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Literacy and Social Identity in a Nunavut Community

by

Perry Alexander Shearwood

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Graduate Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the
University of Toronto

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ABSTRACT

The problem addressed in this thesis is the relationship between literacy and social identity in the Nunavut community of Igloolik. I used qualitative methods to work with a representative sample of the adult Inuit and non-Native population of this Northern Canadian community during fieldwork in 1990, 1992, and 1993. I found that getting an education (in English), learning the finals (in Inuktitut), and reading and writing traditionally (in Inuktitut) are ways of using literacy that distinguish active biliterates, other younger Inuit, older Inuit, and non-Natives. Active biliterates are able to access resources in the local cash economy because they have got an education and learned the finals, the symbols for syllable-final consonants in written Inuktitut. Other younger Inuit face unemployment if they have not got an education and learned the finals. Older Inuit read and write traditionally but this does not help them to access resources in the cash economy. Non-Natives are employed locally because they have got an education. These differences have emerged in the context of processes in which local Inuit have been sedentarized; the orthography of their language, Inuktitut, has been standardized; and a system of credentialization by grade level has been introduced. These processes reflect in turn the dynamics of the legitimation of the Canadian state in the North and the superimposition of a cash economy onto an economy of structured sharing with kin. Future decisions in literacy planning must take into account the social identities of the residents of Nunavut.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1 Purpose

My purpose in writing this thesis is answering the question 'what is the relationship between literacy and social identity in the Nunavut community of Igloolik?' I argue that reading and writing are ways (among others) of constructing social identity in this Northern Canadian community. In other words, people use literacy to make judgments about themselves and about others and to assign membership in social groups. At the same time, perceptions about social identity condition access to literacy. Whether a person is old or young, Inuk or non-Native, will decide which ways of reading and writing are appropriate.

Further, I argue that local processes (or sets of literacy practices) like getting an education (in English), learning the finals (in Inuktitut), and reading and writing traditionally (in Inuktitut) are ways that people in Igloolik access resources in the local mixed economy. The mixed economy has resulted from the superimposition of a money economy onto an economy of sharing with kin. The mixed economy has arisen in the context of contact between Inuit and non-Natives and has transformed the kinship relations which were formerly the principal basis of social organization. Economic change has happened alongside political change, in which the power of the Canadian state has been legitimated in the Canadian North. I argue that the legitimation of the Canadian state has been accomplished in part through general processes like sedentarization, standardization, and credentialization. These general processes represent interaction at the societal level in the same way that specific processes like getting an education, learning the finals, and reading and writing traditionally represent interaction at the local level.

The finals are the graphemic representation of syllable-final consonants in the Inuktitut language. In the spoken language, these consonants are lightly sounded. There is variation in the deletion and assimilation of the syllable-final consonants in the spoken language among
regions and social groups. The correct and consistent use of finals in written Inuktitut is a hallmark of the standardization of the orthography. Learning the finals distinguishes older Inuit from younger Inuit in ways that will be explained in Chapter 5 and Chapter 7 of this thesis.

Sedentarization refers here to the settling of the nomadic Inuit, particularly as a result of Canadian government policy after World War II. Sedentarization made it easier for the Canadian state to govern the Inuit. Since the time of sedentarization, the standardization of Inuktitut orthography has altered what it means to write in Inuktitut. After standardization, representatives of the Canadian state could communicate more easily with the Inuit in their own language. Now, a process of credentialization is taking place in which education and employment are related through the use of grade level. The institutions of schooling and wage labour allow representatives of the Canadian state to manage social organization in the setting in ways that will be explained in the thesis.

The general processes of sedentarization, standardization, and credentialization have engaged different groups in Igloolik in different ways. I describe these different ways in terms of specific processes which I call getting an education, learning the finals, and reading and writing traditionally. The nature of these specific processes and how they relate to more general processes are described in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

In this thesis, I will explain how literacy and social identity have been constructed through the processes of sedentarization, standardization, and credentialization. I will also show how people in Igloolik access resources and position themselves in social groups by getting an education, by learning the finals, or by reading and writing traditionally. One way older Inuit identify themselves is by reading and writing traditionally. Non-Natives are qualified for employment because they have got an education. The Inuit whom I call ‘active biliterates’ have economic and social power because they have got an education (in English) and learned the finals (in Inuktitut). Other younger Inuit are less expert, and this may count
against them when they access resources. In the next section, I present an outline of how I will develop the arguments that I have made here.

2 Structure of the Thesis

I begin the story of the relationship between literacy and social identity in Igloolik by introducing a theoretical framework for my arguments and by defining what I mean by sedentarization, standardization, and credentialization. In this first chapter, I go on to preview my study. In Chapter 2, I explain how and why I collected the data on which this thesis is based. In Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, I recount a history of contact between Inuit and non-Natives, with particular attention to the expansion of the Canadian state into the North. Chapter 3 culminates in sedentarization, the movement by Inuit into the settlement in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. Chapter 4 shows how Inuit and other Northerners have reasserted control over social processes in their communities, while at the same time the legitimacy of the Canadian state has been maintained. The authority of the state has been mediated through the processes of credentialization and standardization.

In Chapter 5, I present the changing conceptions and patterns of spoken and written language use arising from contact between the speakers of Inuktitut and English. In this fifth chapter, I discuss the standardization of Inuktitut orthography and the implications of that process for constructing different social identities. In Chapter 6, I describe the institutions of the contemporary mixed economy in Igloolik. People in the community access symbolic and material resources through participation in both the domestic economy and the cash economy. Chapter 7 substantiates the argument that literacy is one way of constructing social identity; I describe the different groups in the community which an analysis of the data has led me to see. In this seventh chapter, the members of the different groups explain in their own words how they are positioned in the contemporary mixed economy by the processes of getting an education, learning the finals, and reading and writing traditionally. In Chapter 8, I conclude
by relating the different strands of my story. I go on there to show what the story I have told means, particularly in relation to the theoretical framework I have proposed.

3 Significance of the Thesis

I hope that this work will make a contribution to the study of literacy in social context in the fields of sociolinguistics and applied linguistics. I want to give theoretical and empirical support to the notion that literacy can only be understood by taking into account the social identity of readers and writers. Further, I want my work to add to the study of the political economy of the Canadian nation state. In particular, I hope this thesis will help to clarify the position of the Aboriginal peoples in the political economy of Canada, with specific reference to the issues of language, literacy, and social identity.

My goal in this research is a better understanding of the relationship between literacy and social identity in Igloolik. I hope that this information will be useful for people in Igloolik, for educators, and for language planners in making decisions and discussing alternative courses of action in various areas, for example, education, publishing, the media, the workplace, and administration. In addition, the study of literacy in context provides a window on the means by which social identity is worked out and how social identity shapes the possibilities for people in the community.

An understanding of the link between literacy and social identity matters to everybody who lives in Igloolik and to everybody from elsewhere whose decisions affect life in Igloolik because literacy and social identity interact as one basis for the distribution of power, that is, access to resources. An equitable and just distribution of power depends on an understanding of the relationship between literacy and social identity, as well as other factors.

The study is based on primary data collected about and with a sample of the adults, both Inuit and non-Native, who reside in Igloolik, located in the Northwest Territories in the area soon to become Nunavut, Canada's newest territory. While I did not collect primary data
directly from residents under 16 years of age, informal contacts with them and second-hand accounts of their behaviour also inform the argument of the thesis. In addition, the thesis builds on research from secondary sources, published and otherwise, concerning the community, the Baffin region, the Canadian North, and the Aboriginal peoples living in Canada. In Section 4 of this chapter, which follows, I discuss the conceptual framework for the analysis of my data.

4 A Conceptual Basis for the Analysis

In what follows, I explain the conceptual basis for my analysis of social processes in Igloolik. First, I describe a theoretical framework. In this theoretical framework, individual actors are constrained and enabled by social structure in achieving outcomes. I go on to define what I mean by social identity and literacy. Social identity is the construction of the self in terms of one’s membership in various social groups, while literacy is the ability to read and write, as well as the meaning of this ability in use.

In this thesis, I use literacy and social identity as sensitizing concepts, that is, as mechanisms which help me to focus my attention on issues relevant to what I am looking for (Blumer, 1969). On the theoretical level, the two concepts constitute each other: the study seeks to demonstrate that, for both actor and observer, the meaning we attach to particular uses of literacy is conditioned in terms of perceptions of social identity—members of different groups will be expected to read and write in different ways. For example, Inuit in Igloolik are expected to be able to write Inuktitut syllabics; non-Natives are expected to be able to write in English.

Similarly, participants use writing as a semiotic system (a sign system) to construct a contingent working model of how people whom they know are grouped. These concepts of social identity and literacy are the basis for my study of social relations within the community in the context of the mixed economy and the expansion of the Canadian state.
After I define literacy and social identity, I go on to theorize the general processes which are most salient to the relationship between them in this setting: sedentarization, standardization, and credentialization. These processes of state formation and legitimation impose restrictions but also create opportunities. Through their orientation to these general processes, actors in the setting are able to get an education and learn the finals or not.

4.1 A Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework used here to relate literacy and social identity endeavours to model social processes in the setting under study. At the same time, the framework places these processes in the larger context of the world economy and the Canadian nation state. The framework reflects a view that reality is socially constructed, or at least radically mediated by conventional meanings (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Language, both spoken and written, serves as the means for the social construction of reality. The reader/writer is an active creator of meaning, constrained and enabled by social structure as patterned into a system by the institutions of the community. Actors can make changes in social structure through their actions, although they experience the institutional world as objective reality.

I regard neither the human agent nor the social system as having primacy. For Touraine (1988):

actors have unity and exercise regulatory and organizing control upon their activities inasmuch as they live their own historicity personally, that is, they assume the capacity to disengage themselves from the forms and means of the reproduction of behaviour and consumption, in order to participate in the production of cultural models. (p. 11)

One lives one’s historicity, however, within social relations that are always relations of power and solidarity.

This theoretical framework draws on the work of Giddens (1979, 1982, 1984, 1991, 1993) in terms of his conception of social identity, of the relation of the actor and social structure, and of the contact between the global and the local. For example, for Giddens:

social identities, and the position-practice relations associated with them, [as manifest in how different groups in Igloolik use reading and writing] are ‘markers’ in the virtual
time-space of structure. They are associated with normative rights, obligations and sanctions which, within specific collectivities, form roles. The use of standardized markers, especially to do with the bodily attributes of age and gender, is fundamental in all societies, notwithstanding large cross-cultural variations which can be noted [e.g. the presence of a 'third sex' in Inuit society (Saladin d’Anglure, 1986; Guay, 1988)]. (Giddens, 1984, pp. 282-283)

These social identities are not enactments of pre-existing categories. Rather, they are produced in interaction. Giddens links action (for the purposes of this thesis, the acts of reading and writing conceptualized as literacy practices) to power, the capability of actors to achieve outcomes. Further, action and power are related to resources.

Resources are the media whereby power is employed in the routine course of social action; but they are at the same time structural elements of social systems, reconstituted in social interaction. (1979, p. 39)

Giddens situates his description of the relationship between actor and society in the context of modernity. Modernity is made up of the institutions and behaviours which originated in post-feudal Europe and which have spread around the world. Giddens associates modernity with industrialization, capitalism, surveillance (including the use of information to co-ordinate social activities), and the rise of the nation state, including its control over the means of violence. Further elements, according to Giddens, are the separation of time and space, exemplified by the co-ordination of the actions of many human beings physically distant from one another in modern social organization: disembedding mechanisms, like money, which separate interaction from local particularities; and institutional reflexivity, whereby new knowledge constantly modifies social institutions.

When Giddens writes about modernity, he accents its pervasiveness rather than its uneven spread. He rejects the post-modernists’ vision of a world fragmented by modernity. At the same time, for Giddens, tradition seems a dead letter before the diverse but comprehensive effects of modernization. He uncritically reproduces the notion that “the printed word remains at the core of modernity and its global networks” (1991, p. 24), despite the ambiguous relation between writing and modernity. For example, the literacy practices of older Inuit in Igloolik
described in Chapter 7 may reflect a repudiation of some modern values. Nevertheless, in the context of rapid social transformation and increased integration into national and global economies and cultural patterns "where localities are thoroughly penetrated by distanciated influences" (1991, p. 188). Giddens's conceptual framework is a basis for understanding how literacy has become a means of constructing social identity in the setting. The concepts of social identity and literacy are explained in the following sections.

4.2 Social Identity

Social identity embraces self's idea of self, as constituted by social groups, and self's idea of how others perceive self, as constituted by social groups. People's conception of their own social identity is the basis for their understanding of their rights and obligations vis-à-vis members of the same group and members of different groups. People use social identity to decide whether they are entitled to resources. The concept of social identity complements that of personal identity, which places greater emphasis on individual variation within, as opposed to across, social groups.

I see social identity as collectively constructed through interaction and, more specifically, through membership in various social groups. Ethnic groups, for example, are "categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves" (Barth, 1969, p. 10). The social actor assigns these categories in interaction:

ethnicity is a social construct, and ... in order to examine the process of the construction of ethnicity it is necessary to examine the processes of social interaction on which that construction is based. (Heller, 1987, p. 180)

Clifford (1988) shares this concern with the process of identity creation: "identity is conjunctural, not essential. ... A sense of difference or distinctness can never be located solely in the continuity of a culture or tradition" (p. 11). In other words, social identity is a collective way of being which is created in interaction with others.

In the past, social scientists conceived of people developing their social identity by enacting roles associated with pre-existing categories of, for example, kinship, gender, class,
or ethnicity. In considering spoken or written language as discourse, however, it becomes evident that these categories are mutable and produced in communicative interaction by the actors. For example, Kleivan (1969-1970) has shown how Inuit identity was asserted when Greenlanders began to compete with Danes for equality in employment.

Ethnic identities are subjected to idiomatic shifts or re-definitions. But there is no one-to-one relationship between specific "culture traits" (culture contents) and a specific identity. To be a Greenlander may be something utterly different in 1968 from what it was in, say, 1948. (p. 228)

Dorais (1988) has traced the development of Inuit conceptions of identity. Until about 1900, Inuit saw themselves as one group of living beings amongst others (for example, 'Qimmit' (dogs), 'Inugagullit' (trolls), and 'Qallunaat' (non-Natives)), without hierarchical classification into superior and inferior beings. Between 1900 and 1970, as they came into greater contact with non-Natives and non-Native perceptions of Inuit, Inuit perception of their identity changed to reflect the altered form of social organization and their often dependent relationship with non-Natives. Since 1970, according to Dorais, "Inuit are perceived as including at least five categories of human beings": 'Inuittuinnait' (genuine Inuit, as opposed to people like Asians who resemble Inuit). 'Allait' (Indians), 'Qallunaat' (Whites), 'Qirnitait' (Blacks), and 'Inuujaqtut' (Asians). This taxonomy implies that Canadian Inuit are a nationality within Canada and one of the main divisions of humanity. Majority Canadian opinion, however, sees the Inuit as one ethnic minority among others. Dorais's work shows the mutable quality of conceptions of social identity over time and under different social conditions and positions of power.

In summary, social identity reveals itself as membership in social groups. It is the basis for asserting access to resources. Social identity is not essential; rather, it is constructed through the use of language in social interaction. So, in order to understand issues of social identity and how they intersect with social, political, and ethnic divisions and inequalities within the mixed economy and the nation state, researchers must find out how language is used
in the setting. The use of spoken and written language in particular ways is not a mere reflection of social identity: it is both a way to indicate one’s own identity and a way to build one’s identity through contact with others.

4.3 Literacy and Literacy Practices

The conceptualization of literacy requires an awareness of how its nature and meaning are different from one setting to another. Thus, an understanding of literacy in Igloolik must recognize its particularity: that the use of reading and writing has different meanings there than in other places, for example, southern Canadian cities. At the same time, the nature of literacy in Igloolik has been influenced by a world history of literacy and by the ideology associated with a Western tradition of literacy, as discussed below. Thus, the characteristics of literacy in Igloolik result partly from events that happened far away.

The scripts which are the antecedents of the Roman alphabet used to write English and of the syllabary used to write Inuktitut originated in the Near East some 5,000 years ago (Olson, 1992). As the use of writing gradually spread from the Fertile Crescent to Western Europe, it became associated with the power and learning of societal elites (Heath, 1991). Written material became more widely available with the first European use of movable type in the 15th century, and with the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation in the 16th century. This more widespread literacy travelled with immigrants to the Americas. Lockridge (1974) has underlined the importance of the Protestant impulse for an increase in literacy in colonial America: “Protestants were convinced that access to the Word would free men from superstition, and it seems that gathered groups of devotees responded by providing for the education of their young” (p. 46).

As well, the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation promoted vernacular literacy among Roman Catholics. Cipolla (1969) has drawn attention to German-speaking Catholic areas which had relatively high levels of literacy. “The Reformation also had beneficial effects
on education outside the Protestant camp. There is no doubt that in the Catholic camp the Counter-Reformation movement stimulated a more active concern for general education” (p. 51). Many years later, the introduction of writing in Inuktitut by Christian catechists and missionaries extended this spread of vernacular literacy to the North.

Even though I recognize that the use of literacy in Igloolik exists in a world-wide historical context. I look cautiously on any generalizations about the nature of literacy. Some of the attributes associated with literacy are found in non-literate forms of expression. Finnegan (1973) found certain characteristics often associated with literacy in the oral discourses of societies where reading and writing are not used. Different cultures use literacy differently. Street (1984, 1993) has shown how people in various societies have transformed the use of literacy for their own needs and interests. Differences in the ways of using literacy and orality are not deficits: I consider practices in Igloolik in this light. The studies discussed below offer models for considering the social implications of differences in literacy practices.

Keller-Cohen (1993) has documented a diversity of popular literacy practices and of sites for literacy acquisition in 17th and 18th century America, for example, homes, various types of school, and workplaces. She makes the claim that in colonial America, in contrast to contemporary America, people did not think of reading and writing as elements of a unified concept. Reading and writing were practised in diverse social settings and were closely associated with speaking and listening. According to Keller-Cohen, since the 19th century the school has taken primary responsibility for literacy development; schooled literacy has supplanted other ways of being literate.

Along similar lines, James Collins (1991) sees mass compulsory education, as introduced in the 19th century in the West, as a means explicitly designed to prepare workers for the new industrial order and emerging class divisions. The dangers of the popular, subversive literacy which had arisen in early 19th century North America and Britain could be
controlled through schooling. For Collins, the history of public educational institutions in England and North America shows:

- a transformation of literacy: from a plurality of scriptal practices embedded in a common working-class culture of political dissent, to a unified conception and execution, centered on the school, with deviations from the school norm attributed to deficiencies and deviations in working-class homes, communities, and minds. (p. 232)

  Collins has linked this transformation with the standardization of languages: standard languages become "institutionally imposed ways of speaking, associated with classes and groups which exercise dominant power in particular political structures, typically nation states" (p. 233).

  The work of Keller-Cohen and James Collins illuminates changes in the use of literacy. In the Western world, a credentialized, schooled literacy has tended to replace a variety of informally learned literacies. Deviations from schooled literacy have been stigmatized. An ideology of social mobility through literacy smooths the acceptance of this transition. "The ideal of mobility hinges on the belief that there is equal opportunity through education and, through education, opportunity for social mobility and a more equitable society. This view encapsulates a number of partial truths" (J. Collins, 1991, p. 235), or, to put it slightly differently, truths for certain social groups but not for others.

  As an instance of the limitations of the ideal of social mobility through schooled literacy, Collins draws on the work of Graff (1979) concerning literacy and social structure in urban mid-19th century Ontario. Graff used an empirical and quantitative approach: he examined manuscript censuses, tax assessment rolls, employment contracts, and jail registers from Kingston, Hamilton, and London, Ontario. His purpose was to relate literacy and ascribed social characteristics like ethnicity, sex, and race. The thrust of his work is to debunk the 'literacy myth' which since at least the 18th century in Britain and North America has uncritically linked literacy with progress, modernization, development, democracy, and individual advancement. Graff found that:
only rarely was the achievement of literacy sufficient to counteract the depressing effects of inherited characteristics, of ethnicity, race, and sex. The process of stratification, with its basis in rigid social inequality, ordered the illiterates as it did those who were educated. (p. 114)

For example, Irish Catholics in 19th century Ontario, whether literate or illiterate, were mostly to be found in poverty, while only a small proportion of literate English Protestants were poor. English Protestant illiterates were less likely to be poor than illiterates of other ethnic backgrounds.

The ideological context for Graff's findings is one in which literacy was seen by reforming elites as a means for the creation and maintenance of a moral economy. By the mid-19th century, resistance in Ontario and elsewhere to mass public education had evaporated and was replaced by support for schooling as a way of ensuring social stability. "Instruction was properly to teach and inculcate the rules for social and economic behaviour in a changing and modernizing society; and literacy became a crucial vehicle for that process" (Graff, 1979, p. 26). Literate ability did not translate directly into social mobility in 19th-century Ontario; on the other hand, the belief that it did was held widely enough by the people of Ontario that relative stability was assured. Graff's analysis shows that social position must be taken into account when looking at the effects of literacy in Igloolik. Higher levels of literacy do not necessarily mean more employment, social mobility, or power; nevertheless, the belief that they do may promote stability.

The relationship of ethnicity and literacy is also considered by Ogbu (1990). He argues that some minority groups are more successful than others in acquiring literacy. This is because they have different cultural models and social identities which derive from their particular historical experience. For the purposes of his argument, he defines "literacy as the ability to read, write, and compute in the form taught and expected in formal education. Put differently, I consider literacy to be synonymous with academic performance" (p. 520). The more successful minorities, he argues, are immigrants whose expectations of schooling are
more optimistic than involuntary minorities like African-Americans or Aboriginal Americans.

According to Ogbu:

with regard to social identity, the immigrants bring with them a sense of who they are, which they had before emigration. They perceive their social identity as primarily different rather than oppositional vis-à-vis the social identity of white Americans. ... Involuntary minorities, on the other hand, develop a new sense of peoplehood or social identity after their forced incorporation and because of subsequent discriminatory treatment and denial of true admission into mainstream society; or, in some cases, involuntary minorities develop a new identity because of forced integration into mainstream society. (p. 528, emphasis in original)

Ogbu's linking of broadly defined ethnic categories with particular social identities may require some modification when applied to specific settings. Nevertheless, he draws our attention to the mediating effect of social identity on the acquisition of literacy. In addition, he underlines how literacy in contemporary North America has come to be seen as means and measure of academic achievement. Proficiency in a unitary schooled literacy is, in turn, seen as leading to success.

In numerous other settings, for example, the Eastern Arctic prior to the 1950s, this association between literacy and schooling was much less evident. Resnick and Resnick (1988), based on their research on the history of literacy, have seen a change over time in expectations concerning literacy consistent with developments in Nunavut. They suggest that:

much of our present difficulty in meeting the literacy standard we are setting for ourselves can be attributed to the relatively rapid extension to large populations of educational criteria that were once applied to only a limited elite. (p. 191)

The concept of literacy practice helps in considering change in expectations about the use of literacy. The literacy practice is defined as "a recurrent, goal-directed sequence of activities using a particular technology and particular systems of knowledge" (Scribner & Cole, 1981, p. 236). An example of a literacy practice could be following along in the Inuktitut-language hymn book in church while everybody sings the hymn. 'Goal-directed' suggests these practices reflect the motivations of the actors, but does not prejudge whether the actors' motivations have been formulated discursively, are grounded in a tacit practical
consciousness, or emanate from the unconscious. These literacy practices, as sense-making activities in everyday life, constitute a subset of the communicative practices of the community, defined by Grillo (1989) as follows:

(a) the social activities through which language or communication are produced.
(b) The way in which these activities are embedded in institutions, settings or domains which in turn are implicated in other, wider, social, economic, political and cultural processes.
(c) The organization of the practices themselves, including their labelling.
(d) The ideologies, which may be linguistic or other, which guide processes of communicative production. ... e) The outcome—utterances and sequences of utterances, texts and sequences of texts. (p. 15)

Power relations are indicated by the use of different literacy practices. Thus, for example, in the school:

'power' is negotiated ... between teachers and students, educators and communities. and ultimately between dominated and subordinated groups. Thus, the concrete interactions between teachers and students can be analysed according to the degree to which they reflect or challenge historical and current patterns of dominant-subordinated group relations. (Cummins. 1990, p. 11)

The use of reading and writing in the operation of different institutions makes possible the management of social change, the assignment of social identity by and to participants, and the distribution of valued resources in a stable manner. The marking-out of boundaries through literacy is contested as the interests of different groups converge or come into conflict. For example, when being able to read and write in English is a requirement for being employed in a particular job, some people are excluded from the hiring process and some are included in it.

The use of literacy creates particular subjectivities or personal realities. These personal realities cluster according to certain salient and contingent categories: for example, age, ethnicity, and occupation. Through reading and writing, the individual creates an immanent reality for himself or herself. This reality, however, is patterned by the similarities and differences between the way the individual reads and writes and the ways other people read and write. Intersubjectivity conditions subjectivity.
In summary, literacy practices are sense-making activities in daily life. I use the concept of literacy practice as a basis for considering the relationship of literacy and social identity. Reading and writing in Igloolik are ways of constructing social identity; this is accomplished in a manner consistent with historical developments in the West. For example, Keller-Cohen, James Collins, and Ogbu have described how the school has become the site of literacy instruction.

The capture of literacy by the school complements the belief that literacy is the means and measure of development and social mobility. The work of Graff, Street, and Finnegan forefronts the diversity within this unity; the use of literacy in Igloolik also has its own specific character, both at the level of practice and belief. In the following sections, I discuss some processes which are key to explaining what goes on in Igloolik because they have institutionalized the relationship between literacy and social identity. These processes have come into being as Inuit and non-Natives have come into regular contact. They have promoted state control over the Canadian North. These processes are sedentarization, standardization, and credentialization.

4.4 Sedentarization

"Sedentarization is change, change from a more nomadic to a less nomadic way of life, from a nomadic to a more sedentary way of life" (Salzman, 1980, p. 1). Before contact with Europeans, the Inuit followed seasonal patterns of migration in order to make the best use of the available wildlife. The arrival of non-Natives in Siberia, Greenland, and Alaska, as well as in the Canadian North, eventually altered these patterns (Hughes, 1965). In Canada, nomadic Inuit were pulled into the settlements by the attractions offered by industrial society: for example, food without hunting and permanent shelter. The Inuit were pushed into the settlements by governments intent on bringing Native people and their territory under state control.
Now, almost all Inuit in Canada are sedentary. Between the end of World War II and the 1970s, many Inuit moved into settlements.

Population concentration has been a product of several factors: the collapse of the fur trade; federal government policies to introduce effective administration of educational, health, and welfare programs; subsidized housing; mechanization of hunting practices; and the gradual acquisition of urban preferences by Native people. (Vallee, Smith, & Cooper, 1984, p. 664)

Another factor which led to sedentarization, in addition to those mentioned by Vallee et al., was the desire by the representatives of the Canadian state to assert effective occupation and sovereignty. The context in which sedentarization occurred in the Canadian North is discussed in Chapter 3. The political development which arose as a result of sedentarization is the topic of Chapter 4.

While social change has resulted from sedentarization, it has not been total or absolute. In the same way that traditional Inuit hunted different animals for maximum security, settlement-dwellers choose among institutional alternatives to access resources in the domestic economy and the cash economy. Movement into the settlement has transformed the social identities of the residents, but in ways that reflect continuity with the past.

The institutions like the school which came with sedentarization in Igloolik have changed the ways that literacy is used: no longer is writing used only for worship and personal letters. The processes of standardization and credentialization have been the means to adapt literacy to the mixed economy which has come into being since sedentarization.

4.5 Standardization

Standardization has been defined as:

the process of making some aspect of language usage conform to a standard variety. This may take place in connection with a writing system or the spelling system of a particular language and is usually implemented by a government authority. (Richards, Platt. & Weber. 1985, p. 270)

Often, standardization reflects two contradictory impulses: the intention to make a language more uniform to promote its wider comprehensibility, on the one hand, and, on the
other, the elevation of the variety used by one group to general use, to the detriment of the varieties used by other groups. By the 18th century, a standard written English had emerged in Britain (Crowley, 1989, p. 125). The successor to this variety is the basis for the credentialization of English-language literacy in Igloolik today.

In Canada, the standardization of Inuktitut resulted in the adoption of a standard orthography in 1976. Before standardization, the Inuit of the region were able to communicate in writing and read religious works in the script introduced by the missionaries. I argue that the genesis of standardization was in the desire of representatives of the government to communicate in writing with the Inuit, in the context of state expansion into the region; in the wish of the Inuit for a recognized written form of their language; and in the attempt by linguists to establish a phonemically consistent system of notation for Inuktitut. One particularly salient element of the standardization of Inuktitut orthography was the consistent use of finals, the written representation of syllable-final consonants. I argue that learning the finals distinguishes older Inuit from younger Inuit and, in particular, from the group which I have called active biliterates. Expertise in the standard orthography entitles one to write or translate material for publication in Inuktitut. Employment in the local school also requires expertise in Inuktitut syllabics. In Chapter 5, I discuss the ideas which underpinned standardization and the events which led up to it. In Chapter 7, I show how the standardization of Inuktitut has been taken up in the use of literacy and the construction of social identity in Igloolik.

