowner: it is a ‘visual ideology made hegemonic’, and the

pleasure it offers is merely the bourgeois pleasure in possession” (Cosgrove, 1985, 47). Gillian Rose offers a commentary regarding Cosgrove’s definition in that he “understands landscape not as a material expression of a particular relationship between a society and an environment, observable in the field by the objective gaze of the geographer, but rather as a concept which makes sense of a particular relationship between society and land” (Rose, 1992, 344).

The culmination of these various definitions may give the reader an idea of what a “landscape” really is, yet even today there remains a struggle to understand and articulate just what is involved when one speaks of this thing we call “landscape”. This may be illustrated in current day definitions of the term, such as those found in the Dictionary of Human Geography and in Webster’s Dictionary. The Dictionary of Human Geography states that landscape is: “A polysemic term referring to the appearance of an area, the assemblage of objects used to produce that appearance, and the area itself” (Johnston, 2000, 429). Webster’s Dictionary concludes that landscape is: “A section or expanse of rural scenery, usually extensive, that can be seen from a single viewpoint” (Webster, 1996, 1080). The definitions offered in the Dictionaries noted above do not illustrate the tremendous amount of time and morphology that has gone into constructing a working definition of landscape as we use it today.

It is also prudent in this chapter to address the concept of the Northern landscape, and what constitutes “North”. For centuries, the boundaries of the North have remained somewhat of a mystery, and much discussion has been had

regarding where the North really is. Louis-Edmond Hamelin, in his book

Canadian Nordicity (1978), addresses this problem of definition in regards to the Northern landscape:

Definitions of the North are primarily functions of criteria chosen to embrace the situation. Numerous tests have shown that the boundaries and the principal elements of the North are not perceived to be identical by all residents. Some still believe that this region can be corralled within particular isolines such as the Arctic Circle. Governments, for their part, whether federal, provincial, or territorial...adopt the surveyor's line of the 60th parallel, a line which shows little natural relevance and even less common sense. Bioclimatic factors are apparently more valid in establishing the boundaries of the North...Taking advantage of polar research carried out during the last twenty-five years...I have decided on a family of ten significant, converging factors, which are relevant to the major northern situations: latitude, summer heat above 5.6 degrees C., annual cold below 0 degrees C, types of ice (in the ground, on land, or on water), total precipitation, development of the vegetative cover, accessibility (air or surface), number of inhabitants or regional population density, and finally, degree of economic activity (Hamelin, 1978, 16-18).

As is illustrated by Hamelin, there are many different factors that must be taken into consideration when addressing the landscape of the North, and what constitutes such a region.

Landscape is a term that is highly subjective, ambiguous, and variable. It is something that is extremely difficult to define, difficult to explain, and virtually impossible to restrain. The landscape of the Eastern Canadian Arctic is what will be addressed in the remainder of this text, and will be examined with the employment of Carl Sauer's definition and idea of what a landscape includes. The landscape of the Eastern Canadian Arctic, specifically the community of Iqaluit, will be examined from the perspective of landscape as physical,

economic, cultural, social, and spiritual. Landscape in the sense of this examination is holistic, and includes all conceivable facets. The definition of landscape, as is evident, is still subject to interpretation.

The North as Homeland / The Inuit

The North. The mere mention of the term elicits a myriad of images, feelings, and perceptions in those who hear the word, and each individual has a unique set of interpretations and images on which to draw. In this writing, I will examine the concept of the North from two perspectives: that of the North as homeland, and as frontier, drawing on the ideas of Berger. Those who interpret the concept of the North as homeland are those who inhabit the area, in the context of this study, the Inuit of the Eastern Canadian Arctic.

There is a variety of literature regarding the Inuit and their land, and it has been collected and published since the early explorers set foot on the tundra. In this chapter, I will explore some of the literature that addresses the Inuit and the land on which they live.

The concept of North as homeland was introduced by Mr. Justice Thomas R. Berger in his *Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry* written in 1977. In his inquiry, Mr. Berger addresses the concept of the North as seen as both homeland and as frontier, and what those interpretations mean for the residents of the North. In his report, he is referring primarily to a section of the Western Arctic, but the concept remains true for the Eastern Arctic as well, and will be addressed in this

chapter as pertaining to the East. He states: "...it is a homeland too, the homeland of the Dene, Inuit, and Metis, as it is also the home of the white people who live there. And it is a heritage, a unique environment that we are called upon to preserve for all Canadians" (Berger, 1977, vii). He continues later in his report by commenting on the development of the North, and the ways in which such development should occur: "So the future of the North ought not to be determined only by our own southern ideas of frontier development. It should also reflect the ideas of the people who call it their homeland" (Berger, 1977, xix). Berger also addresses the native peoples who have lived in the North for thousands of years, and notes how they have used their resources wisely and have altered their landscape very little in the course of millennia: "The landscapes of the North have been shaped only marginally by the activities of man [sic]. The northern peoples have always been hunters and gatherers, and most have lived with a high degree of mobility. Small groups traveled over large areas, hunting and gathering what they needed, but without altering the environment itself..." (Berger, 1977, 5). Clearly, Berger is one of the pioneers in the recognition of the North as more than a land and people to be exploited. He considered the implications of Northern development from a standpoint other than that of the economy and what would be most profitable for the South.

Among others who addressed this concept of the North as homeland, although possibly not in so many words, are Hugh Brody, whose writing in the seventies up to present day have been a valuable and significant addition to

Northern writing. Brody is best known for such literature as Living Arctic: Hunters of the Canadian North (1987), Maps and Dreams (1988), The People's Land (1975), and The Other Side of Eden (2000), all of which address the Inuit of the Eastern Canadian Arctic and the experiences they have had with the intervention from the South. In his writing, which spans decades, Brody examines the Inuit and their landscape as an outsider, a non-Inuit, but he does so with a sensitivity to the Inuit and to their land. Brody writes of the Inuit and their plights in an historical context, beginning as early as the late 19th century, and writes from a perspective of the North as homeland, not as a frontier ripe for development. He draws attention to the main organizations first credited with development in the North, the Hudson's Bay Company, the RCMP, the Federal Government of Canada, and Missionaries: "These institutions – the churches, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Government of Canada itself – were determined to exercise an hegemony over the minds and lands of the Inuit" (Brody, 1975, 23). Brody, during his studies in the Eastern Canadian Arctic, befriends a number of Inuit, even lives "on the land" with them, and therefore is able to write from a perspective of the North as homeland.

Another influential writer of Northern literature and Inuit life is Farley Mowat, noted for such works as The Desperate People (1959), People of the Deer (1975), Born Naked (1993), Walking on the Land (2000), and High Latitudes (2002). Mowat, born in Ontario, spent two years in the Eastern Canadian Arctic after serving in WWII, and began writing of his experiences there in 1949.

Although a southerner, Mowat, like Brody, writes of the North as homeland to the Inuit, noting the transformations in the North brought about by the influx of southerners, including himself. In his writing, he examines the issues surrounding development in the North, the attitudes of Whites towards the Inuit, as well as attitudes of missionaries, government, and RCMP. In an excerpt from Walking on the Land, Mowat writes:

In 1955 diamond drilling revealed a pocket of very rich ore in the middle of a lode of only moderate value...the idea of a modern mine at Rankin fascinated bureaucrats and politicians in Ottawa who were then touting exploitation of the Arctic as the engine for an economic resurgence. Furthermore, the creation of such a mine seemed to offer a God-given solution to the problem of what to do about the Inuit, whose rapidly deteriorating condition was becoming a social and political embarrassment (Mowat, 2000, 97-98).

He later recounts a conversation he had with an Inuk in the area who recalled:

“One time...lots of seals, plenty deer. Then white man [sic] come and pretty soon get too many killed. Then everybody get goddamn hungry. People die. Kids die. Maybe police give dirty flour full of bugs...” (Mowat, 2000, 105-106). He writes as well that he was told: “It is all changed. Perhaps sometime soon there will be nobody in this land and then you kablunait will have it all for yourselves”

(Mowat, 2000, 150). Mowat wrote of the North not as frontier, but as homeland. Not his own homeland, but a homeland nonetheless. He was and continues to be an influential contributor to literature on the Eastern Canadian Arctic and the Inuit who reside there.

Other contributors to Arctic literature include Donald Purich and John S. Matthiasson, both of whom have written on the Inuit and their relationship with their land. Daniel Heuman (1995), who wrote an MA thesis dealing with the Nunavut Territory and the Inuit, has also reviewed literature that will be addressed here. Purich focuses primarily on the issues surrounding the development of the Nunavut Territory as relates to the Inuit, and also contributed literature on the Metis. His book The Inuit and Their Land: The Story of Nunavut (1992) focuses on the idea of Nunavut, and what the development of the Territory entails. The book is written prior to the Territory's inauguration, and Purich offers various scenarios relating to the division of the Northwest Territories. In his writing, he deals with the issue of the North as homeland and as frontier, as he writes from both perspectives. He focuses largely on the issues of the aboriginal populations of the North, and states that in relation to the new Territory, "...the proposals for Nunavut, if implemented, will result in a unique government, and while the drive for Nunavut has been propelled by some factors unique to the North, it must also be seen as part of the drive by Canada's Aboriginal people for self-government" (Purich, 1992, 19). He goes on to explain that "Self-government essentially means the right of a community to govern its own affairs. It does not mean independence from Canada..." (Purich, 1992, 19). Purich also points out that essentially, the Inuit and other Aboriginal groups of the Canadian Arctic were self-sufficient and had autonomy long before Europeans or southern Canadians did. "Inuit people have occupied Canada's north for a long time. Even

where there were relative latecomers, as in the Mackenzie Delta, their communities existed long before any European settlements in the West. Like other Aboriginal people, the Inuit were self-sufficient and self-governing before the Europeans invaded their territory. While Aboriginal governments were different from European governments, social organization and control was a reality among the Inuit as among other Aboriginal people” (Purich, 1992, 24). When addressing various obstacles in the development of a new territory, Purich points to the issue of North as homeland: “For some Inuit, provincehood is not the main question. Their goal is an Inuit homeland” (Purich, 1992, 89).

Matthiasson, author of Living on the Land: Change among the Inuit of Baffin Island (1992), is another contributor to Northern literature who writes on the North as homeland. Matthiasson focuses on the Inuit of Baffin Island and the changes they have experienced since the whaling period. His most recent book [on the Inuit of Baffin Island] was published in 1992, therefore does not include information that is post-Nunavut development. Matthiasson addresses issues from hunting and gathering lifestyles to the introduction of wage labor and subsequent increase in material goods owned by Inuit. He notes changes in the Inuit way of life from the time of the semi-nomadic Inuit to relocation into permanent settlements and communities. Similar to the work of Brody, Matthiasson notes the importance of the organizations primarily responsible for increased southern influence in the North: “Three main tentacles of Euro-Canadian society had reached into the Arctic and created the contact-traditional

period for the Tununermiut and other Inuit across Arctic Canada. These were the Hudson Bay Company, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and Christian missionary movements” (Matthiasson, 1992, 24). Matthiasson charts Inuit life from the contact period through to what he terms the “period of centralization” in which there “would be a mass migration from the camps to the settlement” (Matthiasson, 1992, 25), and continues on through subsequent periods of increased contact with the south. Matthiasson, like authors Brody, Mowat, and Berger, speaks of the North as homeland to the Inuit, and writes of the influx from the South as being an intrusion rather than a sign of progress, and one that was not motivated by purely innocent goals. “On an ideological level, the representatives of the Euro-Canadian agencies saw themselves as provisioners of a new and, from their perspective, superior way of life. This was the overt rationale for their presence in the Canadian Arctic” (Matthiasson, 1992, 94). He also makes reference to the shock suffered by many Inuit during these years of tremendous change, when he quotes a “senior member of the Department [of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources]: “...the Inuit were to be brought from the Stone Age to the atomic age in one generation” (*in* Matthiasson, 1992, 95). This statement also reveals the attitude towards the Inuit in the 1960s, as they are referred to as living in the “stone age”. Also reported by Matthiasson is a statement from Jean Lesage, who at the time of the statement was the minister of northern affairs and natural resources: “...It is pointless to consider whether the Eskimo was happier before the White man came, for the white man has come and time cannot be reversed.

The only realistic approach is to accept the fact that the Eskimo will be brought evermore under the influences of civilization to the south” (Lesage *in* Matthiasson, 1992, 94-95). After being on Baffin Island and observing over time many of the changes experienced by Inuit of the area, Matthiasson writes as well about the differences he notes in the Inuit way of life, right down to changes in the housing structures.

The appearance of Qamaniq’s home in 1974 with its many and varied furnishings, would lead one to believe that his life-style had changed dramatically since he left his residence in Aullativik; and indeed it had. Activities within the home were no longer characterized by the randomness and freedom that had typified life in a camp dwelling, but were instead regulated by the clock. Older males of post-school age had to keep regular working hours, and small children had to be up in the mornings to prepare for school. The traditional use of time during the summer months, when the circling midnight sun allowed continuous outdoor activity, was retained to some degree, although within the new structures it almost became a burden for individuals to do so (Matthiasson, 1992, 136-137).

In his writing, Matthiasson, like Brody and others mentioned in this chapter, charts changes in the Eastern Canadian Arctic from the standpoint of the Inuit. He focuses primarily on the period of pre-contact up until pre-Nunavut, a huge span of time with tremendous changes.

Daniel Heuman (1995) presented a masters thesis entitled “Decision Support Systems and the Selection of an Administrative Centre: Nunavut”, which in part discusses the North as homeland to the Inuit. As he states: “The Inuit, once known to the rest of the world as Eskimos, are historically a nomadic people, who for centuries have lived and hunted in peace in Canada’s Northwest

Territories. Using the land and natural resources found in northern Canada, the Inuit learned to survive in the harsh and barren landscape” (Heuman, 1995, 1-2). The Inuit made the inhospitable environment of the Arctic their home, and functioned successfully for millennia until: “This nomadic pattern of self-sufficiency changed when the white man, through the offices of the Hudson’s Bay Company, established trading posts in northern Canada in the middle of the eighteenth century” (Heuman, 1995, 4). Over the course of the next few decades, the homeland of the Inuit began to be transformed into something else: a frontier. For these nomadic peoples, the area of northern Canada offered them everything they needed to survive and to live their lives in peace with the land and with one another. The land, sea, and all encompassed therein was home to the Inuit, but some from the ‘outside’ viewed it otherwise.

Other influential literature on the North and the Inuit has come from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. In 1985, a document entitled *The North* was published by the Department under the authority of David E. Crombie, the minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development at the time. The literature touched on issues including land composition, mining, oil, environmental protection, and native populations. In this publication, however, information is presented in a way that is not necessarily that of the Inuit or of other Aboriginal peoples of the Arctic. The document touches on the Inuit population, but does so from a governmental perspective, such as outlining the benefits brought about by Inuit living in permanent settlements as opposed to

living in camps on the land. The document states in relation to the Inuit and their land: "There are four major kinds of benefits that native people may gain as a result of a settlement: land with access to certain resources; protection of hunting, fishing, and trapping rights; monetary compensation and direct participation in the decision-making processes on environmental matters and land use planning" (Crombie, 1985, 19). In 1990, the organization released a publication entitled *The Inuit*, in which the Inuit groups of the Canadian Arctic are examined. The publication addresses the Inuit in a rather brief overview that covers the prehistory of the people through the time just before the development of the Nunavut Territory. The publication is written neither from a perspective of the North as Homeland, nor from the perspective of North as frontier, but falls somewhere in the middle. The information provided is of a factual nature, and explores such things as the fur trade, Arctic explorers, Inuit cultural traditions, missionaries, military presence, government presence, and possibilities for the future of the North.

George Wenzel, a professor in the department of geography at McGill University, is another influential author of northern literature. He is best known for such works as: Animal Rights, Human Rights: Ecology, Economy, and Ideology in the Canadian Arctic (1991), Clyde Inuit Adaptation and Ecology: The Organization of Subsistence (1981), and Social Organization as an Adaptive Referent in Inuit Cultural Ecology: The Case of Clyde River and Aqviqtiuk (1979). In his writing, Wenzel addresses the Arctic from the perspective of

homeland to the Inuit. He focuses primarily on the Inuit of Baffin Island, and speaks of their lives as natives and the social, economic, political, and physical issues they have been facing. Wenzel addresses the issues surrounding the fur industry, and the impact suffered by the Inuit from organizations such as Greenpeace and the International Fund for Animal Welfare (Wenzel, 1991). The animals of the Arctic have been used responsibly by the Inuit for thousands of years, and provided their livelihood and their means of survival. When the southern institutions decided to take on the Arctic wildlife as their case, the Inuit suffered tremendously (Wenzel, 1991). Wenzel, a geographer and anthropologist, has been conducting research among the Inuit of Baffin Island for over twenty years, and is another whose writing demonstrates his understanding of the North as homeland.

Recently, a series of books has been released by Nunavut Arctic College that addresses a variety of issues relating to the North and to the Inuit of Nunavut. The publications, released in volumes, discuss issues from living on the land to traditional health to elders of Northern communities. This series, released in 2001, addresses issues of today's Inuit, and is compiled largely of interviews with Inuit elders. Primary authors of this series are Inuit elders themselves, but there are different authors for each volume of the series. Most relevant to the current literary discussion is Volume II of the series, entitled Inuit Perspectives on the 20th Century: Travelling and Surviving on Our Land, authored by George Agiaq Kappianaq and Cornelius Nutaraq. These two elders provided the majority of the

information in the publication, but the actual book was organized by Nunavut Arctic College staff and students. This recent release of literature from the Inuit of Nunavut is a tremendously valuable research tool, as it gives insight into the lives of Inuit not from the perspective of an outsider, but from the perspective of one who has lived a full life in the Arctic environment. Jarich Oosten and Frédéric Laugrand, authors of the introduction, immediately touch on the drastic changes experienced by the Inuit of Baffin Island and the transformations in lifestyle they have had to adapt to so very quickly over past decades.

Today, people no longer live in temporary camps or settlements located where game is available. Now the game is often far from the large modern communities, and hunting often requires long trips by skidoo. Skidoos, gas and specialized hunting equipment are expensive and not everyone can afford them. Many Inuit depend on paid jobs and social welfare, spending most of their time within the communities. The old tradition of visiting relatives in other communities also suffered. Most modern communities are far apart and air fare is expensive. The old nomadic lifestyle was replaced by a much more settled life, affecting the knowledge of the land as well as the attitudes toward it (Oosten and Laugrand, 2001, 1).

The remainder of the document consists of interviews with the two elders, and focuses on the lives of those elders and their experiences growing up in an Arctic community. They speak much and often of hunting and fishing, and of using all parts of the kill to support their families and their communities. The elders speak freely about their hunting experiences, and about the importance of all aspects of the Arctic landscape, from the frozen tundra under their feet to the influence of the moon. The book truly lives up to its title, as it focuses entirely on the recollections of elders regarding living and hunting on the land.

The First Canadians: A Profile of Canada's Native People Today (1995) is another influential piece of contemporary literature on the North. Co-authored by Pauline Comeau and Aldo Santin, the publication focuses on government policies and organizations and the impact they had and continue to have on the native peoples of the North. The First Canadians, published in 1995, touches on issues surrounding policy, self-government, education, welfare, health care, and economic development. It was published prior to the birth of the Nunavut Territory, yet includes discussion surrounding the proposed territory and the benefits it offers native communities of the Eastern Canadian Arctic. This particular piece addresses the North as homeland to the Inuit, yet also offers evidence that this area of Canada is so often seen as "frontier" as well. Comeau and Santin speak of the North and of the native populations therein as a voice for the Aboriginal population, outlining the tremendous plight of natives in the North, and their continued struggle for autonomy.