Language standardization is important because language is one way that all humans mediate experience and define their identities. Widmer (1989) has drawn attention to the potent relationship between language and identity: "... soulignons l'extraordinaire efficacité et simplicité du choix de la langue comme véhicule identitaire" (p. 98). Through linguistic integration, the nation state is legitimated and identities are established for its citizens.
As in the case of identity and culture, members of the society tend to expect a certain degree of congruence between the public language and their own linguistic competence and style. Indeed, in a powerful way, the language used in public affairs and institutions signifies to individuals and groups 'that the society is indeed their society', and the institutions, their institutions. Language is perhaps the most effective symbolic medium for assuring a mutual reflection of the public world of institutions and the private world of individuals. (Breton, 1984, p. 126)

While linguistic integration may have as its goal the use of one language by all the citizens of a state. Widmer (1989) has shown, using the case of Switzerland, that similar processes can take place in plurilingual states. The standardization of orthography and pronunciation in a manner that has "un statut de quasi-loi naturelle" (p. 97) is a way for the state to assert control over identity. For Widmer, "l'État, la ville et l'écriture sont les pignons d'une société fondée sur le pouvoir distant et sur des formes nouvelles d'inégalités" (p. 100).

At the same time that the process of standardization described in general terms by Widmer restricts, it also creates opportunities: in the analysis of data in Chapter 7, I show how active biliterates have used their knowledge of the standard orthography to access resources through employment, while the authority of older Inuit has been diminished because they do not know how to write using the finals.

4.6 Credentialization

Language standardization is one basis for what Randall Collins (1979) has described as the rise of the credential system. For him, education has become the means to institute a more or less unified hierarchy.

As the system elaborated [in the United States,] the value of any particular kind and level of education came to depend less and less on any specific content that might have been learned in it, and more and more upon the sheer fact of having attained a given level and acquired the formal credential that allowed one to enter the next level (or ultimately to pass the requirements for entering a monopolized occupation). ... The particular cultures of everyday social transactions were gradually transformed into abstract credentials. (p. 93)

Collins makes the claim that, in the aggregate, the enormous expansion of education in North America has had no effect on social mobility. Bureaucratization, especially in the
tertiary sector. has gone along with an increased emphasis on educational requirements. At the
same time, according to his argument, schools absorb the surplus labour force. They
counterbalance the effects of excess industrial capacity and long-term structural
unemployment. According to Collins. the upshot is credential devaluation; higher and higher
levels of education are required for employment, not so much because of any intrinsic worth to
the education, but because it is a convenient means to eliminate the too numerous applicants.
He proposes abolishing credentials as a basis for gatekeeping decisions.

I will argue in this thesis, and particularly in Chapter 7, that credentialization has
patterned local social organization in that non-Natives and active biliterates have accessed
resources through employment by getting an education. Other younger Inuit and older Inuit,
on the other hand, have been prevented from accessing resources because of a lack of
credentials.

In my study, I examine the social structure of the Nunavut community of Igloolik and
the actions of its Native and non-Native inhabitants using the concepts outlined above: literacy,
social identity, sedentarization, standardization, and credentialization. By doing so, I intend
that these concepts will be better understood, as will the nature of the changes now going on in
Igloolik. The methodology for the study is given in Chapter 2. The context for the study is the
expansion of the Canadian state into the North, contact between speakers of Inuktitut and
English, and the appearance of the mixed economy. This context is described in Chapter 3,
Chapter 4, Chapter 5, and Chapter 6. In the following section, I preview the study itself,
which is described in detail in Chapter 7.

5 Preview of the Study

About eleven hundred people were living in Igloolik at the time of my study in the
early 1990s. The residents of Igloolik are either Inuit, one of the Aboriginal peoples of
Canada, or non-Natives, known as 'Qallunaat' in the Inuktitut language spoken by the Inuit in
the community. While the Inuit have occupied the area since time immemorial, non-Natives are more recent arrivals. Most of the non-Natives living in Igloolik are English-speaking Canadians. Many are employees of state institutions which originated in the sedentarization of the Inuit in the decades after World War II.

People in Igloolik read and write in various ways. I used qualitative methods like interviews, participation observation, and examination of documents to find out how they use literacy. The languages almost always used for reading and writing in Igloolik are Inuktitut and English. If people read and write in Inuktitut, they use Inuktitut syllabics. Christian missionaries devised the syllabic writing system for Inuktitut and other North American Aboriginal languages. This writing system has been used in Igloolik since the 1920s.

The Canadian federal government, the Inuit political organizations, and linguists worked together to standardize Inuktitut syllabic orthography in the 1970s. This standardization prescribed the consistent use of syllable-final consonants. Consistent use of the finals permits a reliable spelling of Inuktitut, particularly for publication. Many older Inuit (those born before about 1946) continue to write as they did before standardization. I call this 'reading and writing traditionally'. Younger adult Inuit (those born between about 1946 and 1976) try, often successfully, to use the new orthography to write Inuktitut. I call this 'learning the finals'.

If people read and write English, they use the Roman alphabet. Both Inuit and non-Natives have learned to read and write English mostly through formal schooling. I call this 'getting an education'. Getting an education is credentialized through grade level. Grade level is represented by people in Igloolik as a way to manage employment in the cash economy. The cash economy has assumed increasing importance in Igloolik since sedentarization. Now, the domestic economy of hunting and fishing is subsidized by participation in the cash economy.

Social identity structures the use of literacy in Igloolik. I see four groups existing in the adult population of contemporary Igloolik: older Inuit (born before about 1946), active
biliterates (Inuit born between about 1946 and 1976), other younger Inuit (also born between about 1946 and 1976), and non-Natives. Older Inuit read and write traditionally in Inuktitut. Many younger Inuit have tried to get an education and to learn the finals. Only the active biliterates, however, have been able to access resources consistently by getting an education and learning the finals. Links between kin spread the resources from employment more widely. Almost all non-Natives in Igloolik read and write only in English. By getting an education in southern Canada, non-Natives have been able to access resources in Igloolik through employment. An analysis of the relationship between the use of literacy and group membership (conditioned by age and ethnicity) describes, explains, and predicts ways that people access valued resources in the setting, for example, through employment or reliance on kin.

6 Conclusion

In summary, my purpose in this thesis is to find out how literacy and social identity relate to each other in the Nunavut community of Igloolik. I hope that my work will contribute to knowledge about literacy in social context and about the political economy of the North. In my study, I make use of a theoretical framework which relates action and structure through an understanding of social processes like sedentarization, credentialization, and standardization. The origins of the current relationship between literacy and social identity and the ways that this relationship has been played out in contemporary Igloolik are the topics of the following chapters. I begin in Chapter 2 by discussing the methods that I used in conducting my study.
CHAPTER 2: METHODS

1 Introduction

In this chapter, I write about my methods of doing research on the relationship between literacy and social identity in Igloolik. I begin by outlining the principles which guided my research and some limitations on those principles. I go on to relate the way I did my research to the principles and their limitations. I describe the methods that I used in the first (1990) phase of my fieldwork, the second (1992) phase, and the third (1993) phase.

2 Principles

In this section, I will discuss the principles that I used to decide on the appropriate methods for investigating literacy and social identity in Igloolik. These principles concern the primacy of social interaction, focus on language in use, and the integration of levels of analysis.

2.1 The Primacy of Social Interaction

First, an understanding of the nature of language use, in this case the use of written language, depends on an understanding of social interaction. According to Fishman (1968), “language and society reveal various kinds and degrees of patterned co-variation” (p. 5). The use of literacy takes place in a social context (Akinnaso, 1981; Basso, 1974; Ferguson, 1978; Szwed, 1988). Szwed (1988), for example, suggests that researchers in literacy should be asking: “What positions do reading and writing hold in the entire communicative economy and what is the range of their social and cultural meanings?” (p. 310).

Further, an understanding of social identity comes from learning how language is used by people in interaction. Shared ways of reading and writing are one basis for forming social relations and for accessing resources. These literacy practices come to symbolize shared identities. Accomplishing these identities depends on learning how to behave in interaction and how to judge the behaviour of others.
Identity ... is a social construct, grounded in social interaction in the activities and situations which arise as a product of the relationship of a social group to its social and physical environment. It is a product of shared social knowledge, and a reflection of co-membership. Clearly, shared ways of thinking and behaving [specifically, I claim, ways of reading and writing] influence the definition of identity; at the same time, if one knows the identity of one's interlocutor, one can assume a great deal about what he or she is likely to believe and about how he or she is likely to behave. (Heller, 1988, p. 783)

The patterns and meanings which relate the use of literacy and social identity are experienced by both member and researcher as institutions in which the forms of interaction are stable. Nevertheless, these patterns and meanings are constantly being transformed. Therefore, any representation of interaction by researcher or participant is inherently approximate and partial. The researcher, like any actor, is limited because "all action occurs in contexts that, for any given social actor, include many elements which that actor neither helped to bring into being nor has any significant control over" (Giddens, 1984, p. 346).

While the testimony of an actor "as to the purposes and reasons for her or his conduct is the most important, if not necessarily conclusive, source of evidence about it", researchers can best understand the circumstances of interaction by reconciling different sources of data (Giddens, 1993, p. 92). In my fieldwork (described in Section 4 of this chapter), I tried to find out how literacy and social identity were related through social interaction.

2.2 Focus on Language in Use

Second, research on the relationship between literacy and social identity must focus on how written language is used in context and how social identity is shown through the contextualized use of literacy. Hymes (1964), in reaction to the neglect of function in the field of formalist linguistics, emphasized "the need to investigate directly the use of language in contexts of situation" (p. 2). Direct observation, participant accounts, site documents, and published accounts of other observers are all useful in gaining an understanding of language in use.
This approach is a qualitative one. Qualitative research has a naturalistic orientation, that is, data is gathered in naturally occurring rather than experimental settings. For Lincoln and Denzin (1994), the centre of the qualitative research paradigm lies in the commitment of the researcher to study the world from the perspective of the interacting individual. To begin to understand human actions, the researcher must interpret them from the viewpoint of the actors. Rather than testing explicit hypotheses, my approach is inductive. Prior knowledge of theory orients the research but does not limit it; theory development proceeds hand-in-hand with data collection and analysis.

A qualitative approach is consistent with an ethnographic one. Ethnography had its origins in the desire in the West in the late 19th and early 20th centuries for a scientific description of other cultures, including the Inuit (e.g. Boas, 1888/1964). Ethnography has traditionally attempted “to identify meaning from the points of view of the actors in the events observed” (Erickson, 1988, p. 1084). This concern for ‘emic’ as opposed to ‘etic’ knowledge validates the meaning systems of the social group being studied. “The commitment to get close, to be factual, descriptive and quotive, constitutes a significant commitment to represent the participants in their own terms” (Lofland, 1971, p. 4).

In some ways, ethnography and qualitative research are just more systematic versions of what people do in everyday life; they make sense of their world by observing and listening to people, by gathering information from media like print, by reflecting on what they have learned, and by recording their impressions. “Every (competent) member of society is a practical social theorist” (Giddens, 1993, p. 20). Any social actor has the capacity to learn a new culture if necessary; a qualitative approach exploits this for the purpose of studying social phenomena. In my fieldwork (described in Section 4 of this chapter), a focus on language in use makes explicit what is implicit in the conduct of everyday life. Different levels of analysis are integrated there through my use of a qualitative and ethnographic approach.
2.3 The Integration of Levels of Analysis

The third principle which I have tried to follow is that the explanation of the relationship between literacy and social identity in the setting must integrate general and specific levels of analysis. Thus, at one extreme, concepts which explain the political economy of the Canadian nation state and of the world are used as well as, at the other extreme, concepts which explain the phoneme-grapheme relation in specific texts.

Applying concepts from different levels of analysis is another example of a more systematic version of what goes on in everyday experience. "The routine activities of an organization or group normally include the integration of micro- and macro-data and theory because all daily-life settings reflect several levels of cultural complexity" (Cicourel. 1981. p. 52).

I follow this principle because I reject any arbitrary restriction on what theories and methods are appropriate for the study of a problem within the framework of a particular discipline. Other researchers have also repudiated these kinds of limits. For example, Abele and Stasiulis (1989) criticize the field of Canadian political economy for a failure to consider race and ethnicity in its analysis. In order to understand the nature of the Canadian social formation and its incorporation into the international political economy, "it is necessary to begin with recognition of the gendered, racial, and ethnic complexity of class relations in all phases of Canadian economic and political development" (p. 243).

The field of sociolinguistics has also been criticized, in particular for its lack of emphasis on questions of power, resistance, and language ideology. For example, Martin-Jones (1989) offers a critique of two different approaches to the study of bilingualism among linguistic minorities. On the one hand, in work based on a structural-functional perspective, language choice is seen as reflecting community-wide norms about appropriate language use in particular domains; so, for example, there is no scope for dealing with individual or group
variation in attitudes towards appropriacy. Little attention is given to the social or historical origins of different patterns of language use.

In the micro-interactionist perspective, on the other hand, "individual bilinguals are seen as actively contributing to the definition and redefinition of the symbolic value of the languages within the community repertoire in the context of daily interaction, instead of passively observing idealized norms of language allocation" (p. 114). This approach, however, is found wanting by Martin-Jones because differences in patterns of language use are insufficiently related to developments taking place at the political and economic level. She calls for a model which allows for the creative and strategic nature of individual language use while recognizing that language use is contested in conditions of political and economic struggle.

Woolard (1985) addresses concerns of the type raised by Martin-Jones by relating sociolinguistic theory to social theory through the use of the concepts of language variation and cultural hegemony. In Woolard's formulation, sociolinguistics encompasses "all research on the social causes, concomitants and consequences of variability in actual linguistic and communicative structures at the levels of phonology, morphology, syntax and/or discourse organization." including the ethnography of communication (p. 746).

As an example of this integration of social theory and sociolinguistics, Woolard (1989) makes a detailed ethnographic and experimental examination of linguistic practices and beliefs in Catalonia. She shows how decisions about language choice implement structural relations of dominance and subordination. Within Spain, Catalans are a minority, albeit a prosperous one. The decision by Catalans to maintain the Catalan language represents resistance against the central government. Within Catalonia, working-class immigrant speakers of Castilian contrast sharply with Catalans in terms of access to institutional resources. Immigrants can cope with these differences by identifying themselves as Catalan through the use of the Catalan language.
Another alternative for the Castilian-speaking immigrants is maintenance and assertion of Castilian identity.

Woolard draws on the conception of a linguistic marketplace, described in Bourdieu (1991). In the linguistic marketplace, value is determined according to the standard of the legitimate language associated with the dominant class. Woolard critiques Bourdieu's conception, however, by demonstrating that there are alternative vernacular markets in which usages stigmatized by the standard are valued. The unity of political, economic, and linguistic orders is never total. What is less clear to Woolard (1985) is how these vernacular markets fit in to the larger society. "Are they best thought of as encompassed within and tolerated by the 'corporate' culture, or do they represent oppositional or merely alternative cultural forms?" (p. 744).

In a similar vein, Gal (1987) addresses how relations of domination are reproduced and sometimes resisted through local cultural practices. She interprets linguistic variation to reveal elements of the users' consciousness: "how they respond symbolically to class relations within the state, and how they understand their historic position and identity within regional economic systems structured around dependency and unequal development" (p. 637). In turn, an understanding of the political-economic context is a basis for explaining language choice strategies which transcends universalist approaches to the study of, for example, codeswitching. These approaches see the phenomenon being studied as having inherent characteristics. They fail to account for the distinctive character of the phenomenon because they abstract it from the specific political-economic context. Gal points out that the meanings of particular patterns of language use are different in different communities; what is universal is that these practices have meaning in relation to social structure and the ethnic identity of the users.

For example, Gal (1987) looks at the differences in language use during post-war European industrialization among minorities like speakers of Italian in Germany, speakers of
Hungarian in Austria, and speakers of German in Romania. Some of the differences are explained by the various positions of the groups in relation to the process of European industrial development, for example, in terms of the timing of the group's entry into the process or the pan-European prestige of languages spoken; other patterns are "part of the group's actively constructed and often oppositional response" to their political and economic position (p. 650).

In a subsequent study, Gal (1993) looks at the heterogeneity of language use and the accompanying ideologies within a minority-language group, speakers of German in Hungary. She found that "the status of the minority language is not firmly fixed relative to the language of the state; the languages' symbolic associations with social groups are currently matters of denial, disagreement, or dispute" (p. 339, emphasis in original). State language policy, including the use of censuses with questions on language and nationality, has provoked forms of resistance which vary between individuals. Individuals may even change in the ways they resist over time. Some are ambivalent about asserting their ideas on language. Some equate German language use with German ethnic identity while others deny the equation. The value of dialect and standard German are points of controversy. Whatever their perspective, people are able to articulate appropriate ideologies which justify their beliefs.

Whether by making a critique of existing practice like Abele and Stasiulis or Martin-Jones or by conducting studies which incorporate a critical perspective like Woolard or Gal, the works cited above exemplify the principle of integrating levels of analysis. People choose how to use language, including written language, in the context of daily interaction. These interactions are situated, however, in relations of social inequality structured by the institutions of state and capital. The sociolinguist can no more ignore political economy than the political economist can ignore how language is used in interaction. In this thesis, I focus on a more macro-level of analysis in Chapter 3, Chapter 4, and Chapter 5. Chapter 6 has elements of
both micro- and macro- levels of analysis, while the individual testimony presented in Chapter 7 shifts the focus to a more micro- level.

While the principles of the primacy of social interaction, focus on language in use, and the integration of levels of analysis have guided my choice of methods, I also recognize limitations in the approaches suggested by these principles. I will discuss these in the next section.

3 Limitations

Lincoln and Denzin (1994) see qualitative research as beset by two crises: the crisis of representation and the crisis of legitimation.

3.1 The Crisis of Representation

The crisis of representation reflects concern about how adequately the researcher can portray the experience of those from other cultures. Clifford (1988) has pointed to "a pervasive post-colonial crisis of ethnographic authority" (p. 8). In the past, ethnographers characteristically have been from the Western industrialized countries. They have studied people from non-industrialized societies. The ethnographers' audiences have thought of ethnographic accounts as realistic renderings of the different experience of people from other cultures. Anthropology promoted the idea of complete cultural systems, existing in isolation from outside influences and internally homogeneous. "Ethnographers of an interpretive bent ... have not generally represented the ways in which closely observed cultural worlds are embedded in larger, more impersonal systems" (Marcus, 1986, p. 166). Classical anthropological conceptions, which locate meaning in an ahistorical ethnographic present, are not able to account well for social change, syncretism, and conflict within societies. Spatial isolation, paternalism, and colonialism allowed classical anthropology to speak for other cultures and define their essence in a way no longer possible.

Marcus (1986) sees ethnography as confronting the crisis of representation by "the doing of local-level studies of processes and their social construction—in other words, of
ethnography sensitive to its context of historical political economy" (p. 167). Anderson (1989) has advised engaging in critical reflexivity, a dialectical process among the researcher’s constructs, the informant’s common-sense constructs, the research data, the researcher’s ideological biases, and the structural and historical forces that inform the social construction under study. The crisis of representation has been addressed in some measure by federal and territorial government scientific policy, which since the 1970s has had the goal of involving Northerners, especially Aboriginal people, and informing them about research (Bergeron, 1984).

I have engaged with the crisis of representation by locating my account of the relationship of literacy and social identity in Igloolik within a theoretical framework presented in Chapter 1. This framework allows for a critique of existing representations and policies. The analysis of data is situated within a larger story of the absorption of Canada’s North and the Aboriginal peoples into the Canadian state and the world economy. This story is told in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, where I have shown how the legitimation of the Canadian state and the accumulation of capital in the setting are part of more general processes. Social and economic inequalities in the North are specific instances of phenomena existing across the country and around the world. In Chapter 5, I critically examine the linguistic theories which have underpinned much thought about language in the context of contact between Inuit and non-Natives. In Chapter 6, I have described the institutions which pattern the social and physical environment of Igloolik. By quoting at length from local participants in Chapter 7, including providing quotes in Inuktitut, I have allowed the participants, in some small measure and subject to my selection, to present themselves and their views. In Section 4 of this chapter, I submit my techniques of research to reflexive critique, including reflection on my own position in the community and the impact that has had on my research. I hope that the documentation and analysis presented here can be used as a resource for the critique and transformation of inequitable social practices in the setting.
I believe that, despite the dangers of misrepresentation, the potential benefits of a greater understanding of the relationship of literacy and social identity in Igloolik justify the work which has led to this thesis. If social inequality there has some of its origins in literate practices and beliefs, an account of these practices and beliefs in all their complexity may serve to promote social equality.

3.2 The Crisis of Legitimation

The second crisis to which Lincoln and Denzin (1994) allude is the crisis of legitimation. This concerns the validity and authority of the text which reports on the research. At one level, the validity of a text is bolstered by systematically following accepted procedures of inquiry. From this viewpoint,

a text is valid if it is sufficiently grounded, triangulated, based on naturalistic indicators, carefully fitted to a theory (and its concepts), comprehensive in scope, credible in terms of member checks, logical, and truthful in terms of its reflection of the phenomenon in question. (Lincoln & Denzin, 1994, p. 579)

When making any claim concerning what is happening in the site under study, the researcher must "be able to show how it could be happening, given the structures of the activities in the relevant settings" (Heap, 1985, p. 268).

While following these procedures will enhance the validity of a text, they offer no guarantee of ultimate validity or absolute authority. For example, the use of interviews to bolster validity presents as many perils as possibilities. C. L. Briggs (1986) has suggested that: "interview techniques smuggle outmoded preconceptions out of the realm of conscious theory and into that of methodology" (p. 3). The interview must be analyzed as a speech event: the data generated reflect the characteristics of that speech event and the relationships it entails, rather than a straightforward and transparent reality. Cicourel (1988) has noted that:

when we ask questions ... we are motivated by our theoretical conceptions as researchers and seldom realize the extent to which our informants' or respondents' experiences have led to memory organization that is not compatible with the way we have conceived of a problem or set of issues. (p. 904)
Any understanding derived from interviews or other methods of collecting data will be only partial; the goal in a quest for a comprehensive, holistic account of other ways of living will be illusory. In the same way, the attempt to achieve more comprehensive explanation by integration of levels of analysis will always be limited. If one respects the conventions of academic discourse, one’s text is congruent with other texts—but not with an (imaginary) external, objective reality. The validity of a text must be supported by answering the question ‘validity for whom?’.

All knowledge is produced within a particular configuration of social, cultural, economic, political, and historical circumstances and therefore always both reflects and helps to (re)produce those conditions. Furthermore, since all claims to knowledge represent the interests of certain individuals or groups, we must always see knowledge as interested. (Pennycook, 1989, p. 595)

In the following section, I will describe and critique the methods I used, following from the principles established above and the limitations inherent in them.

4 Methods in Use

In this section, I describe the methods used in my research. I begin by discussing in general my methods and go on to discuss the three phases of my fieldwork. In this section, I devote attention to some of the constraints on collecting data with interviews.

I used qualitative techniques to learn about the social processes which relate literacy and social identity in Igloolik. These techniques included formal and informal interviews and participant observation; study of the Inuktitut language and the Inuktitut syllabic writing system; collection and perusal of site documents, statistical information, and secondary sources; as well as discussion of previously obtained findings with local people. The product of these activities, organized into transcripts and fieldnotes, constitutes the data on which I have based my analysis. It makes sense to me that an analysis of these data would answer my research question ‘what is the relationship between literacy and social identity in a Nunavut community?’ . This is because through studying these data I learned what literacy practices
different people used, and I also learned how people used literacy to identify themselves as members of groups.

Fieldwork in Igloolik took place in May-June 1990, October-November 1992, and January-June 1993. Previously, I had taught English, Social Studies, and Health to Grades 7, 8, and 9 at the school in Igloolik between 1981 and 1985. In 1985, I left the community for further education and employment. After I had started studies in 1989 towards my doctorate at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto, I began my fieldwork in Igloolik in 1990. I returned in 1992 and 1993 to continue my investigations there. While I was in the community, I lived in the cook house of the research centre, in the temporarily vacant houses of local non-Natives, and in my tent in camp.

I am a middle-aged male English-speaking Eurocanadian. While every effort was made to interrogate my position and to listen to different voices, nevertheless the perspective of this work reflects my background in many ways. For example, I work in the hope that the production of this academic text will lead to greater equality and social justice for all the people of Igloolik, as well for others on whose experience the insights presented here might bear. Although I have spent extended periods in Igloolik, it is not my home and I am not an Inuk. Before I began my research, I had lived, worked as a teacher, and made friends, both Inuit and non-Native, in the community. When I returned as a researcher, I had a different, perhaps less privileged, status and this led me to new perspectives; I saw more clearly that access to resources reflects one’s social position as well as one’s personality.

After I arrived in 1990 in Igloolik, as a way of informing people what I was doing there, I presented my proposed research on the local radio station, CBII. I told the listeners that I would be asking different people in the community how they used reading and writing in Inuktitut and English. My presentation was interpreted into Inuktitut.

When I was conducting my research, I received very good collaboration from local people, both Inuit and non-Native, in interviewing, interpretation, translation, transcription.
discussion, and other forms of data collection and analysis. Despite regular attendance at excellent language lessons by a local Inuk, I speak very little Inuktitut; any of my conclusions must be considered in light of this.

I used interviews to find out about literacy and social identity. This method was appropriate because it gave the participants an opportunity to communicate about how they used literacy and about how they belonged to social groups. The feelings of the participants about the interview as a social event ranged from refusal to participate through ambivalence to enthusiasm.

My assumptions were that literacy and identity were topics worthy of consideration in the setting and that people there were knowledgeable about them. These assumptions were based on my previous experience in the community: from my arrival in Igloolik in 1981, people (both Inuit and non-Native) had pointed with pride to the use of Inuktitut literacy in the school and elsewhere, to the traditional reputation of the community, including widespread participation in hunting, and to other manifestations of a distinctive identity.

A total of 75 formal interviews were conducted. Two of these were with non-Native residents of the regional centre, Iqaluit. In Igloolik, 73 formal interviews were conducted with 67 different residents of the community; six people were interviewed twice. (See Figure 1 for a breakdown by gender, ethnicity, and age of interviewees in the community.) My sample was from a total adult population of about 600.

Sampling of actors, settings, and events was purposeful and theoretical. Specifically, I contacted participants based on my perceptions of their knowledge of and position in the community as this knowledge and position became salient in the process of research and theorizing. For example, it emerged in the earliest interviews that I conducted that there was a variation in the use and knowledge of literacy according to people’s ages. Therefore, I was sure to talk to people of different ages in order to clarify and interrogate this perception.
Total number of community interviewees 67

Inuit 58

Male 38
Born 1946 or before 10
Born after 1946 28

Female 20
Born 1946 or before 5
Born after 1946 15

Non-Natives 9

Male 7
Born 1946 or before 2
Born after 1946 5

Female 2
Born 1946 or before 0
Born after 1946 2

Figure 1: Breakdown of interviewees by ethnicity, gender, and age
Not only did use of literacy seem to differ according to whether one was Inuit or non-Native, literacy mediated ethnic interaction in ways I will explain in Chapter 7. I tried to get the perspectives of both Inuit and non-Natives. Church is one place where people read, so I tried to talk to people who went to the Roman Catholic, Anglican, or Pentecostal churches. I attended services at each of the churches.

I was curious to know if gender affected one's use of literacy. Therefore, I talked to both women and men. I observed people younger than 16 informally and collected second-hand information about their practices and beliefs. My focus, however, was on adult members of the community because getting informed consent from children was a more cumbersome process requiring parental agreement. I also felt the population of about 600 people from which I was sampling was already large enough.

I sought out discrepant cases. An analysis of their practices of these cases showed that the categories I had proposed should be revised. For example, the age of a person did not always predict their pattern of literacy use, as explained in more detail in Section 4.1 of this chapter. A few people did not wish to be interviewed for various reasons: because they were too busy or because they felt they were not knowledgeable about the topics to be discussed. For example, an older Inuk (born in the 1940s) who did not know how to read or write Inuktitut or English told one of my collaborators that he did not want to be interviewed. He said this was because he did not know much about literacy. Another Inuk (born in the 1950s) told me he did not want to participate because he found the questions too personal, after I had interviewed his wife in his presence. A few young adult women found an encounter with an unfamiliar member of the opposite sex uncomfortable. Other non-Native males like Condon (1987, p. 9), who was working in a Western Arctic Inuit community, and Rasing (1994, p. 44), who was working in Igloolik, also found young women reluctant to be interviewed. While I did interview some young women. I respected the wishes of those who did not want to be interviewed.
I used various techniques to conduct interviews. The interview as language event is more than a face-to-face spoken interchange. Before conducting the interview, a participant had to be selected. When I collaborated with others to conduct interviews, they suggested participants in the process of purposeful and theoretical sampling mentioned above. The next step was contacting the participant in person or by telephone, getting his or her agreement to participate, and making arrangements, for example, scheduling the interview. Initially, I was using an interview protocol. (See Section 4.1 of this chapter and Appendix 1.) In later interviews, I would draw up questions for each participant, either with one of my collaborators or by myself. For interviews conducted in Inuktitut, the questions were either developed in Inuktitut or translated into Inuktitut. My collaborators and I maintained the above norms of interaction because we felt that the norms would reassure participants that what was taking place was something fairly familiar.

Before the interview, the interviewee was told that all information was confidential and was asked for informed consent. Then, the interview would be taped. Following the interview, if it had been conducted by somebody helping me, we would debrief and discuss what had been learned for the purpose of selecting other participants and modifying the questions. All interviews were transcribed. Interviews in Inuktitut were translated. All interviews were read and reread. I coded and analyzed the texts using categories emerging from the data, as I will describe in more detail in Section 4.1 of this chapter. Finally, the data were integrated into the successive versions of this text.

As mentioned in Section 3.2 of this chapter, C. L. Briggs (1986) and Cicourel (1988) have called on researchers to consider interviews as speech events and to be self-critical about interview techniques.

But the conditions noted by Briggs [1984] for small communities need to be emphasized: interview techniques that elicit information from others invariably impose a particular set of communicative norms on the setting and ignore the extent to which those being interviewed are accustomed to communicating their thoughts. feelings.
health problems, or whatever, under interviewing or different circumstances. (Cicourel, 1988, p. 904)

Attention to which communicative norms are in operation in any interaction is needed. Nevertheless, I challenge any assumption that residents of this particular small community are unfamiliar with the norms of the interview, although this event may contrast with other forms of communication in use. People from Igloolik have been the target of much research referred to throughout this thesis. The interaction between Inuit and non-Natives which has become commonplace in the process of sedentarization is often structured in a question-and-answer format, for example, during the job interview, at the police detachment, at the nursing station, or in education, as indicated in the following excerpt from an interview. (Q: designates the interviewer while A: designates the interviewee.)

Q: Can you explain how you decide whether people who come to you are suited for a particular program in which they’re interested?
A: Yeah. That’s something that takes a lot of different things and it’s the counselling aspect of this job that’s sort of a newer side of things for me but usually how I start out is with you know I try and find out um by questioning them.
Q: Unhn.
A: What are their goals? What are they like to do? What are they good at? What is their background? Have they had any work experience in it? And that’s for a program say somebody came in off the street and they said I’m interested in this course. (female non-Native, born in the 1950s)

The familiarity of local people with the interview format was brought home to me by the comments of one Inuk (born in the 1930s) following an interview in phase one, which his son interpreted. Although he had answered my questions thoroughly and without hesitation, he told me after the interview that I should be asking questions about the weather, about land skills, and about Inuit culture, rather than about literacy. Perhaps this was because I said in this interview, as in all the others conducted with the phase one interview protocol, that I hoped the information that I got would be useful for the education of the children. I had the feeling that he was comparing me unfavourably with other more competent non-Natives who had questioned him in the past. He seemed to be trying to help me become a better
interviewer. He encouraged his son, who had been interpreting for us, to work with me. His comments fed into my reflexive examination of the research process: later interviews, discussed in more detail in Section 4.3 of this chapter, gave more control of topic to the interviewee. A collaborator interviewed this person again in phase three of the fieldwork.

A communicative norm which operates among Inuit in the setting is that verbal display of knowledge is restricted to those who are expert. Those who are not knowledgeable (e.g. children) should listen, observe, and not ask questions (J. L. Briggs, 1991). People who are expert, usually older Inuit, do talk at length, for example, on community radio. Other related norms are that people should not speak for other people or speculate about the future. “In these [Northern hunting] societies, no individual can speak on behalf of other individuals, neither parents for their children nor an elder for his family” (Brody, 1987, pp. 121-123).

As mentioned above, another communicative norm that operates is that non-Natives are expected to ask questions. The contradiction between these norms is mediated by the bracketing of interviews between non-Native and Inuk as restricted in time and topic. Interviews shade from those which I conducted in which questions are direct and answers brief and focussed, to those conducted by my Inuit collaborators with older Inuit, where questions are less direct and answers extended, resembling informal interaction between older Inuit and their younger kin. Formal interviews that I conducted with people my own age are like conversations between peers on topics of mutual interest, although I often was initiating the topics. One effect of interrogation of my method and reflection on the operating communicative norms is that I tried to be more relaxed (that is, less directive and controlling) in interviewing and just let people talk. Also, I moved from more structured to more open-ended interview formats.

In the third phase of the fieldwork, non-Natives were questioned by Inuit students who were collaborating with me. These interviews reversed the normal interethnic dynamic: the
bracketing of the interview as a special type of speech event meant that non-Native interviewees sometimes revealed information that they might not otherwise, for example, their salaries. In this exchange, the young female Inuk probes for information that the middle-aged male non-Native is at first a little reluctant to reveal to her.

Q: What is the pay range for this position? If you don’t want to answer it, that’s okay.
A: For the management position [sighs] well it’s a progressive kind of a salary depending on your experience. When I was first made a manager in [another community] I was only getting $10,000 a year. That was in 1980. In a position that I have now I get quite a bit more.
Q: At least how much more? [Laughs].
A: Uh I get- My salary is around $30,000 a year. (male non-Native, born in the 1950s)

The students were able to exploit the interview format not only to get information about employment but also to try to access resources otherwise. For example, in the following exchange, the Inuit student interviewer tentatively sees whether there is a possibility that he can assist the non-Native interviewee in travelling on the land in return for expenses.

Q: Do you have to go out and check the outpost camps too?
A: Yeah everything.
Q: How regularly?
A: Not regular enough. Like-
Q: Do you get to be out quite a lot?
A: I should be doing more. I have to- The summer is coming up. ... [extended discussion of interviewee’s duties at different times of the year] ... So we’ll go to- April or May we’ll go to all the outpost camps. All of them probably once at least.
Q: Would that just be you and [your colleague]?
A: It could be anybody. Whoever wants to go. You know if [my colleague] can’t go-
Q: I guess you guys would provide gas-
A: Well what we’d do- Let’s say [my colleague] didn’t come. Let’s say he had something else to do. I would go find somebody else who would be willing to take me and then I would supply the gas and that to that individual and the food too.
Q: That’s great.
A: Oh yeah. (male non-Native, born in the 1950s)

By reflecting on the different interview formats and observing the role relationships to which each format predisposed the participants, an understanding of local social relations was gained that transcended the information conveyed by the interviewee. The different formats and their consequences are discussed in greater detail in the sections which follow in this chapter.
In addition to interviews, data were gathered through participant observation, including informal conversation. Literacy practices at home and in institutional settings were observed and recorded. I took notes on what I observed: how people used Inuktitut and English in speaking, reading, and writing. I visited people at home, and people visited me. I went to the stores, to the coffee shop, to church sometimes, to the Hamlet office, to the research centre, and to the school, among other places. I went out seal hunting with a local family for a week, as well as camping for shorter periods. I went to events in the community hall and the school. I looked at notices posted at the Northern store or the Co-op and books and papers that people had at their houses. Written religious, educational, and literary material in Inuktitut and English was collected. I collected site documents like material distributed in the mail to every household. Data gathered from participation observation, as well as from interviews, form the basis of the description and analysis found in Chapter 7.

I collected statistical information locally and from government agencies like the Northwest Territories Bureau of Statistics, Statistics Canada, and the Department of Social Services of the Government of the Northwest Territories. The implications of this material are treated in Chapter 6. In short, it presented the picture of the two overlapping economies, the domestic economy and the cash economy, and the nature of people's participation in them, through employment, hunting, or collecting transfer payments.

I coded the data and reviewed them in an iterative manner, looking for emerging patterns, particularly with reference to the sensitizing concepts of literacy and social identity. More details of this process are given in the following sections. The review of the data, proceeding to saturation, has been the main basis for my findings, reported in Chapter 7.

I have attempted to assure the validity of my interpretation of the data by making my methods and procedures, including the sequence of data collection and analysis, explicit in this chapter, by supporting my conclusions with extensive quotation from participants, by seeking
out discrepant cases and competing explanations, by confirming results across data sources, by discussing my findings with local participants and others, and by reflecting critically on my methods and personal biases and assumptions.

In the following sections, I will show how the fieldwork proceeded phase by phase in terms of a continuing application to the collection and analysis of data of the principles of the primacy of interaction, focus on language in use, and integration of levels of analysis. This process also took account of the limitations in these principles, as discussed above as the crises of legitimation and representation.

4.1 Phase One of the Fieldwork

In the first phase of the fieldwork, I interviewed both Inuit and non-Natives. Before I arrived in Igloolik in 1990, I interviewed two non-Natives in Iqaluit, the regional centre. In Igloolik, I interviewed two more non-Natives while I was in the process of preparing an interview protocol for Inuit participants. At the end of my first phase of fieldwork, I interviewed another non-Native resident of Igloolik. These interviews with non-Natives were conducted in the offices of the participants or, in one case, the home of the participant. The purpose of these interviews was to draw on the interviewees' expertise about literacy in Inuktitut and English and related areas like educational administration and government language policy. They had gained this expertise in the positions in which they were employed.

Reflexivity allows me to see in retrospect that these interviews were most useful when the interviewees were discussing their own practices, for example, as in the discussion of hiring in the school, given in Section 2.2 of Chapter 7, and of non-Native engagement in translation practices, given in Section 5 of Chapter 7. These were extensive interviews with participants who needed little prompting to give their views.

My questioning allowed these non-Native interviewees to present themselves as actively and optimistically engaged in promoting and succeeding with various initiatives in partnership
with Inuit, like publication and broadcasting in Inuktut, use of Inuktut in the school system, and training of Inuit teachers and library personnel. They made reference to logistical difficulties and current deficiencies in programs, particularly to do with lack of trained Inuit personnel, curriculum, and reading material. They made allusions to academic research which shows the importance of first language education for second language academic achievement. They raised the questions of dialect diversity and standardization, including the use of finals. Two of the interviewees mentioned Quebec government policy to promote the French language. They suggested this policy could be a model for the Inuit. Another interviewee told me that I could ask, 'Is Inuktut in any danger?'. I was also encouraged to observe in meetings and workplaces and note the language of agenda, minutes, notes, work orders, and posters.

While I was conducting these interviews with non-Natives, I was developing an interview protocol jointly with a friend and former colleague. He was an Inuk and a long-time resident of the community. We produced a written version in English and Inuktut syllabics on his Macintosh computer. (See Appendix 1.) Some questions in the interview protocol were based on a questionnaire used to study literacy in West Africa by Scribner and Cole (1981), as was the idea of the reading passage (p. 271).

Besides collecting demographic information like date of birth, questions dealt with church membership, participation in hunting, sewing, and wage employment, as well as knowledge and use of written and spoken Inuktut and English. I also asked the participants questions about their level of education and their learning of reading and writing. The participants told me how frequently they read and wrote in Inuktut and English. I asked them whether and in which language they wrote letters, notices, lists, and notes. I asked people to read a passage in English and Inuktut, if they could. By asking questions on these topics, I was looking for patterns which related people's use of literacy with other elements of their
identity like how they made a living, what church they attended, and whether or not they had
gone to school. I thought that these elements of identity would be particularly salient in
relation to the recent history of Igloolik, including the process of sedentarization.

I conducted taped interviews using the interview protocol with 33 adult local Inuit, with
the collaboration of an interpreter when the interviewee was unilingual in Inuktitut. As well as
taping the interview, I filled out a sheet during the interview with the responses made by the
interviewee, as well as any added comments he or she made. The Inuktitut-language and
English-language versions of the printed interview protocol (as shown in Appendix I) were
available for the interviewer, the interviewee, and the interpreter (if present) during the
interview process. The interviews were conducted in the research centre house where I stayed,
the research centre offices, and in the homes and offices of interviewees. I did not notice that
the physical location of the interview affected any responses. I used the protocol with 22 male
interviewees and 11 female interviewees. The interviewees ranged in age from 18 years old to
69 years old. Interviewees were from the different religious groups in the community.

I conducted the first interview using the protocol with my friend (born in the 1940s)
who had worked with me to prepare it. This was a chance for me to practise interviewing as
well as to find out about literacy and social identity. I was trying to find out if my questions
were appropriate.

Q: And ‘Do you sew caribou clothing?’, like to ask someone?
A: That’s a good one.
Q: That’s polite to ask?
A: Yes.

My friend told me, ‘Those are very good questions’. He used some items as a basis for
telling stories of his experiences as a student, teacher, parent, and translator which illuminated
the topics. He told me that he wrote in both English and Inuktitut every day. He had learned
Inuktitut syllabics from his parents. When I asked him ‘Who writes syllabics best in Igloolik?’
he said he had no idea. I felt the mood of this interview was relaxed and I felt encouraged to continue, with the minor modifications suggested by the interviewee's comments.

When a more or less definitive version of the interview protocol was ready, I conducted an interview with one of my former students (born in the 1960s). I was still trying to get a handle on the interview process, as the following exchange indicates.

A: You’re missing a page [in the interview protocol].
Q: Awk! This is why I'm doing it with you. You know what I'm like.
A: [Laughs].

The interview seemed to go smoothly. This interviewee offered some explanations to clarify his answers, but these were not as extensive as those in the first interview. His responses offered some contrasts with the first interview: he had learned Inuktitut syllabics exclusively in school, he read Inuktitut syllabics only in church, and he rarely, if ever, wrote in Inuktitut syllabics. He used English to read and write at work and also read in English for pleasure at home. When I asked him to read in Inuktitut syllabics, although he could do it, he spontaneously said, ‘I'm not very good at those small ones [the finals]' . I was next able to interview his partner who had come in while we were talking.

His partner (born in the 1960s) seemed to have somewhat similar patterns of literacy: although she reported that she could read Inuktitut syllabics, she told me that she never did, except in church. She read in English every day, for example, magazines like People and The National Enquirer. She mentioned writing in Inuktitut syllabics to her older relatives and also writing bilingual notices when she had worked at the library. She felt that it was important that the children learned Inuktitut in school. While she had no difficulty understanding or answering the questions, she did not expand on them very much, perhaps because this was the first time that I had met her.

The next interview was with another one of my former students (born in the 1960s) who was now employed in the commercial offshore fishery. He read in English more
frequently than in Inuktitut, although he could read syllabics and discussed their use with his friends 'in ordinary life' as he put it. When I asked him if he read a bilingual text first in English or in Inuktitut, he told me:

I would read in English because I’m a lot faster in English but when you’re reading in syllabics it takes longer because you have to see those little things in order to understand it. ... When they don’t have those little dots or whatever you call them it’s a whole different word. ... [Without finals] it’s easier to read but in order to fully understand they have to be there.

Here again an interviewee drew attention to the finals; this was alerting me to their significance. More detailed discussion of the finals and the process of standardization to which they relate appears in Chapter 5. This interviewee raised the issue of dialect. He wanted Inuktitut-language teachers in the school to be from the Igloolik dialect area. The issues of dialect and the finals had also been raised by some of the non-Natives I had interviewed: I incorporated questions about these issues into some subsequent interviews.

Another former student (born in the 1970s) that I ran into consented to an interview. He was unemployed and, in contrast with other Inuit of his age whom I had interviewed, had been able to spend time hunting recently. At the beginning of the interview, I encouraged him to expand on the questions I asked. He did add a few extra details but mostly just answered the questions. He wrote letters to Inuit friends in other settlements in English. He mentioned writing notices in Inuktitut for the local cadet corps when the notices were directed at the parents of the cadets.

Next I interviewed one of my former colleagues from the school (born in the 1950s). Although he read and wrote more frequently in English than Inuktitut, he did read Inuktitut regularly and without difficulty. His work required him to prepare bilingual notices and he had published in English and Inuktitut. He had learned to read Inuktitut from his mother, using the prayer book. His pattern of literacy seemed to be similar to that of my first interviewee and contrasted with that of my former students.
Soon, with the help of an interpreter, I began to interview some unilingual Inuit who had never attended school (born in the 1920s, the 1930s and the 1940s). Their pattern of literacy also seemed to afford contrasts with the previous interviews. For example, they read more frequently in Inuktitut syllabics than younger Inuit. One woman (born in the 1940s) told me she disagreed with the new system of finals and that the writing system should have been left the way it was.

I continued the interviews with Inuit of different ages; gradually patterns began to emerge which seemed to be supported both within and across cases. In general, Inuit born before the late 1940s were unilingual; they spoke only Inuktitut. They had not attended school. Inuit born since the late 1940s were bilingual and had attended school. Other patterns were elicited by items on frequency of use of reading and writing (as shown in Appendix 1) like item 29 ‘I write in syllabics’, item 30 ‘I read in syllabics’, item 31 ‘I write in English’, and item 32 ‘I read in English’, with possible responses ranging from ‘never’ to ‘every day’. These items were complemented by item 63 ‘When was the last time you wrote something in English?’. item 64 ‘... in syllabics?’. item 65 ‘When was the last time you read something in English?’. item 66 ‘... in syllabics?’. Item 62 also complemented the above items: ‘If there is a piece of writing in both syllabics and English, which do you read first?’. For some interviewees, item 39 ‘What kind of things do you read in English?’ and item 40 ‘What kind of things do you read in syllabics?’ seemed to support the emerging patterns, as did item 41 ‘Do you write letters in syllabics?‘.

Unilingual Inuit born before the late 1940s read and wrote exclusively in Inuktitut syllabics. Younger Inuit to whom I spoke also were able to read and write in Inuktitut syllabics, as indicated by their self-assessment and their performance on the reading passage. At the end of the first phase of the fieldwork, I had an Inuk who was expert in Inuktitut syllabics do a blind rating of participants’ reading the passage on to a tape. We found his rating corresponded to the self-assessments.
Younger Inuit usually read and wrote, however, more frequently in English than in Inuktitut syllabics. In response to item 43 '(Do you write letters) in English?' and item 44 'Whom do you write to?’, some younger Inuit reported writing to Inuit peers in other communities in English. Almost all younger Inuit reported that they would read a bilingual text in English first. Two younger Inuit (born in the 1950s) said that they read bilingual texts in Inuktitut syllabics first, but they explained that they were making a special effort to do this as a way of asserting their Inuit identity.

Among younger Inuit, there was variation in the frequency of reading and particularly writing Inuktitut syllabics. Inuit who were employed in the educational system or in positions where they had to communicate in writing with older unilingual Inuit reported using Inuktitut syllabics more frequently than other younger Inuit.

While I have continued to see these patterns throughout the research, they are not as clear-cut as I originally thought. People at the boundaries of the emerging groups seemed to have some characteristics of both groups. For example, a bilingual Inuk born in the late 1940s read as frequently in English as in Inuktitut syllabics but read a bilingual text in Inuktitut syllabics first.

Another pattern that emerged both from participants reporting on their own behaviour and on the behaviour of others was that almost all Inuit born before the late 1940s did not use finals in writing Inuktitut while younger Inuit did at least try to use finals in their writing. One man (born in the 1930s), however, was expert in the finals, possibly because he had learned to speak and write English in hospital outside the community in the 1950s, unlike most members of his generation; these abilities may have made the new system more accessible to him. Finals and their place in the standardization of Inuktitut orthography are explained in Chapter 5.

Discussion of the use of and attitudes towards the finals is given in Section 2.2 and Section 2.3 of Chapter 7.
In response to item 34 ‘How did you learn syllabics?’, older Inuit reported that they had learned from family members or from the missionaries. Younger Inuit reported that they had learned exclusively in school, or in school and from family members. Many of those who had learned outside of school mentioned learning from the syllabary in the prayer book. When Inuit of all ages attend church, they use Inuktitut syllabics there, as indicated by their responses to item 67 ‘Do you use Inuktitut in church?’.

Of the people to whom I spoke, all but two were in favour of the use of Inuktitut in the school, as indicated by their response to item 69 ‘Now they use Inuktitut in the school. What do you think of this?’. The responses of those who opposed the use of Inuktitut in school are given in Section 2.2 of Chapter 7.

Definite patterns did not emerge in responses to other items. There did not seem to be any clear relationship between use of literacy and membership in one or another of the religious groups. People had varying participation in the domestic economy and the wage labour economy.

The patterns which did emerge appeared to be confirmed in participant observation. For example, a young man visiting his relatives picked up the Inuktitut-language version of the interview protocol, looked at it briefly, and put it down. Then he picked up the English-language version and began reading it. He later told me in an interview that he read a bilingual text in English first.

Another example is my observation of the board meeting of a local institution. Ten local Inuit were present, of whom four were unilingual and six were bilingual. The meeting proceeded completely in Inuktitut but a bilingual Inuk (born in the 1940s) took notes in English. These notes were later written up and translated into Inuktitut so that bilingual minutes could be produced for the next meeting. This seemed to confirm the indication from the interviews that bilingual Inuit who could speak, read, and write Inuktitut often chose to use English when they had an option.
Attendance at three different churches supported what people had told me: that they used Inuktitut syllabics in church. Observation in people’s homes of reading materials on shelves or under the coffee table confirmed what they had told me in interviews about their choice of reading material. Material in Inuktitut syllabics was either religious, educational (including the children’s books published by the school board), or bilingual (English-Inuktitut).

The interviewees were usually able to answer most questions without problems or hesitation. They often expanded on their answers. Some items, however, caused difficulties. For example, in answering item 8 ‘How many children do you have?’, people were unsure whether I meant only natural children, or adopted children as well, and whether both living and deceased children were included. Item 18 ‘For how many years [have you been to school]?’ was confusing, perhaps because most people seem to think of schooling in terms of the grade level achieved, rather than the number of years attended. Item 58 ‘Who knows syllabics best in Igloolik?’ and item 59 ‘Who in Igloolik knows how to read and write English best?’ seemed to provoke awkwardness or responses that there were many people who wrote well, perhaps because of cultural constraints about speaking for others. Item 41 ‘Do you write letters in syllabics?’ and item 43 ‘… in English?’ were sometimes confusing because of ambiguity in the meaning of letter: it could mean a character as well as what you put in the mail.

In one of my interviews with a non-Native, I had been told that people in another community were in favour of the use of oral Inuktitut in the school but not Inuktitut syllabics. To see if this distinction was made in Igloolik, I had item 69 ‘Now they use Inuktitut in the school. What do you think of this?’ and item 70 ‘Now they use syllabics in the school. What do you think of this?’. People did not make a distinction and asking both items caused confusion. I eventually eliminated item 70.
I expanded on the interview protocol by asking about the use of finals. I also asked if some people were not able to read or write. There was agreement that there were a few Inuit who could not read or write in Inuktitut syllabics. Some of these, particularly older Inuit, could not write in English. A few younger Inuit could write in English but not in Inuktitut.

The original interview protocol items reflected my understanding of what was going on in Igloolik and the language I used to express my understanding. The difficulties and the changes that I made to my questions showed that I had to modify my expectations in the process of collecting data. How I did this is explained in the sections on phase two and phase three of the fieldwork.

My reflexivity extended further than pondering the appropriacy of the interview protocol items. In the process of data collection and analysis, I submitted my method of conducting interviews to self-critique. In this self-critique, I was guided by the principle that any notions of collaborative construction of meaning, shared knowledge, or the co-operative principle in the interview process must be examined critically in light of particular relations of dominance and subordination and the potential for interaction to create and reaffirm conflict and difference.

In what follows, I examine in detail the interaction in an interview that I conducted with a female Inuk (born in the 1950s). In transcribing the text, I was struck by my own excessive use of ‘okay’, ‘all right’, ‘I see’, ‘so’: metacommunicative features which had the function of terminating sequences which began with the interview protocol items; ‘how about …’ which had the function of initiating sequences anchored on the items in the interview protocol; and ‘you know’, ‘like’, ‘kind of’, ‘sort of’, ‘maybe’, or repetition, which had the function of appealing for the consent of the interviewee or the related function of mitigating the thrust of my remarks. These features seem to represent a desire to control and expedite the interview, which I felt as being motivated by fear of wasting the interviewee’s time. This is also reflected in the following lines:
Q: And so- But anyway let’s go through- This doesn’t take very long at all.
A: Mm.

For the same reason, there was a reluctance to probe or follow lines of inquiry initiated by the interviewee, as in the following:

Q: And that’s in that story [title]?
A: Unhn.
Q: I got to go look at that. Go have a look at that.
A: I got some books here.
Q: Yeah that’s good. So you did give me the answers to the next one? You did use a printed book? The prayer book?
A: Unhn.

Sometimes, I launch into rambling interventions, as in the following:

A: They don’t care whether Inuktitut- They- Inuktitut is being used I mean after that.
Q: Right. Once they- Yeah once they start reading English then they don’t care so much about Inuktitut
A: Unhn.
Q: Yeah yeah because this is the thing you know because it’s a- Too they’re able to play a bit on this because this is one idea- If people start in their own language then they’re-
A: Unhn.
Q: Able to master the second language better which you-
A: Unhn.
Q: Know that’s true I guess but that’s- And then the other thing is you learn in your own language because you want to use your own language and it- For it to be strong and they’re-
A: Unhn.
Q: Actually not the same thing but to a certain extent-
A: No.
Q: They’re able to teach Inuktitut and people support it for both the reasons without making a distinction very much. You know that I mean that to me that whole aspect is really-
A: Unhn.
Q: Interesting. ...

Nor do I think that this was just inexperience or nervousness but also a reflection of structural relations of power which must be struggled against and upon which working with the transcript has caused me to reflect. Muted conflict and difference are being acted out. I was attempting subconsciously to present myself as knowledgeable, empathetic, and in a position to approve. The interviewee countered this in a gentle manner by talking about her own writings.
By the time I had completed the first phase of my fieldwork, I saw the group/practice patterns mentioned above emerging from the data. I began to analyse the data by rereading the sheets with basic demographic data for each participant. I put them in order by date of birth. I used the crosstab procedure of the computer program Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) to work with the data. I transcribed the interviews. Then I coded and sorted them. To do this, I used codes like language, education, literacy, religion, employment, Bible, Nunavut, social identity, gender, credentialization, dialect, and syllabics. I selected these codes because they allowed me to relate my problem to what appeared to be salient in the data that I had collected. I continued to use these codes in phase two and phase three. Later, I sequenced the interviews in the order that they were conducted.

While many of the items in the protocol had a limited range of possible responses, participants could and did expand on the topics introduced. They also answered other questions which arose spontaneously. Nevertheless, I felt the need for a more open-ended interview format to explore further questions arising from the data, for example, the reasons for the patterns of literacy use. Some of the questions in the interview protocol obviously did not apply to some of the participants (e.g. ‘Have you been to school?’ for elderly Inuit). This made conducting the interview cumbersome, particularly with an interpreter. A more open-ended interview structure would mean not only that the questions could be adapted to the particular interviewee but the interviewee would be better able to initiate topics.

I was concerned that my presence and the structure of the interview protocol might be conditioning the responses. Did participants represent themselves in a particular way because of their relationship with me, because of assumptions about me, or because the interaction was going on at least part of the time in English? In addition, many of the participants so far were friends, former students, former colleagues, relatives of these, people to whom I was introduced under the auspices of the research centre, and people in positions of responsibility.
Was this sample representative of the population, or should I alter my process of selecting participants?

The use of the passage (reproduced in Appendix 1) to test the ability to read Inuktitut syllabics had given me a strong indication that most Inuit in Igloolik of all ages could read in their own language. Using the English version to test English reading was a methodological error, as the participants' having read the Inuktitut version invalidated any judgment on their comprehension of the English version. On reflection, the use of an instrument of this nature seemed at odds with my principles of focussing on language in use and in interaction; I no longer used the reading passages after the first fieldwork phase.

I wanted to address the above concerns in subsequent fieldwork phases. I planned to test the distribution of the patterns of literacy which I had seen emerging. I also hoped to learn more about the literacy practices and social identity of the non-Natives living in the community. In addition, I wanted to relate the distribution of literacy use more fully to social identity by gaining a greater understanding of the nature and the history of institutions in the community.

4.2 Phase Two of the Fieldwork

When I returned to Igloolik for the second (1992) phase of my fieldwork, the ratification vote of the land claim agreement between the Inuit of Nunavut and the Canadian government was scheduled to take place within weeks. The series of events which had led up to the ratification vote is described in Chapter 4. I attended the meeting in which representatives of the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut, the federal government, and the territorial government presented the agreement to the community. I reported on this event for the regional newspaper (Shearwood, 1992).

Although the Inuit of Nunavut did vote in favour of the agreement, many did so with misgivings. To associate the definition of their future identity so closely with control of the
Canadian state over their lands was worrisome. Illustrated handbills in English and Inuktitut syllabics with the text ‘This is Inuit homeland. Do not surrender it. Vote No on November 3, 4, or 5.’ were circulated in the community. Nevertheless, it was widely accepted by local Inuit that this was the best deal that they were going to get. The process of sedentarization had set them on a course from which it seemed there was no turning back.

Flashpoints in the controversy concerned literacy. Inuit in the audience at the ratification tour meeting wanted to know why the English and French versions of the agreement would be authoritative but the Inuktitut version would not be. They were assured by their political representatives that Inuktitut would be the official and working language of the new territory.

Along with other issues. I raised land claims in taped interviews with five adult Inuit ranging in age from 23 to 42 during this phase of the fieldwork. One was female and the rest were males. I knew these interviewees and the formal interviews were preceded by informal conversations. I drew up questions beforehand specific to each participant. although some questions were the same for more than one participant.

In the previous phase, contrasts had seemed to emerge in literacy patterns between younger Inuit who used Inuktitut syllabics in their work and those who did not. By interviewing members of both groups in the second phase, I hoped to clarify these patterns. Topics covered included the usefulness of syllabics in getting work. the job situation in Igloolik. how people had learned Inuktitut syllabics. experiences of education and employment, and the strength of Inuktitut-language use among different age groups in Igloolik.

The tension in defining these interactions as peer conversations or formal interviews was revealed when I attempted to control topic.