The North as Frontier

As has been discussed above, there are two primary ways in which the Arctic is often viewed: that of homeland and that of frontier. Thomas R. Berger addresses both of these perceptions in volume 1 of his publication regarding the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline (1977): "There are two distinct views of the North: one as frontier, one as homeland" (Berger, 1977, 1). Berger, as cited above, illustrates the homeland perception, but also goes into detail regarding perceptions

of the North as frontier. "The history of North America is the history of the frontier: of pushing back the wilderness, cultivating the soil, populating the land, and then building an industrial way of life" (Berger, 1977, 29). As this view of frontier is historically true of virtually all of North America, Berger points directly to the North as frontier: "We look upon the North as our last frontier. It is natural for us to think of developing it, of subduing the land and extracting its resources to fuel Canada's industry and heat our homes...But the native people say the North is their homeland" (Berger, 1977, 1). Berger is certainly not the only author who has considered the North as frontier. In *Immigrant Populations* (1955), John H. Teal, Jr. notes the different types of immigrants common to the Arctic, and indicates that these 'outside' populations often view the North as frontier. "The populations may be divided, therefore, into: (1) people who came north as adventurers or colonists seeking new lands in the days of folk wandering; (2) people who came north as a part of a military campaign or as political prisoners and then settled; (3) people who came north to exploit natural resources and stayed; (4) people who were economically crowded out of southern regions and sought opportunities in the north as permanent settlers (5) people whose residence in the north is temporary but who are connected with an enterprise or establishment which is permanent; and (6) people who represent the frontier vanguard of a northern expansion by a national or political unit" (Teal in Kimble and Good, 1955, 163-164). Although not all groups named by Teal are of the frontier mindset, many of them were brought to the North as a result of such a

perception. Later in his paper, Teal addresses more specifically this 'frontier' mindset and how it has affected the North:

The great increase of immigrant populations in the Arctic in recent years has been due to people who represent the vanguard of national northward expansion by countries peripheral to the arctic region. They are predominantly young people who have recognized opportunities of a pioneer character on the northern frontiers and believe that modern technical progress will enable them to overcome the environmental obstacles that hindered their predecessors (Teal in Kimble and Good, 1955, 178).

One example that appears abundantly in literature is that of mining and prospecting in the North. To those who sought fortune and the realization of financial freedom, the North was no homeland, but on the contrary, a frontier with resources yet untapped. In his 1978 book Canadian Nordicity, Hamelin addresses popular views of the North as frontier in respect to finding fortune: "Attractive mirages, particularly those fired with the pioneer spirit, are contrasted with disappointments, which have disabused, in particular, those seeking massive, quick profits...the little man has been more intoxicated by the prospect of intense, if short-lived, illusions of good fortunes" (Hamelin, 1978, 4).

J. Brian Bird also alludes to the North as frontier in a chapter written in Geography of the Northlands (1955). In his chapter entitled *Eastern Canada*, Bird states that: "Human penetration from the south as been slow, but, with the disappearance of the western frontier, the development of the Northlands is increasing" (Bird in Kimble and Good, 1955, 337). This statement illustrates that the North is often seen as 'frontier', as when the west was no longer wild,

untouched, and untamed, those who possessed such a 'frontier' spirit and view would progress to the next available frontier, the North.

Historically, the most common and most obvious proponents of the frontier mentality are the early explorers of the Arctic, who saw the area as a massive frontier, one to be explored, subdued, tamed, and conquered. Much of the early writing on the Arctic is written from the perspective of the North as frontier, as is illustrated in the writings of Robert E. Peary, Dr. Frederick Cook, Robert Parry, Roald Amundsen, Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, Marie Herbert, John Cabot, Henry Hudson, Richard Byrd, Sir John Franklin, and even down to such early explorers of the region such as Pytheas and Himlico (Officer and Page, 2001, xi-xii).

As early as the fourth century BCE, the "North" was seen as frontier. Pytheas, a Greek astronomer and geographer, claimed to complete a voyage that took him as far North as Thule in Iceland (Simpson-Housley, 1996, 17-20). In about 500 BCE, a Carthaginian named Himlico sailed North as well, attempting to conquer and explore unknown frontiers (Officer and Page, 2001, xi). These ancient explorers were many, and were followed by many more, all with the dream of reaching and crossing that frontier, to go to places untrodden by men before them, to subdue and tame the wild unknown.

Roald Amundsen, one of the most famed polar explorers, viewed the North as frontier, and strove to conquer its lands and seas as had his predecessor, Nansen. When writing of Amundsen's successes in the North, Nansen recounts:

“This is something all men can understand. A victory of human mind and human strength over the dominion and powers of Nature; a deed that lifts us above the grey monotony of daily life...” (Nansen *in* Amundsen, 1913, xxix). In the introduction to his own book Farthest North (1999), edited by John Krakauer, Nansen states:

Unseen and untrodden under their spotless mantle of ice the rigid polar regions slept the profound sleep of death from the earliest dawn of time. Wrapped in his white shroud, the mighty giant stretched his clammy ice-limbs abroad, and dreamed his age-long dreams. Ages passed – deep was the silence. Then, in the dawn of history, far away in the South, the awakening spirit of man reared its head on high and gazed over the earth. To the South it encountered warmth, to the North, cold; and behind the boundaries of the unknown it placed in imagination the twin kingdoms of consuming heat and deadly cold...till they made a stand in the North at the threshold of Nature’s great Ice Temple of the polar regions with their endless silence (Nansen, 1999, 3).

Nansen’s description of the North is not one of a homeland, but of a frontier, an untouched and untamed land of dreams. Along with the other explorers before and after him, Nansen viewed the North as a fantastic place of discovery and adventure, not as a place to call home.

Robert E. Peary, who claimed to ‘discover’ the North Pole on April 6, 1909, recounts similar views of the North in his personal papers:

I had on board the ship when I arrived there all the equipment and assistance which the civilized world could yield. Beginning there, I was to take on the tools, the materials, the personnel, that the arctic regions themselves were to furnish for their own conquest. Cape York, or Melville Bay, is the dividing line between the civilized world on the one side and the arctic world on the other – the arctic world with its equipment of Eskimos, dogs, walrus, seal, fur clothing, and aboriginal experience...Ahead of me lay that

trackless waste through which I must literally cut my way to the goal (Peary, 1910, 39-40).

In Peary's eyes, the North was not a homeland at all, but a "trackless waste through which" he must cut his way. The Pole, for Peary, was a goal to be reached, a life's work achieved and realized, a frontier to be overtaken. As he writes in his journal during his expedition on the *Roosevelt*: "Through all the seasons of disappointment and defeat I had never ceased to believe that the great white mystery of the North must eventually succumb to the insistence of human experience and will..." (Peary, 1910, 41).

Barry Lopez, in his 1986 book Arctic Dreams, addresses the issue of explorers' views of the North: "In all these journals, in biographies of the explorers, and in modern narrative histories, common themes of quest and defeat, of aspiration and accomplishment emerge. Seen from a certain distance, however, they nearly all share a disassociation with the actual landscape. The land, whatever its attributes, is made to fill a certain role, often that of an adversary, the bete noire of one's dreams (Lopez, 1986, 358). Lopez makes an important statement in that these explorers, these 'outsiders' to the Arctic who seek the taming of the frontier all share a disassociation with the land. For them, the landscape has significantly less meaning than for those who view it as homeland. Lopez further comments on the feeling of the explorers and adventure seekers towards the land when he writes of his own readings: "So I read histories that had been shaped by a sense of mission or purpose, or that were arranged to fit the

times in which they were written, and hoped for a stray remark that would reveal the edge of the land previously undivulged, or an unguarded human feeling that would show the land as something alive” (Lopez, 1986, 359).

The idea of North as frontier may also be seen in the names of geographical locations in the North, as those who “conquered” or “discovered” those lands took the liberty of assigning their names as opposed to leaving the aboriginal names. We see this in the naming of Baffin Island, Frobisher Bay, Hudson’s Bay, and others. The men who led such expeditions and discovered these locations were not viewing the North as homeland to the Inuit, but as frontier.

The North is also seen as frontier by the organizations that have been noted for their intrusion into the Arctic lands, namely the Federal Government of Canada, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and Christian missionaries. Even the Hudson Bay Company viewed the North not as homeland but as frontier to some extent. These named organizations went North to civilize and give southern values and lifestyles to the “savages” living in the Arctic. Literature regarding this particular view of the North as frontier is abundant, and often disconcerting to readers of today. The Inuit were often seen as animals, and their lands were seen as resources to be had and exploited.

Daniel Heuman (1995) gives attention to this aspect in “Decision Support Systems and the Selection of an Administrative Centre: Nunavut”, when he discusses the trend of movement from the south to lands previously inhabited

solely by the Inuit. In addition to the increasing presence of the Hudson's Bay Company, Heuman points to the increasing involvement of the Canadian government in the North. "In 1875, the Canadian government drafted and passed the Northwest Territories Act, which established the NWT as a region within Canada subject to Canadian laws. The Canadian federal government began to administer the new frontier region with the introduction of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police in 1903-1904..." (Heuman, 1995, 4). Heuman goes on to explain that: "during the late 1800s and early 1900s, the primary goal of the federal government, with respect to the Far North, was to assert sovereignty. The political and administrative measures adopted in the early 20th century were required to establish Canada's right to the Far North" (Heuman, 1995, 5). Thus, in his writing, Heuman illustrates clearly the view of the North not as a homeland, but as a frontier in the eyes of the Canadian government and other southern institutions.

Hugh Brody, in his book The People's Land (1975), addresses the issue of the HBC, RCMP, Canadian Government, and Christian missionaries in the North, and refers to these workers as the 'new kinds of northerner' (Brody, 1975, 22). According to Brody, these men have been idealized in history, and their actions and lives have become "the subject of romance and legend" (Brody, 1975, 24). This, according to Brody, is a terribly inaccurate and misleading manner in which to view these men who viewed the Arctic and its peoples as a land to be dominated and changed, not respected.

There are two important reasons for lamenting this idealization of the Whites who first represented powerful southern institutions in the North. In the first place, it obscures the negative attitude that many of these men had towards the Inuit and their land. Because they went North with commercial or ideological motives, they were intent on radical changes in Inuit life. Many features of Inuit culture and personality were inevitably the objects of their criticism and distaste, although of course they varied individually in the intensity of their hostile reaction. To the extent that they were committed to effecting transformations, they were committed also to the abolition or modification of very many well-established local customs (Brody, 1975, 25).

Brody goes on to state that: "Separately sure of their purposes and jointly convinced of their rightness, the three southern institutions began in the early 1920s to draw the Canadian Eastern Arctic into their compass. Generally speaking, missionaries, policemen and traders never 'discovered' Inuit; by 1920, there were none left to discover. What they did, rather, was discover people who were 'in need' – of Christianity, trading posts and enforcement of Canadian law" (Brody, 1975, 27). In his writing, Brody also cites a book entitled The Eskimo Book of Knowledge. The book was written by George Binney, an employee of the HBC, and was published by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1931 (Brody, 1975, 27). In this book, the Inuit are instructed in the ways of the South, as the book was a collaboration of the three institutions noted above. The Eskimo Book of Knowledge outlines a number of rules that the Inuit are to follow in their daily lives, and are "those of the trader, the missionary and policeman, and they are collected under the umbrella of Empire" (Brody, 1975, 28). The book also states that the people may be "...also guilty of crime, and likely also to be punished for breaking the Law" (Binney, 1931, 60) if they attempt to enforce their own laws,

and that it is their “duty to report to the policeman, or, if there is no policeman, then to the Company’s Trader or to the Man of God any serious crime which one of your people may have committed” (Binney, 1931, 61-62). The mere existence of such a publication illustrates the attitudes held toward the North and toward the people who inhabit it. The landscape and its inhabitants were seen as items to be controlled, dominated, and tamed, and the institutions that felt most qualified to do so were the HBC, RCMP, and Christian missionaries. The conclusion of the Eskimo Book of Knowledge (1931) sums up this perception of North as frontier, and clearly illustrates the ways in which these organizations from the South viewed both themselves and the North.

Take heed, Innuits, for the future will bring even greater changes than have taken place in your country in the past twenty years. There will be White trappers who will trap the foxes out of your country; strange ships will visit your harbours and strange traders will come among you searching only your furs. Many White men will explore your lands in search of precious rocks and minerals. These traders and these trappers and these wanderers are like the drift-ice; today they come with the wind, tomorrow they are gone with the wind. Of these strangers some will be fairer than others, as is the nature of men; but whosoever they be, they cannot at heart possess that deep understanding of your lives through which our Traders have learned to bestow the care of a father upon you and upon your children (Binney, 1931, 234).

Brief History of Iqaluit / Frobisher Bay*

The city of Iqaluit, formerly known as Frobisher Bay, is today the largest community and capital city of the Nunavut Territory (Gagnon, 2002, 1). This particular section of the chapter seeks to give a very brief overview of the literature addressing the history of the city. Such literature is pertinent to the study at hand owing to the fact that the field research was conducted in Iqaluit, and participants in the study were Inuit from this capital city.

There is relatively scant literature regarding this community, as much of the current and past literature focuses on the Nunavut Territory as a whole, and its adoption in April 1999. The literature on the development of the Nunavut Territory is abundant, but I have found surprisingly little regarding the history and creation of the capital city of Iqaluit. One publication to which I will refer is a document released by the Language and Culture Program of Nunavut Arctic College in Iqaluit.

The book is entitled Inuit Recollections on the Military Presence in Iqaluit, and was published in 2002 with the assistance of the elders of Iqaluit and in conjunction with the College.

* The names Iqaluit and Frobisher Bay will be used interchangeably in this section of the chapter, as different authors refer to the city with either one name or the other. In the remainder of the thesis, however, the capital city of Nunavut will be referred to as Iqaluit. The name change occurred in 1987, when Frobisher Bay officially became known as Iqaluit, meaning “the place of fish” (Purich, 1992, 60).

The primary author is Mélanie Gagnon, and the remainder of the text is contributed by Iqaluit elders, some of whom I was given the opportunity to speak with during my time in the community.

Donald Purich, who writes on the history of Nunavut in The Inuit and Their Land: The Story of Nunavut (1992) is another author to whom I will be referring. Purich's work was published prior to the adoption of Nunavut, yet nevertheless provides pertinent information regarding its formation and development. I will also be drawing on information provided in a 1995 masters thesis written by Daniel Sydney Heuman. The last author whose work will be discussed in this chapter is R. Quinn Duffy. Duffy's work The Road To Nunavut (1988) provides useful information regarding the development of Iqaluit, its history, and that of its inhabitants.

Heuman (1995) provides a history of the Inuit, not merely of the community of Iqaluit. In his writing, he addresses the issue of the formation of such a community. Prior to the 1940s, Frobisher Bay was merely that; a bay. A body of water used by Inuit hunters and fisherman to sustain themselves, and their families. Fisherman would frequent the bay to harvest the sea and surrounding lands for food, clothing, shelter, and oil. In the 1940s, however, the area surrounding Frobisher Bay "came to life with new opportunities" (Heuman, 1995, 7), as many Inuit were relocated to the southern part of Baffin Island by the Canadian Government. Some of these Inuit were also lured by the prospect of wage employment earned by working on the American and Canadian military

bases that were recently erected in the area (Heuman, 1995, 7). With the collapse of the fur trade and the Inuit's increasing dependency on Southerners, the population surrounding Frobisher Bay continued to grow. Heuman notes that during the 1940s and 1950s in what is now Iqaluit, "in addition to education, family allowances, old age and infirmity pensions, mothers' allowance, as well as health services were introduced" (Heuman, 1995, 9). All of these services further exacerbated the Inuit's problem of dependency on the Southerners, and the population continued to expand with each introduction of southern ways. As Heuman states: "Families were drawn by the lack of wildlife to sustain their way of life, and the government programs and services that were only available in settlements" (Heuman, 1995, 9). The community and now city of Iqaluit, then, may be classified as a 'built environment', as it did not develop naturally through an influx of families in the traditional semi-nomadic nature of the Inuit.

Gagnon (2002) offers a brief history of Iqaluit in her work Inuit Recollections on the Military Presence in Iqaluit. She recalls that as few as sixty years ago, Iqaluit was little more than "a temporary fishing place along the itineraries of the South Baffin Island Inuit" (Gagnon, 2002, 1). At that time, she explains, "No southern institution (whaling station, trading post, mission, Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) detachment, etc.) nor the Canadian Government were established in this location" (Gagnon, 2002, 1). The Iqaluit of the past (known then as Frobisher Bay for the body of water on which it is located), was no more than an area of the Arctic that was largely unknown to any

but the Inuit who used it for fishing. The significant occurrence in the history and development of Iqaluit did not come until World War II, when the military began setting up bases and stations at Frobisher Bay. "...with the outbreak of World War II, Iqaluit, and the Eastern Arctic in general, were found to be strategic areas in the defense of North America, bringing a new kind of qallunaat [whites] to Inuit lands: the military" (Gagnon, 2002, 1). World War II, as will be discussed in following chapters, was the turning point for the Arctic, and for Iqaluit in particular. Prior to the War, the US and Canadian military had little interest in the area of South Baffin Island, but the onset of the War drew their attentions to the region. "By the beginning of the 1940s, the United States Army Air Force (USAAF) came to the Canadian Eastern Arctic to establish weather stations and air bases, Iqaluit being one" (Gagnon, 2002 1). In the time of World War II and the subsequent Cold War, Frobisher Bay grew not only as a military stronghold in the Canadian Arctic but also as a community. Following the construction of the Frobisher Bay Airbase (1943), Inuit families began to settle near the area, and more arrived in hopes of working for the Americans (Gagnon, 2002, 1). The community of Frobisher Bay began to grow rapidly during and after the war, and even the Hudson's Bay Company post, located roughly forty miles from the base, was moved from its location to accommodate the influx of Inuit to the area around Iqaluit (Gagnon, 2002, 1). Frobisher Bay really began to boom when the Federal Government "established its regional headquarters in Iqaluit in the middle of the

1950s, starting a new stage in the development of the town, with the construction of housing for Inuit in a new village called Apex Hill” (Gagnon, 2002, 1).

The growth of Frobisher Bay following the war years was unprecedented, and caused its share of problems in the community. As Hugh Brody points out: “Frobisher Bay is an Arctic center, but among the smaller communities of Baffin Island it has a black reputation for drunkenness, violence and prostitution. Older Inuit think of it as a place of sickness and danger; northern Whites see it as a hotbed of iniquity and the embodiment of all that is wrong in northern development and administration; young Inuit find it exciting or unnerving” (Brody, 1975, 210-211). By the 1970s, Iqaluit had a residential school, medical facilities, and other southern institutions, which brought about even more growth in the community. With the establishment of a residential school, children were sent to Frobisher Bay from their communities to receive a southern education (Brody, 1975, 208). Brody also notes that the school “was originally proposed in 1961 but the plan was abandoned on instructions from the highest levels. In 1967 the proposal was revised and architects were engaged. Construction began in the autumn of 1969, and the school was completed by 1971” (Brody, 1975, 211). The opening of the residential school in Frobisher Bay was of tremendous importance for the community. The town was already growing rapidly, had the longest airstrip in the Canadian Arctic, and was known as an important strategic location in the North, and the building of a residential school only accelerated the community’s growth. Parents were so anxious over sending their children to a far

away community for education, that many relocated to Frobisher Bay (Brody, 1975, 212). Nevertheless, children continued to return to their homes, whether in Frobisher Bay or other communities, with tales of “drunkenness and violence within the residence. Girls have told how they lay awake at night, their doors locked, fearing assault. All the pupils from one settlement went home together” (Brody, 1975, 212). As can be seen, the growing community of Frobisher Bay had its problems early on in its development. By the late 1970s and 1980s, the proposals for Nunavut were in the works, and Frobisher Bay had quickly become the largest community in the proposed area (Purich, 1992, 18).