A: If you just define all of those things you have the rights to the land.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: Because you- From there that’s my- My- If I had my way that’s how I would do my land claims.
Q: Uhhuh okay so just to change the subject can you tell me of your experience of growing up and where you grew up.
A: No. [Laughs].
Q: Just a little bit, just a little bit.
A: Um yeah when I was little I was being brought up in a small camp. Uh where I lived was just my family. I was with my grandfather all the time and my parents were there and they lived with my uncle and his wife and his small family. It was just a family there and we lived- Our dog team was our way to travel in the wintertime. That was the only way and we never thought of any other things that we would take to go travelling and in the summertime we didn’t have outboard motors. We depended on sails and rowing. … (female Inuk, born in the 1950s)

In the following interview, another interviewee resists my attempt to control topic. The exchange is further complicated when I said, ‘you’d use to write down’ instead of what I intended, ‘you used to write down’.

A: So I tried to learn a bit.
Q: Uhhuh and you can read it [Inuktitut syllabics] now?
A: Yeah.
Q: And write?
A: Yeah slowly but-
Q: Uhhuh.
A: I’ll get it soon.
Q: Yeah.
A: Maybe when I’m 70. [Laughs].
Q: Yeah sure that’s it. And what would be maybe some kinds of things you’d use to write down? Like your songs? You write songs?
A: Yeah like what like on rocks or-
Q: Yeah or just like on paper?
A: Paper or-
Q: Like do you use letters? Do you ever write letters?
A: Sealskin or-
Q: Anything eh? You can do it any-
A: Yeah well I guess we’re in the 1990s so we use pen and paper. … (male Inuk, born in the 1960s)

In these interviews, the participants were reluctant to criticize either the Inuit political leadership or the translators of the land claim agreement. The text of the land claim agreement was available in a plain-language English version and an Inuktitut syllabics version, in addition to the legal version. Nevertheless, the symbolic use of text as a basis to legitimate political change was insufficient to alleviate the concerns of at least some community members.
Q: What do you think about the text of the agreement like how it's written?
A: Well like it's not in a simple understandable form. Like we're not used to legal explanations to something that's very important. It's well said to the people that were dealing with it, the people that were working on it. They could understand but it's not-
Normal people like ordinary people that are just there not following how it was produced you cannot really understand what- It's just like we can read the Bible but we cannot really even if we understand the wording we cannot really understand at times what it really means. That's how I think. Other people might have-
Q: Uhhuh.
A: Other opinions but that's my opinion. When I read it I understand the words but I don't understand what it really means. There would have to be someone explain it to me what it means because I would get the wrong ideas. It's not to my understanding's standard. Like I just don't- Cannot understand all of it. If I read the whole thing even I understood what it means understood the words but I don't know what it means.
Q: Uhhuh and how about the Inuktitut version?
A: Well the Inuktitut version is even harder to understand because in my opinion it's translated- … Translating is a very difficult job and I give a lot of credit to the people that did the translating but for a difficult thing. Like there is uh the structure of the English language and the structure of the Inuktitut language is different. Like the translation I find is following the English structure. Therefore it's difficult to understand what it really says. Although it's understandable what it's saying if you know how to speak English you could perhaps understand it better if you read it in Inuktitut. But if you didn't know the other language it's not real Inuktitut language. It's based on English and it's following English language structure so it's hard to understand.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: Even harder to understand in Inuktitut than it is in English. (female Inuk, born in the 1950s)

The process of Inuit political mobilization that explains and is explained by data like the above is treated in detail in Chapter 4. Another theme that emerged in these phase two interviews was the anticipated improvement in education for future generations. In the following exchange, I was trying to determine the language use of pre-school children.

Q: Do they [Inuit parents] speak sometimes to their kids in English or do the kids speak in English?
A: Yeah yeah because I think the kids that are coming right now-
Q: Uhhuh.
A: I think they're going to be a lot more educated than we are.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: And a lot more educated than our parents.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: Because our parents knew only Inuktitut and they never taught us or anything like that but now we could talk English a lot, quite a lot. (male Inuk, born in the 1960s)

The same theme emerged when I asked another participant his opinion on the land claim agreement.
A: I have [laughs] thoughts that sometimes conflict with each other.
Q: Yeah.
A: What if we pass it? Then all these things would come into force-
Q: Uhhuh.
A: In maybe seven years or so.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: But what if we don’t pass it we’re sort of lost in between because what when the tour group was here we heard different things. … If you don’t pass it the federal government is willing to take away some of the rights that you have already- That you’ve gained through this agreement.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: And some people are saying if you pass it you are giving away too much for too little.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: My personal thing is that uh if we pass it I think it would be good because it won’t come into force right away. People will have time to uh lay the groundwork.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: Seven years. Let’s see. My daughter is now 13 years old. In seven years she will be able to get a job, 20 years, or continue her education which we want her to do. And we’re telling her that if this passes in seven years you will be 20 and able to get a job and able to decide for yourself whether you want to continue your education or go into the workforce and there will be a good chance for you. So personally we’ve been telling our kids what this is all about.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: So they will not be lost like some people are.
Q: Uhhuh so it’s almost something for the next generation?
A: Yes uhhuh we’re trying to decide for the next generation. Yes, for sure. (male Inuk. born in the 1950s)

When I asked another participant about his own educational background, he too mentioned the education of his own child.

A: Personally I should have finished my Grade 12 in school and gone on to university or college.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: But it’s still very hard for young people today even to get to that stage. But we’re learning.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: I believe my son is going to finish Grade 12.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: Perhaps.
Q: And go to university?
A: Yeah become a doctor or lawyer.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: Or whatever he wants to become and still be able not be afraid to go out on the land over the weekend.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: Hopefully. (male Inuk. born in the 1950s)
In these and other exchanges, the symbolic and material significance of getting an education began to emerge more fully. I tried to relate the ideas people expressed about education to their use of literacy. I began to conceptualize ‘getting an education’ as a set of literacy practices which related to a more general process of credentialization. This concept is developed further in Section 2.1 of Chapter 7.

An analysis of the interview data in phase two of the fieldwork developed and complexified my understanding of the relationships between literacy and social identity which had begun to emerge in phase one. The promise of a new Inuit identity, a new relationship with non-Natives, and a new economic and political order implicitly held out by the land claim agreement was understood by the interviewees in terms of literacy, education, and employment, and a linking among these elements. This set a course for phase three of the fieldwork: to understand in a critical manner how literacy practices were a way of relating literacy, education, and employment in social interaction.

In the course of phase two, I began to feel that I could better tap different forms of participants’ memory organization, to use Cicourel’s (1988) phrase, by having interviews conducted entirely in Inuktitut and/or conducted by other interviewers. I was able to implement this in phase three with the assistance of Inuktitut-speaking collaborators. During phase two, I discussed the possibility with the local adult educator of working with Arctic College adult basic education (ABE) students to look at literacy, education, and employment in Igloolik. Arctic College (now called Nunavut Arctic College in the Eastern Arctic) is the institution responsible for adult and post-secondary education in the region, including the community learning centres in many places. The adult educator supported me in my idea of working with the students so that they could interview members of the community about their uses of reading and writing.

The adult educator thought that the research should focus on the uses of reading and writing necessary for employment. In addition, the uses of mathematics in jobs in the
community and the educational qualifications required for employment could be topics for the interviews. These topics, later operationalized in the students’ production and use of a survey questionnaire, corresponded to themes emerging from research in phase one and phase two in which interviewees constructed literacy (in Inuktitut and in English) and social identity in terms of education and employment.

At the same time as I was consulting with the adult educator, I was making informal contact with the ABE learners at their coffee break. Three were women and nine were men. They ranged in age from 19 to 42 and were at a wide range of academic levels. All spoke Inuktitut as a first language and were bilingual in Inuktitut and English. One of the main motivations for the students’ enrollment in the ABE program was to improve their qualifications for employment.

I gave the adult educator a text which I had written called ‘Learning from Interviews’, which can be found in Appendix 3. The ideas in this text were adapted from Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods (Patton, 1990). It laid out the ‘Why’ and ‘How’ of the project as I conceived of it at that point. The ‘Why’ was learning about employment and related factors in Igloolik, keeping in mind the students’ anticipated participation in it, as well as learning the more generally useful skills of conducting an interview. The ‘How’ was a step-by-step approach to learning interview skills and to contacting employed informants.

At this point, I was hoping for the co-operation of the students: if they were not interested, I was prepared to accept that. My use of the information collected was agreed to by all of the students. All participants gave informed consent. When I returned to Igloolik for phase three of my fieldwork, we would begin to interview, as described in the following section.

Also during phase two, I prepared a report of my work in phase one and had it translated into Inuktitut and distributed. (See Appendix 2.) Feedback from the community has
been a means of validating the work. People who read my report found my conclusions unsurprising.

4.3 Phase Three of the Fieldwork

In the third (1993) phase of the research, I worked with a collaborator to establish a census, with demographic information on all adults in the community. I used the census to gauge how representative participants in the research were, according to characteristics like age and gender.

Also in phase three, a total of 32 formal interviews were conducted. Either I or one of my collaborators conducted 24 of these interviews with local adult Inuit ranging in age from 20 years old to 60 years old. Ten of the interviews were with women and 14 with men. In this phase, eight formal interviews were conducted by either myself or one of my collaborators with local adult non-Natives ranging in age from 31 years old to 52 years old. Two of these interviews were with women and six with men. Various interview role-ethnicity-language relations diversified the data in phase three, as shown below. (In the following breakdown, ‘Q’ stands for non-Native, ‘I’ for Inuk, ‘E’ for English, and ‘In’ for Inuktitut.)

1) Q-Q (in E). I interviewed three non-Natives in English and later transcribed the interviews.

2) Q-I (in E). My Inuit collaborators interviewed five non-Natives in English. I later transcribed these interviews.

3) I-Q (in E). I interviewed seven Inuit in English. I later transcribed these interviews.

4) I-I (in In and E). Three of my Inuit collaborators interviewed Inuit in English. One of them interviewed another Inuk in both Inuktitut and English. I transcribed the English versions and another Inuk transcribed and translated the Inuktitut version.

5) I-I (in In) I-Qtr. One of my Inuit collaborators interviewed two Inuit in Inuktitut. After another Inuk had transcribed these interviews, he and I worked together to translate them.
6) I-I (in In) Itr. My Inuit collaborators conducted 11 interviews with Inuit in Inuktitut. These were later transcribed and translated, some by one Inuk, some by another.

Some of these interviews were conducted as part of the project of the Arctic College adult basic education class. When I returned to the community in January 1993, the students and the adult educator had already begun the project. Working in groups, students had compiled a flip chart list of all jobs organized by employer. The students identified 22 employers. Some of these were different departments of the Government of the Northwest Territories, although other GNWT departments were not identified as separate employers.

The students and the adult educator had discussed what information they wanted to find out about the jobs. They had also been devising a questionnaire. (See Appendix 3.) Together, they had negotiated a timetable for completion of the project, which structured and made feasible my general outline.

The adult educator proposed that the interview project would form part of the Personal Life Management (PLM) course taught for an hour and a half three mornings a week. She hired as part-time Personal Life Management teacher a non-Native woman with business and counselling experience who had joined her husband in the community. The three of us, the adult educator, the PLM teacher, and myself, met and discussed the project and agreed to go ahead. I would attend the PLM course on a volunteer basis.

I told the students that I would make the results of my research available when it was finished. One student commented that he had worked on two research projects, one on health and one on history, and had never received any results. When I was talking about phase one of the fieldwork, another student asked if I had written the Inuktitut version of the summary of my research to date. When I said that I had done it with help, he asked why researchers always needed help with Inuktitut. He said they should learn Inuktitut before conducting research. A third student wondered if I would ever work in the North again after finishing my research. A
recognition that participants have a critical perspective on research conducted with/on them is not unique to this study.

Social analysis must now grapple with the realization that its objects of analysis are also analyzing subjects who critically interrogate ethnographers—their writing, their ethics and their politics. (Rosaldo, 1989, p. 21)

The PLM teacher and I began our participation by discussing with the students how to interview the employed informants. A series of hands-on exercises followed in subsequent classes. At the same time, the students were using Macintosh computers to put the finishing touches on the English and Inuktitut versions of the survey questionnaire: ‘Job Search Interview’. (See Appendix 3.)

I encouraged the students to build on the items in the questionnaire when they were conducting interviews. If they probed the responses given to the initial question, they might get a fuller explanation. Language useful for probe questions in Inuktitut and English was explicitly taught, for example, ‘Could you explain that?’. (See Appendix 3.)

We went over the use of the tape recorders. I devised role plays based on model interviews to which the students had been exposed or others with which the students might be familiar. (See Appendix 3.) We broke into groups and the students took turns being the interviewer, interviewee, and observer. At this point, I was impressed with their imagination, co-operation, and ability in conducting the interviews.

The PLM teacher and I discussed the choice of interviewees with the students according to their interests and aspirations. The students were free to pick anyone they liked, given our intention that the interviews be related to their future employment. English-language phrases useful for telephone contact with non-Natives were explicitly taught. (See Appendix 3.)

Once they had found someone who was agreeable and available, the students could use class time to conduct the interview, provided the teacher knew their plans. The people whom the students approached for interviews were co-operative. The students conducted 12
interviews with Inuit and non-Natives working for ten different employers. Students seemed to pick employers with a relatively large number of employees. They seemed to be interested in employers that offered steady work as opposed to those like the local construction companies that offered mostly seasonal work.

Some students followed the survey questionnaire closely in their interviews, while others used it as a basis for probing on particular topics. A more open-ended interview protocol, while perhaps more difficult to use, might have led to fuller responses. For example, in the following exchange, the minimum grade level for employment as a heavy equipment operator is given but nothing else before the interviewer goes on to the next item.

Q: What kind of training or education do you require for this job?  
A: You have to have a Grade 8 or higher.  
Q: Do you require any special certificate or diploma or license for this job-position?  
A: ... (male Inuk, born in the 1960s)

In another interview, although the student interviewer is following the survey questionnaire, the interviewee volunteers evidence for the finding that levels of qualification are rising in Igloolik. This corroborates what others had told me.

Q: What kind of previous work experience is required for this position?  
A: Pre- Previous [sic]?  
Q: Previous work.  
A: Previous work?  
Q: ‘In’? [Yes.]  
A: Uun.  
Q: Like did you have any-  
A: If I have been- Yeah. ‘Hai’? [Pardon?]  
Q: Did you have any former office work before?  
A: No I did not have any former office work before when I got this job. What I did was to train myself as I go along you know but nowadays when you are applying for this kind of job you need to have a training in the office work area like you know knowing how to write the minutes, that sort of thing. (female Inuk, born in the 1950s)

This interviewer was able to reformulate the interview item to elicit information about what it takes to get a job. In another interview, a student who used questions like ‘Could you say more about that, please?’ and ‘If I had your job, what would I do every day?’ elicited detailed answers from a non-Native manager.
Q: If I had your job, what would I do every day?
A: A whole host of things. Uh [sighs]. ... I probably don’t spend as much time at my desk as people assume I would. I like to go to the garage relatively often. When there’s projects going on like roads or waste dump sites or reservoir projects, the arena or what not. Sort of all over.
Q: Yeah.
A: Seeing what’s going on like for example I was in and did a briefing paper for one of the territorial ministers, started setting up information for a meeting that’s going to happen next week, went up to the arena and helped thaw out a drain system. came down here and dealt with the electrical inspector. (male non-Native. born in the 1950s)

While all interviews yielded some interesting information, some are richer in data. Perhaps this is because the interviewer was more skillful. Perhaps the participants knew each other better and thus were more at ease with each other. In some interviews, students elicited the specific literacy practices that employed people used.

Q: Uh what are the most important duties and responsibilities for this management position?
A: Well for any management job you got to make sure that your staff knows what to do, you got to be able to run the store on a day-to-day basis, order merchandise as you need it. We have what we call commitments which are special order forms for ordering merchandise six months to a year in advance. So you have to know your stock in order to be able to order on these commitments. (male non-Native. born in the 1950s)

It emerged clearly from interviews with both Inuit and non-Natives that institutional correspondence with the regional centre or elsewhere was a common use of English-language literacy.

Q. Qallunaatitut uqallangni tavvani iqqanaijaarni aturillunii?

Q. Titiraqniqlu iirjuaq?
A. Ii. Titirarni qallunaatituutjuaraaluk 9mi 5mu qallunaatitu titiraqluni nailuartuq qautamaan.

Q: Is English used a lot in this work?
A: It’s used the most. When the telephone rings from down south, from Ottawa, Yellowknife, Iqaluit. English is used more in the office rather than Inuktitut.
Q: What about writing?
A: Yes, writing English is bigger. From 9 to 5 every day there’s too little time to write in English. [Laughs]. (male Inuk. born in the 1940s)
Seven of the interviews were with Inuit and five were with non-Natives. Three of the seven interviews of Inuit by Inuit were conducted almost exclusively in English, although an Inuktitut version of the survey questionnaire was available. In my opinion, this did not reflect an inability to use Inuktitut on the part of any of the participants; some of the same students later conducted interviews in Inuktitut. Instead, it reflected a recognition that English was the shared language of the classroom. In another instance, the interviewer conducted the interview first in English and then repeated it in Inuktitut. When I asked a student who had conducted two interviews in English with Inuit 'why?', he said he had expected to report back to the teachers and the class in English. The English of the least bilingual student was stronger than the Inuktitut of either myself or the PLM teacher.

As interviews were completed, the students brought them back to the class and we listened to them as a group. Students used the tapes and notes that they had made in order to prepare oral class presentations on the position that they had chosen. Finally, the students summarized their findings, using the computer. These summaries were compiled into a booklet.

By way of generalization, the students were told by the interviewees that fluency and literacy in both Inuktitut and English were useful for working in the community, as was mathematical ability. The students were also told that educational qualifications were important. Depending on the job, a minimum of from Grade 8 to Grade 12 was required, plus additional training in many cases. These interviews yielded data on the literacy practices used by Inuit and non-Natives in their work. The findings made by the students are part of the substance of Chapter 7.

I was hoping that a synthesis and overall picture of the opportunity structure in the community would emerge from the research process which would complement the awareness of the nature of specific jobs that did emerge. I felt that I could have encouraged more
constructive and critical reflection on the language politics of the community. This may not have happened because it was the first time that a project like this had been attempted, because there was limited time for planning, and because the students saw preparing to get a specific job as an important function of their program.

The process of working co-operatively with teachers and students enriched my data collection and analysis because it diversified my sources of data. I was supported in my effort to figure out what was going on in relation to my research questions because the students and teachers also were trying to figure out what was going on in terms of literacy and identity. The students conceived of the process more in terms of the development of their own identity through raising their educational level and subsequently getting work. The teachers were employed because they were educated. They wanted to provide heightened self-esteem for their students, as well as relevance and a safe learning environment.

Q: What are your goals in your work?
A: Okay well I think if I'm to think I've got a few here and there's probably lots more [laughs] but off the top of my head what comes to mind is first of all being able to here increase self-esteem so that people feel confident enough so they can go out and go for a job or go for more training or go for more education but I think that one of the biggest things that we battle here is [lack of] self-esteem. (female non-Native, born in the 1950s)

After the project was completed, I continued to work with some of the students, but now paying them for the time that they spent conducting interviews. They helped me, along with others, by conducting interviews with ten older Inuit in Inuktitut. A male Inuk (born in the 1970s) who had been an adult education student conducted three of these interviews, while two more were conducted by a female Inuk (born in the 1950s) who had been an adult education student. The remaining five interviews were carried out by a male Inuk (born in the 1960s) who had been my student when he was in high school. The interviewees were unilingual older Inuit born between 1933 and 1944. Three were female and seven were male.

Before the interviews, I sat down with the interviewers and we discussed who would be a good person to interview, given the issues considered most salient at that point in the
research. We would also discuss what questions would be appropriate for that interviewee. Sometimes, we picked questions from the stock already available and sometimes we generated new ones. Both English and Inuktitut versions were written down ahead of time. The interviews were taped and later transcribed and translated.

Most of these interviews began by asking the older Inuit interviewees about their lives and childhoods. They were also asked about reading and writing in Inuktitut and how they had learned Inuktitut syllabics. They were asked about using the finals and whether reading and writing in Inuktitut had ever been useful to them in getting a job. Their opinions were solicited on the job situation in Igloolik, on schooling and employment qualifications, and on the future of Inuktitut when Nunavut came into being. One participant who had been interviewed before was given the chance to expand on his thoughts about grade level requirements for employment. The interviewees were also asked about their experience in community institutions like the Co-op and the housing association. Some participants gave extended answers and needed little prompting to continue talking or initiate topics. Others replied more briefly. One participant told the interviewer that she would have been able to give fuller answers if she had had the questions beforehand.

Questions about their life history led the interviewees to talk about how they survived in the past. Before sedentarization, they had to rely on their knowledge of hunting, shelter building, and travelling by dog team. They explained how they had learned, by observation and from members of their family.

Q: Nutarautiluuti kisu pivallialaurpa inuusirni?

Q: What was happening when you were a child?
A: ... When I was a child I grew up as an Inuk because there were no Qallunaat [non-Natives] then. I learned things by observing, not through letters. I used to learn by
observing my father doing things and by going along. I never learned about life by reading. (male Inuk, born in the 1930s)

Interviewees often explicitly contrasted this with how children learn nowadays in school.

Because Inuit children are in school most of the day, the parents are no longer able to influence and guide their children as much as they would like to, because there are so many distractions around them. As a result, Inuit children started to disregard the powers of their parents and became indifferent to their own parents. (male Inuk, born in the 1930s)

In contrast with the present day, the older Inuit interviewees had learned without schooling how to survive in life. They had learned to read and write Inuktitut outside of school. They acknowledged that they had not learned to write the finals according to the standard orthography. Some found the use of finals confusing, while others felt the finals helped them understand some words when they were reading. The interviewees referred to the minutes of meetings and bylaws, as well as religious material, as examples of what they read in Inuktitut. More detail from these interviews is given in Chapter 7.

In the course of this third phase, the four social identities and three ways of using literacy that are described in more detail in Chapter 7 began to emerge more clearly.

Interviews were conducted until saturation was reached. All interviews were transcribed. Inuktitut-language interviews were transcribed in Inuktitut Roman orthography (in some cases in Inuktitut syllabics as well) and translated into English.

The interviews originally in English and the interviews translated from Inuktitut into English were coded, using categories arising from an recursive inspection of the data. I have given examples of these codes in Section 4.1 of this chapter. I observed no clear distinction in responses collected in Inuktitut-language interviews as opposed to English-language interviews.
although Inuit tended to give longer responses when an interview was conducted completely in Inuktitut as opposed to being immediately interpreted into English. Interviews conducted using an interview protocol tended to yield brief, factual responses while more open-ended interviews yielded longer answers with more interpretation by the interviewees of why they behaved as they did. More open-ended interviews were expensive and time-consuming to transcribe and translate. Being able to do this depended on the availability of highly skilled personnel.

5 Conclusion

The process of research recounted in this chapter reflects a dynamic tension between theory and practice. The theory is represented by the principles of primacy of social interaction, focus on language in use, and the integration of levels of analysis, and by the limitations on these principles, in terms of the crises of representation and legitimation. The practice is shown in the description of the three phases of fieldwork and in critical reflection on the techniques used in data collection and analysis.

I gathered data on the relationship between literacy and social identity in Igloolik by using qualitative techniques. These techniques included participant observation, reading site documents, studying statistical reports, and, in particular, conducting interviews. The different research techniques complemented each other and triangulated the data.

I used the theory outlined in this chapter to reflect critically on the methods that I used. I paid attention to the primacy of social interaction by reviewing the data to see how particular uses of literacy were indicators of group membership—how people interacted using literacy to identify themselves. I examined the methods of data collection as interactions which reflected power relations in the community.

As part of a continuing reflection on the process of research, I considered how I could best understand written language in use. Reading and writing are often solitary activities;
direct observation has limits in understanding what social relations reading and writing betoken. So I asked people—or asked people to ask people—what their literacy practices were and what their motivations were in the use of these practices. People spoke eloquently of their experience. In order to integrate this experience more fully into the context of the Canadian state and the global economy, I considered the data using concepts from a range of disciplines and I consulted secondary sources. Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 give the background for an integration of macro-analysis with micro-analysis as a basis for understanding social relations in the setting.

Any attempt to portray reality in the setting by applying the above-mentioned principles will be at best partially successful. While the goal of qualitative research is to represent human action from the perspective of the actors, the achievement of this goal must be tempered with a recognition of the researcher’s own location, in my case, that of a male non-Native outsider. The effect of my location is to limit my understanding of what is going on. The validity of the text is conditional upon a reflexive examination of the techniques used in producing it.

I began my fieldwork by conducting interviews using an interview protocol (Appendix 1). This approach gave me data that I could handle but I was worried that the method conditioned the responses. In subsequent phases, therefore, I tried different approaches. This yielded richer data but also threatened divergence into glorious complexity. By translation, transcription, coding, comparison with other sources, and extended reflection, I have wrestled this complexity into an analysis (presented in Chapter 7) which I hope will yield insights to any who are interested in the relationship of literacy and social identity in Igloolik.
CHAPTER 3: HISTORY AND THE COMMUNITY FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL TO 1967

1 Introduction

The events of prehistory and history have shaped contemporary processes which link social identity and literacy in Igloolik. I begin my presentation of these events by discussing the origins and social organization of the Inuit. Before the arrival of the Europeans, the Inuit in the region were nomadic hunters. They accessed resources through a kin-ordered system of distribution in which the elders held authority. When European explorers, whalers, traders, and missionaries arrived, new ideas, new technologies, and trade were gradually superimposed onto the traditional domestic economy and kinship structure. Compared to other regions of Canada, the Eastern Arctic was relatively unaffected by contact with Europeans until well into the 20th century.

By the beginning of World War II, however, the Canadian government began to take a more active interest in the North. Canada had to assert its sovereignty against its enemies, Germany and Japan, and its ally, the United States. After the Allies had won the war, the civil servants known as mandarins acted to legitimate the authority of the federal government and to safeguard potential capital accumulation resulting from development of the region. They did this by taking measures for the effective occupation of the North like authorizing the construction of the DEW Line for military defence.

The provision of schooling, health care, and housing to the Inuit inhabitants were other measures of effective occupation which coincided with the post-war policies of the Canadian welfare state. The mandarins were unable to implement these policies without moving the Inuit into settlements. The representatives of the Canadian state had to convince the Inuit that moving into the settlement was in their own interest because the process of sedentarization could probably not have been accomplished by coercion.
Figure 2: Map of Nunavut
By making services available to the Inuit in the settlements, the concerns of people in southern Canada about what they saw as the difficult circumstances of the Inuit were addressed. In the period discussed in this chapter, policy-makers made decisions which affected the future of the North with little or no Inuit input. Sedentarization irreversibly altered the social identity of the Inuit. Nomadic hunters became wage-earning town-dwellers. Sedentarization was a prerequisite for standardization and credentialization. These processes have meant that the Bible-reading literacy of camp life has been partly supplanted by the schooled literacy of the settlement. In this chapter, I will describe the early stages of how this change came to happen.

2 Origins

Human habitation of the area around Igloolik has deep roots. (See Figure 2 for a map of the area.) Until 15,000 years ago, most of the Canadian North was covered by ice. According to the archeological evidence, ancestors of the Aboriginal peoples now living in southern Canada, the United States, and Latin America had already begun at least 30,000 years ago to cross from Asia into North America. They apparently used the Bering land bridge which connected Siberia and Alaska at that time. They eventually moved throughout the Americas. Then, between 5,000 and 10,000 years ago, migrations of a different cultural group (the members of which had some commonalities with modern Inuit) began in Siberia. These peoples crossed the Bering Strait into Alaska. Up into historic times, there has been a series of movements of hunting peoples from the west across the Canadian North and as far east as Greenland.

About 3,000 years ago, the people of the Dorset culture arrived near the present site of Igloolik from farther west. This marked the beginning of continuous human occupation of the area. This cultural group was named the Dorset because in 1925 Diamond Jenness of the National Museum of Canada posited the existence of the culture based on artifacts collected
near Cape Dorset, Northwest Territories (H. B. Collins, 1984, p. 16). Local sites from the
time of earliest settlement have been excavated (e.g. Meldgaard, 1960; Rowley, 1940). The
analysis of skeletal remains found elsewhere in Dorset sites has led archeologists to believe
that these people physically resembled the modern Inuit (McGhee, 1978, p. 70). Archeologists
agree that there was continuity between the Dorset culture and previous Paleoeskimo or Arctic
Small Tool traditions such as the Pre-Dorset, Independence, and Sarqaq cultures, but with a
shift in emphasis from hunting caribou inland to hunting seals.

The people of the Thule culture (named after a site near Thule, Greenland) migrated
from Alaska and arrived in the Eastern Arctic about 900 years ago. To catch whales and
walrus, the Thule people used new techniques like making large floats out of animal skins and
attaching them to harpoon lines. The rapid shift in adaptive emphasis and technology from
Dorset culture to Thule culture “suggest[s] that population replacement accompanied cultural
change. The first phase of Canadian Thule development was apparently one of rapid migration
or population expansion, which carried these people and their culture across the Canadian
Arctic to Greenland” (McGhee, 1984, p. 370). The Thule people are the predecessors of the
Inuit who live in Igloolik now. The Dorset people were absorbed or supplanted. Possibly, they
had disappeared before the arrival of the Thule culture. The residents known as the Dorset
culture to the archeologists have been identified as the Tunit of Inuit oral history. The
language spoken by the Dorset people can only be a matter of conjecture.