Duffy (1988) provides discussion surrounding the “boom at Iqaluit”, and the ways in which the community has grown from a fishing spot to a capital city. Duffy contends that in the 1950s, the “Canadian government’s house-building and other construction provided a welcome and much needed boost to local Inuit employment” (Duffy, 1988, 161). As of 1956, the community was described as “booming...a high employment, high income area” and one in which there were “...not sufficient Eskimos to fill all the positions that are available” (Duffy, 1988, 161). Although the economy in Iqaluit was indeed booming, Duffy recognizes that other industries, those more familiar to the Inuit who inhabited the area, were suffering. One RCMP officer stated that “Trapping...plays a relatively unimportant role in this area”, and hunting was also becoming nearly obsolete (Duffy, 1988, 161). With an increase in employment came a drastic increase in population. Between the years 1961 and 1966, the growth rate in Iqaluit was

described as “the most outstanding social feature in the whole Eastern Arctic” (DINA, *in* Duffy, 1988, 163), and was primarily owing to “unprecedented immigration from neighboring communities” (Duffy, 1988, 163), and not natural increase. By the end of the 1960s, the boom had subsided, yet the community continued to grow. Moreover, the Inuit in the area became even more dependent on southern ways and on wage employment, and as Duffy notes: “by 1969 only 5 percent of the area’s population was entirely dependent on the traditional way of life based on the fur trade” (Duffy, 1988, 163). Indeed, Iqaluit was born.

The settlement of Iqaluit has grown exponentially in the years since World War II, and quickly became the hub of the Eastern Canadian Arctic. With the military presence, the town experienced tremendous population growth alongside increased economic activity. In 1987, the community’s name was officially changed from Frobisher Bay to Iqaluit, as a result of the GNWT’s new authority over place names in the North (Purich, 1992, 60). In 1995, it was determined that Iqaluit should be named the capital of the new Territory of the Eastern Arctic (Gagnon, 2002, 1). It made sense that this city would be the capital of Nunavut for a number of reasons. Firstly, Iqaluit was the largest community in the proposed area of Nunavut, and its location on Southern Baffin Island was practical for transportation (Purich, 1992, 18).

Iqaluit began as nothing more than a fishing spot for Inuit hunters and has metamorphosed into a growing capital city. Its primary growth may be credited to southerners, including the military, missionaries, the RCMP, and the Canadian

Government. These organizations 'built' Iqaluit from the ground up. It is not a naturally developed capital city, but one that has been fabricated, constructed by outsiders in order to better serve their purposes.

Iqaluit has since grown to a city of over 5,000 people, and continues to grow today. The city and its residents have a host of social, political, and economic issues with which to be dealt, as this location and its population are trying to come to grips with the tremendous growth and change that has been experienced in a mere fifty or sixty years.

This chapter has set the scene for the thesis by providing an examination of selected literature that is pertinent to the study. The following chapter will address the methods used in this project and the procedures employed in the acquisition of information for the thesis.

Chapter 3

Approaches to the Research Problem

This chapter aims to outline the method employed in the collection of data for the study. It will discuss the method used, procedures employed, and will outline some of the difficulties encountered during the process of data acquisition. This chapter will also provide appendices that provide examples of questions used as well as the study sample.

Qualitative Methodology and the Long Interview

For this particular research project, I employed a qualitative research method, specifically the long interview. The long interview, deemed by anthropologist Grant McCracken to be “one of the most powerful methods in the qualitative armory” seemed to best suit my needs for the project. The long interview has both positive and negative aspects, but in the case of my study with the Inuit of Iqaluit, the positives far outweighed any negative characteristics of the method. The primary purpose of such a method, claims McCracken, is “not to discover how many, and what kinds of people share a certain characteristic. It is to gain access to the cultural categories and assumptions according to which one culture sees the world” (McCracken, 1988, 17). This fit well with the objectives of my project, as I sought to gain a greater understanding of the ways in which the Inuit interact with and perceive their landscape and their environment, and the ways that interaction and perception have changed over time.

Within the category of the long interview are a number of sub-categories, including the structured, semi-structured, and unstructured interview. In my case, the semi-structured interview gave me the opportunity to glean the most and most in-depth information from my participants, and allowed both the interviewee and me more flexibility in topic discussion during the interview. The semi-structured interview may be defined as an “interview with some predetermined order, but which nonetheless has flexibility with regard to the position/timing of questions” (Hay, 2000, 196). I wanted some flexibility in speaking with informants, and needed to allow the interview to proceed naturally, as opposed to following strict sets of questions. Examples of these semi-structured questions are provided in Appendix A. One of the primary goals of my interviews was to allow participants to guide the interview and speak candidly and freely on the discussed subjects.

Study Sample

My study sample consisted of 16 participants, both male and female, ranging in age from seventeen years to eighty years of age, and all Inuit. Table 3.1 illustrates the composition of the interviewees, and includes viable demographic data on each participant. When I began my field research, I did not have a specific number of participants prearranged, but modified both the number and the composition of the group of interviewees as I progressed in my research. Originally, I thought I wanted to have roughly thirty interviews, but financial constraints did not allow such numbers. I ended up with six females and ten

males. This particular aspect of the participant composition was not intentional, but the males in the community seemed more willing to take part in the interviews, and the ratio of men to women in Iqaluit made my study more likely to involve more males. I also attempted to include a wide range of ages in my participants, as perceptions of landscape, relationship with the environment, and observations made regarding change in the community differ from one generation to the next. My youngest interviewee was seventeen years of age, and the oldest was eighty.

Introduction to Iqaluit

Upon arrival in Iqaluit, I had no idea how difficult it would be to set up interviews. Being naïve, I imagined just going into town, getting acquainted with some people, and easily chatting over coffee or at someone's home. Unfortunately, such was not the case, and I became quickly disenchanted and frustrated at the difficulty I was having in setting up interviews. The native people of the eastern Canadian Arctic have been studied and observed for decades now, and are more than accustomed to having researchers, students, and curious types poking around their town. As one of my participants candidly told me: "We used to have a joke in the 70s...each Inuit family had five members, the mother, the father, the son, the daughter, and the researcher..." The Inuit are no strangers to outsiders and researchers in their communities, particularly in Iqaluit, the capital city and government headquarters of the Nunavut Territory. I am

obviously not the only person of whom the North has taken hold, and the number of fascinated and curious southerners in the North increases with each passing season. What I thought would be easy, simple conversation turned into something a bit more difficult to arrange, and I quickly became aware of the fact that the Inuit do not talk for free. Even Paul, an Inuk man whom I befriended, charged me for a chance to sit and talk. Interviews are not easy to set up, and one must take great care in approaching an Inuit with the possibility of a semi-structured chat. I more than once found myself feeling the fool when upon asking someone for an interview, I received the reply... "Inuit are the most researched people in the world, and I am the most researched Inuk in the world...find someone else." As a starry eyed, excited, curious, and naïve first time researcher, responses such as these left me feeling small and foolish, but I quickly learned that these are the ways of qualitative research at times, and that I must not be discouraged but simply be a bit more unobtrusive in my attempts to glean information. The issue of sensitivity and care was new to me, as for some reason I believed wholeheartedly that these people would enjoy telling me about themselves, their lives, and their community.

Upon arrival in the town, I instantly began making attempts to contact people, including the mayor of the community and other government figures. After spending some time in the town and with the people, I quickly decided that going through government representatives was not the best way to become acquainted with the Inuit of the community, as the mayor and many of the other

government workers were Qallunaat (non-Inuit) and not Inuit at all. I also realized that I did not necessarily want impressions of public figures in Iqaluit, but preferred to have the input of the non-governmental men, women, and youth of the community.

Contacts in Iqaluit

I was fortunate enough to be staying at the old residence of Arctic College Nunatta Campus, formerly a United States military base that had been converted into a dormitory for students attending Arctic College. Although modest accommodation, the “Old Res”, as it was commonly referred to, gave me a tremendous opportunity to meet Inuit of the town and to make contacts. I also made a number of contacts through NRI, the Nunavut Research Institute, and the workers there were always very helpful and eager to assist me in my research. An Inuk man I will call Paul, whom I met through NRI, introduced me to some Inuit in town, and was also helpful in setting up opportunities for me to interview elders in the community. Two of his siblings lived in the elder’s center in town, and he assisted me in making contacts there. I also found the staff at the Old Res to be very helpful, and through the Arctic College programs I was able to set up interviews with elders. One of the unfortunate things I found, however, was that these interviews were not inexpensive, and an interview with an elder, including interpretation, cost me close to one hundred dollars. Nevertheless, I did not have much of a choice in the matter, and decided not to do as many interviews as I had

originally planned, thereby finishing up my research with sixteen interviews. In the end, this turned out to be a sufficient number for the study, as by the time I was reaching the last interviews, most of the information I was hearing was consistent with previous responses. I was not learning anything new from my participants, which led me to believe that thirty interviews would have given me superfluous data.

Interview Model and Method Employed

During my interviews, I used a combination of notes for myself, including an interview guide and an interview schedule (see Appendices B and C respectively). The interview guide, according to Hay, is “a list of topics to be covered in an interview and may contain some clearly worded questions or key concepts intended to guide the interviewer” (Hay, 2000, 190). I employed the use of such a guide to keep me on track, and to remind me of the key issues I wanted to discuss with my informant. I used this for larger issues, and did not have specifically worded questions for such topics. My goal was for the discussion to be as natural as possible, and I found that in some instances, using structured, carefully worded questions made the interview sound rehearsed and stilted. I found the interview guide to be extremely helpful during the interview, as it kept me from straying too far from the subject at hand, yet allowed me the flexibility I wanted during discussion. The interview schedule, on the other hand, is an “ordered list of questions which the researcher intends to ask informants...” (Hay,

2000, 190). I used the interview schedule sparingly, and only had a few ordered questions that were carefully worded. I used these questions in the same way with each interviewee, and yet not always in the same phase of the interview. I tried to allow the informant to proceed as he or she wished, and I asked questions or steered the conversation in a way that would allow me to glean the information I was seeking. Primarily, my interviews made use of the interview guide, and were more content focused as opposed to question focused. For example, a content focused question may ask: "What are some of the primary changes you have seen in Iqaluit since you were a child?" This question is open-ended and allows the participant to discuss the issue as he or she chooses. It also facilitates additional discussion that may lead to other important and relevant topics. Interviews that are question focused may include closed questions that do not allow for as much discussion, such as: "Do you have a grade 12 education?"

Data Analysis

In order to gather my data efficiently and properly, I tape recorded each interview with a mini tape recorder, then transcribed the tapes after returning home from Iqaluit. All information given in the interviews was recorded onto the tapes, and I made use of two recorders to avoid having to stop and turn the tape over in the middle of an interview. This allowed me to conduct the interview without interruption for changing the tape, and proved efficient as well. Most of the interviews I conducted did not require the use of an interpreter, as many of the

Inuit in Iqaluit speak English. However, I did make use of interpreters on three occasions, and used two different interpreters. In retrospect, I believe that I would have been better off using the same interpreter for all three interviews, as the two I employed used very different styles in their interpretation. One of the interpreters translated frequently and seemingly verbatim what the interviewee was saying. The other interpreter, however, seemed to wait an extremely long time to interpret what the participant was saying. For instance, the first interpreter would translate sentence by sentence, whereas the second would allow the interviewee to speak for five minutes or so, then would interpret in a seemingly paraphrased fashion. Transcriptions reflect the interviews verbatim, and not a detail was omitted between the tape and the paper. I used the written transcriptions to analyze the data and to incorporate said data into my written thesis.

Documentation and Licenses

Prior to beginning the interviews, ethics approval was granted by the University and a research license was obtained from the Nunavut Research Institute in Iqaluit (See appendices D and E).

All participation in the study was voluntary, and all participants remain anonymous. Names used to identify participants are entirely fictional, and are used for the sole purpose of distinguishing one informant from the next. The

ages, occupations, and opinions of interviewees are factual, but all names have been changed to ensure anonymity of participants.

I also made use of a written consent form prior to conducting interviews. I originally planned to use a form of verbal consent, but upon the advise of other researchers and York University, I changed my consent to written (see appendix F). This consent form was then approved by the Graduate Program in Geography. All participants were given a copy of the consent form, and those who did not speak English were given a translation of the form. All interviewees read, signed, and dated the consent form, as did I. This measure ensured that all participation was voluntary, and that all participants understood the purpose of my project and their involvement therein.

Conclusion

Chapter three has demonstrated the method used in the acquisition of field data, and has offered appendices as appropriate. After conducting sixteen long interviews with Inuit members of the Iqaluit community, I analyzed the data by transcribing the interviews and began the process of writing the results.

Chapter four will address the issues surrounding social changes in Iqaluit, and will demonstrate the ways in which the Inuit of south Baffin Island have changed along with their landscape.

Table 3.1: Interview/Interviewee Information

Assigned Name	Interviewee Age	Date of Interview	Interview Location	Interview Length	Level of Education	Place of Birth	Occupation/Current Status
Kelly	28	29 Sept.	Coffee Shop	2 Hours	Grade 6	Hospital: Iqaluit	Unemployed
Jimmy	35	29 Sept.	Coffee Shop	2 Hours	Grade 6	Hospital: Iqaluit	Student
Ella	40	29 Sept	Coffee Shop	2 Hours	Grade 6	Outpost Camp	Unemployed
Sally	72	2 Oct	Her Home	1.5 Hour	None	Outpost Camp	Never held wage employment
Curtis	70	2 Oct	His Home	2 Hours	None	Outpost Camp	Retired Hunter
Thomas	17	2 Oct	Restaurant	2.5 Hours	Grade 9	Hospital	Unemployed
Brent	37	2 Oct	Restaurant	2.5 Hours	Grade 7	Hospital	Stone Carver
Jennifer	32	4 Oct	Residence	1.5 Hour	In School	Nursing Station	Student
Linda	27	4 Oct	Residence	1.5 Hour	In School	Hospital	Student
Nuapik	80	7 Oct	His Home	2 Hours	None	Iglu	Retired Hunter
Johnny	30	8 Oct	Residence	1.5 Hour	In School	Hospital	Student
Timothy	34	8 Oct	Coffee Shop	2.5 Hours	In School	Nursing Station	Student
Paul	52	9 Oct	Coffee Shop	2.5 Hours	Grade 12	Iglu	Interpreter, Office staff
James	34	9 Oct	Residence	1.5 Hour	In School	House	Student
Laura	34	9 Oct	Residence	1 Hour	In School	Hospital	Student
Adam	37	10 Oct	Coffee Shop	1.5 Hour	Grade 12	Hospital: Iqaluit	Environmental Technologist

Chapter 4

The Changing Lifestyles of the Inuit of Iqaluit

According to Fyodor Dostoyevski, change is the one thing that people fear most. If this is in fact the case, then the Inuit of the Eastern Canadian Arctic have been facing their greatest fears for decades. Iqaluit (meaning 'Place of Fish' in Inuktitut), formerly known as Frobisher Bay, has weathered significant transformation over the past sixty-odd years. Primarily, two categories of such transformation are most evident in the town; social change and landscape change. In this chapter, I will be addressing some of the more prevalent social changes of which I became aware during my stay in Iqaluit, and during my conversations with the Inuit of Nunavut. The information presented in this chapter is also an effective indication of the concept of quality of life of the inhabitants of Iqaluit. Quality of Life (to which I will refer as QOL) is an essential component of examining the lives of the Iqaluit Inuit, and is a concept that will be interwoven into the thread of the discussions that follow.

Quality of Life

According to Bryan Massam in his 2002 monograph *Quality of Life: Public Planning and Private Living*, Quality of life "can be viewed on the one hand as an indication or cause of attraction to a place, and on the other hand QOL can be treated as the outcome of conditions that are perceived to exist and the degree to which they meet the desires and expectations of the individuals. Hence

QOL can be envisaged as a composite quasi public-private good which is both a 'means' / 'cause' / 'input', or an 'end' / 'effect' / 'output'. In a word the concept is extremely complex and hard to define, though it is tempting to treat it as a commodity, but by so doing we risk losing sight of the attributes of QOL that impinge on individuals as they live their lives to give meaning, significance, and purpose to human existence" (Massam, 2002, 142). Quality of life factors significantly in the examination of the community of Iqaluit and of its residents, as it is a concept determined by both internal and external factors, and has both a cause and effect component. According to Grayson and Young, "There appears to be a consensus that in defining quality of life there are two fundamental sets of components and processes operating: those that relate to an internal psychological mechanism producing a sense of satisfaction or gratification with life; and those external conditions which trigger the internal mechanism" (Grayson and Young, 1994 in Massam, 2002, 145). From this explanation, we may conclude that quality of life is determined by a combination of external factors that influence an individual's perceptions of the community or world in which he or she resides and plays an active role. In the case of Iqaluit and the Inuit residents of the community, there are many external factors that influence these people and play a role in determining their quality of life. The Inuit have experienced and weathered extensive change in their environment over the past 60 years, and these changes play a significant role in their changing perceptions of their external and internal environs.

Under the category of social change, there are numerous sub-categories, many of which will be discussed in this chapter. There is also quite a bit of correlation and connection between the social and landscape changes, which will also be approached here, as the social (or human) and physical are difficult to separate entirely in such a study. Moreover, many of these social changes are directly related to the physical changes in the landscape, and are even a result of such landscape modifications.

Alcoholism

During my interviews with Inuit participants of various ages, one common theme repeatedly emerged when discussing changes in the North. This was alcohol and drugs and the problems they have caused in Iqaluit and other northern communities. According to the participants, alcohol emerged in full around the time of WWII when American and Canadian military made their way into the communities. Duffy reports that in “1959 the secretary of the Frobisher Development Group warned the administrator of the Arctic that with the large immigration of white construction workers, stevedores, and other southern Canadians and the consequent increasing use of alcohol”, the ‘Eskimo’ would be able to obtain liquor (Duffy, 1988, 212). True to the secretary’s warning, Iqaluit’s first liquor store opened up in 1961 following a 1960 court order that stated that the Inuit had the right to consume alcohol (Duffy, 1988, 212). Since that time, alcohol abuse has become rampant in Iqaluit, and leads to another social problem

related to crime, housing, and financial issues, all of which further decrease QOL for the Inuit of Iqaluit. "The most worrisome aspect of the problem, however, was not the drunkenness itself but an escalating crime rate that was clearly associated with it. In 1960, when drinking was legally permitted in Iqaluit, the number of criminal convictions rose to three times the number in 1959. It rose again by almost 20 percent in 1961, when the government liquor store was opened" (Duffy, 1988, 213). Crime, however, is not the only social change brought about by the introduction and availability of alcohol. Financial problems are also now a symptom of a much larger issue involving the over consumption of alcohol in Iqaluit. As Johnny stated: "We have a lot of bad habits now. We like to go out and drink beer, in the process, forgetting to pay our rent...we're caught up in two cultures...this was never included in my culture, from the very onset, having to budget for this, budget for that...We drink to get away from our problems, and we only find out the bad choice afterwards. We wake up, problem is still there, and so we drink some more we only find out afterwards, after we're put out on the street." Alcohol is poisoning the community of Iqaluit, and leading to tremendous other social and economic problems among the Inuit population. Nunavut is for all intents and purposes, a welfare state, as many of the Inuit are unskilled laborers and are unable to find permanent employment. Many rely on hunting part time and on stone carving to supplement their income, but a major problem lies in the fact that when the money comes in, they use the majority of it for alcohol or for drugs. A 34-year-old male informant stated: "I think a lot of it

(suicide and domestic violence) has to do with alcohol and narcotics too. Since I came back up north 10 years ago from Ontario, I see a lot of the carvers, so many carvers and workers. They get paid. They buy a little bit of food for their kid and wife, and all the rest goes to alcohol and drugs..." When I was interviewing a female elder, she informed me as well that: "Alcohol is the biggest, worst change that has happened here [in Iqaluit]. I lost one of my sons to alcohol because he committed suicide while he was drunk. All these "real" hunters stop going hunting because alcohol is the only thing in their minds – that's the main change here, I'm sorry to say." A 17 year-old male with whom I spoke denied his involvement with drugs and alcohol: "I don't like cops cause they harass me for no reason...longest time I was in jail was 22 hours, another 14 hours in a cell, cold, nothing to do...they thought I was a big time dealer. I don't even do that shit. They searched me everywhere, they searched my room, they found nothing...I told them, you arrest me for nothing, I'm gonna sue you guys..." An 80-year-old male elder with whom I spoke at length also commented on the problem of alcohol in his community:

Alcohol traditionally was not part of my culture. Rather, it was brought in from the outside. Having little or no employment at all, my culture has taken advantage of that and tried to forget our predicament. Not all people in our culture have sufficient training to take on a good job in our community. Now, my culture, by your culture, has been labeled as having the lowest self-esteem in North America. Because of that, we have turned to alcohol to face unemployment, for one. No mining activity in South Baffin to be more self-sufficient. No employment. Not all Eskimos or Inuit have the ability to carve to supplement one's meager income. Because of lack of recreation, lack of employment combined have led to abuse of alcohol for most of us.

The list goes on and on in my interviews, as nearly every single Inuit with whom I spoke commented on the problem of alcohol in the community. It is especially evident in Iqaluit, as there are licensed drinking establishments in town (e.g., the Legion, the Zoo, the Kamutik Inn). There are limits to the number of drinks a person may order in one sitting, and at some establishments, the patron is required to order a meal if he or she chooses to also order alcohol (the Kamutik has this regulation). This is a valiant effort by the vendors, but unfortunately, it is not necessarily effective. I observed on a number of occasions patrons in the Kamutik ordering food and beer, pushing the food aside and consuming the beer without taking a bite of anything solid. I also observed tremendous numbers of intoxicated Inuit in various sites around the town at all times of day, including the coffee shop, the post office, and the grocery store. The *Nunatsiaq News*, the local newspaper, frequently carries stories regarding alcohol and drug abuse, and the effects such abuse continues to have on the community of Iqaluit. These substance abuses are leading to more serious problems, as is recounted in an article published in *Nunatsiaq News* on 4 October, 2002. The article states: "We had information that the suspect was selling 40-ounce bottles of liquor for \$200 a bottle. We did a surveillance on the house and saw a few transactions. So we got a warrant and busted the place." (Senior Officer Yanick Demers, in *Nunatsiaq News*). According to the article, police seized not only alcohol, but \$18,000 cash, 160 grams of marijuana and 19 firearms (*Nunatsiaq News*, 4 October 2002). It seems as though the issue of alcohol abuse is one that weighs heavily on the

community of Iqaluit, and one can only hope that the youth of the North will help to break this destructive pattern. There is some hope, however, with the recent stand taken by Iqaluit residents regarding proposed changes to the liquor law. In a *Nunatsiaq News* article from 20 September 2002, it was reported that Mayor John Matthews told the committee of MLAs reviewing the Nunavut Liquor Act that “Iqaluit residents came out staunchly opposing the Liquor Licensing Board’s recommendation that Nunavummiut should have more liberal access to alcohol within their communities. They also opposed the recommendation that the Nunavut government lower the current import fees on alcohol” (Mayor John Matthews in *Nunatsiaq News*, September 20, 2002). Although the city council accepted the Mayor’s report and forwarded it to the Liquor Act review committee, councilors had mixed opinions regarding the accuracy of the report in representing Iqaluit’s population. Councillor Williams suggested that council “pass the report, but add a recommendation that the Nunavut government establish an alcohol rehabilitation center” (*Nunatsiaq News*, 20 September, 2002). Williams also lamented, “We don’t have a place where people can go for counseling. We don’t have a place for people to go sober up, other than going to the drunk tank [at the police detachment]” (Councilor Williams in *Nunatsiaq News*).

As has been demonstrated, alcohol has also been blamed for a number of other social changes and issues in Iqaluit. Failure to pay rent, failure to hold a job, domestic violence, suicide, lack of family cohesion, lack of respect for others,

and the decrease in hunting have all been tied in some way by my informants to the consumption of alcohol and to the use of narcotics. That is not to say, however, that these unfortunate, destructive social changes have all been brought about by alcohol and drugs, just that they are related and seem to have come about with the appearance of alcohol that was brought in from the South. Southern influence in Iqaluit is extremely prevalent, and it is this influence that has in part brought about the changes that are discussed here.

“Culture Shock”: Traditional Values vs. The Modern World

The inhabitants of South Baffin Island are suffering to some extent from “culture shock”. In a way, many of these Inuit are walking, it may be said, with one foot in each world. On one hand, they are struggling to live as Inuit traditionally have lived. Some even continue to live on the land in outpost camps with their families, subsisting on the meat from the hunt, and constructing their own shelters as they move about in a semi-nomadic pattern. These few come into Iqaluit to pick up supplies then return to their outpost camps and continue on with their semi-traditional lives. They are in large part removed from the mainstream of Iqaluit, and are not exposed daily to the predicaments experienced by their peers living in town. Many Inuit with whom I spoke believe that they still live by the old traditions, that they still retain a respect for the land and for others that is comparable to that held by their grandmothers and grandfathers. Nevertheless, they have been exposed to the South in a number of ways. They are now living

with all the modern conveniences of the South, right down to Doritos and the Internet. They no longer survive on food caught during the hunt, but may go down the KFC for a quick bite if they choose. They watch television in the afternoons, surf the net in the evenings, and feel that it is much too cold to go out on the land during the winter. When I asked a 30 year-old male if he hunted, he told me: "I go when I get the chance, but most of the summertime I'm working. The wintertime is too cold for me to go."

Traditional vs. Contemporary Roles of Inuit Men

Social problems arise from this existence in two worlds. Traditionally, the men of each community were given the role of the hunter (although there were also women hunters in some communities). They provided for their families and for members of their community by hunting and killing sea and land mammals. They harvested the sea and the land for a living, and were the providers of their communities or camps. In present day Iqaluit, the men are struggling to provide for their families. They no longer assume the role of the hunter and "breadwinner", as for many; hunting has become "a rich man's game". Most no longer use the traditional dog sled to go out hunting but now require advanced equipment such as skidoos and high-powered rifles. Ammunition costs money, as does gasoline with which to power the skidoos. The problem arises in that in order to have these things, one needs money. In order to have money, one must hold a job, and in order to hold a job, one must have the proper education and training.

In present day Iqaluit, Inuit men are facing a difficult situation. The majority of my informants stopped going to school before they reached grade 12 (see Table 3.1), so are having an especially difficult time finding employment. Many of them collect welfare and are attempting to improve their situations, but with children to feed, rent to pay, and money to earn, gleaning additional education is a formidable task. The Inuk male no longer has the sense of being the provider, being the hunter who goes out for the kill and returns with food enough to feed his community. He is now struggling to make ends meet in a world and in a culture that he is still attempting to understand and in which he is still trying to find his place. As a 52 year-old male informant told me: "We are suffering from culture shock. Suffering from culture shock because we are trapped between two cultures. Sorry to say that your culture and my culture do not go together. My father was a traditional man, a traditional parent. According to his expectation, I was supposed to be a full-time hunter and provide for the rest of the family members by harvesting the land and the sea. We are getting mixed messages here." This male, to whom I will refer as Paul, was born on the sea ice in an iglu, and now works a full time job in Iqaluit, hunting only on holidays and when time allows. He provides for himself and for his sons the best way he can, but also faces problems with alcohol abuse, as do many others around him.

Family Cohesion and Issues of Respect

Another social problem facing the Inuit of Iqaluit is the lack of family cohesion and lack of respect for elders, for the land, and for oneself. There are many variables responsible for this lack of cohesion and lack of respect for others and for the land on which the Inuit live. Some of the interviewees (25%) commented on the fact that in the year 1940, there were only five families residing in Iqaluit, compared with a population of 5,000 in the year 2000 (Statistics Canada). This tremendous and rapid increase in population is partially responsible for many of the social problems plaguing Iqaluit and its residents today. According to a 57-year-old informant, this increase in population is partly to blame for the growing lack of respect for the land and sea and for the increase in wasted meat from a hunt. When I asked him if he was seeing an increase of waste by Inuit, he responded:

Yes, we have unfortunately seen that with the influx of people coming into Iqaluit because Iqaluit is now a capital of Baffin. When you have many people gathered in one place in short order, there are bound to be problems, including over-harvesting certain species of animal, especially seasonal type animals in the Arctic like Beluga. We have seen the slaughter of animals. Very unfortunate. Earlier when I moved into this community, we had never heard of unnecessary killing of animals. Now that we are almost six thousand people from April 1999, we have seen some more waste – some killing of animals including Beluga and even Caribou that were shot; maybe a dozen caribou were found dead by the department of natural resources. Something that did not happen earlier. In my culture, my parents taught us to only harvest what you will use. Don't kill animals that you're not going to take back to the snow house or the settlement or community.

Many with whom I spoke blame this lack of respect for the land and the wildlife partially on the lack of family cohesion that now plagues the city of Iqaluit. Traditionally, family units were extremely close. They lived together in one room, hunted together, ate together, and communicated successfully with one another. Children looked after each other when parents were away hunting, and normally the parents or older siblings took one of their sons on the hunt when he was old enough to begin learning how to harvest the land and the sea. A 70-year-old male elder recalls:

...my older brother Inuki taught me how to hunt. Every time my father went hunting he wouldn't take me. I had to stay home and look after my younger brothers and sisters. My older brother would take me. We would take turns looking after the younger children. If my father leaves, I stay home, and if I leave, my father stays home...because of school it seems that we are disregarding our children...youngsters don't know how to hunt or to skin the kill because we are not paying enough attention to them, we're not teaching them. It seems that mothers are lost, and that they're not taking care of their children.

Linda, a 27 year-old female with whom I spoke also expressed this sentiment.

She believes that much of the disrespect seen in today's Iqaluit is a result of family problems and the changes that have taken place in the Inuit family unit.

According to her, these changes in family cohesion came about as a result of the introduction of schooling. When schooling first appeared on the northern scene, children were sent away from their parents to acquire an education, as the northern communities did not yet have schools. Linda's parents, for example, were taken from their parents and sent to Churchill, Manitoba to attend school.

To me, the whole thing changed [when kids were sent to school] because they weren't spending their time with their parents and that's when they...the family trust got distant when they went to school. When they [my parents] were really young they were taken away from their parents for school. They were abused, molested, and all that. To me, they [the qallunaat] were breaking the family apart.

Another female informant, a 32 year-old named Jennifer, also spoke candidly about the lack of family cohesion and the problems to which it may be contributing in her community today.

I kind of blame the people who are older than 40 or so because they didn't know how to communicate with their children. They didn't know how to say, "I love you". They never did anything. Young people, they do that to their children now because that's what they learned. Now there's drugs, alcohol, suicide too, but to me, it's not about the drugs, it's about something else. Elders try to blame drugs, alcohol and the qallunat cause they don't want to see what they did to their children. That's the way I see it.

Timothy, a 34 year-old male and father of 3 boys, recalls problems he has seen with parents in Iqaluit neglecting their children: I've seen them here acting as if they have no kids at all, just partying." He goes on to say that the neglect and lack of family in Iqaluit continues to lead to other social problems, including but not limited to disrespect for one another and disrespect for the land. Timothy also comments later in the interview on the increased divorce rate, and how this differs from the past:

...that [divorce] was not even the case. They [older generations] didn't even really know what separation was. The man was the hunter, and if he learns how to build an iglu, no matter how young he was, he was able to take a wife. And so the lady, if she knows how to sew and make kamiks, clothes then she's ready to be a wife. They had hard times, sure, but they stayed together when they married. My aunt tells my sister when she has a fight with her

husband, "you can't leave him. This no good thing is just passing through." It doesn't mean that you have to accept being abused or anything, but it also doesn't mean you have to leave your kids fatherless or motherless. I think people are separating now because there's no interaction with each other and with their children.

James, another 34 year-old male, expresses his similar sentiment regarding family:

...there's just no more...you know, kinship. Families are farther apart now. Usually, we had a very small house, got together, got the chance to know each other. Now there's private rooms...my room, your room. My sister...I really don't know my sister at all. People also used to share whatever they caught during the hunt, but not anymore...everything has a cost nowadays.

The lack of family cohesion is simply one causal factor, and is interrelated to many other social issues plaguing Iqaluit and its population today. This lack in family cohesion has been cited by many interviewees as being partially responsible for lack of respect in today's population, not just respect for other family members, but respect for the land as well. This leads us to another issue of social change in the North; disrespect for the land and the increasing degradation of natural resources, including the wildlife that inhabits the area.

The Land, The Hunt, and Spirituality

Traditionally, the Inuit were natural conservationists, hunting and harvesting only what they needed, and wasting nothing. Evidently, this has changed among the Inuit, as more and more people are seeing the results of

disrespect for the land and the wildlife. A 72 year-old elder by the name of Sally commented:

In regards to the garbage on the land, that never used to happen. It only started happening when the Americans were here...A long time ago, there were laws. Inuit couldn't leave the carcasses of water animals on the land, and the land animals, you didn't throw them in the water. A long time ago, they didn't leave seal carcasses on the land. They used everything, and now because Iqaluit has grown so fast there's all those people that outnumber the original inhabitants that they just throw and discard their refuse on the land and they're not supposed to do that. When we were living in the camp, we would use everything...they don't do that anymore.

Sally goes on to comment not only on the lack of respect for the land, but also the lack of respect for elders in the community today:

The MLAs were saying that they were going to listen to the elders and stuff, but they never come talk to the elders, they never get feedback from the elders. The government has all of these little subcommittees now, and has forgotten all about us [the elders].

I also asked a 70 year-old male elder what he thought about the respect shown for the land today, and he commented:

They [Inuit] are not like that today. They have no respect for anything today. Even if you just take a walk down along the beach here in Iqaluit you see these carcasses with just the arms and hind legs taken out so they have no respect. There are so many people here now that you don't know who did that. Before, when I lived in a smaller community and anybody wasted part of an animal, that person would be in trouble. So many people here now, you don't know who did this thing.

When I spoke with a 17 year-old male regarding the respect for the land, he gave me contradictory information, saying that: "Yeah, people here leave trash all over.

You put the trash in a bag, then come into town and throw it all over the place. Students, after school, they go to the store, and then would just throw their trash all over the ground.” (Refer to figure 4.1) I then asked him if he believed that people respected the land, and he answered: “Yeah, I think they do.”

Figure 4.1: Trash in Iqaluit September 30, 2002



Photo Elizabeth Scarborough

A bit later in the interview, we spoke of hunting and of using the whole animal that has been killed. He claimed to use the entire animal and to not waste any part of it, but when we spoke at length of his hunting experiences, he recalled that after a recent hunt during which he killed a seal, he “covered it [the meat] with sand.” When I asked him why he didn’t eat it, he responded: “I don’t like that kind of meat.” He and his friends kept the skin, however, and it was taken as a souvenir of his friend’s first kill. When I asked him about using the fat of an

animal, he said: "We use Coleman stoves now. We just leave the fat with the bones and stuff. In the past, they used to use it for cooking, but now we just leave it there." I also asked this young man about the elders, and inquired if he ever went to speak with them or to listen to their stories. To my inquiry he responded: "They're freaky. When they talk about the past and stuff, it's freaky. I don't like going there [the elder's center]."

Some of the Inuit with whom I spoke, however, had a different view of the land and of the hunt. To some, respect for the land has been ingrained in them, and they are quite superstitious when it comes to disrespecting the land. Johnny, a 30 year-old male who is attending Arctic College told me: "Yeah, if you just shoot it and leave it, it's going to haunt you back and will be bad luck."

34 year-old Timothy holds great reverence for the land and for the wildlife. In his mind, respect for the land is a matter of spirituality, as his father instilled strong beliefs in him when he was a child. He believes that when he dies, his spirit will roam the land in whatever form he chooses, and therefore he wishes the land to remain clean and safe for the animals.

...my dream would be to roam the land as a pack wolf. So in this way that's why I want this land to be clean. Cause I'm going to use it again for my spirit. It's no longer my human body...my spirit has to have room to roam, a natural environment.

He continued on later in the interview by stating that:

They [Inuit of Iqaluit] are so disconnected from their spirits. Maybe a lot of them don't believe they have spirits anymore...they just don't give a damn about it. But for me, I believe that I have a spirit. I believe I'm going to roam somewhere, I hope where I

want to be. I just hope that by the time I get there, the land is still going to look like this, but I doubt it. I really doubt it.

34 year-old James also holds a great deal of respect for the land and for the wildlife, even though he does not consider himself to be a hunter. His reverence comes from a sense of spirituality and one of superstition brought about by stories told him by his parents and grandparents. During our interview, he relayed a story to me told him by his grandfather:

I heard about this guy who was so healthy he could run beside a caribou and kill a mammal. He was so good that he wanted to show the caribou that he could, so he cut off his nose, ate it, but left the caribou...just take his nose. Couple years went by and he got this infection in his nose. Became rotten...they knew it was because he abused the caribou earlier. There are so many examples like this.

When I asked James about current respect for the land, and what he sees in the people of Iqaluit, he added sadly that:

Now we're a big city, like now we don't need to depend on the land no more so maybe all this is dying. Respect for the land, it's died. It's being exploited...oil spills, all that. And people when they hunt, sometimes they only hunt for just the skins or something and leave everything else. It's happening more often now with Inuit. So, respect for the land is dying slowly. Respect for the elders too. Disrespect also came in from the outsiders, the missionaries, government, military. They used to have fish around here, but no more. Less than 15 years ago [there were fish], and now no more fish. Less respect for the land, so we pay for it. Amazing how fast...too fast for any culture. This is a city now. To you it's a little town maybe, but so big to me.

I heard another story regarding the superstitious nature of many Inuit when it comes to the hunt and to respect for the land from 27 year-old Linda. She told me:

When we go camping, we have great respect for the land, the air, and the water. They had a belief that if you don't respect the land, the water, and the air that some bad thing is going to happen to you. My late grandfather was telling me a story that when he was young and was trying to kill a caribou he was in the water on a kayak and the caribou didn't die. He grabbed the antlers and put it under the water and the caribou drowned. He couldn't kill it before because it had antlers and he was afraid the caribou was going to do something to him. Years later, one of his sons drowned. He thinks that his son drowned because he drowned the caribou when he should have just shot it. They have a lot of beliefs like that.

34 year-old Laura also relayed similar information and opinions when asked about current respect for the land and wildlife:

There is a lot less respect nowadays. I see it even from people my age. If they go out and have a picnic, they throw their garbage all over and if they see a seagull or whatever, they'll shoot it for no reason. Just no respect. In the old days, there's never any garbage around and they don't shoot animals they don't need...bad luck. So, nowadays there's hardly any respect at all. Teenagers right now, they have no respect for anything either.

More of the same from a 37 year-old male named Adam, as he told me:

“That’s what I see out on the land now – nothing but garbage. There are very few who really care and want to make a difference. I think about 80% really don’t give a damn. It’s just about money for them...that’s progress, I guess.” Adam is currently working on his degree in the Environmental Technology program at Arctic College, and plans to devote his life to cleaning up his land, hopefully to retire and live out on the land with his wife and children when he is older.

This disrespect for the land and for the wildlife is not only seen by residents of Iqaluit, as it was one of the first things I noticed upon arriving in

town. When out hiking on the land, I observed numerous carcasses dotting the landscape, and not just skeletons. The garbage and the animal carcasses themselves are not necessarily the primary problem; it is the thing that they signify, a sign of things to come of the Inuit population that is disturbing to so many. The Inuit are traditionally known for their great respect of the land and of the wildlife. This recent degradation and disregard of the land is a possible sign for many that the Inuit are losing themselves in an increasingly southern influenced world. For many, this is a tremendous sign of loss of tradition and loss of culture.

Education and Unemployment: A Self-Esteem Issue?