From about the 13th century on, whaling became of less importance for the Thule
inhabitants, perhaps because of climatic change. McGhee has suggested that after 1200 A.D.
“increased sea-ice accumulation and slower melting of summer pack ice impeded the
movements of whales into certain Arctic areas and brought widespread decline in Thule
whaling activities” (1984, p. 374). This climatic change culminated in the Little Ice Age
between approximately 1650 and 1850. The Thule people began to make more frequent use of
snowhouses on the sea-ice, where seals were hunted during the winter at the breathing hole. As groups from the Thule culture became isolated from each other, the culture adapted in different ways to the various local environments. As the Thule people dispersed, their language diverged into different dialects. Specific geographic areas became associated with particular patterns of resource use, ways of speaking, and forms of social organization.

3 Social Organization of the Inuit

At every stage of their history, the Inuit have had to adapt to changing conditions. Before their displacement into the settlement in the 1960s, which will be discussed in Section 5 of this chapter, the Inuit moved seasonally from one camp to another. They usually returned to locations used in previous years. For example, large groups congregated to hunt seal at the breathing hole and the floe edge in winter. In summer, smaller groups hunted caribou on foot and by kayak. “The quest for game dominated the entire existence of the Iglulik Eskimo” (Mary-Rousselière, 1984, p. 435).

A complex cosmology guided the seasonal round of the Inuit. This cosmology was based on knowledge of the movement of the sun, the moon, and the stars. MacDonald (1993) has shown how the period of darkness in winter was understood through a knowledge of the movements of the heavenly bodies. The reappearance of the sun was accompanied by games and rituals, all related to survival through hunting. Two stars known as ‘Aagjuuk’ are harbingers of the returning sun.

The ‘Aagjuuk’ stars also signalled the time for the mid-winter celebration known as ‘tivajuut’. Symbolically complex and involving masquerade, partner exchange and shamanistic ritual, this festival was usually held in a ‘qaggiq’, a large specially built igloo. The declared purpose of the ‘tivajuut’ festival was ‘to strengthen the land’. (p. 22)

Social authority among the Igulingmiut was vested in the camp leader or ‘isumataq’. He made the decisions about movement for his kin, advised by his wife (Parry, 1824, p. 439). His authority was based on achievement, not ascription, that is, on respect for his knowledge.
particularly about the whereabouts of game and the techniques for catching it. People did not follow the ‘isumataq’ if he made the wrong decisions. The coming together and splitting apart into larger or smaller groups associated with the seasonal round was a way of avoiding direct conflict with the authority of the ‘isumataq’.

Before contact with the missionaries, the camp leader might also act as ‘angakkuq’ or shaman, although there were female shamans, and also male shamans who were not camp leaders. By entering an ecstatic state, the shaman provided contact for the Inuit with the spiritual world. The shaman administered taboos, which had as their purpose the protection of the group, its deceased members, and its offspring, as well as the guarantee of good hunting.

When Rasmussen (1929) attempted to find out the underlying basis of this religious life, Aua (Awa) asked Rasmussen to explain the instances of human suffering around them. Rasmussen was unable to. Then, Aua goes on to say that it is fear that underpins the customs practised.

Therefore it is that our fathers have inherited from their fathers all the old rules of life which are based on the experience and wisdom of generations. We do not know, we cannot say why, but we keep those rules in order that we may live untroubled. And so ignorant are we in spite of all our shamans, that we fear everything unfamiliar. We fear what we see about us, and we fear all the invisible things that are likewise about us, all that we have heard in our forefathers’ stories and myths. Therefore we have our customs, which are not the same as the White men, the White men who live in another land and have need of other ways. (Rasmussen, 1929, p. 56)

One theme of the taboos was the avoidance of contamination. According to Boas, here speaking specifically of the Cumberland Sound Inuit but with general application:

this vapour [from flowing human blood] and the dark colour of death are exceedingly unpleasant to the souls of the sea-animals, that will not come near a hunter thus affected. The hunter must therefore avoid contact with people who have touched a body, or with those who are bleeding, more particularly with menstruating women or with those who have recently given birth. (Boas, 1901/1975, p. 120)

Hunters were also prohibited from having sex with animals, for the same reason of averting contamination.

In the case of men, unnatural and perverse sex indulgence is regarded as the worst offence. By this is understood coition with animals, especially caribou and seals, which they have just killed, or with live dogs. (Rasmussen, 1929, p. 98)
Breach of taboos could be exculpated through confession to the shaman and the group. According to Rasing (1994, p. 69), two essential rules were operative: the prohibition against killing more animals than needed and the necessity of treating animals with respect.

Traditionally, gender influenced the division of labour. Men hunted, particularly for the larger animals, and erected shelters. Women cooked, minded the seal oil lamp, sewed, and cared for infants. At the same time, this division was flexibly interpreted, with either gender pursuing activities associated with the opposite gender if circumstances required (Giffen, 1930, p. 83).

Names had no gender. Children were named after a deceased relative of either gender; if named after someone of the opposite gender, they could be raised as that gender until puberty (Saladin d'Anglure, 1986). This could be for pragmatic reasons; for example, a girl with no brothers might be named after a deceased male relative and trained by her father as a hunter. Rasing (1994) has suggested that adoption and inverse socialization (in the opposite gender) were mechanisms to maintain equal sex-ratios in households. For example, a childless widow, if she did not remarry, might adopt a male child of one of her relatives, so as to be provided for in her old age.

Reciprocal sharing of game has permitted survival in lean times. “The Eskimo ideal was to have a network, as extensive as possible, of kinship and fictive kinship relationships” (Mary-Rousselière, 1984, p. 436). The Inuit made flexible use of such relationships with shifting emphasis according to the pragmatic considerations of survival. These relationships included ones of adoption, namesake of deceased (which implied relations with the deceased’s relations), namesake of contemporary, and joking partners. Traditionally, strangers who visited would attempt to connect themselves by marriage or by establishing fictive kinship relations. Stevenson (1997) sees voluntary alliances among the Iglulingmiut (people who live in Igloolik) as counterbalancing hierarchical kin relationships.
Hunting walrus, hunting seal at the breathing hole, and hunting whales required collaboration between hunters. Hunters would co-operate with those with whom they had kin and fictive kin relationships. The main resource at stake in traditional Inuit life was the meat secured in the hunt. The successful hunter would be obliged to share meat with his relatives who were living nearby. Decisions about where and with whom to travel were also made on the basis of kin and fictive kin relationships.

Saladin d'Anglure (1993) has seen a symbolic and actual expropriation of the production of young people for the collective good as a means of resource distribution in past traditional life in the Igloolik area. This was under the mediation and power of the male shaman and in accord with the seasonal round.

This can apply to the painful tattooing imposed on young girls at puberty, the exclusion of boys from the enjoyment of the first game they kill, the taking of newborns from young couples at the start of marriage [adoption], and the obligation of those young couples to take part in collective spouse exchanges. (p. 90)

This suggests a complex interplay between symbolic practices and access to material resources. Recognition of the legitimate authority of the elders has taken different forms in the context of state intervention and the use of literacy. Nevertheless, patterns of resource allocation associated with employment and literacy have not replaced traditional kinship structure but merely overlaid it. The salient principles which continue to operate are explained in the remainder of this section.

Through a study of Iglulingmiut kinship terminology and behaviour. Damas (1963, 1968) showed the social relations which have underpinned the traditional system of resource distribution. The operative concepts in his analysis are 'ungayuk' ('ungavuq') or affection, on the one hand, and 'nalartuk' ('naalappuq') or obedience, on the other.¹ He ranked different

¹ In case of differing Inuktitut spellings, the version from Schneider (1985) is given in brackets. These words are given in their nominal form as 'nalakniq' and 'unganiq' in Rasing (1994).
relations in terms of "affectional closeness", with same-sex solidarity as an important factor. So, for instance, a male would have brother-like relations with the male cousins of his generation, with greatest closeness to the sons of his father's brothers, intermediate closeness to the sons of his sister's brothers or his father's sisters, and relatively least closeness to the sons of his mother's sisters. In a similar manner, a female would be closer to the daughter of her mother's sister than to the daughter of her father's brother. Affection would also operate intergenerationally:

the father-son and mother-daughter bonds are the most solid of actual bonds in the actual social life of the people. The same-sexed offspring is gradually and carefully introduced to the pursuits of his [or her] adult role and encouraged to gradually assume full status in adult male or female life. (Damas, 1968, p. 90)

At the same time that affection operated so would obedience, with both age and gender as factors. For instance, the male would have authority over his son-in-law and the female over her daughter-in-law. According to Damas (1968), "among the relatives where we would expect a great deal of contact in the household situation, certain respect regulations can be seen to operate in regulating daily contact situations and in militating against the conflicts inherent to such circumstances" (p. 88). Some categories of relationship are characterized by avoidance, for instance, between brother and sister after the age of puberty (observed as still existing in 1993) or between opposite-sexed in-laws.

Damas's elaborated system of kinship structure is based on his fieldwork in the early 1960s. The Inuit themselves saw divergence between actual and ideal behaviour: "the word 'illani' ['ilaani'] or 'sometimes' entered heavily into the discussion of kinship behaviour with these Eskimo" (Damas, 1968, p. 94). As well, the system diverged with that of Inuit of other regions and over time and through cultural contact. Nevertheless, his work offers some guidance as to an important element of pre-contact (and post-contact) social organization. The
relationships described by Damas represent the framework for a flexible kin-ordered system of distributing resources in which decisions on sharing the products of the hunt are made by the elders. Damas (1972) shows how this system functioned in the 1960s in the Igloolik area.

Kin-ordered forms of resource distribution persist in the contemporary North. Wenzel (1995) describes contemporary resource sharing for another Baffin community. In the set of behaviours called 'ningiqtuq', "what has come to be generally understood as the traditional socioeconomic system for the sharing of food and at times other types of resources is still extensively practiced at Clyde" (Wenzel, 1995, p. 44). Wenzel reports three levels of community structure which organize sharing of resources.

first between co-operating but unrelated hunters; second, within 'ilagit' [families] ...; and third, through commensal activities ranging from those within a single 'ilagit' membership up to that which ... encompasses all members of the community. (1995, p. 48)

The second level is organized by the upward movement of resources to the family leader. These practices exist as ways of resource allocation and forms for expressing Inuit social identity in contemporary Igloolik. Resources now include not only the product of the hunt but also gasoline or cash derived from wage labour. These are now necessary to sustain the domestic economy, which I discuss further in Chapter 6. Sharing practices intersect with social forms associated with literacy in use, like schooling and credentialization, in ways I explain in Chapter 7. In summary, processes coming into play after contact with Europeans overlaid traditional social processes.

4 Contact with Europeans

The social organization of the Inuit described in the previous section was substantially altered by contact with Europeans, although many elements, such as the sharing of game, continue to the present day. Contact with Europeans in the setting took place in stages: indirect or irregular contact beginning in the 19th century or perhaps earlier; regular intermittent contact beginning in the 1930s; and close contact from the 1960s. The following sections deal
with the process of this contact, first in general terms and subsequently more specifically to the Arctic and Igloolik.

The European expansion into North America, beginning in the 15th century, has ultimately shaped current literacy practices and social relations in Igloolik. "Economically, the crisis of [European] feudalism was solved by locating, seizing and distributing resources available beyond the European frontiers" (Wolf, 1982, p. 109). Thus, the cultural contact which brought literacy had economic origins. According to Wallerstein (1984):

the recurring stagnations of the world economy, which have led to the regular restructuring of this world economy, have involved as part of this restructuring the expansion of the 'outer' boundaries of the world economy, a process, however, which has been nearly completed as of now. (p. 18)

The Eastern Arctic of Canada has been one of the final areas in North America to undergo this colonial expansion. What happened in the North, however, continues what took place earlier in more temperate regions to the south. "The European powers expanded the scope of their trading activities to all the continents and made the world their battleground ... [and] drew people into new and unforeseen dependencies" (Wolf, 1982, p. 130). Sanders (1973) has described this expansion in North America as follows:

the non-Native community is in a period of internal national expansion into Native areas; it is characteristic of secondary periods of expansion in the United States and Canada that earlier patterns of Native policy will have been incompletely realized in the areas affected by the expansion; [and] as regards Native people, the contemporary non-Native expansion has clear parallels with the earlier periods of non-Native expansion. (p. 1)

This expansion in most of Canada has been managed up until recent years by the signing of treaties with Aboriginal nations by the federal government. Before 1877, these treaties were signed in areas where immigrants sought agricultural land; since then, the signing of treaties has been the means to remove legal impediments to anticipated exploitation of natural resources, for example, minerals, timber, and hydro-electric power (Colborne & Zlotkin. 1977).
The dependencies created by expansion were not only economic and political but spiritual as well; the religious conflicts between Protestant and Catholic that had gripped Europe beginning in the Reformation were played out among the Aboriginal populations of North America. Religious orders and societies from France were active in Christianization of the Natives in French-held North America from the early 17th century. Later, following the Seven Years' War, Protestants who depended on Native catechists proselytized in Ontario. Two missionary organizations which were later important in the Eastern Arctic, the Church Missionary Society (of the Church of England) and the Oblates (of the Roman Catholic faith) functioned in western Canada from the first half of the 19th century.

Accompanying the spread of European commerce and religion was the consolidation of the European nation states. "Such consolidation sought to improve each capitalist society's control over its own conditions of production by strengthening the power of the state" (Wolf, 1982, p. 309). One form in which the state became stronger was by establishing colonies, with or without emigration from the metropolis. Thus, economic and spiritual expansion was paralleled by the assertion of territorial rights in North America by explorers from the European nations. Another related aspect of this process of expansion was the scientific study of the natural and human characteristics of the world outside Europe for European purposes. As a result of their voyages to the Canadian North, the explorers of the Royal Navy could publish reports on Arctic meteorology, zoology, and botany, as well as their observations of the inhabitants. The explorers were followed by North American and European scientists, many of whom were eventually sponsored by the Canadian federal government.

Thus, the expansion by Europeans into the territory of the Aboriginal nations was economic, religious, political, and scientific. The different elements of expansion justified and complemented each other; different phases in the European encroachment on North America reflected motivations associated in varying degrees with salvation or gain.
4.1 Early Exploration

The effect of European expansion on the ancestors of the people now living in Igloolik was indirect before it was direct. For the European nations, the Arctic was both a route to somewhere else, that is, to the trading opportunities of the Far East, and a source of valued goods. The Europeans sought precious metals, furs, ivory, and eventually whales for oil and baleen. The Englishman Martin Frobisher arrived in the Eastern Arctic in 1576. He had been sponsored by the Muscovy Corporation, a group of English merchants, to find the Northwest Passage to Asia. He returned to the Arctic in 1577 and 1578, funded by the Cathay Company and Queen Elizabeth I, in what turned out to be a futile quest for gold. Frobisher encountered Inuit living far to the east of Igloolik.

John Davis, working for London and Devon merchants, added further to geographical knowledge of the Eastern Arctic in three voyages between 1585 and 1587. Henry Hudson gave his name to Hudson Bay on a 1610 voyage in search of the Northwest Passage. He was left to starve by his mutinous crew.

Other explorers followed in Hudson’s track: Thomas Button in 1612 ... the Dane Jens Munk in 1619-1620 .... Luke Foxe in 1631, and Thomas James in 1631-1632 .... Their explorations disclosed harbours at the mouths of the Nelson and Churchill rivers [far to the south of Igloolik]. The Hudson’s Bay Company2 [HBC], founded in 1670, utilized these ports of entry for opening a trade in furs with the Indians of the western forests. Though this traffic was long restricted to Subarctic areas and was concerned chiefly with Indians, it led indirectly to penetration of the true Arctic and to renewed Eskimo contacts [i.e. subsequent to the contacts made by Frobisher and other early explorers]. (Neatby, 1984, p. 377)

In 1689, the HBC established a post where Aboriginal people could trade furs for European manufactured goods at Fort Churchill, in what is now Manitoba. It was destroyed almost immediately by fire, but was rebuilt in 1717. Inuit from Igloolik did not visit this post,

2 The geographic feature is known as ‘Hudson Bay’ while the commercial organization is ‘the Hudson’s Bay Company’ or ‘the Bay’.
but traded for goods originating from there. Other Inuit living to the south along the western shore of Hudson Bay traded tools that they had obtained from the English at Churchill with the Iglulingmiut (Ross, 1975, p. 33).

The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 put all the land surrounding Hudson Bay under British control. The influence of France did not extend as far north as Churchill, even in the period of expansion westward and northward from Montreal in the century before defeat by the British in 1759. A post to the south of Churchill on Hudson Bay, known to the English as York Factory and to the French as Fort Bourbon, changed hands between the two nations a number of times in the 17th and 18th centuries. Any extended contact by the Inuit of Igloolik with France or French Canada, however, was delayed until the arrival of Oblate priests in the 20th century.

4.2 The Whalers

In the 19th century, American whalers arrived in Hudson Bay and British whalers arrived in the Pond Inlet area. They engaged Inuit there in the commercial hunting of the whales. The whalers were in search of the whale known variously as the bowhead, Arctic right, or Greenland (*Balaena mysticetus*). In the age before petroleum was widely used, the blubber of the whale was rendered into oil used for fuel, lighting, and lubrication. The baleen or whalebone (the cartilage plates attached to the upper jaw of the whale for filtering its food, krill, from the sea water) was valued. This was because baleen fulfilled some of the functions of modern plastic, such as stiffening collars and corsets.

The Inuit traded skins, fur, ivory, dogs, meat, and fish with the whalers for metal tools, metal rods for harpoons, firearms and ammunition, matches, tea, sugar, hard-tack (pilot biscuits), tobacco, liquor, whaleboats, pots, needles, thimbles, scissors, and other manufactured goods. The area around Igloolik was difficult to reach because of ice conditions and so was only indirectly affected by the whalers. Goods brought by the whalers, however,
reached the area of the community indirectly through trade with other Inuit. By the second decade of the 20th century, whaling had come to a halt in contiguous areas, although some whalers took up trading with the Inuit.

4.3 Exploration by the Royal Navy

The Pond Inlet area to the north of Igloolik was explored by Royal Navy skippers Captain John Ross (in 1818) and Lieutenant Edward Parry (in 1819-20). The British government had sponsored the searches for the elusive Northwest Passage by Royal Navy officers like Ross and Parry for two reasons:

- to confirm its territorial claims against Russia, whose activities in Alaska, as elsewhere, were regarded by the statesmen of Western Europe with chronic distrust, and to promote geography and the other natural sciences. (Neatby, 1984, p. 380)

The first presence of non-Natives in the immediate area of Igloolik was in 1822-23 when (by then) Captain Parry and Captain G. F. Lyon of the Royal Navy wintered there with their crews (Lyon, 1824; Parry, 1824). They encountered difficult ice and climatic conditions. Parry and Lyon were unsuccessful in finding a navigable Northwest Passage for more direct access by Britain to Asia. The strait which they called Fury and Hecla, after their respective ships, was blocked to the west by ice throughout the summers of 1822 and 1823. This dashed their hopes that they could use it as a trade route. In the winter of 1822-1823, some 155 Inuit congregated around the British ships. The sailors, despite a linguistic barrier, socialized and traded with the Inuit, learning much from them of the geography of the region, in particular from the hunters Illigliuk and Ewerat.

The British officers made many observations about Inuit culture. Parry noted that local Inuit had metal tools from indirect contact with non-Natives. He also found that visiting Inuit from farther north had seen British whaling ships. In terms of social organization, Parry (1824) found that:

- besides the natural [sic] authority of parents and husbands, these people appear to admit no kind of superiority among one another, except a certain degree of superstitious
reverence for their angetkooks ['angakkuit' or shamans], and their tacitly following the
counsel or footsteps of the most active seal-catcher on their hunting excursions. (p. 534)

In the same vein, Parry noted that:

it was with extreme difficulty that these people had imbibed any correct idea of rank
possessed by some individuals among us; and when at length they came into this idea
they naturally measured our respective importance by the riches they supposed each to
possess. (p. 414)

At the risk of reducing Parry's elegant prose to social science jargon, these
observations show a lack of stratification in pre-contact Inuit society. Status was ascribed to
those who had useful possessions—the 'riches' of wood, iron and manufactured goods—but no
one class was seen as having prior rights to these possessions.

The Inuit, used to a kin-ordered mode of production in their hunting and gathering,
were:

much puzzled to account for all the kabloona [non-Natives; 'Qallunaat' in the standard
orthography] not being related to each other, as they themselves were. To save trouble,
therefore, I [Lyon] became the father of everybody; and as my cabin was the largest,
and I lived by myself, they all believed me to be. (Lyon, 1824, p. 139)

Parry and Lyon had been formerly at Winter Island to the south and knew Inuit there.

So intimate was the knowledge we possessed respecting many of their relationships.
that by the help of a memorandum book in which these had been inserted, I believe we
almost at times excited a degree of superstitious alarm in their minds. (Parry, 1824, p. 273)

Before contact with Europeans, the Inuit had no knowledge of writing. For this early
experience with the writings in the memorandum book, we have only Parry's account.

Nevertheless, I can speculate that writing was seen by these Inuit as an element of the non-
Natives' intimidating power.

Parry gave examples of what he called 'party-feeling' amongst the Inuit during his visit
of 1822-1823, without specifying its origin. As the presence of the British ships had drawn
Inuit from far and wide, this may indicate conflict among groups from different camps.

Among the traits in these people's disposition, and the peculiarities in the history of
their social dealings with one another, which our present intercourse served to discover
to us, was their circumstance of their being divided into two or three parties which.
though never absolutely quarreling, were still on no very cordial terms of intimacy.
(Parry, 1824, p. 404)

Relations between the sailors and the Inuit were convivial. According to Lyon, the Inuit
did not look on the British as differing in species from themselves but “as a good people who
have plenty of wood and iron” (Lyon, 1824, p. 346). The sailors, in turn, improved their
monotonous diet by trading metal tools, amongst other things, for meat. On both sides, the
recognition of cultural difference was not allowed to interfere with mutual material benefit.
Parry established a hospital for ailing Inuit, constructed by the British of snow blocks. He also
attempted to regulate Inuit burial customs so that animals would not disturb the remains of the
deceased. These acts foreshadowed more extensive European assertions of authority.

Contact with Europeans remained intermittent for over a hundred years after this
encounter. The next non-Native visitor was the American Charles Francis Hall who made two
trips to the region in 1867 and 1868, arriving from the south. Hall was in the Arctic to search
for the lost Royal Navy expedition led by Franklin. He was one of the first non-Native
explorers to use Inuit methods of travel. In February and March of 1867, Hall came to
exchange tools and iron for sled dogs with the local Inuit. He found that Inuit from Igloolik
travelled north to Pond Inlet to trade whalebone, oil, ivory, and furs for “knives and other
weapons” with the British whalers there (Hall, 1879, p. 302). By 1868, Inuit in the area had
obtained firearms by trade (Hall, 1879, p. 337). Some of the local Inuit could recall Parry and
Lyon and could sing several songs learned from the British sailors, as well as count to ten in
English. Hall noted the names of local residents and:

while he was writing down his long list, the Natives looked on with wonder, and
showed yet more surprise when he was able to read their names out of a book. (1879,
p. 301)

In March 1868, Hall began his second journey to the area in search of survivors of the
ill-fated Franklin expedition. He was unable to find anyone. His efforts, however, along with
those of other early explorers, made the region better known to the outside world, and thus a potential target for expansion.

4.4 The Hudson’s Bay Company

Up to this point, despite the arrival of explorers, contact with Europeans had been limited for many reasons. The difficulty of ice conditions and climate for navigation and survival, the relative lack of easily exploited resources, the complete absence of lumber and agricultural land, and the vast expanse of other land to the south to administer and develop made occupation of the Canadian North a low priority for the British government.

Administrative responsibility for the northern mainland of Canada was vested by the British Crown in the Hudson’s Bay Company. The company had been granted a royal charter by Charles II in 1670. This charter gave it a monopoly on trade in the land drained by Hudson Bay, an area including much of Canada’s Prairies, as well as a large part of the Canadian Arctic mainland. The founding of the HBC had been inspired by the arrival of the fur-traders Radisson and Groseilliers in London in 1665. They knew the trade and were unhappy with their treatment at the hands of the French authorities in Montreal. The expertise of Radisson and Groseilliers was of great benefit to the English merchants who formed the HBC.

Throughout its first century, the HBC established posts for trading furs with Aboriginal people only along the shores of Hudson Bay and James Bay. After 1774, however, it also established posts in the western interior of Canada in competition with the Montreal-based traders of the Northwest Company and other smaller firms. This fierce competition led to bloodshed, and so the British government pressed the traders to amalgamate in 1821. The partnership retained the name of the Hudson’s Bay Company. The renewal of the HBC’s license to trade in 1870 was opposed by the federal government of Canada. The Canadian government, formed in 1867, instead proposed becoming the HBC’s successor in the northwest. According to Zaslow (1971):
Upper Canadians hoped, and Lower Canadians feared, that northwestward expansion would ensure the ascendancy of Anglo-Canadians over the French, while ambitious Toronto businessmen dreamed of developing commercial ties with the region. (p. 3)

The government was able to overcome political opposition and the HBC accepted a cash settlement of £300,000. Thus, in 1870 Canada added vast northern and western territories to its domain. Their acquisition was a necessary preliminary to the processes of state formation which came later.

The HBC continued its commerce in the North. In the years following Canada’s acquisition of the Arctic mainland, Inuit from the Igloolik area travelled to HBC posts to exchange sealskins and Arctic fox furs for ammunition, tea, flour, and matches. In addition, an independent trader began operations at Albert Harbour in 1903. Later, the HBC opened posts to the north, at Pond Inlet from 1921, and Arctic Bay from 1926, and to the south, at Repulse Bay from 1920 (Usher, 1976). In 1939, the Hudson’s Bay Company set up its first post where Igloolik is now located, as the bay there was suitable as a deep-water anchorage for the annual supply ship (Usher, 1976). Trading came to a halt in Igloolik between 1943 and 1947 because bad ice conditions prevented the post from being resupplied.

After Canada secured territories on the mainland from the HBC, it went on to receive the Arctic islands from Britain.

4.5 Canadian Sovereignty in the North

Britain gave over control of the Arctic islands to Canada in 1880. Judd (1969) quotes a British Colonial Office document of the time; it suggests that transferring the Arctic islands to Canada was a diplomatic manoeuvre against the United States.

The object in annexing these unexplored territories to Canada is, I apprehend, to prevent the United States from claiming them, and not from the likelihood of their proving any value to Canada. (Great Britain. Colonial Office, 1879, p. 19)

Given the American assertion of the Monroe Doctrine against the European powers, Canadian sovereignty in the North meant the British could maintain indirect control over the
Arctic islands and still avoid confrontation with the United States. Asserting sovereignty against the United States was at that time and continues to be an important basis for government policies concerning the Canadian North.

The Northwest Territories Act of 1875 became the constitutional basis for the administration of the North, along with most of western Canada. The Prairies were part of the Northwest Territories until provincial status was attained by Manitoba in 1870 and by Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905. The Yukon Territory was created in 1898. The present form of the Northwest Territories was established in 1912 when Quebec, Ontario, and Manitoba were enlarged. De jure power in the Northwest Territories rested in the hands of a commissioner while de facto power remained in the hands of the trader, the missionary, and the Aboriginal people.

In 1903, the Canadian government expedition led by Low reached the area to the south of Igloolik in a bid to assert Canadian sovereignty. Low was told by George Comer, an American whaling captain and amateur ethnographer, that the Iglulingmiut numbered some 60 people, widely dispersed along the coast. At that time, they did not:

- often come into contact with the whalers, and depend[ed] largely on their southern neighbours for ammunition and other articles of civilization. They are in a much more primitive [sic] state, without any modifications in their ancient customs and beliefs. The greater number are without guns, and kill their game with the bow and arrow or with the spear. (Low, 1906, p. 160)

More Canadian government expeditions followed in 1906, 1908, and 1910, led by Captain Joseph-Elzéar Bernier. These expeditions explored the north coast of Baffin Island. Bernier led a private expedition in 1912-13 in search of gold. The expedition wintered at Albert Harbour near Pond Inlet. Bernier’s party traded with Inuit there for fox fur, seal skins, seal oil, walrus ivory, and fish. A member of this expedition, Alfred Tremblay, made a trip by dog sled to the Igloolik area in an unsuccessful quest for gold (Tremblay, 1921). After a difficult journey, he found some 40 people living at Igloolik. They hunted for walrus and bearded seal at the floe edge, and were not yet influenced by Christianity.
In 1923, a Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) patrol reached the Igloolik area from Pond Inlet, where a police detachment had been established in 1922. Leaving from Pond Inlet by dog team, in early 1923:

[Corporal F.] McInnes and [Constable W. B.] MacGregor were busy with a patrol to Igloolik in Fury and Hecla Strait, and return—600 miles in 58 days—their objective to keep touch with the Natives there. (Steele, 1936, p. 235)

These patrols reinforced the presence of the Canadian state by "census taking, administering relief rations and supplies, giving medical assistance, as well as enforcing game regulations" (Damas, 1993, p. 7). Although the RCMP conducted regular patrols into the area, a permanent post was not established until 1964, when sedentarization concentrated the local population at the present site of Igloolik.

Most of the mapping of the area around Igloolik was completed by the British-Canadian Arctic Expedition, which reached Igloolik in 1937. The members of the expedition were T. H. Manning, Peter Bennett, Patrick Baird, Reynold Bray, and Graham Rowley (Bennett, 1940; Manning, 1986; Rowley, 1996). Post-World War II aerial surveys by the Royal Canadian Air Force finished the task of charting the region.