Another social problem that the Inuit of Iqaluit are currently facing is that of unemployment. This issue is tied in with those of alcohol, drugs, suicide, housing, education, and many more. However, many of the Inuit with whom I conducted interviews spoke of the problems of unemployment, decreased self-esteem as a result, and the increased rate of suicide among the younger generation. Traditionally, the Inuit did not hold wage-earning jobs, but were self-sufficient. They provided for themselves, their families, and their communities by living off the land and the hunt. The Inuit of today are trying to maintain some sense of balance between the modern and the traditional, but are facing problems when it comes to employment. Many of the Inuit are uneducated by today's

standards, completing no more than grade seven or eight. There are a few, however, who are going on through grade twelve and are even attending Arctic College in order to learn a trade to make them more competitive in the work force. The majority in Iqaluit and other communities in the North, however, are surviving on their monthly welfare checks and food vouchers. Many try to supplement their income by carving or their diet by hunting, but there is no longer the opportunity to profit from the hunt or to trade goods as there used to be when the Hudson Bay Company was in operation. For many, the mere mention of the name Greenpeace makes them red in the face with ire.*

Before the animal rights groups came on the northern scene, the Inuit were able to provide for themselves by selling and trading animal furs and skins. When Greenpeace arrived, however, that came to a screeching halt. The Inuit were told that they were no longer allowed to hunt, no longer allowed to sell or trade skins or furs, no longer allowed to provide for their families and for their communities. With this came the beginning of the collapse of the traditional Inuit lifestyle, as they were forced to remain in settlements, were not allowed to go out on the land, and were not permitted to hunt for themselves and their communities.

*There are some discrepancies regarding the perception of influence from various animal rights groups, and from Greenpeace in particular. While many of the Inuit with whom I spoke expressed strong opinions with regards to Greenpeace, their opinions do not necessarily reflect those of other communities and of other individuals.

This change was particularly destructive to the Inuit lifestyle and to the self-esteem of the people, as the thing of which they were most proud had been taken from them. An 80 year-old elder by the name of Nuapik who was born in an iglu on the sea ice has quite a bit to say about such changes:

We have come to know again that your culture has brought up wildlife conservation, namely Greenpeace. That has not helped my culture at all. It has destroyed our livelihood in that we cannot harvest sealskin to be more independent from welfare office. In the 1960s we were proud Inuit being able to harvest any fur-bearing animal and sell to HBC. That change has been very hard on my culture, so many of us have turned to alcohol. Leave it to your imagination what your culture has done to my culture by having or introducing Greenpeace people who allowed us not to harvest sealskins. We are almost totally dependent on welfare today because we cannot sell sealskins to Northern Store to be more independent... Welfare is relatively new. We were self-sustaining people until Greenpeace came along.

Even Johnny, a 30 year-old interviewee had something to say regarding animal rights groups:

They shouldn't have come up here. I mean, I think they were scared to come up here when they first did it. That time when it happened I remember hearing that people were even going to shoot them when they came. Or harpoon them – they destroyed our fur trade.

Greenpeace, however, is not the only reason for lower self-esteem and problems of unemployment. Education, or lack thereof, is another reason the Inuit are facing problems of unemployment. Traditionally, education as we know it in the south was not part of Inuit culture. With the development of the North, and with increasing numbers of southerners in the North, education became mandatory for Inuit youngsters. Unfortunately, these children were sent away

from their parents to attend school in the South, causing family problems. Many of these students did not complete grade 12, but instead returned to their communities homesick to be with their parents and to try to live a more traditional lifestyle. Even today, many students do not complete grade 12, but quit attending school at grade 7 or 8, naturally making it more difficult to get a job. Iqaluit has a number of schools, and even houses the main campus of Arctic College, which allows students to continue on with their education and to learn trades such as carpentry, plumbing, or even hairdressing. The pressures of school, however, often prove to be too much for Inuit youth, and they fail to complete all 12 grades. Only a few of the Inuit with whom I spoke during interviews had completed grade 12, but many of them, now in their 20s or 30s, are returning to school in order to qualify for wage-earning employment (refer to table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Education and Employment

Assigned Name	Interviewee Age	Level of Education	Employment
Kelly	28	Grade Six	Unemployed
Jimmy	35	Grade Six	Unemployed
Ella	40	Grade Six	Unemployed
Sally	72	No Formal Education	Worked on Land
Curtis	70	No Formal Education	Retired Hunter: Worked on Land
Thomas	17	Grade Nine	Unemployed
Brent	37	Grade Seven	Stone Carver
Jennifer	32	Back In School	Unemployed
Linda	27	Back In School	Unemployed
Nuapik	80	No Formal Education	Retired Hunter: Worked on Land
Johnny	30	Back In School	Unemployed
Timothy	34	Back In School	Unemployed
Paul	52	Grade Twelve	Office Worker, Interpreter
James	34	Back In School	Unemployed
Laura	34	Back In School	Unemployed
Adam	37	Grade Twelve	Environmental Technologist

A 35 year-old male named Jimmy that I interviewed is now back in school trying to complete grade 12 after dropping out when he was in grade 6. He and his wife are barely able to support their two children with the welfare money they receive, so he is now aspiring to secure a government job. He told me during the interview that: "There's just not much jobs, and the ones that are here are government jobs. You have to have grade 12 for government jobs, so that's what

I'm trying to get now. It's so hard to get a job. If you don't have grade 12, you really can't find anything." When I asked him about different trade jobs such as carpentry, he told me "...everything nowadays requires grade 12 education."

Kelly, Jimmy's 28 year-old wife, is also having trouble getting and holding a job. "I was a slow learner for school stuff. I stopped at grade 6 and went to work for my family [sewing and preparing skins]. I know the traditional things, but am not able to do modern things like computers. Every time I tried getting jobs, I just couldn't do it."

17 year-old Thomas quit school at grade 9, and is now living with his father. He is unable to get a job right now, but seems to believe that he won't have any problem after he reaches the age of 18. When I asked him what he wanted to do, he responded "work and hunt". I asked him what kind of work he wanted to do, and he replied "whatever job I get." Thomas' friend, 37 year-old Brent, also quit school early. He went up to grade 7 then left to go work on the land. He is now a full-time carver and receives monthly welfare checks. Fortunately, Brent is a talented carver, and supplements his income well with his artwork.

80 year-old Nuapik comments on the problem of unemployment and alcohol:

Having little or no employment at all, my culture has taken advantage of that [availability of alcohol] and tried to forget our predicament. Not all people in our culture have sufficient training to take on a good job in our community from the very beginning. We have turned to alcohol to face unemployment for one. There is no mining activity in South Baffin to be more self-sufficient. No

employment. Not all Eskimos or Inuit have the ability to carve to supplement one's income. Lack of recreation and lack of employment combined have led to abuse of alcohol.

52 year-old Paul has found a good job in Iqaluit and has made it his home. He is one of the more fortunate ones, as he learned English early on, which helped him tremendously when it came time to look for employment. He has worked as a translator and interpreter, and now works full time in Iqaluit. He tells me:

I've been in Iqaluit now for 22 years, making it home. Employment opportunities where I come from [Padloping Island] are not the same, I must say. Employment opportunities here are much better, and because of that much of my family is here. None of them carve. Other communities, whole families supplement their income by carving, but not my family, no.

Paul also comments on the difficulties of finding balance as a 52 year-old male in the North. He grew up in a traditional family, with a very traditional Inuit father, and in a span of only a few decades, went from living in an iglu on the sea ice to working a full time job in Iqaluit, the capital city of Nunavut. On one hand, Paul is a hunter, a fisherman, an Inuk who enjoys being out on the land, building snow houses, and fishing for arctic char or digging for clams. On the other hand, he is a full time employee with a reputable job, an apartment, health care, and all of the modern conveniences. He admits that he is confused by such rapid changes, but is trying to do the best he can for himself and for his sons. He speaks freely about the problems associated with "culture shock" and growing up in the North.

This generation, unfortunately, is suffering from culture shock like many of us are. Suffering from culture shock because we are trapped between two cultures. My father was a very traditional type parent. According to his expectations, I was supposed to be a full time hunter and provide for the rest of the family members by

harvesting the land and the sea. That has a real impact on the children of today. We are getting mixed messages in this community...when I was growing up, we never heard of suicide...we're all mixed up.

Later in the interview, Paul continues by speaking of the employment situation in Iqaluit and the problems that are facing Inuit there today. He begins by speaking of the drug and alcohol problem in Iqaluit, and how many Inuit are turning to drugs and to crime in order to make money. Since there is little opportunity for the undereducated, many of them are turning to selling drugs in order to make money.

Many young people have looked into it, and I'm sure they're doing it today, this other way to make money. Alcohol, drugs, fast money. Because there are no mines, no jobs, young people and not so young people have to find a way to make a living in this place. I may as well be honest. There's no job for every native person in this community. What little there is, outsiders, they take them. We are put aside. Jobs are offered to outsiders. There will always be people trying to make a living other than regular jobs, and we are doing it whether you like it or not...we will always find a way to make a living. We will always make ends meet somehow.

Not all of the Inuit of today, however, are having problems adjusting to education and to employment. 34 year-old James, for instance, is thoroughly enjoying experiencing the adventures that can be found through education and through participating in different jobs. He does not enjoy hunting, does not enjoy being out on the land, but he does enjoy learning new things. When I asked him about hunting, he replied: "Sometimes I go for 2 weeks or so in the spring. Winter, only a day or so, not very often though. I hate it. Too much work...I just

can't stand it. Rather be here [in school in the community]. When we spoke of education and the problem of employment in the North, James replied:

I've been going back to school and have been in courses now for over 10 years. Finding jobs that I usually don't keep for long, because I keep coming back for more education. The first time I went to college it was for upgrading and then they introduced all of these 120 and 130 levels, and then they introduced trades. I love coming to school...that's what I've noticed about myself. I finish but then always return to learn something else.

When I asked James if there was anything in particular towards which he was working, any specific thing that he really wanted to do after school, he said:

I've been asked that question so many times, and I thought I knew the answer, but there's so many experiences, why rush them? I mean, if I wanted...most people have specific goals to be a mechanic or something...that's their thing that they enjoy. I have tried many jobs, but always want to learn about something else. Right now I'm working on Inuit studies, and when I finish that, I want to go into the translator program.

It is likely that James will find himself in a good position once he finishes his current course of study. He has many abilities, speaks very well, and is fluent in both English and in Inuktitut. He has embraced many of the changes that the Inuit have experienced, and is one of the few I interviewed who is happy with the opportunity to learn different things and to work in different settings.

Suicide

Connected with unemployment, alcohol, drug abuse, violence, gambling, and decreased family cohesion is the issue of suicide. Possibly one of the most notable indicators of quality of life for the Inuit, suicide is a social issue that

plagues the community today. Most of the Inuit with whom I spoke had something to say about this relatively recent social problem, and nearly all of them have lost a friend or a member of their family to this horrible tragedy. Even in the short time that I spent in Iqaluit, there were two suicides. One was a student who was staying at the residence of Arctic College where I was staying, and one occurred in town. There are numerous opinions regarding why the suicide rate in the North is so high, and nearly all of my informants had something to say on the subject. Clearly, this is a tremendous social problem in Iqaluit, as well as in other northern communities.

17 year-old Thomas lost both his mother and his older brother to suicide.

He recalls:

...where we used to live, my big brother and my mom killed themselves in the same room but at different times. My brother on my cousin's birthday and my mom on my birthday. My mom killed herself for my brother. That was my mom's favorite son. During a party, some guy said to him, go get your girlfriend or go kill yourself, so he went and killed himself. That's what I heard. There's a lot of suicide here now.

30 year-old Johnny adds that: "I think the changes here are too sudden.

Now things are too different from the way they used to be – that's why there's so many suicides and stuff."

Timothy, who is half White and half Inuk, recalled his first experience with suicide. He was only three years old when it happened.

I just remember that my uncle, my mother's only brother, shot himself in the head after his girlfriend and him had a dispute and they were drinking or something, or he was. After he fixed me a stew, he went to the room and I heard this big bang and then just

seen him there, laying there and I just stayed there for the rest of the day not knowing cause I didn't understand death. But I tried to wake him up and wake him up and all this blood, it was just pouring out like tap water...Next thing, his girlfriend committed suicide a couple days later by drinking gasoline.

Timothy had quite a bit to say about suicide. He has lost family members as well as friends who have taken their own lives, and he spoke of it quite candidly. One of the reasons for so many suicides, he believes, is the current increase in relationship problems between men and women. In his experience, women have the upper hand now in Nunavut, as the government offers many services to these women and supports them if they are in difficult relationships. Timothy agrees that it is indeed wrong to abuse a partner or spouse, but he also believes that many of these women are taking advantage of the opportunities and support offered them by the government, and are using this support as a means to control or threaten their boyfriends or husbands. He himself had an experience with his common law wife that resulted in his spending time in jail for something he didn't do. In his opinion, things are extremely difficult for the Inuit male in today's North. They are facing tremendous pressure culturally, financially, educationally, in relation to employment, and with relationships. As he recalls from his own experiences:

I told her I just couldn't deal with it anymore and that I'd send her home. You can take one of the kids or go on your own, but you should go...I'm fed up. I told her I'd send her home, but she just walked out...I never touched her. Few hours later, the police came and arrested me for beating her up, assaulting her and all that, even though she didn't have a mark on her anywhere. It just blew me away and they sent me to jail until about 3 weeks ago. That's one of the things that's causing a lot of pain and frustration for the

young Inuit right now cause I understand that Inuit women...they know now that there's this place that they can run to. They can go to this place where they...if they want to cause serious heartbreak they can just go to these people and make up a story and the guy will end up in jail. I think a lot of them...that's why they commit suicide. Maybe it's a shock and they just can't take the pressure. When it comes to those feelings, there's no one to help him. He becomes angry. He wasn't angry earlier, but he becomes angry after that. Some suicides are from this. It's just...there are very few Inuit people in this world but we have the highest rate of suicide and crime rates are soaring. It didn't used to be like that; not at all...I think also that some suicides are related to the fact that some men are made to feel that they're not providing well enough.

Paul, who was born on the sea ice in 1950, remembers a time when suicide was virtually unheard of. He relates the relatively recent surge in suicide rates to the pressures and temptations from the south, and argues that suicide, gambling, alcohol, drugs, unemployment, and a host of other factors are all related. He believes that the social problems facing Iqaluit and other northern communities now are all tied together, and that you cannot separate one from the other. Paul and I spoke shortly after the student at Arctic College hanged himself.

Temptations the young people get caught up in. The young people come here [Iqaluit] to school only to drop out. Their relatives reject them because they're drinking too much, they don't want them in the house, so they end up in a homeless shelter. They really get disoriented. We are lost enough as it is. So difficult...as a result, we are committing suicide...very unfortunate. Temptations are good while they last, while there's some green stuff in your wallet. Once it's gone, not even a relative will take you in for the night. In the school, they're dropping like flies from killing themselves.

James has also lost friends and family to suicide. He credits this increased suicide partially to the changes that have been occurring in Iqaluit. According to James,

these changes are happening much too quickly, and many Inuit are simply unable to deal with them accordingly, unable to keep up with the changes.

That's...what do you call it...culture shock. So little time, and everything is coming to pass. Everybody's lost. We're trying to change slowly, but the modern changes are so fast... whether it's alcohol, drug abuse, suicide, people aren't dealing with the changes.

Conclusion

The Iqaluit of the 1940s and the Iqaluit of today are tremendously different places socially. Although many are coping well with recent changes in their lifestyle, there are many social problems as well that have arisen at least partially as a result of southern influence. Alcohol, drugs, gambling, suicide, welfare, unemployment, decrease in family cohesion, domestic violence, and lack of education are only a few of the social issues that the Inuit of Iqaluit are currently facing. The community is no longer a five family settlement, but is a city of five thousand and is the capital of the Nunavut Territory. There is hope that in the younger generation, many of these social problems will be resolved, that there will be some sense of balance between the traditional and the modern, but only time will tell.

In the next chapter, issues surrounding landscape change will be examined. The area of South Baffin Island has experienced tremendous changes in its landscape during the past five decades, and these changes have inexorably affected the lives of Inuit peoples who reside therein.

Chapter 5

The Changing Face of Iqaluit: Landscape Morphology in South Baffin Island

The two primary kinds of changes that may be seen in Iqaluit from the time of World War II relate to quality of life (social change) and the physical landscape.

Chapter 5 will discuss some of the landscape changes in Iqaluit, and the ways in which these changes relate to the Inuit's changing perceptions of and interactions with the landscape. As defined in the Dictionary of Human Geography, Landscape is "A polysemic term referring to the appearance of an area, the assemblage of objects used to produce that appearance, and the area itself" (Johnston, et.al, 2000, 429-430). There are, however, many different interpretations of what exactly landscape really is. In this chapter, I will utilize the definition assigned by Sauer as elaborated in Chapter 2, in which landscape seeks to "describe the interrelations between humans and the environment with primary attention given to the human impact on the environment" (Sauer, 1963).

It is in this light that landscape and landscape change will be approached in this chapter. The landscape of Iqaluit and the modifications it has experienced are far from being merely physical and aesthetic. Alterations in the landscape of Iqaluit have been rapid and have had inexorable effects on the Inuit who inhabit the area. Many social problems now plague Iqaluit, some of which have been partially brought about by the changes in the landscape. For example, the increased population in Iqaluit has led to increased crime rates and decreased

community cohesion. It is virtually impossible in this thesis to separate social changes from landscape changes, as they directly influence one another.

Therefore, many of the landscape changes discussed in this chapter will draw on the information on social changes discussed in the previous chapter.

Population Growth

In all of the interviews I conducted, I asked the participants about the biggest change they have witnessed in Iqaluit since they first came to the area. Many commented on social factors such as alcoholism, but the vast majority at least mentioned the tremendous increase in the size of the community, both physically and demographically, which has also led to the development of property rights.

A 70 year-old male elder I interviewed noted the increase in population and how different it was from when he was a bit younger.

This place never used to have people. Since 1999 when we got Nunavut, there are so many more people here. I used to live in Iqaluit when it only had five families. My family moved away for a few years, and when we came back, it seemed like I was in a different community. Population is the biggest difference...so many people here now. I can't change it though, so I guess it's okay.

Jennifer, a 32 year-old who is attending Arctic College, also commented on the landscape change in Iqaluit:

...it's more people, they need money, they want to do everything like shopping and stuff. It's a lot of change, to me, very changed here. Even only over ten years, things here have changed so much.

More people. I'm not blaming the qallunaat, but when I'm in town, it's really hectic, like so much noise, traffic, people running around, hurrying.

Another student at the college, Linda, notes similar changes in town as well:

The town has gotten so big now, so many stores, businesses, government, stuff like that. There's no time to go out on the land anymore, because now we have to work, earn money. For other people, they may think the changes are worse. For me, it's better. I like the way of life here. Earlier, we really didn't have anything, but now we have everything...TV and all that. To me, it's better.

80 year-old Nuapik has lived in and around Iqaluit all of his life and has seen tremendous changes over the years. He began by speaking of his boyhood out in the outpost camp, then later in life and how he knew changes were coming when he witnessed the military aircraft refueling in mid air above his encampment. When he was growing up, he remembers Iqaluit as nothing more than a few tents or snow houses dotting the landscape. Before Iqaluit became a settlement, before the military arrived and set up bases, before the DEW Line sites were constructed, Nuapik and his family lived on this land.

When we lived here (the camp), we lived in iglus, snow houses back then. Naturally, according to climate, in springtime we would have tents and in winter when appropriate we would utilize snow for shelter. In spring, the snow melts and we made tents from sealskin. There were no people here then.

Nuapik also noted changes in the land in terms of the way it is used.

Traditionally, all Inuit shared the land. The land was owned by no one and by everyone. There was no specific place to inhabit, no zoning regulations, no laws, no disputes over who owned what parcel and who paid what for what piece of land. All were welcome anywhere, and an Inuk and his family could construct a

tent or a snow house anywhere he pleased. Now, notes Nuapik, that is no longer the case.

Before, we were never selfish with land or with the catch of the day. If we were, only a fraction of us would have survived the harsh climate we still have today and will always have. Because of that, we have always shared the land. No fee required to build an iglu or to catch a caribou, for example. In this community now, there are foreign regulations and rules one has to abide by to acquire a piece of land to put up a house for example. This is one area that may be considered foreign to average hunter and that we can't just go out there and put up a shelter.

When speaking with Paul, he related to me some of the landscape changes and population changes he has seen since he arrived in Iqaluit over 22 years ago. The topic of population increase came about as a result of a discussion we were having regarding increased crime in Iqaluit, and the difficulties hunters are having in being able to leave their boats unattended.

Before, these people knew each other. Now, we have people other than family members moving into town because of their kind of employment. And the fact that this community has come from hamlet status to city status, and has also become in the process the capital of the Eastern Arctic. That is inevitable. We cannot stop people from coming in. Their qualifications bring them to this community to their employment. We cannot do anything about that.

Similar observations were relayed to me by 37 year-old Adam, a student at Arctic College who was born and raised in Iqaluit, moved away for a few years in his late teens, and is now back completing his degree in Environmental Technology.

So many more houses and buildings here now. Even 10 years ago, you didn't see all of these houses, there were only a few. Even 10 years ago, half as many. It was growing steadily before

that, but as soon as it was going to become a capital, it just...houses went up, buildings went up...Government. It also got so multicultural.

The most obvious landscape change in Iqaluit from pre World War II until present day is just what has been demonstrated: an increase in population and an increase in buildings. One does not need to speak with residents of Iqaluit to see such changes, but only to go to the archives and look at photographs of the area from years past (Refer to figures 5.1-5.4).

Figure 5.1: Frobisher Bay 1952 – Sparsely Populated

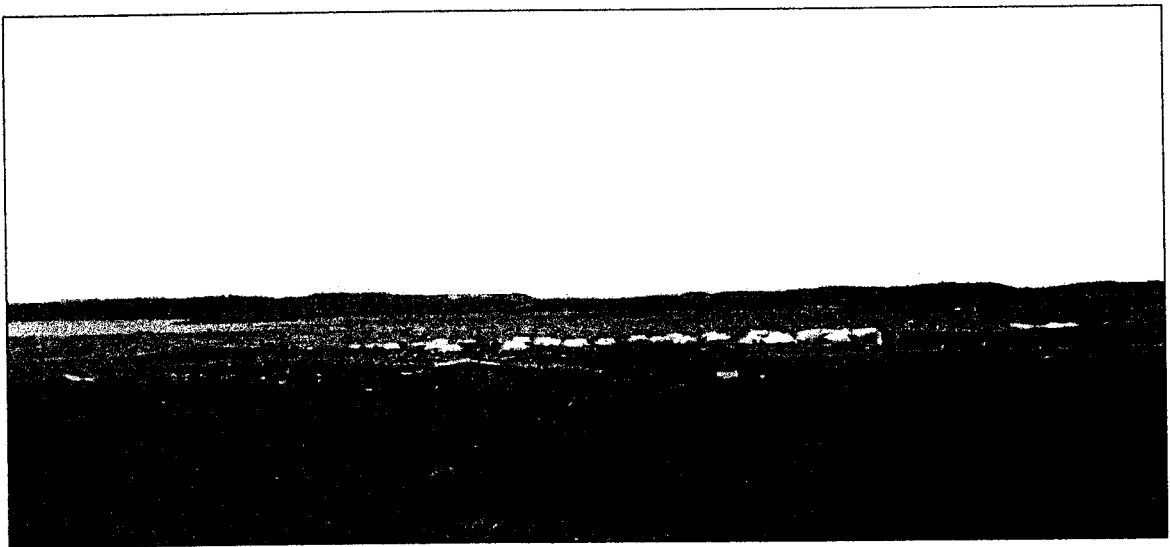


Photo Courtesy of Transport Canada

Figure 5.2: Frobisher Bay 1954 – Shows Sparsely Populated Area



Photograph Courtesy of William Seiter

Figure 5.3: Iqaluit 1998 – Drastic Increase in Population and Buildings

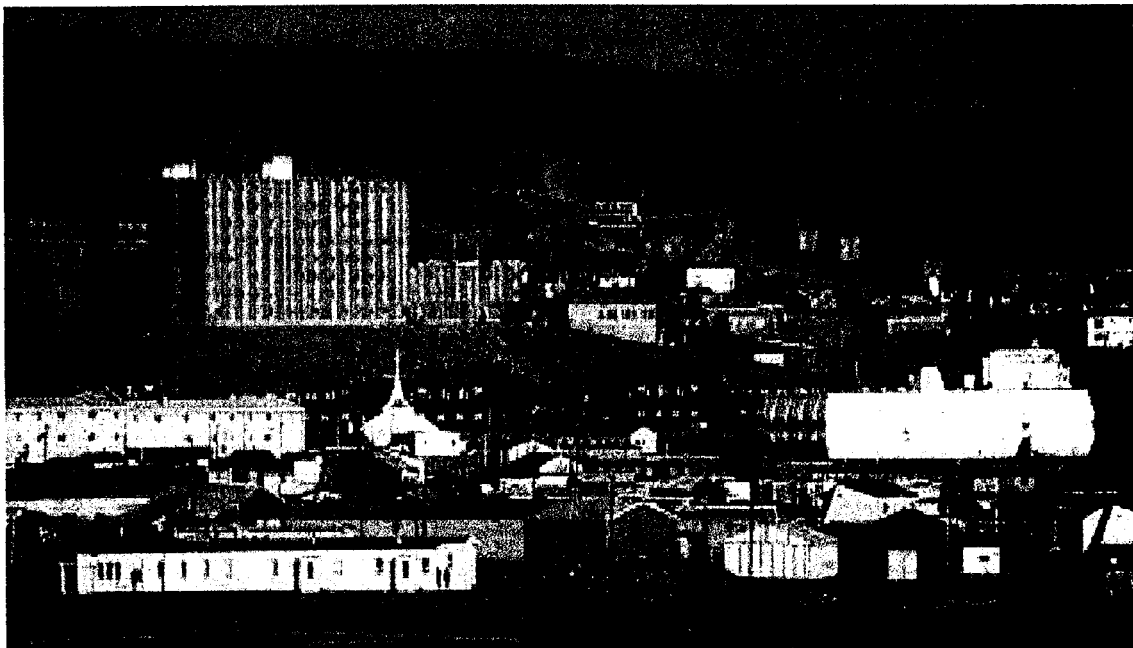


Photo Courtesy of Syndee
www.syndee.ourfamily.com/iqaluit

Figure 5.4: Iqaluit 2002 – Taken From road to Sylvia Grinnel Park - City Status

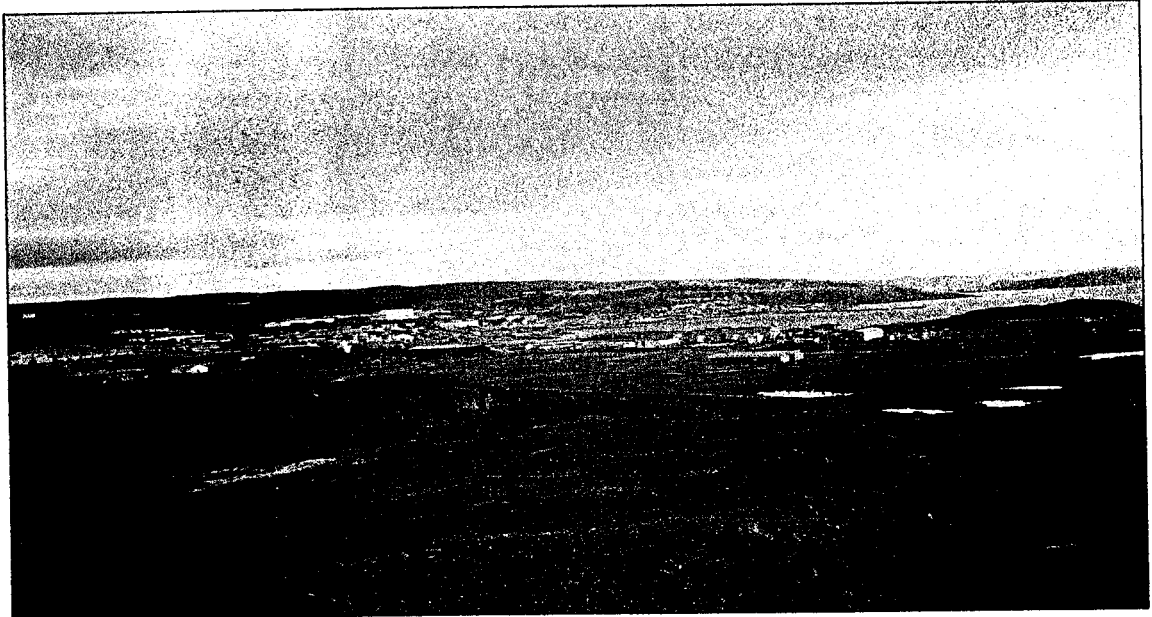
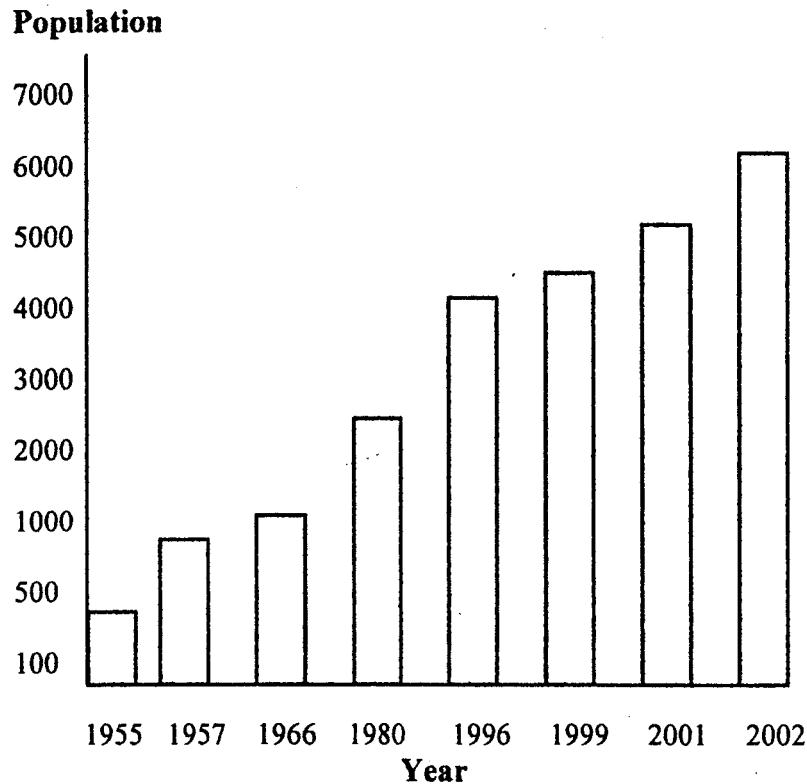


Photo Elizabeth Scarborough

Iqaluit has grown tremendously, and is still today growing exponentially, as is seen in table 5.1. More people are entering the town everyday in search of higher paying employment and an attractive northern allowance.

Table 5.1



- Sources: Duffy, 1988; Heuman, 1995; Statistics Canada

Types of Buildings

This increase in population and in the number of buildings may also be tied with another landscape change noted by the elders of the community: the type of buildings one sees today versus the type seen only decades ago (see figures 5.5, 5.6, and 5.7). Prior to the War and the subsequent rapid population and building boom in Iqaluit, elders recall seeing only a few tents or snow houses dotting the

landscape. The change, they note, is not necessarily a bad one, as life in a kammak or an iglu was not particularly easy. 72 year-old Sally recalls:

Back then the main tool was a kummuluuk, a seal oil lamp because it was the only source of light, the only source of cooking, it was the only source of warmth. The kammak was laid out with canvas then heather then canvas then heather. In a kammak, I always had to go get water. I don't have to go get water now...the water is delivered. In a kammak, I had to take out my own refuse, and I don't have to do that stuff anymore. We have stoves now to cook and I don't know if I could even live properly in a kammak anymore. There's no better or worse when it comes to kammak or house. In a kammak, we had light, we had water, we had food. With these, the only problem is that I have to do a lot more cleaning in a house than in a kammak or iglu. If you combined the kammak and the house, it would be perfect.

I heard similar sentiments during my interview with Benjamin, a 72 year-old male who was born and raised on the land just outside of what is now Iqaluit.

I was born in a kammak on the land. Back then, we went out a lot on the land, but my family lived in a permanent settlement. There used to be nothing here except a few kammaks, nothing more. Now, there are no more iglus or kammaks...only houses and modern buildings.

Elders aren't the only ones who note changes in the types of buildings in Iqaluit in the past decades. 37 year-old Brent, who has been living in Iqaluit since 1969, remarked that:

There were hardly any [buildings] then. It's grown so much since I came here. The houses that were here were wooden, but mostly looked similar to the way they do now, just not as many. Most of these buildings used to be houses or stores, but they changed them into offices and government stuff.

Figure 5.5: Iqaluit Housing 1955 – ‘Matchbox Shelters’, Low Density

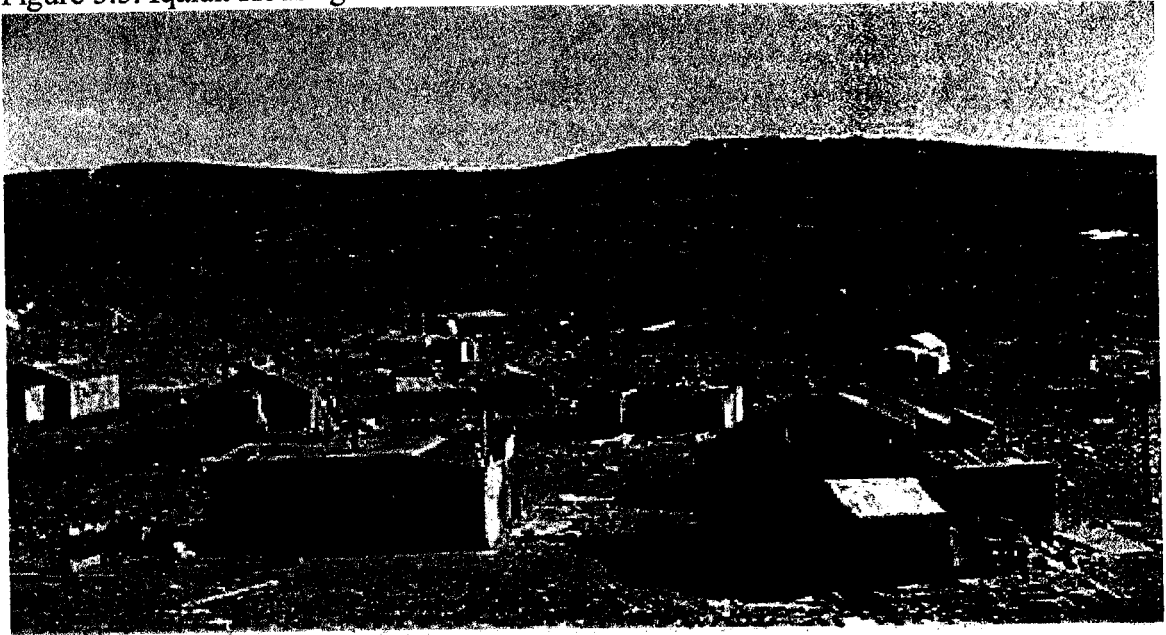


Photo Courtesy of William Seiter

Figure 5.6: Iqaluit Houses September 30, 2002. Photograph taken from street in Iqaluit. More Modern Housing, More Densely Populated



Photo Elizabeth Scarborough

Figure 5.7: Government Buildings in Iqaluit. October 4, 2002.



Photograph Elizabeth Scarborough

Climate Change and the Landscape

Apart from the more evident landscape modifications such as buildings and increasing numbers of people, I heard as well some comments regarding the changes in the landscape owing largely to the changes in climate. Again, these comments came primarily from the elders of the community, and not all of them agreed on what is happening atmospherically and in regards to the landscape.

A 70 year-old elder I interviewed commented on some of the climate changes in recent years. I was very surprised to hear him remark that he believes

it is getting colder now, and that there is much more cloud cover than there used to be.

Before, you could see the sun through the clouds. It's like in the spring now, the sun never shines, but it's always cloudy now. In the summer, we never used to wear jackets or anything when we were out [on the land] because it was so warm.

At this point in the interview, I wasn't sure if I was hearing him correctly, so I asked for some clarification. "So, you're saying that it's getting colder and not warmer", I asked. He replied:

Yes, it's colder now in the spring than it used to be, especially at night. When the sun came up behind the dog team in the morning, we always used to fall asleep because it was so nice and warm. We would fall asleep without blankets or anything. We can't do that now. It's getting colder, and there are also more polar bears because of the cold.

Nuapik, a male elder I interviewed, also spoke of the change in the landscape that he has observed over the course of his life:

During my time growing up until now, I have witnessed many changes including the break up of ice sheet seasons on Frobisher Bay. These seem to have changed. We have witnessed sea ice inside Frobisher Bay breaking up earlier in the year than the time I could remember growing up until adulthood.

He also remembers the ability of Inuit to accurately forecast the weather, and how that is no longer very feasible. In his next comments, Nuapik also makes a telling statement regarding the way the Inuit's relationship with the land has changed in past years:

...we were able to more or less forecast what it will be like for the next few days as far as wind conditions by observing rim around the sun or moon and by observing cloud formations above, but it is

much more difficult today to predict whether it will be windy tomorrow or calm than in previous times. It is much more difficult today. Previously, we would enjoy many clear days and that's one of my observations – there is much more cloud cover now, but I have kept to myself the reasons for this. I am not too sure of the reason. In our camp, we used to see more clear days. However, we are now experiencing much more cloud cover, and thicker clouds too, it seems. One reason is probably that many of us are spending so much more time indoors. Perhaps we spent less time indoors in my time. Probably that has to be taken into consideration when I tell you about my experiences about the weather observations then and right up to today.

The elders were not the only ones who commented on the change in climate and in their environment. 34 year-old Timothy expressed his own observations and fears regarding change in the landscape:

I even get scared sometimes for my children, because of the climate change and the change in the land happening so fast. By the time I'm 50, if I even get there, my kids are adults, are there going to be any places for them to go, any game out there to hunt anymore that I used to hunt? Scares the heck out of me, for my kids. Feel sorry that they're going to miss out on a lot of the natural environment. They're gonna lose a lot. I don't think there will even be clean water by then. Just go out for a walk and have a water. I remember those days when I'd go hiking and I wouldn't even have to check if the water is dirty.

Hunting/Food; Land Dependency

When examining landscape change, it is also relevant and essential to delve into the issues regarding the way in which a population interacts with its landscape. The Inuit are a people who have traditionally had intimate relationships with the land on which they live. They depended on the land for their very survival, and it provided well for them. The snow provided adequate

housing, as did the hides from certain animals. Animals on the land gave them not only food, but also a means by which to cook their meat, and provided light, heat, clothing, and shelter, as many tents and shelters were traditionally constructed from the hides of animals hunted by Inuit. The traditional ways of life are not so common today in the North. Granted, there are still some families [interviewees related that they knew of five in the area] who continue to live year-round in outpost camps, subsisting off of the land and living a more traditionally Inuit lifestyle, but these are the exceptions. Iqaluit in particular has experienced tremendous change in its landscape, and the people of the community have responded to such change in the ways in which they interact with their landscape. Increased population, increased numbers of southerners, more housing, more employment, and earlier break up of the sea ice have all led to changes in the way that the Inuit of today interact with their environment. Naturally, the changes in the landscape are only fragments of the reasons for change in interaction with the land, but this increased population, increased housing, increased employment, increased cost, and increased convenience have all led to a difference in the way the native population of South Baffin Island utilizes the land and the wildlife.