Thus, before World War II, Canadian sovereignty in the Eastern Arctic was asserted by decisions in far-away capitals and by exploration, mapping, and police patrols. With the exception of the sporadic availability of trade goods, these measures had little immediate effect on the lives of the Inuit living there.

4.6 The Arrival of Christianity

The Greenlandic-Danish ethnographer Rasmussen and his colleagues visited the area in 1921, although Rasmussen himself did not reach Igloolik (Rasmussen, 1929). They found Christianity, including the use of Inuktitut syllabics, being promulgated by Inuit who had come from farther north.

In 1919 some Bibles came to Pond Inlet, printed in the Peck syllabic language with which the Eskimos were already familiar; they had been sent from Cumberland Gulf,
where the missionary Peck had worked many years. These Bibles were studied by the Eskimos and one of them, Uming [Umik], acted as prophet and taught the new Gospel. When in 1920 his son had shot a White man at Pond Inlet, they fled together to Igloolik, where he appeared as a great preacher. ... Besides the hand-shake and the white flag, his religion included abstention from work on Sundays, gathering now and then in his snow house and singing hymns which he had taught them, and, what is more, the hunters were to bring their booty to him and he would distribute it. (Mathiassen, 1928, p. 235)

According to Choque,

the first conversions among the Inuit of Igloolik go back to about 1930, thanks to the influence of Pierre Maktar, an Eskimo arriving from Chesterfield Inlet who taught them the essential prayers and hymns from the book of Catholic prayers. (Choque, 1995, p. 10)

The Roman Catholic priests Father Prime Girard and Father Étienne Bazin and the Church of England ministers Reverend John Turner and Reverend Harold Duncan arrived in Pond Inlet on September 2nd, 1929 aboard the HBC ship Nascopie. The Roman Catholic missionaries gained few converts in Pond Inlet. Therefore, Father Bazin eventually left for the Igloolik region. He arrived there after a difficult sled journey of 49 days. He established a Roman Catholic mission in 1931 at Avvajjaq, near Igloolik, and was the first long-term non-Native resident.

Étienne Bazin was a member of the Religious Institute of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. This congregation was founded by the French theologian Eugène de Mazenod in 1816 for the purpose of evangelizing the poor. The establishment of the Oblates reflected "a new mood in Catholicism, a new militancy, a new urge to conquer the world for Christ and his Church" and a repudiation of the forces of secularism (Choquette, 1995, p. 2). The congregation established its first mission in Canada in 1841 and began a college for training priests in 1848 at Ottawa. Members of the congregation were from France, Belgium, and francophone Canada, with smaller numbers from other countries (Levasseur, 1995).

Father Bazin survived the accidental destruction of his home and chapel by fire in 1933. He gradually won converts to Catholicism. The Roman Catholic mission was moved
from Avvajjaq to Ikpiarjuk in 1937. The mission was resupplied by ship that year and there is a better harbour at Ikpiarjuk, where the settlement of Igloolik is now located. The Roman Catholic priest, Father Schulte, reached Igloolik by air in 1938 (Schulte, 1940).

Inuit from Igloolik who visited Pond Inlet to trade would have been familiar with the Anglican mission established there in 1929. An Anglican mission was also established at Moffet Inlet near Arctic Bay in 1937. It served as the base for journeys into the area in 1938 and 1941 by the Anglican missionary Canon John Turner. In Maurice Flint’s account of Turner’s missionary career, he describes the sled journey into the Igloolik area in 1941 (Flint, 1949, p. 43). In dire straits because of lack of dog food, Turner and his companion were fortunate to encounter the hunter Pewatok (Piugattuk). They camped together. In the morning the Inuk hunter brought out the Inuktitut-language New Testament that he had obtained either directly from a missionary or from other Inuit. He asked to have various passages explained. Encounters like this between missionaries and Inuit led to conversions to Christianity.

In 1959, Noah Nasook came from Pond Inlet to minister to the spiritual needs of the local Anglicans. In 1961, Nasook became a deacon and he was ordained in 1964. Because no formal theology courses were available in Inuktitut, he learned informally from the non-Native ministers. According to Rasing (1994):

… most of the camps around and to the south of Igloolik came under the influence of Bazin while those to the north and northeast became Anglican. Camps became more or less separate and closed entities, based on religious sentiments. (p. 101)

Conversion to Christianity undermined shamanism and the practice of traditional taboos. The missionaries targeted the camp leaders for conversion. Thus, people who were related to each other and who shared the same hunting territories became followers of the same religion. People maintained closer relations with those of the same religion, even when they no longer lived in camp.

From its beginning, the [settlement] population was divided into two clusters, centered around the Catholic and Anglican missions at opposite ends of the village and in approximately the same numbers. (Kallen, 1977, p. 134)
After the establishment of the Roman Catholic mission and the HBC store at the present site of the community in the 1930s, most local Inuit continued to live in camp. They visited the settlement to trade and for festivities at Christmas and Easter. People depended on hunting and fishing, supplemented by trapping Arctic fox and obtaining sealskins for trade to the HBC. Contact with non-Natives remained limited.

With the acquisition through trade of firearms and whaleboats, however, settlement patterns began to change. Beginning in the 1940s, two central camps, Avvajjaq and Akunik, were occupied all year round by some families. “Groups and individuals continued to relocate at seasonal settlements for short periods, returning to the central villages where surpluses were stored for winter use” (Vestey, 1973, p. 89). Other families without whaleboats either attempted to connect themselves by marriage to these camps or continued previous subsistence and trading patterns. These changes in settlement patterns and the presence of the missionaries and traders at the deep-water anchorage were precursors of sedentarization at the present site of Igloolik. The process of sedentarization also originated in government involvement in the region.

4.7 Pre-World War II Government Involvement

Representatives of the state asserted Canadian sovereignty in the North through police patrols and diplomatic activity, as described above. The eventual exploitation of Arctic resources was foreseen. Nevertheless, prior to World War II there seemed little chance that the frozen wastelands would have any immediate agricultural, political, or strategic value. As a consequence, government policy appeared inconsistent: at times somewhat laissez-faire, but quite reactive when faced with a challenge to sovereign authority. (Grant, 1988, p. 3)

When Alberta and Saskatchewan became provinces in 1905, the Northwest Territories Act was amended to provide for a commissioner and appointed council to govern what remained of the Northwest Territories. It was more than 15 years before the council was set up. The commissioner, Lieutenant Colonel Fred White, and a small staff handled the
governance of the territory. An important government aim at this time was minimizing the expense of administering the North, while not relinquishing sovereignty. In fact, before 1920 the commissioner was able to administer an area of one-third the land mass of Canada with an annual budget of under $10,000 (Grant, 1988, p. 14).

The discovery of oil at Norman Wells in the Western Arctic in 1920 prompted administrative reorganization. In 1921, the Northwest Territories Branch was established within the Department of the Interior. A six-member council was appointed, with members from the Department of the Interior and the RCMP. “Until 1947, the council consisted solely of federal officials who resided and met in Ottawa” (Grant, 1988, p. 22).

Before World War II, responsibility for the health care and education of Aboriginal people was officially assigned to the Anglican and Catholic churches. The Canadian government subsidized these activities. The churches provided health care and education as part of their mission to bring Christianity to the Natives, while the government’s attitude was that education and health care were not necessarily public responsibilities (Dickerson, 1992, p. 46; Diubaldo, 1985, p. 101; Tester & Kulchyski, 1994, p. 17). Trade in furs was left to the private sector, in particular the HBC.

In 1935, the Department of the Interior was abolished. The administration of the North became the responsibility of a bureau in the Lands, Parks and Forests Branch of the newly formed Department of Mines and Resources. During the 1930s, despite some mining development in the Western Arctic, government interest remained minimal. The form of administration was colonial, in the sense that no institutional basis for democratic representation existed. The geographical isolation of the area around Igloolik delayed even limited intervention by the government. Local Inuit remained unaffected by government initiatives.

Up until improvements in aviation technology made possible access by plane in the 1940s, transportation to the area from the outside world was by the annual ship during the ice-
free months of August and September. Neighbouring communities like Pond Inlet or Repulse Bay could be reached by dog team or small boat. By the 1940s, some small beginnings had been made in the use of radio and airplanes. There was a growing but still miniscule non-Native population. World War II accelerated the changes in the direction of sedentarization.

5 Towards Sedentarization

With the advent of World War II, Canadian government policy towards the North began to change, while maintaining the same fundamental objective of asserting sovereignty. From neglect, the policy switched to intervention. One reason for this was that the Canadian government feared that other nations, for example the United States, could easily annex Canadian territory in the North. Canada had to assert its sovereignty against potential and actual American incursions into Canadian territory during and following the war. At the same time, the Canadian government had to maintain co-operation with the American ally for reasons of national security. During World War II, the foes were Germany and Japan. Military infrastructure in the North like airfields protected the North from invasion and contributed to the defeat of Canada's enemies. Later, the threat to national security was seen as coming from the Soviet Union. Soviet bombers could cross the polar ocean to attack North America.

In addition, without maintaining sovereignty, there could be no eventual economic development in the North under the auspices of the Canadian state. The stability given by clearly established sovereignty was a prerequisite for profitable mining or oil and natural gas extraction. In the following section, I present a theory of the Canadian state as a basis for explaining the increasing government presence in the North since World War II.

5.1 The Canadian State

Panitch (1977) has seen the Canadian state as driven by the functions of accumulation, legitimation, and coercion. In other words, the state must act to make its national territory safe for profitable development leading to the accumulation of capital. The population must believe
that the state and its representatives are acting in their interests. To the extent that they do believe this, they will recognize the authority of the state as legitimate and consent to be governed. In other words, the inhabitants must be convinced that the state is entitled to assert its power. If legitimation fails, the state implements coercion and uses violence to maintain its control.

For Panitch, there is "a dialectical relationship between base and superstructure: the state acts out of contradictions produced in the economic base, and once it acts it produces modifications in the economic base" (p. 5). If the Canadian state is to fulfill its goal of accumulation, investors must have access to opportunities to reinvest profits at a competitive rate of return. The ever-growing pool of capital and a relative lack of new investment opportunity in southern Canada constitutes a contradiction in the economic base. Abele (1989a) has drawn attention to the basic continuity between Northern development and Canadian development in general. From the time of the National Policy of 1878-1879, the Canadian state has been an instrument for promoting capitalist development by pragmatic intervention where market forces fail or are absent. This approach is not without contradictions, according to Abele: economic progress is simultaneously seen as the result of individual or corporate effort in response to the demands of the market, on the one hand, and of the implementation of programs by the state to promote development, on the other.

The state has acted in the Eastern Arctic, as throughout the westward and northward expansion of Canada, to safeguard natural resource potential for new investment and anticipated capitalist exploitation. These safeguards have taken the form not only of tax breaks and direct state investment in, for example, transportation infrastructure, but also investment in superstructural elements. Education, health care, and local government became available to the people of Igloolik in the process of sedentarization. These superstructural elements have been designed to establish sovereignty, to maintain civil order, and to reproduce the labour force.
At the level of ideology, a sincere altruistic concern for the needs of local people, if at times perhaps misguided or paternalistic, is not necessarily in contradiction with the legitimation of the Canadian state or with creating the conditions for immediate or future economic development. The post-World War II application to the Inuit of the policies of the welfare state, while:

assimilationist and highly judgmental, ... was not necessarily malicious in its intent, for it was based on the individualistic and materialistic view that no alternative to 'poverty' existed for Northern Natives [without integration into state institutions]. (Dacks, 1981, p. 29)

The government decision to sedentarize the Inuit overlooked the viability of social relations which existed in the North and the mixed economy there (discussed further in Chapter 6).

Actions of legitimation are semi-autonomous from the immediate needs of capital in the sense that these actions have their own, often unanticipated, consequences, economic and otherwise. The building of infrastructure to facilitate capitalist development of mineral resources (e.g. airfields, mapping, and facilities for research) has taken place more or less consistently across the North. This infrastructure has been built in the Western Arctic, where there has been actual exploitation of mineral resources for decades; it has also been built in the Eastern Arctic, where non-renewable resource exploitation remains mostly potential (with the exceptions of a defunct mine at Rankin Inlet which operated from 1955 to 1962, the Nanisivik mine since 1977, the Polaris mine on Little Cornwallis Island since 1982, and the Lupin mine at Contwoyto Lake, also since 1982). Where resources have been more easily accessible, as in the Western Arctic, they have been exploited sooner. The effect of this accessibility, however, on the presence or absence of schools, health care centres, or police stations has not necessarily been direct.

An ideology of development can exist without much actual development, depending for one thing on how accessible to southern markets the exploitable resources are. The nature of
government institutions in the Eastern Arctic may anticipate capitalist development and a full-blown wage economy rather than reflect them. Consequently, in the Eastern Arctic there is a relatively lower proportion of employment in the primary sector and a higher proportion in the tertiary sector compared to the Western Arctic and southern Canada. State intervention may meet capital’s long-term needs; to claim, however, that it does this in a consistent manner free from contradictions would be to attribute to the state-capital nexus an efficiency it does not possess. I am claiming that accumulation is one basis to explain government policy in the region, while at the same time arguing that the local economic base does not alone determine the nature of local intervention by the state. Instead, policies applied across the North to legitimate the Canadian state and in anticipation of development may underlie social relations in areas like the Eastern Arctic (soon to become Nunavut).

Albo and Jensen (1989) have criticized Panitch’s (1977) conception of the state as functionalist. In Panitch’s theory, the functions of accumulation, legitimation, and coercion are inherent in the nature of the state. While the state could accommodate the changing interests of different social classes, it could only do so within the framework of reproducing capitalist social relations. Albo and Jensen contrast this with a view of the state which emphasizes its role in the creation of a dominant ideology. Human agency and the creation of social identity on the basis of gender and ethnicity as well as class are foremosted in such a way that the political process is seen as more open. Nevertheless, the authors retain “the fundamental propositions of class analysis about the contradictory social relations of capitalist democracies” (p. 205). Panitch’s functions provide a basis for description and analysis. Nevertheless, if they essentialize the nature of the Canadian state, they stand in the way of people conceiving of or making changes in the state institutions in which they act.

The relationship between literacy and social identity in contemporary Igloolik reflects in large measure the presence of the Canadian state and the new social relations which
accompanied sedentarization. Many of the events during and after World War II which influenced the nature of this state presence took place far away: in Ottawa, Washington, and the Western Arctic. The effects of these events took years, even decades, to be felt in the lives of local inhabitants.

5.2 World War II

In August 1940, Prime Minister Mackenzie King of Canada and President Franklin Roosevelt of the United States met at Ogdensburg, New York to discuss the principle of mutual co-operation in the defence of North America. The Ogdensburg Agreement set up the Permanent Joint Board on Defence. The gradual move to independence from Britain (which had its origins before Confederation in 1867) and the more immediate possibility of British defeat at the hands of the Axis brought the Canadian government closer to the Americans. The U.S. moved to establish the northeast staging route, which provided Northern refuelling bases for American-built planes en route to Britain, as well as weather stations. One of these bases was at Frobisher Bay (now Iqaluit) in the Eastern Arctic.

Following American entry into the war in December 1941, the military build-up continued to the extent that “the lasting effect of American military activities in the North was greater than any previous event in the region’s history” (Grant, 1988, p. 70). In the Western Arctic, the Americans built the Alaska Highway, which would link the continental U.S. to Alaska. If the Japanese attacked there, the Alaska Highway would become an important supply route. The Americans also built the Canol oil pipeline. The pipeline could move fuel to the Alaska Highway and adjacent airfields if the Japanese halted tanker traffic in the Pacific. The Canadian Department of External Affairs and the Cabinet War Committee aimed to maintain Canadian sovereignty, with particular concern for minimizing a post-war American presence. One effect of the arrival of the Americans was to draw attention to the fact that the North was not effectively occupied by the Canadian government.
American medical officers stationed in the Northwest Territories volunteered their services to both Native and White inhabitants, but much to the consternation of the Northern administration, they frequently notified Canadian authorities of the highly unsatisfactory conditions. (Grant, 1988, p. 89)

If the Canadian government were to maintain effective occupation of the North, it would have to legitimate its presence by providing needed services to the Aboriginal population, for example, medical care and education.

The threat to Canadian sovereignty from American involvement in the North was made clear to the Prime Minister and the Cabinet War Committee by Malcolm MacDonald, the British High Commissioner to Canada. MacDonald had made two extensive tours of the Western Arctic in 1942 and 1943, respectively. He found the American army building highways, pipelines, and airfields. In addition, the Americans had gained control of strategically important uranium production at Port Radium, N.W.T. This was the only site in the possession of the Allies where uranium, a key ingredient in the atomic bomb, could be mined. MacDonald’s counsel made the Canadian government more aware of the necessity of actively maintaining Canada’s territorial integrity.

The American government sought post-war commercial advantage in oil production and aviation, justified by expenditure on war-time facilities. In addition, during negotiations in 1944, the U.S. government refused to accept Canadian claims to title over all the islands in the Arctic archipelago (Grant, 1988, p. 133). The Canadian government, however, resisted the American government and in particular its claims for a share in the post-war development of the Norman Wells oil field in the Western Arctic. Canadian assertiveness and the high costs of infrastructure in remote areas moderated American interest in the North for the time being.

5.3 The Mandarins

An important social basis for the policy switch from neglect to intervention was the presence, beginning in the 1930s, of a new group in the Canadian civil service: a mandarinate, to use Granatstein’s (1982) term. In the cohesive social identity of the mandarinate may be
found the roots of many developments in post-war Canadian society and, in particular, in the North.

Hugh Keenleyside was one of the civil servants whose actions were to have a big effect on the post-war North. Before joining the Canadian diplomatic service, he had written one of the first competitive civil service examinations in 1928 along with Lester Pearson. Granatstein (1982) has characterized the successful candidates who were taken on by External Affairs as having, to a notable extent "a common background, many of them sharing an Oxford education and almost all some postgraduate training. All could talk intelligently, most were affable and charming" (p. 42). Their educational achievements were key in their rise to power and responsibility; a civil service staffed by patronage appointments gave way to one in which intellectual merit and educational qualifications were valued. Mahon (1977) has seen "the 'transfer' of state power to the 'executive'; and the concomitant development of a professional or 'bureaucratic' civil service" (p. 166) as characteristic of advanced capitalist formations. The ascendancy of the mandarins exemplifies this process.

Granatstein (1982) has further described the mandarins as centralizers. Their experience of the Depression had convinced them that Canada needed a strong central government. The central government would override what the mandarins saw as parochial provincial concerns. This was in order to provide an adequate level of social services across the country and in order to assert and legitimate Canada's nationhood. They "created a foreign policy that was by their lights nationalist and at the same time internationalist. They provided the ideas and the intellectual rationale for the establishment of the Canadian welfare state" (Granatstein, 1982, p. 273). Humanitarianism, new Keynesian economic theories, and a sensitivity towards popular electoral support were combined in the actions of the mandarins. After World War II, as a result of their proposals, money flowed from the federal government to the recipients of family allowances and old age pensions. This money stimulated consumer demand and
employment for Canadians. At the same time, these measures ensured the political loyalty of the electorate and thus the power of the mandarins and their political masters.

The mandarins were linked to the Liberal Party led by Prime Minister King and Prime Minister St. Laurent. The legacy of the mandarins influenced the relations of successive Liberal governments with the North. Their understanding of economics and finance allowed them to guide the politicians in the context of wartime and post-war Canada. Using their knowledge of Keynesianism, they showed the politicians that government spending could keep the economy turning over and could re-elect the Liberals. Government intervention made possible victory in World War II and a post-war boom. Entwined with these fiscal manoeuvres was an ideology of Canadian nationalism on the part of the mandarins, both cause and effect of declining British political and economic control. The mandarins hoped to avoid excessive American domination. At the same time, they wanted to maintain friendly and mutually beneficial relations with both Britain and the United States.

The dual allegiance by the mandarins to the assertion of Canadian sovereignty and to the intervention of government in social development was to have particularly serious effects in the North. In particular, it led to a policy of sedentarization, which will be described in Section 5.5.2 of this chapter. The vision of mandarins like Keenleyside and Arnold Heeney, long-time clerk of the privy council and secretary of the cabinet, was reflected in the post-war North. "Heeney’s interest in Northern affairs was primarily motivated by his aim to improve government administration for the purpose of building a strong, independent nation" (Grant, 1988, p. 117). These men were not Northerners, nor were they responsible to Northerners through democratic representation or government accountability, for such forms did not yet exist. As discussed in greater detail later in this chapter, their actions reflected a desire to assert Canadian claims in the North, but they did not see this as inconsistent with concern for the Native inhabitants.
Hugh Keenleyside became assistant under-secretary for External Affairs in 1941 following diplomatic service in Japan. He was also External Affairs representative on the council of the Northwest Territories from 1941. Keenleyside considered himself on the left of the political spectrum and a believer in government intervention in social affairs. Thus, he firmly rejected a laissez-faire attitude to the administration of the North. The laissez-faire attitude was characteristic of how the North had been administered before World War II by Charles Camsell, deputy minister of Mines and Resources and commissioner of the Northwest Territories until 1947, and his subordinate Roy Gibson. Keenleyside proposed in 1944 that the N.W.T. council sponsor studies on medical and educational needs as a first step to reform. His actions were influenced by his belief in Canadian sovereignty and international co-operation, social justice, and a strong central administration. Others also advocated reform, for example, Major General W. W. Foster, the special commissioner for defence projects in northwest Canada, who reported directly to the Cabinet War Committee through Arnold Heeney. Foster's experience in liaising with the Americans in the North led him to support tighter federal control there.

In addition, concern by private citizens like George Raleigh Parkin, involved with the influential Canadian Institute of International Affairs, centred around "government neglect, Canadians' lack of knowledge about their own Arctic regions, and the underdevelopment of Northern resources" (Grant, 1988, p. 138). Parkin was instrumental in setting up the Arctic Institute of North America to address these issues. Keenleyside was an early member. The Canadian Social Science Research Council received a $10,000 grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to conduct a survey of Northern matters and commissioned experts to contribute. The experts were mostly academics, but civil servants and employees of non-governmental organizations also made contributions. Preliminary reports appeared in the Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science beginning in the Winter 1944-1945 issue. The results of the survey were later published in The New North-West (Dawson, 1947).
Typical of the reports which appeared in *The New North-West* was one by Andrew Moore, an inspector of secondary schools from Manitoba (1947). It concerned education in the Western Arctic. Moore spent July and August of 1944 visiting the Dené (Indian) communities along the Mackenzie River. He consulted with "traders, trappers, miners, engineers, oil operatives, transportation personnel, RCMP, clergymen, teachers, and Natives, including some of mixed blood" (1947, p. 245). At that time, the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources delegated its responsibility for the education of the Indian children in the Mackenzie district to either the Anglican church or the Roman Catholic church. The government provided grants to the churches for the education of Native children. The only schools that were not church-run were those in Fort Smith and Yellowknife. These towns had a high proportion of non-Native residents.

By way of official regulations from the government, Moore found only the Indian Day School Regulations and the Program of Studies for Indian Schools on the inside back cover of the attendance register. Moore quotes these "sketchy" regulations to show how little control of education in the Arctic they gave to the government. Even the limited provisions of the regulations were ignored in areas like "modern educational practices and the teaching of up-to-date occupational courses" according to what Moore found. The policy on language laid out in the regulations stipulated that:

> every effort must be made to induce pupils to speak English and to teach them to understand it. Insist on English even during the supervised play. Failure in this means wasted efforts. (pp. 253-254)

Moore makes no comment on language policy in education. Coupled with the appearance of the quote, this seems revealing: in 1944, it was assumed without question that English would be the language of instruction and even of the playground in the Northwest Territories. Assimilation of the Native people into the use of the dominant language was seen as inevitable. The possibility of teaching in an Aboriginal language at any level was not considered by Moore; he simply does not address the issue.
The belief implied in Moore's report that English was the appropriate medium of instruction was made more explicit in other reports of the era. The Wright report of 1946 recommended that Inuit “should be taught English, as opportunity offers, so that [they] can read published matter” (Macpherson, 1991, p. 89). The Lamberton report of 1948 advocated instruction in English. While Lamberton admitted that French was an official language in Canada, its use was not seen as practical because most White people in the North spoke English. As Macpherson comments in his history of education in the N.W.T., “it is perhaps not surprising for that day and age that teaching in Inuktitut was not considered[,] even though Lamberton admitted that the most successful traders of the Hudson’s Bay Company were those who learned the Native language” (1991, p. 97).

When Moore was preparing his report, there were no schools in Igloolik. The importance of the report for the community is that it reflected the attitude of decision-makers at the time. Moore’s report served as one basis for subsequent decisions by the federal government about the organization of the educational system in the Northwest Territories. The report is based on a brief visit to the North. By his own admission, Moore never witnessed a school in session. Progressive and activist in impulse, Moore called for a school system which promoted “the self-esteem and self-sufficiency” (p. 246) of the Natives and which had “a middle-of-the-way curriculum” (p. 264), balancing academic and practical matters. At the same time, he specified that “the administration of education in the Northwest Territories should be of the highly centralized type” (p. 266) and that attendance should be compulsory: “Indian parents are inclined to permit their children to be absent from school too readily. The RCMP should have the necessary authority to require school attendance whenever possible” (p. 255).

Moore was advocating a school system for the Northwest Territories that was responsive to what he saw as the needs of the Aboriginal and non-Native population: self-
esteem, self-sufficiency, and a middle-of-the-way curriculum. While some limited role for local advisory bodies was foreseen, a resident director of education would have the real control. Intervention by the state had a paternalistic character: opportunity was to be expanded by mandate from the top down, without devolving any decision-making power to the people whose children would be compelled to attend the schools. Moore's recommendations laid the groundwork for the legitimation of state control of education and the credentialization of English-language literacy in the North.

5.4 New Policies in the North

After World War II, Canada's sovereignty in the North was still threatened. Beginning in 1945, the danger of attack against Canada was no longer from Germany or Japan, but instead over the North Pole from the Soviet Union. With advances in aviation and nuclear technology, the United States was also vulnerable from the same quarter. This created pressures for a continuation of the wartime policies of mutual defence, administered by the Permanent Joint Board on Defence and its successor, the Canada-United States Military Co-operation Committee.

The Canadian government also had to be wary of territorial encroachments by the United States. In 1946, the Americans investigated the possibility of asserting claim to some unoccupied Arctic islands for use as bases (Grant, 1988, p. 185). While co-operation with the United States for security reasons was accepted by the Canadian government after discussions between Prime Minister King and President Truman in 1946, any loss of Canadian control over the North was resisted. In a measure to assert sovereignty, the Department of Defence staged Operation Musk-Ox, a large overland military exercise originating in Churchill, Manitoba. Another means to assert effective occupation was through government provision of services and benefits like family allowances and pensions to Arctic residents.

At the same time as the post-war military scramble, the Liberals had promised improved social benefits in the 1945 federal election campaign. The Canadian electorate was
receptive to these measures. According to Panitch (1977): "it was only during the Second World War, with the tremendous growth of popular radicalism and union consciousness, that the Canadian state turned in a deliberate way towards welfarism" (p. 20). Other factors which prompted the state to take these measures of legitimation were the influence of the post-war Labour victory in Britain, bitter memories of the Depression, and the success of state intervention in all areas of Canadian life in order to win the war.

With the Liberal victory, another of the mandarins, Brooke Claxton, became minister of the new Department of National Health and Welfare. He soon began to implement new measures like family allowances, in the form of cash payments to parents of Canadian children aged 16 and younger. At Claxton’s insistence, these programs were to be universal, with the result (among others) that the Inuit of the Eastern Arctic would be recipients. To get the benefit, parents were obliged to send their children to school after the age of six. An exception was made for Inuit children where no formal schooling was available (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994, p. 73).

Family allowance benefits were paid to Inuit in kind in the form of sugar, flour, baby cereal, powdered milk, clothing, rifles, ammunition, and other food and equipment available from the HBC. By 1948, the family allowance payments were being distributed in Igloolik. Initially, retroactive payments were made when benefits had accumulated (Spalding, 1994, p. 169). Inuit were also eligible for pensions under the Old Age Pensions Act, although at first there were difficulties concerning means testing and proof of age (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994, pp. 94-98).

According to Vestey (1973), population growth and increased use of Western technology by local Inuit between 1940 and 1955 led to dispersal from the central camps previously mentioned in Section 4.1 of this chapter. Many local Inuit moved to other camps, for example at Kapuivik. At the same time that wider availability of guns and boats permitted
mobility, relative prosperity, and population growth, it also increased the danger of overexploitation of game and dependency on trade. These tendencies were complemented by the availability of family allowances and pensions. The use of guns, boats, and other technology purchased for cash by Inuit to maintain and expand the domestic economy created the conditions for social change: the government policy-makers began to see sedentarization and integration into a wage economy as a reasonable alternative to continued Inuit life on the land. By imposing sedentarization, these policy-makers could assert their authority in the region.

In 1945, responsibility for the medical care, hospitalization, and welfare programs for Inuit was transferred to the federal Department of National Health and Welfare. It was proposed that government-owned hospitals be built in the North, although the Roman Catholic church opposed this. The church feared losing the federal grants which subsidized the missions (Grant, 1988, p. 163). Measures also began to be taken against Northern health problems, particularly tuberculosis. It was through these programs that some Inuit from Igloolik spent extended periods in southern Canada in the 1950s for treatment of tuberculosis.