With the influx of southerners has come increased convenience. The Inuit of South Baffin Island are no longer dependent upon the land and the wildlife to survive, but have access to all of the modern conveniences of the South. Their houses are constructed for them, releasing from them the responsibility of constructing their own. Their food may be bought at the store and prepared in

their electricity-equipped homes, or they have the option of having meals prepared for them in a restaurant. They no longer rely on the migration of the caribou or the availability of beluga in order to feed themselves. The people of the North now have access to oil for cooking, electricity for heat and light, and wood for homes, resources to which they were previously not exposed. All of these newly available resources along with the influx of population have changed dramatically the way that native populations of South Baffin interact with their landscape, with their environment. Elders recall a time during which they struggled to stay alive, and credited their survival to their ability to share the land and the catch of the day. They lived on the land, had no access to oil for cooking or to wood for homes, and certainly weren't able to walk down to the North Mart to pick up a bunch of bananas. The Iqaluit of today is a different place from that recalled by the elders.

Sally, born in an iglu in 1920 recalled:

A long time ago, there weren't a lot of caribou in this area. The men would go out hunting and would walk to find the caribou to bring here for food and clothing. They're not like that today. Back then, they would go by dog team and search for caribou, and we wouldn't just go for the day. They [the hunters] would go and maybe not be successful, so we wouldn't have food. If they were successful at catching caribou or something, then they would bring the flesh and the skin. It's not like that today.

As Sally recalled, the Inuit used to rely on wildlife for both sustenance and for clothing. Today, however, the caribou herds are hunted more for sport than out of necessity, and the Inuit have a different perception of their landscape and

environment as a result. Sally told of the ways in which the land provided for her, and she worked the land each day, either by preparing skins or picking berries to supplement her community's diet. The relationships that the Inuit of today hold with their landscape have changed from those held by Sally and her generation, as today's Inuit are not relying on their land on a day-to-day basis as she and her generation did.

Paniaq, born in a kammak on the land in 1922, narrated his own recollections:

I was born in a kammak on an outpost camp. When we went hunting for seals and stuff, we would build a snow house while we were out so we would stay warm. When we weren't hunting, we lived in a kammak. I remember one time I was left to look after my sisters while my father went hunting. I remember pounding blubber for fuel for the lamp so we could cook and keep warm. Long ago, even if they [hunters] took a long time on the land, they didn't have search parties. They would go for weeks and no one would look for them because they knew the purpose was to get food. No one worried. Everyone went with dogs. Today, if anyone is gone for more than two days they send helicopters and search parties to look for them. [Paniaq laughs here]

When I asked him how often he was out on the land hunting when he was younger, he told me:

Every day, every day, every day. We would give the dogs a break for a day or two to get their strength back because we relied on them so heavily. The dogs were like...if we went caribou or seal hunting, we'd take the dogs. They were our priority, our lifeline. It's cold up here, and we rely on the dogs. They were fed well so they would be content, well trained, so they could do their jobs. So everyday we had to go get food. The people in the camp have to get food or we all starve. Everybody had to be fed everyday, so everyday we hunted, and the kill was shared by the whole camp or community. We didn't have fuel back then, so we relied on the

whole animal. Even the fat was divided up to be used in lamps and for cooking.

When I asked Paniaq about hunting today, and how often his sons hunted, he replied:

They don't have a snowmobile or a skidoo now, so they don't hunt. I taught them how, they know how, but they don't go because of problem of transportation. Before, we used dogs, but now the dogs aren't good with people, so they shot them. People don't like to use dogs now because you have to run alongside the sled with the dogs. With skidoo or snowmobile, you don't have to run. The other obstacle with dogs is that you have to have pure dogs, and you can't have very many, and you can't let them run free. There are by-laws now here...you can only have so many dogs, and they have to be tied up all the time. It's not good for them, and they don't perform well.

Nuapik recalled similar experiences from his experiences with the land:

When we were growing up, we lived in iglus or build shelters or tents from sealskin when the snow melted. During the summer, we harvested seals, mostly ringed seals, as they have good blubber. The blubber we needed for our lamps for the winter and the seal meat we used as a staple and because of that we would try to catch ringed seals as much as we can in the spring and summer because it means a source of fuel and food. Meat we catch during the spring and summer also helps us as source of food in the winter if hunting is not good. In the winter, we would take advantage of open water in the sea. A patch of open water which is caused by current and weather. Open lead where there are seals to be caught. Seals we want for source of food, source of oil for our seal oil lamp, and this is how we try to catch food for the winter. We go in the open lead and freshly frozen over ice in salt water where we would wait for seal to come up through seal air hole and that's how we harvested seal in winter.

He also told of his dependency on the land and the wildlife:

From when I became aware, we were totally dependent on animals caught from the sea and from the land. That dependence on sea mammals, caribou and what have you has changed for today because of the cloth and material available to keep a hunter warm when he's out on the land. For example, now you can get warm

clothing other than caribou or sealskin, and the store bought clothing is more sufficient for today than in my time. In my time, there was no fabric available, so we depended on sealskin and caribou for kammiks [boots] and clothing in general.

Women and the Landscape

It was not just the men who had an intimate relationship with the landscape, but women too fulfilled roles in their communities that brought them closer with the land on which they lived and survived each day.

Sally recounted to me the role of women in relation to their environment, and how that has changed as well since she has been in Iqaluit:

As a woman, we grew up learning our mothers' skills like sewing and dealing with skins for clothing. Our top learning was just watching our mothers...nothing was on paper or anything. We grew up using just scraps. We didn't really make anything, but we were just learning how to sew. Practice until the stitches are perfect...as we grow old, we become extremely skilled...I'm a very good sewer now. I grew up never wearing fabric, never manufactured footwear or clothing. Women today are very different...always wearing manufactured clothing, and many not knowing how to prepare skins or how to sew.

Nuapik also recalled the roles of women in relation to their dependence on the land, and how those roles and relationships are different in today's North:

Today, there is convenience in that you don't need to soften and prepare sealskin or caribou today. Before, our wives or ladies in the camp or community had to prepare or try to prevent sealskin or caribou skin from going bad. You had to prepare skins in a way that they will not rot away. You had to save everything including any fur bearing animals in the intention was to make clothing out of the catch of the day, as usually it was. The ladies were trained by mothers in such a way that if any fur bearing animal was caught that day young ladies would be taught to dry the fur. To dry it very carefully with due care and attention so it would not rot

away. They would put it on the rack...use the rack to let the skin dry. Once dry, they would make it pliable with instruments made from local rocks. They would also use these instruments to remove excess fat from the skins. Women's main responsibility was to clean and prepare skins, to sew clothing, but there were some who also participated in the hunt. Today, women have jobs, do not prepare skins, and usually do not hunt. They work for wages in the city [Iqaluit], and live the lives of southern women.

Paul also spoke of the changing roles of women in Iqaluit:

Women were taught by the biological mother to clean sealskins, caribou skins, and polar bear skins during this time. They were taught to prepare them and to butcher the meat we caught from the sea and land. They cut it and then perhaps dried the meat we caught. Women today do not have these skills, and they don't need them today, with modern conveniences that we have now.

Age and Landscape Relationships

The sentiments expressed to me by the elders with whom I conducted interviews are feelings and recollections that I expected from them. However, these sentiments and claims of change in the North were verified not only by my own observations in the community, but also through interviews with Inuit of the younger generations. Many younger Inuit claim that the elders are just strange, that they lived in a time long forgotten, and that they underestimate the tradition and the intense relationship to the land held by the younger generations.

Although many of these younger Inuit claim to have an intimate relationship with the land, what one observes in town and out on the ice floe tells a different story.

There were indeed discrepancies in what I heard from participants and from what

I observed. I have no doubt that many of these younger Inuit have a very close relationship with the landscape, and that they see it as providing for them and supplementing their diet. However, in the capital city of Iqaluit, it is evident that the traditional relationships with the landscape and the interactions with such landscape are vastly different than they were only a few decades ago.

Brent, a 34 year-old Inuk with whom I conducted an interview, told me that he rarely spends any time on the land anymore, and that his relationship with the land is similar to that of a southerner:

My father used to go hunt ptarmigan or seals on the land, but we never go anymore...too busy...changes around town, you know. You have to get a job, to work and to earn money. It's too hard to survive by hunting alone, and it's too cold to be out in the winter. Besides, why do it if you don't have to?

Brent's younger friend, 17 year-old Thomas, had his own perspective regarding the land and hunting:

I like to go hunting, to be out on the land, and I go a couple times a year. I mostly like going in summer. You can survive on the land if you have the right stuff, the right equipment. In the past, they used to survive by using harpoons, stuff like that. When they talk about the past, it's freaky. It's better now. It's still the same, but it's better cause you get to go boating, have fun.

For the younger Inuit of today, being out on the land and harvesting the wildlife is a completely different experience from that of the elders. For today's Inuit of Iqaluit, hunting and being out on the land is seen as a vacation, recreation, something to do for the fun of it, and possibly to get some fresh meat. The land and the wildlife have taken on an entirely different meaning in the Inuit culture. It was once seen as a means of survival, a necessity, whereas today it is seen as a

kind of sport, and the land is now something to be owned, not shared as it was in the past.

Two of the women I interviewed, 32 year-old Jennifer and 26 year-old Linda, had differing perceptions of the land when it came to the land as a provider of meat and clothing, and they were brought up differently in their community in regards to learning traditional skills relating to the landscape. As Jennifer shared:

I don't know how to sew. My son goes to hunt with his grandfather, but only in the summer. In the winter, it's too cold and he also has to go to school. I haven't really taught my children stuff about the land or how to hunt, because I don't know those things. I am learning a trade, going to get a job, earn money. If my son learns how to hunt, it will be from his grandfather.

Linda had her own perceptions of tradition and relationships with the land:

I am Inuit, and I do Inuit stuff. My family camps, hunts, and interacts with the land and the wildlife. To me, that's going to pass on to the next generation. I don't think that tradition has been lost, not really. My parents are Inuit and they do Inuit things. I don't really think that things have changed that much. I still go hunting, but not in the wintertime. I don't like to go hunting in wintertime – it's so cold. You can get frostbite and stuff from the cold. I still think that I am traditional...I still think that's traditional, and that I have a close relationship with the land.

52 year-old Paul related his experiences with the land, as he was born in an iglu on the sea ice, and grew up hunting for his food:

It was very difficult then, in that non-country food was nonexistent like coca-cola and chocolate bars...good things we take for granted today. Now that I think about it, chocolate and junk food isn't all that good. It was a difficult lifestyle then, and sometimes I think it's better not to know what you're missing. I was used to having country food all the time...there was very little store bought food at that time. We had to hunt everyday. All the boys in my

father's family, we had to learn to hunt and in very little daylight...we had no choice. Winter, spring, summer, we would harvest the sea and the land. My father was a very traditional type parent, very dependent on the land and the sea. All the boys were to go out and hunt for the family and the community for sustenance and food, and look after the sealskins and caribou skins that we had.

34 year-old James also tells of the way that he and others in his generation interact with the land, both men and women, and how those relationships and interactions with the landscape have changed over time:

Some people my age hunt. Like my younger brother, he is a real hunter, I consider him to be a real hunter. He goes out on the land, he knows the names of places, but I don't. He used to tell me...try to explain to me, but I just don't like it. I'm trying to change. I like to be more in settlements and stuff. My younger brother, though, he is a real hunter. He is more of a man than me. My sisters, they don't really know the land either. Two of them died when I wasn't born yet, one of them has a qallunaat husband so she moved south to a city, two of them moved to different communities. The third eldest has lived in a big city for 20 years now.

I asked James if they did any work with skins, any sewing, or any hunting, and he responded:

No, regular jobs. They don't really do that kind of thing anymore. It's an elder thing to do that. An elder woman will do those things, but not someone my age. They [his sisters] don't know how to do those things. Even for me, I don't know how to even make a rope out of bearded seal.

Not all younger Inuit of Iqaluit have embraced the modern ways, however.

A 34 year-old woman I interviewed, Laura, believes that the relationships and interactions the Inuit had with the land decades ago have more substance and merit than the relationships of today.

All of my family still hunts, although not as much as we all want to. Living in a town like Iqaluit is more convenient, but I think that convenience is bad. I wish we could go back to the old days and stay and Iglus and have no TVs and ...hard, but rewarding, as you are independent. My cousin, he is my age, he's out on the land in an outpost camp. He's got his own expediting business, hunts everyday, lives on the land, provides for his family. I know maybe six families that live on the land year round. They know the land, they have relationship with the land that those of us living in town don't have.

Adam, a student at Arctic College, has a similar view of his landscape:

I am in the Environmental Technology program here – my Nunavut world. Sea, land, atmosphere. I thought I knew my land, but I don't really know my land. Pretty interesting stuff I'm learning. I want to become a Park Ranger and live out on the land. What I didn't learn as a kid growing up in this community, I'm going to learn here and from being on my land more. I need this. My wife is even learning how to prepare skins and stuff. In less than 30 years, we want to retire and live on the land. That's what I want to do, go out and live on the land like my grandfather did. I'm not like other people my age, though. Not a whole lot of parents are teaching their kids these traditional things. Now, it's fast paced...work, money are the important things to most people here.

Conclusion

It is difficult to say whether or not the Inuit are really losing their sense of landscape and the importance of the land that they once held. With the increase of population from the South, Inuit were forced to change their lives, to change their relationships with their landscape, and have been made to adapt to life in a city. The Inuit of Iqaluit do not have the same sense of place and the same interaction with the land that their grandparents had. Elders speak of a time when they relied on the land, relied on what the land provided them, and made use of the land for their very survival. Those times have passed, as the Inuit of Iqaluit

today have modern conveniences and more resources at their disposal. One such as myself is not to say whether or not these changes are good or bad, whether they are temporary or permanent, but only to say that they do indeed exist, and that there are striking discrepancies between the landscape of Iqaluit now and that of decades ago. Also evident are the tremendous differences in the ways that the Inuit of Iqaluit today and the Inuit of Iqaluit in the 1940s interacted with their landscape.

The objective of chapter 5 was to present some of the landscape changes that have occurred in Iqaluit from the time that Iqaluit was barely an outpost camp with few settlers to present day. The most prominent landscape changes that may be seen in town are the enormous increase in population and the significant increase in buildings. Other changes include the types of buildings seen, and some less visible changes such as the modified relationships that Inuit of different ages and genders hold with their landscape.

Chapter 6 will offer a summary of data outlined in the first five chapters, and will seek to cohere the information presented thus far.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

And what is geography

If not the measure of our dissociation from the earth, what Western Civilization remarkably calls the human condition. Come North.

- John Moss (1991)

This has been a study of geography, of social and physical landscape past and present, of a remarkable group of people called the Inuit, who have thrived in the harshest of environments for millennia and continue to do so today. Much has changed in their world and in ours, and this study points to a collision of cultures and the impacts that have been felt in a remote region of the globe. This study is far from complete, far from seamless, but it attempts to examine socio-cultural and landscape metamorphoses that have taken place in South Baffin Island in recent decades.

This chapter will summarize the main findings and results presented in previous chapters, offer insight into the challenges and limitations of the study, and will discuss recommendations for future study in the north.

The selected literature examined in chapter two outlines some of the research that has already been accomplished in relation to the northern social and physical landscape and the Inuit, and offers a point of departure for this study. Writers including Sauer (1925), Cosgrove (1984), Jackson (1986), and Duncan (1985) have presented insights into the realms of landscape and its many facets. Hamelin (1978), Kimble (1955), and Lopez (1986) have provided contexts for the

North and have elaborated the concept of nordicity, while others have given insight into the lives of the Inuit as they perceived them, both as natives and as outsiders. The North is a highly studied region, yet there remains so much more to examine. In the literature review, I sought to outline four areas to serve as background for this study: Landscape of the North, the North as homeland, the North as frontier, and the history of Iqaluit. These are pertinent areas of study because they embrace critical elements of the habitat and place that is home to the Inuit, and provide useful knowledge and context for my own project.

Chapter three outlined the method and procedure used in the acquisition and analysis of data collected during my field research in Iqaluit. The employment of the long interview as a qualitative research method was explained and elaborated upon, as well as the study sample. A graph of interview and interviewee information is also provided in this chapter as a point of reference for subsequent explanation.

Chapter four presents information gleaned from archival sources and interviews with Inuit residents of Iqaluit in regards to social changes in the community. The time period examined here is that of the 1940s to present day, a period during which tremendous change has taken place in Iqaluit. Archival sources were consulted for information from previous decades, and information gathered during interviews with Inuit was used to support the archival research. Social implications of landscape modification and influence from the South have been examined here, and include population growth, alcoholism, drug abuse,

quality of life, education and unemployment, family cohesion, and differences in hunting practices among the Inuit.

I focused on, described, and explained the landscape changes that have occurred in Iqaluit since the 1940s, and again I presented information gathered during interviews in the text of chapter five. These landscape alterations have not been gradual, but have presented themselves rapidly over the past few decades. Increased buildings, various housing differences, population induced physical growth in the community, and government buildings have all contributed to making Iqaluit a much different place than it was only decades ago. Also offered in this chapter are perceptions of landscape change and the ways in which different demographic groups in Iqaluit perceive the metamorphoses that have occurred there.

In chapters one through five, I have sought to present varying perspectives and insights into the issues surrounding the landscape and peoples of South Baffin Island.

Chapter six seeks to outline and explain some basic findings and results of this study, and to discuss challenges, limitations, and recommendations for future study in the North. What I have found during the course of this project is that Iqaluit and the members of its population are in a tremendous state of flux, and have been for decades. The social, political, and physical changes the area and its first-nations inhabitants have undergone since the 1940s are made evident in the archival resources employed in this study, and include not only changes in the

physical landscape, but in the social as well. Since World War II, the area of South Baffin Island has experienced a sizeable population boom, and has seen a tremendous influx of southerners and their ways of life. These influences have greatly altered the state of the landscape and the lives of the aboriginal peoples therein, introducing concepts of wage labour, housing issues, alcohol, and new gender roles. The interviews conducted with the Inuit of Iqaluit offer information that substantiate the claims made in the archival research, and support the literature regarding these numerous changes in the North. There are definite distinctions in information based on the age and gender of the interviewee. Elders in the community seem to prefer some of the more traditional ways of Inuit life, yet younger members of the community enjoy the more fast-paced existence brought about by the South. Modern conveniences are enjoyed by most Inuit these days, although many of those born on the land in more traditional times feel the negative impacts of these conveniences, including crime, domestic violence, lack of respect, and alcoholism. Younger Inuit, for the most part, are pleased with this newer, more contemporary way of life, and enjoy the opportunities and conveniences offered them. Many do not see the problems and issues surrounding such rapid transformation of a culture, and look forward to prosperity and increased opportunity in the years to come. Inuit males, I also found, are more likely to suffer from the rapid changes than are the Inuit females. The men seem to have more of a problem accepting the changing ways, as many face a kind of identity crisis and a very uncertain future. While the women in the

community are enjoying increased successes in the birth of their children, greater independence, and more opportunity, the men are experiencing the results of a loss in identity. Traditionally, the men enjoyed the title of hunter/gatherer, provider for the family and the community, and were seen as the center of the community. In this modern Iqaluit, however, the men are experiencing difficulties finding their place in the community, as other members no longer depend on them for food, clothing, and shelter. Many are uneducated, and are finding it hard to secure wage employment to support their families.

Social and physical landscape change in Iqaluit is not a new concept to the 21st century, but is something that has been occurring rapidly for decades. My research strives to examine some of these social and physical changes, and to explain the ramifications of such metamorphoses.

Challenges of the Study

During my research and the preparation of this thesis, I have encountered a number of challenges. One of the first challenges I faced dealt with the gathering of information on the North and the Inuit from recent times, meaning in the last ten years or so. I found some literature from the 1940s, when Frobisher Bay was an area of hot military contestation, and the Canadian government was staking its claim to the land and the people therein. Literature from the 1940s and 1950s was also found relating to the US military and its construction of the DEW line sites in the north. This particular literature focuses not only on the

construction of the DEW line, but also on issues surrounding the members of the military who were coming into regular contact with the Inuit. Brody (1975) offered ample literature on the Inuit and the North during the 1970s, and Duffy (1988) took over in the 1980s. The literature on the North was sufficient, but I found a dearth of information and literature when it came to Iqaluit and the area surrounding Frobisher Bay. I was surprised at how little literature existed on the area of South Baffin Island, as Iqaluit is the recently named capital city of Nunavut, and is the largest community therein. Much of my research on Iqaluit came from my own experiences, interviews I conducted while in the field, and literature taken from the Nunavut Arctic College library in Iqaluit.

I also faced a number of challenges while in the field, many of which are discussed in chapter three of this thesis. I arrived in Iqaluit comparatively naïve to the ways of the experienced researcher, and awe struck by the mere fact that I had indeed actually made it to a northern community. The world was a new place to me, and I had a misguided idea that I would simply go up to the Inuit in town and they would be more than pleased to talk with me, to tell me their life stories, and to offer me unlimited amounts of insight into the history and life of Iqaluit. Not so. What I found was a group of people who were largely tired of being researched, tired of being questioned, tired of always having some student of the social sciences poking and prodding around in their homes, their town, and their lives. One of my informants told me of a joke they used to have in the 1970s: “We all used to say that every Inuit family had five members...the mother, the

father, the son, the daughter, and the social scientist.” I somehow entered into my study under the false belief that few people had expressed such a genuine interest in the lives and the history of the Inuit, and that the people of the North would be absolutely thrilled to allow me to tell their story and convey their viewpoints. I very quickly learned, however, that this was not the case, and I rapidly altered the way I went about setting up my interviews, making use of the staff at the residence and contacts through other researchers in town. I realized that there were certain channels through which every researcher must pass in order to achieve the desired result of communication, and that it took time to build trust with the Inuit. I found that the Inuit are not public people generally, and that they are not so quick to let you in to their lives and their histories. They are a quiet, private group, not quick to anger, not quick to speak, and not quick to open up. I come from a loud family, a verbal, openly communicative group of people who is often much too quick to express opinions and life experiences when the opportunity to do so arises. Inuit families proved not to be that way, and I was surprised at the quiet and almost submissive nature of those with whom I was given opportunity to speak. Despite the challenges posed me in the acquisition of interviews, I was able to go through the proper channels and through contacting the right people, was able to set up enough talks to acquire sufficient data for my study. During the interview process, however, I encountered another unexpected challenge, this one of a financial nature. I did not realize that in order to be granted an interview with an Inuit of Iqaluit, one must pay. I did know that the

interpreter was to be given financial compensation, but was surprised by the charge applied for each chat session with members of the community. In speaking with other researchers, however, I learned that this was indeed the way of social science research in the North.

My next challenge arose when the time for data analysis and composition of the thesis came. In this study, the landscape and the social are so interconnected, so mutually dependent, that I found it extremely challenging to distinguish between the two in a number of instances. In this writing, I found that the Inuit and their landscape are almost as one, and that regardless of the drastic changes that have taken place in Iqaluit in recent years, this culture and its landscape are inseparable.

Limitations of the Study

Limitations of this study relate in large part to the field research and the acquisition of data. I spent three weeks in Iqaluit interviewing Inuit participants in an attempt to gain insight into their world and their community. As noted earlier, the Inuit are not public people in general, and are not quick to trust an outsider and to open up in conversation. In this respect, the study is limited in the sense that it attempts to make generalizations based on a very short period of time spent in communication with the Inuit and in the community of Iqaluit. At the end of my three-week stay in Iqaluit, I was just beginning to feel as though I was developing a successful rapport with the residents. I began at this time to feel that

they were starting to trust me not to exploit them as so many others had, but to tell their side of the story accurately and respectfully. In many cases, Inuit men and women with whom I came into contact regularly at the residence refused to speak to me until towards the end of my stay. At first, I believed that they were simply resistant to being interviewed, but later realized that they only needed time to get to know me, to begin to trust me. In my last few days in Iqaluit, I began to feel more at home, more accepted. I began to make friends, and the people around me seemed more inclined to include me in their evening activities and discussions. We talked, we played cards, watched movies, and went out for coffee. Conversation became a bit easier, and I didn't feel so much as though I had to prove myself worthy of communication. I feel that if I had more time there, information gleaned from the experience would be more complete, and that I would have an even better sense of the lives of the Inuit in Iqaluit. In order to conduct a successful study of a group of people in their own environment, in order to get a real sense of the community and what it is all about, I feel that extensive field research is needed. In my case, it simply wasn't feasible, but I also believe that it indeed limited the study in some aspects. I obtained useful information, and feel confident in the data that has been presented, but additional time in the field certainly would have been beneficial to the study. The sample from which this thesis is written is small and I only experienced minimal exposure to them in the way of interviews. More extensive exposure to the Inuit and greater immersion in life in the North would enhance the research project.

Another limitation of the study is the nature of the community studied, and the differences it holds with other northern communities. I have been told more than once that "Iqaluit is not a northern community", but rather a government town of whites that used to be an Inuit community. After spending time in Iqaluit, I believe such statements, and feel that the study would have benefited from a comparison with another northern community.

Recommendations for Future Study

The North and the Inuit are subjects that have been studied extensively, yet the research has by no means reached a point of saturation. Much study remains necessary in these areas, especially now that Nunavut has been established and the Inuit are certain to face additional changes in the future.

I have my own agenda and ideas concerning future study, including the changing roles of Inuit women in the North, and the issues facing Inuit youth, yet there are countless other studies that would benefit the academic community in this area. Nunavut is a place of action at this time in history, and the future of the Inuit has not yet been written. The acquisition of an Inuit-run government and the implications of such an acquisition must be examined, as should the changes that such civic responsibility will bring. Massam, in his book Conditions of the Civic State (2000) recalls the wishes of the Inuit during the time of the creation of Nunavut: "Canada's natives wish to remain citizens of Canada, but demand a negotiation of new political concepts of self-government or self-determination

which redefine their relationship and that of their traditional territories within Canada. As part of this process, they demand the delegation to themselves of responsibility for their governance, sustenance, and welfare..." (Massam, 2000, 157-158). The Inuit have achieved their goal of the acquisition of their own government, of self-determination and autonomy. What they do with this responsibility remains to be seen, and future study in this arena is essential.

I feel that not only is future research in the North essential, but that the use of qualitative methods in such research is also beneficial. The Inuit culture is one based on oral tradition and story telling, and the long interview and other qualitative methods are most beneficial when dealing with a culture such as that found in the North. Qualitative research methods are extremely useful and beneficial in human geography, as they offer greater insight into the human element than quantitative methods. The human condition and issues surrounding human geography are often difficult to quantify, thereby leaving the researcher unsure of his or her findings. A qualitative method such as the long interview allows the researcher and the group being researched the opportunity for greater insight through more candid, more natural discussion and observation.

Conclusion

Although containing limitations and challenges, this study has examined the changing face of the Eastern Canadian Arctic. In the years since World War II, the region of South Baffin Island has undergone tremendous transformation,

both physically and socially. Physical landscape changes include a sharp increase in population, greater population density, increased numbers of buildings and houses, and different kinds of structures. Socially, the first-nations people of Iqaluit have experienced changes in their governance, their lifestyles, the foods they eat, gender roles, and increased exposure to alcohol. These modifications have been discussed in this study, as have the impacts made on the Inuit population and the landscape of Iqaluit, Nunavut Territory.

Future study in South Baffin Island is essential, as Iqaluit continues to grow and change with each passing day. It has recently been named the capital city of Nunavut, the Inuit have recently acquired their own government, and future significant change is inevitable for the region and for its first-nations people. The future of the Inuit is a tenuous one, yet the acquisition of "Our Land" and the socio-political factors it implies offer some hope to an otherwise downtrodden population. The state of aboriginal populations in Canada must not be ignored, but observed and utilized as a tool from which we all may learn.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Semi-Structured Interview Questions

- Could you tell me a little about your childhood and what it was like growing up in a northern community?
- Do you recall any traditional Inuit stories concerning the land and the hunt that were told you by elders?
- Do you feel that respect for the land here has changed in past decades or years?
- In your opinion, in what ways (if any) has Iqaluit or the area of South Baffin Island changed since the 1940s?
- What is the biggest change you have seen here in recent years?
- What do you think of the youth today?
- Which do you think is better...Life in a qamvak or iglu, or life in a house in a community?
- Were you taught any rules or guidelines to be followed while out on the land?
- How have the roles of men and women changed since you were a child?

APPENDIX B: Interview Guide

- Youth
- Hunt
- Land/Respect
- Religion / Traditional Stories, Mythology
- Early Memories / Childhood
- Social Changes as Result of Landscape Changes
- Camp Life Versus Community Life
- Roles of Men and Women

APPENDIX C: Interview Schedule

- Where and in what year were you born?
- Did you grow up on the land or in a community?
- How long have you been in Iqaluit?
- What is (was) your occupation?
- Do you carve to supplement your income?
- Do you hunt/fish/trap?
- Do you have any children?
 - If yes: how many, and how old are they?
- Do you or will you teach your children to hunt?
- Did you attend a community school, or were you sent to Iqaluit for education?
- What is your level of education?

III. FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES HUMAN PARTICIPANTS RESEARCH FORM

Student Name: MARTHA ELIZABETH SCARBOROUGH Date: AUGUST 18, 2002
 (Please print)
 Programme: GEOGRAPHY MA

Title of Course, Major Research Paper, Thesis. or Dissertation CONVERSATIONS WITH INUIT

Name of Supervisor (of MRP, Thesis,
 or Dissertation) or Course Director DR. JOHN KADFORO
 (Please print)

A. Is the research you are conducting funded[†]? Yes ☒ No ☐

(If yes, please contact the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee [HPRC], c/o Office of Research Administration, S414 Ross Building for further information and sign at the end of this form.)

[†] The draft definition of funded research from the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee [HPRC] is: "Funded" will refer to all research that is receiving money that is in response to a specific proposal and administered by the university. Research using monies not administered by the University, and/or not in response to a specific proposal, will be considered 'unfunded'."

B. Is the research you are conducting minimal risk*? Yes ☒ No ☐

(If no, please contact the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee [HPRC] c/o Office of Research Administration, S414 Ross Building for further information and sign at the end of this form.)

* The definition of minimal risk being used is the one given in the SSHRC/NSERC/MRC Tri-Council Policy Statement "Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans" (August, 1998): "If potential subjects can reasonably be expected to regard the probability and magnitude of possible harms implied by participation in the research to be no greater than those encountered by the subject in those aspects of his or her everyday life that relate to the research, then the research can be regarded as within the range of minimal risk." (p. 1.5)

C. This section pertains to issues of informed consent. The Faculty of Graduate Studies has adopted the position of York University's HPRC on informed consent. That position states that: "all participants (e.g., interviewees, research subjects, community members, etc.) have the right to be informed of:

- The nature of the research (hypotheses, goals and objectives, etc.);
- The research methodology to be used (e.g., medical procedures, questionnaires, participant observation, etc.);
- Any risks or benefits;
- Their right not to participate, not to answer any questions, and/or to terminate participation at any time without prejudice (e.g., without academic penalty, withdrawal of remuneration, etc.);
- Their right to anonymity and confidentiality;
- Any other issues of which the participants should be aware that are relevant to specific protocols and research projects."

(Source: Human Participants Review Subcommittee Protocol Form, May 2000, Item 8 A.)

Appendix D provides suggestions for the kind of information to be included in an Informed Consent Document.

Section C continued) Please answer the following questions on the *informed consent* of research participants:

- (1) Will you provide a full explanation of the research to the participants prior to their participation?

Yes ☒ No ☐

(If no: in the case of a graduate course, please describe the research protocol you are using; in the case of a Major Research Paper, Thesis or Dissertation, please ensure that a description of the research protocol is attached to the proposal.)

- (2) Is substitute consent involved (e.g., for children, youths under 16, incompetent adults)?

Yes ☐ No ☒

(If yes: in the case of a graduate course, please elaborate; in the case of a Major Research Paper, Thesis or Dissertation, please ensure that an elaboration is attached to the proposal.)

- (3) Is deception involved?

Yes ☐ No ☒

(If yes: in the case of a graduate course, please elaborate; in the case of a Major Research Paper, Thesis or Dissertation, please ensure that an elaboration is attached to the proposal. Please include a discussion of debriefing, if applicable.)

- (4) Will individuals remain anonymous*?

Yes ☒ No ☐

(If no: in the case of a graduate course, please elaborate; in the case of a Major Research Paper, Thesis or Dissertation, please ensure that an elaboration is attached to the proposal.)

* Please note that it is expected that participants remain anonymous unless they have given their prior written consent.

(5) Will the data be kept confidential?

Yes ✓ No

(If no: in the case of a graduate course, please elaborate; in the case of a Major Research Paper, Thesis or Dissertation, please ensure that an elaboration is attached to the proposal.)

[§] Please note that it is expected that the data be kept confidential unless the participants have given their prior written consent.

(6) How will informed consent be obtained?

✓ Informed Consent Document or Equivalent (specify)

(In the case of a graduate course, please attach a draft version; in the case of a Major Research Paper, Thesis or Dissertation, please ensure that a draft version is attached to the proposal.)

Student's Signature_

Date _____

Date September 16, 2002

Signature of supervisor (of MRP, Thesis,
or Dissertation) or Course Director _____

Date _____

Date Sept 16/2002

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH LICENCE

LICENCE # 0100702N-A Amended

ISSUED TO: Elizabeth Scarborough
Geography, York University

AFFILIATION: York University

TITLE: Inuit Perceptions of the Environment and the South in Iqaluit, Nunavut

OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH:

This is to be a study of the Inuit, past and present, and of the ways in which the South has left its mark. It is also a study of Inuit values, worldviews, and perceptions of relationships with their native environment. The hypothesis is that there will be evidence of southern influence in the community of Iqaluit. Iqaluit is not only a more southerly development, but is also the largest and is the capital of the Nunavut Territory. The primary object of this project is to ascertain the ways in which Inuit perceive and interact with their environment and their landscape currently and to note how this perception of and interaction with has changed since the early 1940s. It is also important to note whether or not there is currently a shift back to more traditional values and lifestyles, and where these shifts are occurring, both geographically and demographically, if at all. I also plan to examine the differences in perceptions of environment and relationships with environment between teenage residents of Arctic communities and members of older generations. In order to ascertain such information, it is necessary to conduct long interviews with willing members of the focus communities. The participant will remain anonymous, and all participation in the study will be voluntary. The subjects will come from different groups within the communities, including city officials, elders, teens, and middle aged inhabitants. There will be no gender distinction, as the scope of the study will not allow yet another facet.

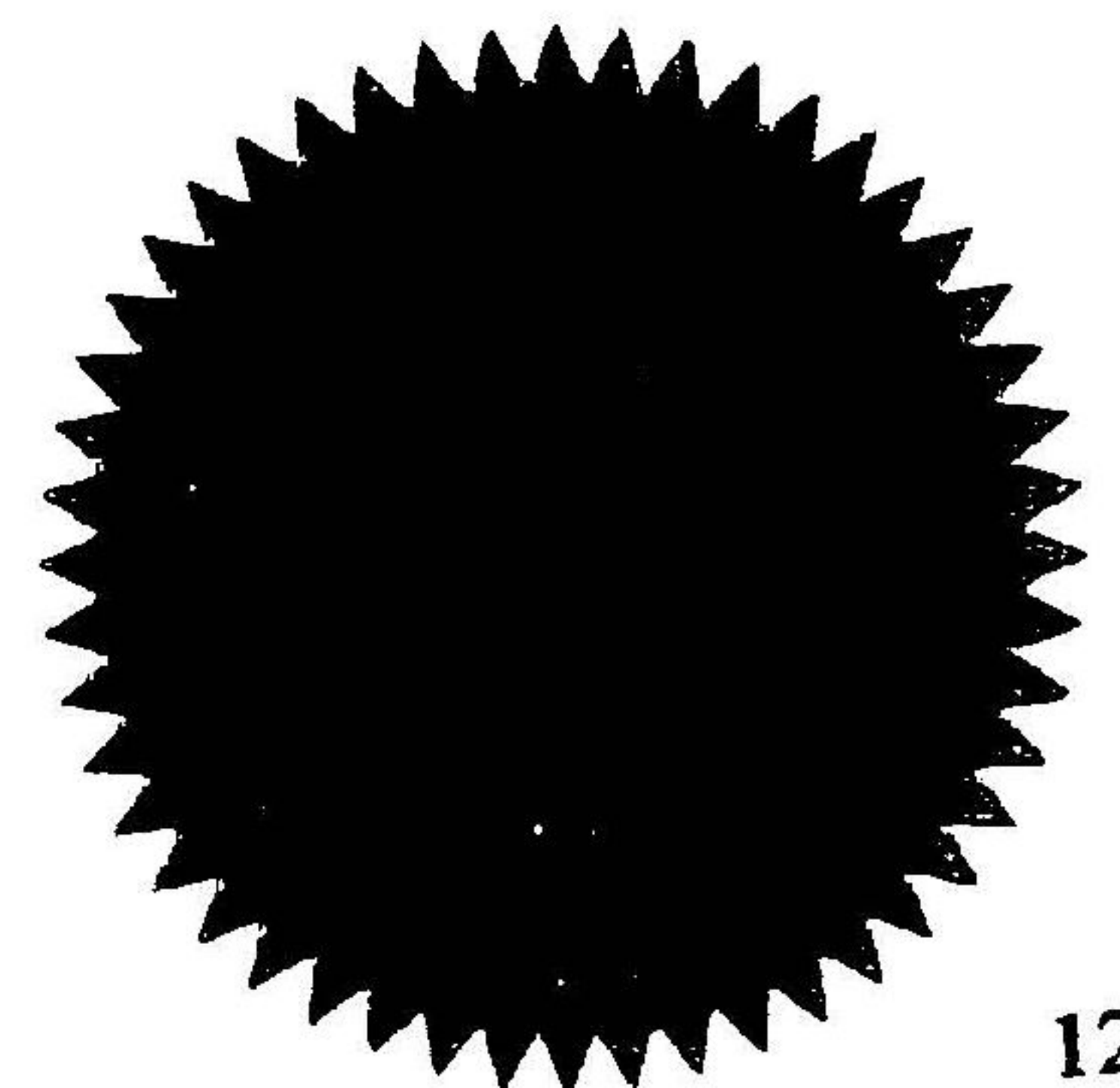
DATA COLLECTION IN NU:

DATES: September 24, 2002-October 15, 2002

LOCATION: Iqaluit

Scientific Research Licence 0100702N-A Amended expires on December 31, 2002.
Issued at Iqaluit, NU on September 27, 2002.

Bruce Rigby
Science Advisor



Informed Consent for Field Research in Iqaluit, NT

The purpose of this research project is to determine the ways in which Inuit residents of Iqaluit perceive and interact with their environment, and how these perceptions and interactions have changed since World War II. This project is being conducted for research purposes only, and to increase the knowledge and awareness regarding residents of the Nunavut Territory.

For this research, I plan to interview Inuit residents of Iqaluit, including in the interviews a few key questions that will be used as points of departure for conversation. If you (the participant) are uncomfortable with the topic of discussion, or if you wish to terminate the interview, you may do so at any time and without stating a reason. You are not required to answer any of the questions if you choose not to.

All participation in this project is strictly voluntary, and you will remain anonymous. You may determine what information shared is to be included in the writings resulting from my research. If you wish that some of the information you give me remain undisclosed, then that information will not appear in any literature or future study that may come from this project.

You are free to contact the Graduate Program in Geography at 416-736-5107 for any additional information about research and the rights of participants. I may be contacted at the Arctic College Residence in Iqaluit until October 12, 2002, after which time you may phone me at

I agree to participate in the study conducted by Elizabeth Scarborough. I understand my rights as a participant, and understand that I am not under any obligation to the researcher.

Printed Name: _____

Researcher Name: _____

Signature: _____

Researcher Signature: _____

Date: _____

Date: _____

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