After a stint as Canadian ambassador to Mexico, Hugh Keenleyside was appointed deputy minister of Mines and Resources and commissioner of the Northwest Territories in 1947, upon the retirement of Charles Camsell. The composition of the N.W.T. council was altered by the government to ensure military and diplomatic representation. At the same time, a Yellowknife mine manager, J. G. McNiven, was appointed to the council. The Special Education Committee, made up of Keenleyside, deputy commissioner Roy Gibson, and R. A. Hoey, recommended that day schools should be built in Northern communities. Southern Canadian teachers were to be hired as ‘welfare teachers’, and provisions were made for Northerners to continue their education in southern Canada. “The policies upon which future Northern education would be based were established in November 1947” (Grant, 1988, p. 200), although it was over ten years before these policies were to take effect in Igloolik.
Keenleyside moved quickly to reorganize his department in the interests of efficiency. The name of the bureau responsible for the administration of the North “was changed to Northwest Territories and Yukon Services, under a renamed Lands and Development Services Branch … . The emphasis on ‘service’ and ‘development’ clearly identified the reorientation of objectives from the former laissez-faire approach” (Grant, 1988, p. 192).

Keenleyside himself in his autobiography lays out the basis for this reorientation, which retained a fundamental continuity with what had gone before.

The awakening general interest in the Arctic was in part the result of political and defence considerations that marked the period of the Cold War. But additional recognition of its importance came also from a new appreciation of the economic possibilities of that region. And the more admirable aspect of humanity’s split personality was illustrated by a growing appreciation of the social responsibility of those living in a more favourable environment for the welfare of others of our common destiny who had been existing in half-forgotten isolation beyond the horizon of the North. (Keenleyside, 1982, p. 309)

Keenleyside goes on to say:

The Canadian authorities had to find means of helping the Native peoples to make the inevitable changes in such a way that they would not lose their natural virtues in the process of acquiring the material and social advantages of modern life. (Keenleyside, 1982, p. 310)

These passages reflect an ideology which blended (1) a desire for control of the North by the Canadian state, (2) support for capital’s need of resource extraction opportunity, and (3) a humanitarian impulse towards those whose lives would be disrupted by (1) and (2). The “natural virtues” of the Natives were seen by non-Natives as the aptitude to survive cheerfully in a harsh land, the ability to use rich and exotic cultural knowledge to meet their needs, and their helpful attitude to the Eurocanadians with whom they had come into contact. These attributes made up the distinct social identities of the Native people in the eyes of the mandarins. While these virtues were to be maintained, nevertheless, the adaptation to modernity was seen as inevitable.

Eventually, capital, whether Canadian or foreign, would let nothing stand in its way in the quest for profits from resource extraction. Sooner or later, the government would have to
intervene to mitigate the inevitably disruptive effects associated with disputes over territory and an influx of non-Natives. Therefore, the government had to legitimize itself but not in such a way as to preclude capital accumulation. One way to do this was by the provision of services like education and health care, measures which also reflected the altruistic concerns of the mandarins, the politicians, and the public.

The Soviets detonated an atomic bomb in 1949. The following year, the administration of the North was reorganized under the Northern Administration Division of the Development Services Branch of the new Department of Resources and Development. These events coincided with a shift in emphasis by the government from social development in the North to national security and the quest for natural resources. At that time, the Indian Affairs Branch was moved to the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. In his participation as chair of the Advisory Committee on Northern Development (established in 1948), Keenleyside tried to maintain civilian control of undertakings in the North. It was evident, however, that the military was in the ascendant. His failure to see eye-to-eye with his minister, Robert Winters, played a part in Keenleyside’s resignation and departure for employment with the United Nations. Winters had pressed for more democratic government in the Northwest Territories. In the absence of enfranchisement of the Aboriginal population, Keenleyside felt this would only serve the particularist interests of non-Native newcomers in the Western Arctic, already antagonistic towards Natives. Major-General Hugh A. Young replaced Keenleyside as deputy minister of Resources and Development.

Through their influence on the federal politicians they served, Keenleyside and the other mandarins had accelerated a process of state intervention in the North. Their intervention had long-term effects (Granatstein, 1982, p. 281). The goal of the mandarins was to assert effective occupation through new policies in the North. This goal, however, would only be accomplished through sedentarization in the years to come. Without sedentarization and
accompanying processes like standardization and credentialization, the representatives of the Canadian state would not be able to exercise effective control over the dispersed Inuit population and the extensive territories of the North.

5.5 Government Expansion in the North in the 1950s and 1960s

The government continued to intervene in the North through the 1950s and 1960s. Gradually, Northerners achieved more political control. The United States and Canada persisted in military collaboration. The government began to implement a policy of moving the Inuit into settlements. Aviation and radio technology were constantly developing, making resource extraction more feasible.

Rhetoric was translated into reality in fits and starts. as distance, cultural difference, and limited resources inhibited the implementation of policy. Grant (1988) suggests that:

some programs, which were intended to make the Inuit ... independent citizens, capable of full participation in development of the North, only succeeded in transferring their former dependency on the fur traders and missions to the federal government. (p. 248)

5.5.1 The Question of Democracy

The federal government first became involved in the North without democratic representation or formal consultation with the Inuit. The status of the Inuit was the subject of Supreme Court decisions in 1939 and 1949. The immediate effect of these legal decisions was limited because the government lacked the infrastructure to implement any but the most rudimentary of policies in most of the North.

In 1939, the court ruled that the Inuit were the responsibility of the federal government. This decision was an attempt to end a dispute between the federal and Quebec governments over relief costs for Inuit living in Arctic Quebec. The court decided that Inuit were legally Indians. In a contradictory 1949 decision, Inuit were ruled not to be Indians for the purposes of the Old Age Pensions Act. Therefore, they were entitled to pensions on the same basis as other Canadians. The 1949 decision also affected Inuit status as voters.
In 1949, Inuit were given the right to vote in federal elections. However, the right was only exercised in the Mackenzie delta region [far to the west]. Inuit in the Keewatin, Baffin, and Franklin regions of the Eastern Arctic were not included in any existing electoral district under the Canada Elections Act and, consequently, could not vote until the federal election of 1962, which created one riding for the entire Northwest Territories. (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994, p. 96)

In order to legitimate a growing state presence on the North, the federal government created the Eskimo Affairs Committee in 1952. The committee was sponsored by the Department of Resources and Development and chaired by deputy minister Hugh A. Young. Represented on the committee were the federal agencies involved with the Inuit, the Anglican church, the Roman Catholic church, and the Hudson’s Bay Company. It met twice annually from 1952 to 1955 and once annually from 1955 to 1962. The committee was originally formed to consult on the direction of government policy in the North, with particular reference to the collapse of the fur trade. Shifts in fashion were factors in the volatility of fur prices, especially prices for Arctic fox pelts. An early topic of discussion of the Eskimo Affairs Committee was a proposal to integrate trading and social services under the auspices of the Hudson’s Bay Company. “Not until 1959 did any Eskimos [Inuit] participate in the meetings” (Clancy, 1987, p. 193).

Democratic representation at the territorial level of government was also in the future. Although barriers to voting by Inuit for the minority of elected representatives on the N.W.T. council were removed in 1954, they were still effectively disenfranchised; no constituencies were created in the Eastern or Central Arctic (where most Inuit lived) until 1966. The first Aboriginal member of the council, Abe Okpik, was appointed in 1965. In 1967, Simonie Michael of Frobisher Bay was the first Inuk elected to the council. That year, for the first time, the council had a majority of elected members. Democratic representation followed government expansion. By the 1970s, democratic institutions were beginning to emerge, as will be discussed in Chapter 4.
5.5.2 The Movement into the Settlement

In the early 1950s, the writing of Farley Mowat (1952) and the photography of Richard Harrington (1952) drew the attention of southern Canadians and people around the world to starvation in the Keewatin (to the south of Igloolik). The immediate cause of the famine was the failure of the caribou, on which the Inuit there depended for food, to arrive where they were expected to. The problem was exacerbated because assistance to the Inuit was inadequate. "... Mowat claimed that the Ahiarmiut, a group of Inuit in the interior of the Keewatin, were approaching extinction as a result of government incompetence and neglect" (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994, p. 56).

As a result of the publicity about the famine, the pressure was on the federal government to take decisive action in the North, even in areas that were not affected by starvation. In 1953, Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, speaking in the House of Commons, asserted that the North had been administered "in an almost continuing state of absence of mind" (Canada, Parliament. House of Commons. 1953, p. 698). He announced the creation of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR). He also spoke in favour of increased government activity and involvement of the Inuit in the development and administration of the North.

The difficult circumstances of Northern Natives appeared to southern civil servants as a consequence of Native people's unpreparedness for wage employment and the absence of viable economic opportunities; the remedy was federal programs to develop a Native labour force and to create business and employment opportunities. (Abele, 1989a, p. 317)

Although the speech by St. Laurent referred to above and the establishment of the new ministry are often taken as the beginning of intensive government involvement in the North, "in spite of its new name, new minister [Jean Lesage], and new deputy minister [Gordon Robertson], the structure and policies were remarkably similar to those of the old Department of Resources and Development set out by Keenleyside in 1950" (Grant, 1990, p. 80). One
difference was that the policy of residential schools for Aboriginal education in the North, rejected in 1947, was now reinstated. An article in The Beaver under the signature of Lesage and written by members of his department assumed moral responsibility for "a vigorous attack on the dilemmas of a changing Eskimo society" and asserted that "direction of local affairs in the hands of the Eskimo is desirable" (Lesage, 1955, p. 4). The base for increased activity in the North was to be the Northern Administration and Lands Branch of DNANR. This branch was divided into the territorial, Arctic, and lands divisions. Ben Sivertz became director of the Arctic division.

In November 1954, the American government and the Canadian government agreed to build the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line of radar stations across the North, as a precaution against Soviet bomber attack over the North Pole. The Canadian government, while it was acquiescing to American desires for a continental system of security, asserted sovereignty by retaining ownership of the radar station sites. Eventually, the government required that the major stations be commanded by Canadians. The U.S. government bore the cost of construction, for which it was obliged to contract with Canadian firms. A DEW Line site (Fox Main) was established in 1956 some 60 kilometres from Igloolik near Hall Beach; some Inuit were employed there.

In the late 1950s, the Canadian federal government began to implement a policy of moving the local Inuit off the land and into the settlement. The policy of sedentarization was in response to factors enumerated by Chartrand (1987):

first, the collapse of the fur trade ...; second, widespread famines and severe health problems; third, the knowledge of the existence of valuable resources in the North; and fourth, international geopolitical interest in the face of the Cold War [manifested in the construction of the DEW Line]. (p. 241)

Some attempts had been made after 1947 to provide services to Inuit in their camps. By 1955, policy favored a greater degree of centralization. The policy-makers thought it was impossible to provide to a nomadic population the infrastructure which would prevent famine
and give alternatives to dependence on the cyclical fur trade. Just as the Enclosures in Britain provided a stable industrial work force, movement into the settlements would mean available workers for resource extraction. Allegiance to the Canadian state by a population educated in Canadian schools and cared for in Canadian health centres would allow the government to assert effective occupation. Schools, housing, and nursing stations began to be built in all Northern settlements, although many Inuit initially remained on the land.

Roman Catholic children from Igloolik went by plane to the Joseph Bernier Federal Day School in Chesterfield Inlet, N.W.T. beginning in 1955. This school was staffed by Roman Catholic clergy. Turquetil Hall, the residence where the children lived in Chesterfield Inlet, was administered by the church and subsidized by the federal government. The church was entitled to give religious instruction during the school day (Diubaldo, 1985). The effects of the residential school experience are discussed further in Chapter 7.

In 1955, Lesage, the DNANR minister, announced a new program of school construction in the N.W.T. As a result of this program, a federal day school was established in 1960 in Igloolik. To be eligible for family allowances, parents had to have their children in school. Some Inuit felt coerced by non-Native authorities to comply with school attendance requirements and to move into the settlement. They resisted moving into the settlement because they felt they still had a viable existence on the land. For example, Rasing (1994) quotes one of his informants as follows:

in the 1950s my children were taken into the settlement to go to school. I stayed out on the land. I wanted to stay there with my family. Later, someone from the government came and told me I had to move to Igloolik. I refused. Then came the RCMP and said I had to go to the settlement and I refused to do so again. Then they sent my brother-in-law to say to move to the settlement. (p. 166)

A hostel was provided for school-age children. Parents, however, were not enthusiastic about being separated from their children; often they moved into the settlement to be closer to them.
Beginning in 1959, the government began to provide low-cost housing for the infirm. The Northern Rental Housing Program was established in 1965 and housing became more generally available. The two main elements of sedentarization were the obligation of keeping children in school, at least on a semi-regular basis, and access to subsidized housing, constructed with a very few exceptions only in the settlement. Living in the settlement also meant easier access to the Hudson’s Bay Company store, the nursing station (established in 1960), and the Co-op (founded in 1962).

In 1955, the first Northern Service Officers (NSOs) were appointed by the Arctic Division of DNANR. Each NSO was to be the federal government’s representative on the spot in the Inuit communities. Along with promoting whatever economic development project they felt appropriate, they were to organize a settlement council of elected representatives to deal with matters of local concern. Although the NSOs could be just more non-Native authority figures, their activities started the process that had led by 1976 to more responsible municipal government in the form of hamlet status for Igloolik. In 1959, the name of these positions was changed to area administrator. Subsequently, some of the duties of the area administrator were carried out by the settlement manager and, eventually, the government liaison officer.

The settlement promised a life less harsh than on the land. To avoid conflict and trusting in the judgment and material capabilities of the non-Natives, the Inuit moved into Igloolik. Although the movement from camp into the settlement took place quickly, the preconditions had a more gradual evolution.

At first [the centres of Igloolik and Hall Beach] became the focus for increasingly frequent visits from outlying settlements. Then their existence encouraged a certain amount of migration to villages near the centres. Later there was accelerating migration to the centres themselves which culminated in the centralization of the entire northern Foxe Basin population. (Vestey, 1973, p. 138)

In 1959, 77 per cent of the Iglulingmiut continued to live in camp; in 1964, 48 per cent; and, by 1968, only 11 per cent (Beaubier, Bradley. & Vestey, 1970). Damas (1988)
gives figures of 74 per cent living in camp year-round in 1960-1961 and 4 per cent in 1968. Vestey (1973) and Rode and Shephard (1992) give 1969 as the date of the movement of the last Inuit into the settlement.

In 1972, some 13 local Inuit returned to the land at Ikpik with the Roman Catholic priest, Father Fournier (Mary-Rousselière, 1973, p. 3). This movement back onto the land was tolerated by the government. Partly this reflected the change in attitudes and political structures discussed in Chapter 4. Inuit were beginning to be treated more like citizens than wards of the state by the government because of the assertion of Aboriginal interests in the new territorial government and in resistance to federal government initiatives like the 1969 White Paper.

Even today, a small minority (under 5 per cent) of local Inuit continue to live most of the year on the land under the auspices of the government-funded outpost program. These initiatives have allowed some freedom of choice for local people, but they have not posed a threat to the accomplishment of sedentarization of the population as a whole.

5.5.3 Political Development under Diefenbaker and Pearson

Soon-to-be Prime Minister John Diefenbaker made his ‘Northern Vision’ an important element in the 1957 federal election campaign. The military facilities created in World War II would be the basis of the infrastructure needed for development. This infrastructure, the ‘Roads to Resources’, would make development possible, while the rapid expansion of American and global markets would make it profitable. When Diefenbaker took power, roads were built to link the mines of the Western Arctic with Alberta.

The Diefenbaker government put forward a bill to divide the Northwest Territories along the 105th meridian (west of the Saskatchewan-Manitoba border). This was at the instigation of Knut Lang of the territorial council. At the time, the elected members of the territorial council were settlers from the Western Arctic. Residents of Yellowknife had been
calling for more responsible government since 1938. After division, it was their hope that the
more developed Western Arctic would soon attain provincial status. The bill died on the order
paper upon the collapse of the Diefenbaker government.

When the Liberals under Lester Pearson were victorious in 1963, Gordon Robertson,
the deputy minister of DNANR and commissioner of the N.W.T. since 1953, became
secretary to the cabinet. Arthur Laing took over as minister of Northern Affairs and National
Resources and appointed E. A. Côté as deputy minister and Ben Sivertz as commissioner of
the N.W.T. The Liberals proposed to go ahead with division but encountered opposition from
both the Conservatives, who pressed for more democratic institutions for the new territories,
and the Créditistes, who wished to expand the territory of Quebec at the expense of the
N.W.T. (Dickerson, 1992, p. 85; Zaslow, 1988, pp. 358-359). The question of division was
to arise again, as a preliminary to the establishment of the Inuit homeland, Nunavut, which
will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Sivertz, the commissioner of the N.W.T., was inspired by the reform of the political
system in Greenland; he proposed, with his council, that a study be made of structures of
government in the N.W.T., instead of progressing with the division bill. The Glassco Royal
Commission on Government Organization had already recommended in 1962 that programs in
the educational, legal, and health fields in the North be transferred to the authority of the
commissioner. It also recommended that a territorial civil service be established in which
Northern residents would be employed (Clancy, 1990, p. 27). The federal government
appointed A. W. R. Carrothers, dean of law at the University of Western Ontario, to head the
Advisory Commission on the Development of Government in the Northwest Territories. The
report of the commission recommended that the elected members of the N.W.T. council have
increased powers and the authority of the appointed commissioner be decreased (Canada.
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1966). Local government and
decentralization were seen in the report as key to political development. It also suggested that the capital of the N.W.T. no longer be Ottawa but instead be moved to Yellowknife in the Western Arctic. In summary, the Carrothers Report served as a brief for the increasing power of the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT). The move to Yellowknife was accomplished in 1967, with gradual transfer of various responsibilities like education and the administration of the Eastern Arctic in the years following.

While the provision of housing, schooling, medical services, and local government in the years before 1967 was at the instigation of the federal government, local people gradually assumed more control over these institutions and over life in the settlement.

6 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has traced the human occupation of the Eastern Arctic from the earliest times up to 1967. Before contact with Europeans, the Inuit there lived a nomadic hunting life. Resources were distributed to kin and fictive kin under the authority of the camp leader. Although kinship structure has adapted to changes linked to greater contact with non-Natives, these sharing practices persist today.

When the non-Native whalers, explorers, traders, and missionaries began to arrive in the area, change in the lives of the original inhabitants was at first gradual. Trade goods and new technologies slowly became available and settlement patterns altered as a result.

After an extended period of neglect in which the administration of the North was left mostly to the churches and the Hudson’s Bay Company, the Canadian federal government began to take more interest in the Canadian North during World War II. The threat of invasion by the Axis and American encroachment prompted this increased interest. After World War II, attention focussed on the Soviet Union and the DEW Line was built to warn North America of attack. At the same time, development in mining and oil were foreseen. Reports began to circulate that the Inuit in the Keewatin were the victims of famine. The Canadian government was called on to assert its authority in the North.
If the Canadian state were to be legitimated in the North and capital accumulation made possible there, the region had to be effectively occupied. The mandarins who carried out Ottawa's policies proposed to do this by providing education, health care, and housing. The Inuit of the Eastern Arctic were to move into settlements and abandon camp life. This process of sedentarization, carried out with little consultation with the Inuit, had profound effects on their social identity and, eventually, on their uses of literacy. No longer were reading and writing used only for reading the Bible or for letters sent from camp to camp by dog team.

Some Inuit were less eager than others to move into the settlement. Life on the land was satisfactory for them. Gradually, they were pushed and pulled into the settlement. Assertion of their interests and resistance to external control then began to take the form of active participation in the new institutions, along with maintaining their involvement in the domestic economy. By 1967, some possibility for Inuit control over the changes in the North was emerging. The right to vote was gradually extended and decentralized administration had been recommended in reports to the government. In Chapter 4, further developments in this direction are discussed.
CHAPTER 4: HISTORY AND THE COMMUNITY FROM 1967 UNTIL THE PRESENT

1 Political Development after 1967

Before 1967, the Northwest Territories was an internal colony of Canada. Since 1967, as a result of the events discussed in this chapter, such as Northern oil discoveries, political devolution, and the conflict over Aboriginal rights, the politics of the territory has changed. N.W.T. politics has become similar in many ways to the politics of the provinces of southern Canada. For example, the people of the N.W.T., both Native and non-Native, can now vote and run for office. Nevertheless, political development in the N.W.T. has also reflected the special characteristics of the North: its remoteness from southern Canada, its ethnic diversity, and its relative lack of industry. The Aboriginal people of the North have drawn on their awareness of their distinct identity and their attachment to the land to resist assimilation into southern Canadian institutions. They have rejected the imposition of institutions designed outside the North because they have seen the often negative effects of these institutions.

The representatives of the Canadian state have recognized the special characteristics of the North. An example of this recognition is the establishment of Nunavut, Canada’s newest territory, in 1999. If the federal government had continued on the path of colonialism described in Chapter 3, it would have opened up the opportunity for one of the neighbouring circumpolar nations to bring the Canadian North into its sphere of influence and out of Canada’s control.

At the same time, recent political development in the N.W.T. has integrated the region into the Canadian and global capitalist economic system. Historically, Canadian corporate capital has been invested in oil and gas extraction and mining in less developed areas of the country. Capital accumulation from investment depends on stability, territorial integrity, and the rule of law throughout the country.
Representatives of the federal government have acted to meet the above-mentioned preconditions to capital accumulation and to legitimate control of the region by devolving powers to the territorial government, by negotiating with the Aboriginal political organizations, and by setting some limits on capitalist economic development. Since 1967, the political development of the Northwest Territories has been negotiated by those acting on behalf of: the federal government; the Government of the Northwest Territories (including the regional and municipal governments which derive their authority from the GNWT); and the Aboriginal political organizations. In these negotiations, the federal government has represented not only the interests of the Canadian nation, but also particular constituencies, for example, the Aboriginal people, through the government’s fiduciary responsibility for them, and the oil and gas industry.

As discussed in Chapter 3, since 1967 the GNWT has been located in Yellowknife and has gradually assumed more powers. The federal government, however, has remained legally supreme in the region. Beginning in 1966, the federal ministry responsible for the N.W.T. was the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). In 1971, Canadian Inuit formed the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) to represent themselves politically. From its inception, ITC proposed the creation of Nunavut, an Inuit homeland in the North.

In the years leading up to the present, many people from Igloolik have played important roles in northern political development. Some of these individuals and the organizations they have been active in are: Paul Quassa of the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN), Josiah Kadlutsiak, a founding member of ITC, Rhoda Inukshuk of ITC, Mark Evaluardjuk as a member of the territorial legislative assembly, Louis Tapardjuk of ITC, Joe Attagutaluk of the Baffin Divisional Board of Education (BDBE), John Illupalik of the Baffin Region Inuit Association (BRIA), and Lucasi Ivvalu of the Baffin Regional Council (BRC), among others.
The political development described in this chapter has taken place in part through the processes of state formation like sedentarization, standardization, and credentialization which have shaped the relationship between literacy and social identity in Igloolik. For example, the creation of local government described in Section 4 gave back some control over sedentarization to local residents. ITC and the federal government collaborated on the standardization of Inuktitut orthography (described in more detail in Chapter 5). Credentialization began to be implemented more fully as the GNWT took control of education.

This chapter begins by describing how Aboriginal people mobilized through the creation of political organizations, and then goes on to discuss devolution from the federal government to the GNWT, and from the territorial government to local government.

2 The Federal Government and the Aboriginal Political Organizations

The backdrop to the formation of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada was a new relationship between the Aboriginal peoples of Canada and the federal government. This new relationship had its origins in two events: the discovery in 1968 of significant oil and gas reserves in Alaska, and the release in 1969 of a White Paper on Indian policy by the Trudeau Liberal government.

2.1 Pipelines and Aboriginal Rights

In 1968, exploration in northern Alaska by major oil companies like Atlantic Richfield, British Petroleum, and Esso paid off when oil and gas were discovered in Prudhoe Bay. It had to be decided how this oil and gas would reach markets in the rest of the United States. One possibility was by tanker through Canada's Northwest Passage to the U.S. east coast. In October 1968, Humble Oil and its partners proposed to take the refitted supertanker S. S. Manhattan through the passage. A month later, the American government said it would accompany the Manhattan with a U.S. Coast Guard icebreaker. The Americans would not
request permission from the Canadian government for travel through what they saw as international waters. This posed a challenge to Canadian sovereignty.

The Canadian government was reluctant to allow unregulated access to Arctic waters, even beyond the three-mile territorial limit. At the same time, it hesitated to confront the American government directly on this issue. Canadian public opinion and the media saw the issue as an opportunity to resist American domination. The Liberal government averted conflict when it supplied a Canadian Coast Guard icebreaker, the Sir John A. Macdonald, to accompany the voyage. It also passed the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act on June 26, 1970 (Head & Trudeau, 1995). It soon became clear that the use of supertankers through the passage was less practical than a pipeline. Nevertheless, the incident showed the problematic nature of Canadian sovereignty in the North.

Another possibility for getting the Prudhoe Bay oil and gas to market was a trans-Alaska pipeline. In 1969, environmental groups blocked the construction of this pipeline in the American courts. U.S. Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall announced a land freeze in Alaska, pending settlement of Native claims. At that time, the Canadian government had high hopes for oil and gas development in the Beaufort Sea adjacent to the Alaska North Slope. A pipeline along the Mackenzie Valley in Canada’s Western Arctic could link up with a pipeline from Prudhoe Bay, as well as deliver Canadian oil and gas to market. A Mackenzie Valley pipeline promised increased energy exports, national energy security, and the prevention of pollution danger from west coast supertankers. The Canadian government mandated the Task Force on Northern Oil Development to create the conditions for the pipeline.

By 1971, the obstacles to a trans-Alaska oil pipeline had been eliminated, and the American pipeline was ready to be built. Nevertheless, the possibility of a Mackenzie Valley natural gas pipeline still existed. Gradually, concerns about the effect of the pipeline became more evident, particularly regarding the environment, settlement of Aboriginal claims, and the
impact of pipeline construction on the Canadian economy (Dosman, 1975). As well, a decision had to be made about what route the pipeline would take.

To address these concerns, in March 1973 Justice Thomas Berger was appointed to head a commission of inquiry into the Mackenzie Valley pipeline. Berger was determined to let the voices of the Aboriginal people of the region be heard. The report of the inquiry called for a ten-year moratorium on pipeline development (Canada. Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, 1977). Now, the federal government had to recognize Aboriginal interests in the North. A consensus had emerged among the decision-makers that Northern development could not go forward without the consent of the Aboriginal political organizations.

Aboriginal rights with respect to Northern development were recognized in the courts as well as in the political arena. In 1977, ITC assisted the Inuit of Baker Lake in the Keewatin in having DIAND minister Warren Allmand declare a freeze on mining activity in their hunting grounds. The residents were concerned about the effect of exploration on caribou, as the German company Urangesellschaft sought uranium in the area. They pursued the matter in the courts, with the financial assistance of the GNWT. While an interim injunction was obtained against mining exploration in the area in 1978, a judgment by Federal Court of Canada Judge Mahoney in 1979 held that the government could grant exploration permits. Nevertheless, Mahoney’s landmark decision affirmed Aboriginal rights to hunt, fish, and trap. The decision set out criteria that had to be satisfied in order to prove Aboriginal title.

The necessity of respecting Aboriginal rights to the land was further illustrated in the 1980s during the discussion of the Arctic Pilot Project. A consortium made up of Petro-Canada, Dome, Nova, and Melville Shipping proposed in 1981 to bring natural gas by pipeline and tanker from Melville Island in the Arctic to southern Canada. Inuit saw the movement of the ice-breaking tankers through Lancaster Sound and Davis Strait as endangering the sea-ice habitat of marine mammals. These animals are an important source of
food for local Inuit. ITC, the Baffin Region Inuit Association (BRIA), the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee (CARC), the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC), and the government of Greenland intervened at National Energy Board hearings in Ottawa to oppose the project. Their opposition, along with declining energy prices, surplus Alberta natural gas, and lack of a European market, destined the project for oblivion by 1983.

Struggles around issues like the Mackenzie Valley pipeline and the Arctic Pilot Project mobilized Aboriginal people. Control over resources became a key demand in later land claims negotiations. By representing their people in opposition to unregulated development, young bilingual Inuit made use of their education in assuming leadership positions. The legitimation of the federal government with respect to Aboriginal interests required that texts concerning development be translated and published in Inuktitut or other Aboriginal languages. Struggles around development promoted the emergence of a class of active biliterates, with distinctive social identities and uses of literacy.

Resource development has subsequently come under the control of the Inuit leadership through the establishment of Native economic development corporations. ITC set up Nunasi Corporation (originally the Inuit Development Corporation) in 1976. More recently, three regional economic development corporations have been established in Nunavut: Qikiqtaaluk Corporation for the Baffin, Kitikmeot Corporation for the Kitikmeot (formerly known as the Central Arctic), and Sakku Investments for the Keewatin. These corporations have the responsibility of investing funds from the land claims settlement on behalf of the beneficiaries. These corporations are already in business and have investments in real estate, transportation, fishing, and service industries. They also have the employment of Inuit as their goal (Tunraluk, 1987). These development corporations have come to be an economic basis for the assertion of Aboriginal interests. In the following section, the emergence of a political basis for Aboriginal interests is discussed further.
2.2 The 1969 White Paper and Its Aftermath

At the same time that the struggles over oil and gas were going on, the federal government released a White Paper on Indian policy which had serious, if indirect, effects on the relationship between the government and the Inuit (Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1969). The 1969 White Paper proposed the repeal of the Indian Act, transfer to the provinces of responsibility for administering services to Indians, and termination of all special treatment of Indians. The release of the White Paper followed a year of consultation by the federal government with the Aboriginal peoples of Canada, in which the minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Jean Chrétien, had participated.

The Aboriginal peoples felt betrayed by the policy proposed in the White Paper, which did not reflect the opinions expressed in the consultation meetings. In those meetings, the Aboriginal peoples had asked that their special rights be honoured, that their concerns about lands and treaties be addressed, and that their participation in decisions about their future be ensured. Instead, the proposals instantiated the Trudeau government’s liberal ideology: citizens, whether Québécois or Aboriginal, should have a direct relationship with the Canadian state, and not one mediated by their collective identity.

The White Paper ignored the findings of the recently completed Hawthorn report. This report had argued that Indians should be ‘citizens plus’ and that the government should fund the Aboriginal political organizations and socioeconomic development for the Aboriginal peoples (Canada. Indian Affairs Branch, 1966-1967). “Indians responded to the policy [proposed in the White Paper] with a resounding nationalism unparalleled in Canadian history” (Weaver, 1981, p. 5). This nationalism had been promoted by the consultation sponsored by the federal government. It had its roots, however, in the continuing resistance of the Aboriginal peoples to government policies since contact with non-Natives. The response to the White Paper by Aboriginals forced the government to withdraw its policy proposals by 1971.
Weaver (1981) has given a detailed account of how the White Paper was developed by the federal government. The consultation process which preceded the release of the White Paper reflected the Trudeau government’s commitment to an ideology of participatory democracy. The policy proposed in the White Paper, however, was derived from discussion among bureaucrats and not from the consultation process. The officials of Trudeau’s Prime Minister’s Office (PMO) and the Cabinet’s Privy Council Office (PCO) were able to impose their will on the officials of DIAND in the preparation of the White Paper policy. The hostile reception to the White Paper strengthened the hand of the DIAND officials.

In 1973, a new policy replaced the discredited one. In this new policy, the Aboriginal political organizations and DIAND would negotiate the comprehensive claims of Native peoples who had not signed treaties, on the model of the settlement of the Alaska Native claims by the United States government in 1971. The legal basis for land claims, Aboriginal title, gained support when the Supreme Court of Canada gave its decision in Calder et al. v. Attorney General of British Columbia in 1973. Although the Nishga (Nisga’a) nation lost this case, the concept of Aboriginal title was validated. Further legal support for Aboriginal rights came in the 1973 Morrow decision, in which the Aboriginal title of the N.W.T. Dené was upheld, and in the Malouf decision concerning hydro-electric development in northern Quebec (Page, 1986, p. 71). The Malouf decision formed the basis for the negotiations between the provincial government and the Inuit and Cree of northern Quebec. These negotiations led to the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1976.

These legal decisions implied that, in return for agreeing to extinguish Aboriginal title to the land, the Aboriginal people could negotiate certain guarantees from the federal government. DIAND allocated almost $17 million between 1970 and 1976 to Indian and Inuit organizations for the purposes of researching their claims. In 1974, the Office of Native Claims of DIAND was established. Settlement of land claims would remove legal impediments

The Inuit had a different relationship with the government than the Indians in that, for example, they were not covered by the Indian Act and were not living on reserves. Nevertheless, the events surrounding the release of the 1969 White Paper had an effect on relationship of the Inuit with the state. These events created opportunities for Inuit mobilization. The creation and funding of ITC and other Inuit political organizations opened up the possibility of new social identities that built on Inuit resistance to non-Native domination. Now, Inuit would be potentially in greater control of their destiny. Mobilization called for new uses of English literacy and Inuktitut literacy by Inuit. For example, land claims negotiations between the government and the Inuit would be conducted by exchanging texts and then trying to arrive at a common text in face-to-face meetings. News of the negotiations were circulated to the home communities in the form of bilingual newsletters.

The existence of a national political organization allowed Inuit a voice in national political debate. At the same time, the federal government could manage the potentially explosive issue of Inuit rights in the North by negotiating with ITC.

Loney (1977) has seen the government funding of Aboriginal political organizations as one element of a strategy "for reincorporating potentially dissident groups into the mainstream of society. Simultaneously, government funding has ensured the domination of ideas and practices which sustain the existing socioeconomic order either directly or by maintaining the illusion of a genuine pluralism" (p. 446). Loney sees the implementation of this strategy in the 1960s and 1970s as reflecting a number of factors: the growth in federal revenue in the 1960s.
the threat to Canadian federalism posed by political developments in Quebec, and the recognition that youth, the poor, and Aboriginal people were alienated from Canadian society. Funding of apparently oppositional groups allowed the state to assume the role of neutral arbiter of the social forces of the nation. While Loney asserts that state funding makes the voluntary sector more conservative, he implicitly recognizes that the existence of these federally funded groups may mobilize Aboriginal people by asking rhetorically:

- to what extent can state funding of Native groups in the Northwest Territories be seen as responsible for furthering Native militancy; to what extent has it enabled the federal government to establish some legitimacy which will facilitate further future resource exploitation without resort to overt coercion? (p. 454)

The negotiations between the Inuit political organizations and the federal government are discussed further in Section 5 of this chapter.

3 The Federal Government and the GNWT

The state in Canada has legitimated itself by rejigging state structure, that is, by a continuous process of centralization and decentralization. State power has always been dispersed in Canada, owing to competition between francophones and anglophones, the former colonial status of the nation, and the colonial relations between the regions (Panitch, 1977, p. 11). This dispersion has accompanied the integration of widely diverse regional economies into the Canadian polity. In implementing this "defensive expansionism" (Aitken, 1967, p. 221), the state has promoted accumulation and has been legitimated in the eyes of the inhabitants, as an alternative to coercing acquiescence to the state's control. In the institutional changes resulting from the processes of centralization and decentralization, possibilities are opened up for new distributions of power and, consequently, for new social identities.

A specific example of the process of decentralization is devolution in the N.W.T. Devolution is defined by Dacks (1990, p. 3) as "the transfer of authority from a senior government to a junior one". By 1970, the federal government had devolved administrative responsibility for both the Western Arctic and the Eastern Arctic to the GNWT in
Yellowknife. By that year, the GNWT looked after social assistance, education, economic development, public works, and municipal affairs.


In 1988, the GNWT took control over energy supply by buying the Northern Canada Power Commission. In 1990, responsibility for airports was transferred from the federal Department of Transport. The Canadian government (particularly the Conservative government after 1984) has devolved powers in order to reduce the size of the federal state and to legitimate itself by bringing some decision-making power closer to the people. Some federal departments, like Energy, Mines and Resources, and Environment, have been reluctant to devolve powers. Others, like Health and Welfare, and DIAND, have been more eager (Graham, 1990b).

In 1988, an agreement-in-principle, the Northern Energy Accord, was signed by the federal and territorial governments. This enabling agreement opened the way for the two governments to negotiate oil and gas resource management. These negotiations have continued since then. Dacks (1990) has shown how the lead-up to the agreement-in-principle reflected competing interests: DIAND saw the devolution of energy development administration as a means to promote budgetary self-sufficiency in the N.W.T. while the federal Department of Energy, Mines and Resources gave priority to national energy security. The Aboriginal political organizations resented their exclusion from negotiation of the energy agreement-in-principle and asserted their rights to participation in subsequent talks.

Ottawa has not devolved control of defence in the Arctic. In 1985, the Conservative federal government signed an agreement with the U.S. government to share costs to upgrade
the DEW Line. This was because the DEW Line was no longer considered effective against air-launched cruise missiles and low-flying bombers from the Soviet Union. The North Warning System (NWS) was completed in 1992. As previously, Canadian sovereignty has been asserted against the U.S. in the context of acquiescing to American desires for continental security.

The GNWT remains financially dependent on the federal government. In 1986, Ottawa and the GNWT agreed on a formula funding arrangement, based on the same principle as equalization payments to the provinces. This gives the territory more fiscal autonomy than previously. The arrangement covers more than 70 per cent of the GNWT budget but does not include all federal funding. About another 15 per cent of the territorial budget represents transfers from the federal government under other programs. Without greater budgetary self-sufficiency, provincial status for a Northern territory is unlikely.

The GNWT has continued to seek more powers. The authority to prosecute criminal and civil cases, labour relations, and the ownership of lands and resources are areas of possible further devolution. The 1991 GNWT report, *Strength at Two Levels*, identified federal government programs worth almost $40 million in 1990 as possible areas for shared jurisdiction (Northwest Territories. Legislative Assembly. Financial Management Board. 1991. p. 34).

Parallel to the devolution of powers has been the gradual transition to more popular forms of government in the N.W.T. The first fully elected N.W.T council was the result of the 1975 election. In that year, for the first time, Aboriginal people held a majority on the council. Three elected members were chosen by the council to be members of the executive, the cabinet of the legislative assembly. The council became known as the legislative assembly in 1976. The commissioner, who answers to the federal cabinet through the minister for DIAND, retained the chair of the executive until 1986. Since that time, the role of the commissioner has come to resemble that of a provincial lieutenant-governor.
By 1979, it became clear that structural characteristics of the executive would follow the pattern of executives in provincial governments, with two important differences. First, political parties did not operate at the territorial level in the N.W.T., and therefore, no partisan base existed by which ministers were chosen. Second, with no partisan base for formulating and enacting policies, the system functioned on the basis of a ‘consensus’ of the MLAs. (Dickerson, 1992, p. 93)

Currently, the government leader, the speaker, and all the members of the executive council (cabinet) are chosen from within the assembly by its 24 members. The government cannot fall on a vote of non-confidence but rather ministerial status can be revoked from a member by a vote of the assembly. The government leader can assign and change a minister’s portfolio. The form of consensus politics which exists in the N.W.T. reflects Aboriginal values which abhor needless confrontation.

While de jure power continues to rest with the federal government under the amended 1875 Northwest Territories Act, de facto the GNWT governs in a manner similar to a provincial government. In some ways, devolution has complemented the recognition of Aboriginal interests discussed in Section 2 of this chapter. For example, Aboriginal people gained more power through election to the legislative assembly. In other ways, devolution has contradicted the recognition of Aboriginal interests. For example, powers that were sought by the Aboriginal political organizations, like control over mineral development, accrued to the territorial government. In 1978, the GNWT formed a land claims secretariat to mediate these differences.

Dacks (1981) has seen the 1979 legislative assembly election as pivotal, in that the GNWT ended its hostility to the land claims process as a result. The Special Committee on Unity of the legislative assembly reported in October 1980 that there was no consensus on the continued existence of a single territory. This led to the formation of the Special Committee on the Impact of Division and to support by the legislative assembly for a plebiscite on division. Results in favour of division in this 1982 plebiscite were a key prerequisite to satisfying the demands of the Inuit political organizations for Nunavut.
The Aboriginal Rights and Constitutional Development Secretariat of the GNWT has provided support for the involvement of the GNWT in land claims negotiations with the federal government. In the 1986 policy document, Creating a Better Tomorrow, the GNWT backed the affirmation of Aboriginal rights, including rights to sub-surface development, resource royalties, decision-making by wildlife boards, offshore claims, and the selection of Aboriginal lands based on economic potential rather than solely on traditional use (Northwest Territories, Aboriginal Rights and Constitutional Development Secretariat, [1986]). All these demands had initially been rejected by the federal negotiators.

Given the importance in Igloolik of the government as employer and provider of services, devolution of authority from the federal government to the GNWT has had profound effects on community institutions. Much of the use of written language, in both Inuktitut and English, derives in one manner or another from government management of local activity. Examples of these uses of written language are discussed in Chapter 7. Political involvement in territorial government by local people and GNWT support for settlement of land claims have played a part in dismantling the top-heavy administrative structure which existed in the past. When division of the N.W.T. occurs in 1999, the powers previously devolved to the GNWT will be transferred to the new Nunavut territorial government. As well as authority having been devolved from the federal government to the GNWT, it has also been devolved from the GNWT to the regional and municipal levels. The GNWT continues to transfer responsibility to local government, as discussed in the following section.

4 The GNWT and Local Government

The process of devolution to local government in the N.W.T. has been a long-standing and complex one. As long ago as 1955, the Northern Service Officers of DIAND had been instructed to form settlement councils. The Carrothers report had emphasized the necessity of establishing strong local government institutions (Canada. Department of Indian and Northern
Distance and isolation meant that local problems should be handled locally. Experience in local government was also seen as a way of training Inuit for participation in government at the territorial and federal levels.

Between 1970 and 1990, the GNWT transferred responsibility for local roads, water and sewage, garbage, fire prevention, recreation, operation of local airports, and public nuisances to local governments. Local governments in the N.W.T. fall into one of five categories: city, town, village, hamlet, and settlement. The first three categories have a tax base and raise some of their own revenues. Igloolik received hamlet status in 1976. This coincided with moves to decentralization by the GNWT (Northwest Territories, 1977). This decentralization took the form of placing more administrative authority in the hands of GNWT officials in the regional offices and of organizing local advisory committees on matters like education, health care, housing, and hunting and trapping. According to Graham (1990a), "these committees were an efficient vehicle for line departments of the GNWT to use in informing communities of their programs and for inducing community participation in programs and other initiatives largely developed in Yellowknife or in GNWT regional offices" (p. 200). She makes a distinction between decentralization of territorial government operations and devolution "which is the empowerment of local communities to make real choices" (p. 198). The tension between the notions of decentralization and devolution has been played out in the following events.

The Baffin Regional Council (BRC) was formed in 1977 and funded by the GNWT. Each municipal council chose a representative to this regional government. The raison d'être of the BRC was to decentralize some decision-making in areas of territorial responsibility to the regional level. Its existence presaged later regional control over health and education.

When the federal government commissioned C. M. Drury in 1977 to study the constitutional development of the Northwest Territories, he found that people in the
communities of the N.W.T. felt that local councils and committees had little real authority. This reflected the imposition of these institutions from above. In his final report, Drury recommended that government functions continue to be devolved to local and regional governments. Further, he advocated block transfers of funds, based on a formula, to local councils so that they would have greater autonomy (Canada. Special Representative for Constitutional Development in the Northwest Territories. 1979).

Within the general process of devolution from the federal government to the GNWT. and from the GNWT to lower levels of government, there has been much variation. Functions may be devolved to a regional authority (for example, the Baffin Regional Health Board or the Baffin Divisional Board of Education); to the local municipality (for example, the Hamlet of Igloolik); to a local committee (for example, the Hunters and Trappers Association); or some combination of the above. Support for a regional level of government has varied over time and between regions.

Some areas of responsibility have been devolved to local government, while others have been retained by the higher level of government. For example, dog control has been an enduring and uncontested prerogative of the local council, while the power to veto mineral development has been retained at the level of the federal cabinet. The level of authority exercised at the lower level varies; in some cases, there may be only administrative responsibility, while in other cases executive or decision-making responsibility exists at the lower level. Legislative authority remains at the higher levels, although the local council may enact bylaws. There are wide differences from one locality to the next, as some councils have aggressively sought new powers while others wish to avoid providing new services with limited expertise and what may be diminished resources. A further complication is the coming shift in 1999 from GNWT to Nunavut territorial government, although the Nunavut government may be expected to follow precedent in relations with municipal governments.
In 1991, the GNWT commissioned a report, *Strength at Two Levels* (also known as the Beatty report), to examine how to cut the costs and increase the efficiency of territorial government. One of the major recommendations was expediting the transfer of power and responsibility to communities which are ready to assume it. Community transfer agreements would give block, multi-year funding and “considerable flexibility to communities to reallocate funds and/or reconfigure programs to suit local conditions, within the broad policy guidelines of the territorial government” (Northwest Territories. Legislative Assembly. Financial Management Board. 1991, p. 46). At the same time, the report urged the elimination, downsizing, or consolidation of the approximately 800 government-created boards and agencies which had been established in communities across the N.W.T. Instead of being funded directly by the GNWT, in certain instances these boards would in the future come under the prime public authority, the local municipal council.

These recommendations, which the GNWT is acting upon, have the intention of putting decision-making closer to the people. As well as eventually saving money, these changes would create government more sensitive to local conditions. “To reflect the cultural orientation of Northern communities, local governments may have to break new ground in experimenting with flex-time, part-time, job-sharing, leave for on-the-land purposes, hours of operation, and language of operation” (1991, p. 54). While putting emphasis on improved training as the basis for a more home-grown (and less costly) civil service, the report is also skeptical of credentials. “Do schools, day-cares, and social work offices need to be run by people with extensive credentials, or people who have successfully raised children of their own, have life skills, and have common sense?” (p. 53).

These proposed reforms will continue the integration of the population into the state apparatus, as responsibility is taken locally for the administration of policy developed at a distance. At the same time, devolution opens up possibilities for negotiation and reshaping of
community institutions in accordance with local needs, desires, and social identities. The establishment of the new territory of Nunavut also favours change.

5 The Land Claims Process

The creation of the territory of Nunavut is the most important recent political development in the Eastern Arctic. It has been the result of negotiations between the Inuit political organizations and the federal government (with representatives of the GNWT forming part of the federal negotiating team in the later stages). The Inuit of the N.W.T. have insisted that the settlement of their land claims not be separated from their political development and the establishment of Nunavut, despite federal government policy to the contrary. This has been a key element in the process that has led to Nunavut.

In 1971, representatives of Canadian Inuit met in Edmonton to form the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. ITC had been presaged by the formation of the Committee for Original Peoples’ Entitlement (COPE) by Natives in the Mackenzie delta of the Western Arctic. ITC received core funding from the federal Secretary of State and funding for research on land claims from DIAND. Money provided by DIAND for research and negotiations was a loan, to be repaid from the land claims settlement. Between 1972 and 1975, ITC organized research which documented Aboriginal title to land in the Arctic (M. M. R. Freeman, 1976).

In 1976, ITC submitted a formal land claims proposal to the federal Office of Native Claims, after it had been approved by the ITC board of directors and at a meeting of 100 delegates in Pond Inlet. The proposal called for the creation of a Nunavut territory, outright ownership by Inuit of extensive land holdings, and the establishment of joint management of game and land use. In exchange for these and other provisions, Inuit would cede Aboriginal title. Concerning language, the proposal stated that:

Nunavut will be so far as practicable, a trilingual territory whereby Inuktitut, English and French have an equal status; all official documents should be published in the three languages, and, in particular, primary school education is to be made available in Inuktitut. (Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 1976, p. 17)
The proposal was subsequently withdrawn by ITC president James Arvaluk because of “growing Inuit concern over its complexity, and the feeling that it had been drafted by southern lawyers, with little input from the communities it was designed to benefit” (Merritt, Fenge, Ames, & Jull, 1989, p. 66). In this period, COPE was reconstituted to represent the Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic. COPE opted to split from the Nunavut claims process. Under pressure to allow oil development in the Beaufort Sea, it submitted a claims proposal of its own, Inuvialuit Nunangat, to the federal government on May 13, 1977 (Committee for Original Peoples’ Entitlement, 1977). Agreement-in-principle on the Inuvialuit claim was signed October 31, 1978, and a final agreement on June 5, 1984.

In February 1977, ITC formed the Northwest Territories Land Claims Commission to handle the claims process. In December 1977, the federal government was presented with a set of principles for guiding the negotiations. These principles called for the formation of a new territory and a freeze on development pending settlement of the claim. The federal government, however, rejected the possibility of negotiating a new Inuit territory within the claims process. Instead, consultation on political change in the N.W.T. was to take place with the commission headed by former Liberal cabinet minister C. M. Drury. ITC responded by producing Political Development in Nunavut, which was approved at the ITC annual general assembly in Igloolik in the fall of 1979 (Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 1979). This document asserted that settlement of land claims had to be accompanied by division of the N.W.T. and creation of Nunavut. In this document, the boundaries of Nunavut were drawn so as to exclude the Inuvialuit settlement region, although the Inuvialuit could join later if they wished.

The objective was to create a jurisdiction within which Inuit culture and tradition could be preserved. It was deliberately designed to avoid an Alaskan or James Bay type land claims settlement [i.e. a settlement with no guarantee of political rights for Aboriginal people]. It was also deliberately designed to overcome a dependent and colonial relationship by obtaining the right to manage natural resources and obtain taxation power and royalties with which to replace federal government subsidies. (Graham, 1990a, p. 327)
Reorganization of Inuit representation in the land claims process led to the negotiation of an agreement-in-principle on wildlife use and management by the Nunavut Claims Executive Committee (NCEC) of ITC. This agreement-in-principle was initialled in October 1981 in Frobisher Bay. In August 1982, the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN) was set up as a body to negotiate the land claims which would be independent of ITC. A proposal on land and resource management was tabled by TFN which would guarantee a role for the Inuit in decision-making on development. Negotiations, however, bogged down.

Since the 1979 territorial elections, MLAs and the leaders of the Aboriginal political organizations had been able to work together. This led to the formation of the Constitutional Alliance in February 1982. In April 1982, a plebiscite on division took place across the N.W.T. Of those who voted, 56 per cent supported division of the N.W.T. into two territories. In the Eastern Arctic, turnout was high and overwhelmingly in favour of division (79.5 per cent), while in the Western Arctic results were mixed. Subsequently, on November 26, 1982, DIAND minister John Munro gave the go-ahead to territorial division.

Although welcomed by Inuit leaders, the federal policy statement turned on certain conditions being met: the settlement of claims; agreement on a boundary; development of appropriate government structures and systems of administration; and a continuing consensus on division on the part of territorial residents. (Merritt et al., 1989, p. 78)

The components of the Constitutional Alliance were constituted as the Nunavut Constitutional Forum (NCF) and the Western Constitutional Forum (WCF) in July 1982. Both received federal funding. These became the vehicles for the Aboriginal people to establish political control over their territory, in tandem with the land claims negotiations, in which the matters under consideration were limited by federal government policy.

The position of the NCF was outlined in the document Building Nunavut (Nunavut Constitutional Forum, 1983). In the context of articulating the nature of public government in Nunavut, it drew attention to the rights of Inuit to participate in decision-making concerning
resource development, including the offshore. In addition, it envisaged official status for Inuktitut in the new territory.

As the language used by Inuit in their daily lives, and one increasingly attuned to Northern administrative and political forms, Inuktitut must be fully protected and enhanced by the Nunavut constitution. Perhaps there is no more fundamental goal of a Nunavut government, nor one more essential to guarantee the survival and unique contribution of Inuit in Canada. (Nunavut Constitutional Forum, 1983, p. 18).

This document envisaged Nunavut as encompassing the Inuvialuit region in the Western Arctic, with provision made for the creation of the Western Arctic Regional Municipality (WARM). The reluctance on the part of the WCF to exclude the resource-rich Inuvialuit region from the Western Arctic territory became a stumbling block to achieving a boundary settlement. In addition, negotiations on the boundary between representatives of the Nunavut Inuit and the Dené/Metis, Aboriginal peoples in the Western Arctic, were protracted. Agreements reached in 1985 and 1987 collapsed. A mediator, former commissioner of the N.W.T. John Parker, was appointed by DIAND to propose a boundary. The line that he drew will be the boundary of the new territory of Nunavut.

6 Aboriginal People and the Canadian Constitution

While negotiations leading to Nunavut proceeded at the territorial level, the Inuit political organizations were also active in constitutional debate at the national level. ITC: the National Indian Brotherhood, which represented the status Indians of Canada and which later became known as the Assembly of First Nations; and the Native Council of Canada, which represented non-status Indians, all wanted Aboriginal rights included in a new Canadian constitution. This coincided with Prime Minister Trudeau’s wish to patriate the constitution. When ITC met in 1979 in Igloolik, it formed the Inuit Committee on National Issues (ICNI) to research and develop Inuit positions on constitutional questions and to represent the Inuit on these questions. Despite efforts by the Aboriginal political organizations, Aboriginal rights did not appear in the constitutional resolution which Trudeau introduced in October 1980. In response to this, the New Democratic Party, as well as
the Canadian Bar Association, the Robarts-Pepin Task Force on National Unity, the Joint Senate-House of Commons Committee on the Constitution, the Primate of the Anglican Church, the Ontario Conference of Catholic Bishops, and others, all called for special provisions in the constitution protecting Native rights. (Purich, 1992, p. 106)

This lobbying had its effect as, on January 30, 1981, Justice minister Jean Chrétien introduced an amendment to the proposed constitution which affirmed Aboriginal rights and promised a conference to define those rights. The provincial premiers (with the exception of Lévesque of Quebec) agreed to support the constitutional proposal in November 1981 but without the Aboriginal rights clause. Once again, lobbying took place including a visit by the entire N.W.T. legislative assembly to Ottawa. Finally, the clause was reinstated in the constitutional proposal which was to go to London, with 'existing' preceding 'Aboriginal and treaty rights'.

The promised first ministers’ conference took place in the spring of 1983. The prime minister, the provincial premiers, and the leaders of the Aboriginal political organizations sat down to negotiate. At the conference, the constitutional guarantee of Aboriginal rights was extended to include land claims settlements yet to be agreed on, so that the results of the negotiations between TFN and the federal government towards Nunavut would be constitutionally protected. It was agreed that three more conferences on Aboriginal rights would be held by April 1987.

The 1984 conference on Aboriginal rights, chaired by Prime Minister Trudeau, and the 1985 conference, chaired by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, focussed on self-government issues but no agreement was reached. At the 1987 conference, the government side rejected the inherent right of Aboriginal people to self-government, as proposed by John Amagoalik and other Aboriginal leaders. This rejection was one factor in the defeat of the Meech Lake Accord between the federal government and the provinces: because the accord did not include the inherent right to self-government. Aboriginal leader Elijah Harper refused to allow unanimous
consent to a vote in the Manitoba legislative assembly on Meech. This brought the process to a halt.

After persistent lobbying by groups like the Inuit Committee on Constitutional Issues (the successor to ICNI), the inherent right to self-government was enshrined in the Charlottetown Accord of 1992. The defeat of that initiative, however, has put further constitutional entrenchment of Aboriginal rights in limbo. The provisions in the Charlottetown Accord which promised to reduce the barriers to provincial status for the territories also fell victim to the failure of the accord in October 1992.

7 Nunavut

At the same time that negotiations proceeded on the political front, they also continued on the land claims front. Throughout the 1980s, negotiators for TFN and the federal government met frequently. In 1982, TFN tabled the document *Land and Resource Elements of an Agreement-in-Principle* (Tungavik Federation of Nunavut, 1982). This put forward the notion that Inuit would retain management rights over land and resources if these were ceded to the Crown. At the same time, they would own some land outright and be eligible for resource royalties. Agreement was reached by 1985 on a number of issues, for example, parks, municipal lands, outpost camps, and Inuit employment in the public sector.

In 1985, a project was begun to identify the lands of which the Inuit would retain ownership, building on the work done in the 1970s by the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project (M. M. R. Freeman, 1976; Riewe, 1991). Ultimately, a Community Land Identification Negotiating Team (CLINT) from each community identified the land traditionally used by Inuit. The CLINT then negotiated with a federal government team about the inclusion of the traditionally used areas in the land set aside for Inuit ownership in the claims agreement.
Gradually, agreement was reached on outstanding issues in the land claims process. In 1986, an agreement was completed on who was eligible to be a beneficiary of the claims settlement. In 1987, a agreement was reached on access and entry to Inuit lands. In 1988, the Nunavut Impact Review Board (NIRB) was agreed to. This board, with Inuit representation, would screen all development.

Extinguishment means giving up all Aboriginal title to land. Extinguishment was a concession that the federal government wanted before settling land claims. Inuit resistance to extinguishment was one factor leading to a policy review by a federal task force headed by Murray Coolican (Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. 1985). Based on the task force recommendations, the government agreed that Aboriginal title could be retained on lands set aside for Aboriginal people. In addition, they agreed to negotiate offshore rights, including harvesting and management of resources, and also the sharing of resource revenues. Government policy was further articulated in A Northern Political and Economic Framework. The primary goals of government policy in the North were seen in this report as devolution, settlement of land claims, promotion of economic development, and enhancement of Canadian sovereignty (Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. 1988).

In 1989, when it came time in the negotiation process, TFN’s board members decided to surrender Aboriginal title in return for land, cash, and the management system which gave Inuit some control over development. They would receive well-defined legal title to the land that they retained rather than less-defined Aboriginal title.

Assertion of language rights has always been an issue in Inuit mobilization. Language has been seen by the Inuit, and particularly by their political representatives, as a key element of their social identity. Because of this, one goal of political negotiations has been protection and enhancement of the status of Inuktitut. In 1988, TFN wanted to put language on the table in the claims negotiations, so that:
Inuktitut would become an official language in the claim area; ... statutes, records and journals of the N.W.T. legislative assembly would be published in Inuktitut; ... Inuit would be able to use Inuktitut in debates in the territorial legislative assembly; ... Inuit could receive services from the Government of the N.W.T. in Inuktitut; ... Inuit could use Inuktitut in any court proceedings in the claim area; and ... Inuit could have the right to be educated in Inuktitut. ("Grandfather", 1988, p. 2)

The federal government was not ready to talk about language. "The federal government's position is that language rights are not something that flow from a land claim." says federal chief negotiator Tom Molloy" ("Grandfather", 1988, p. 2). The federal negotiators wanted to define the topics for negotiation in a more narrow and legalistic manner than did the Inuit, in order to simplify the claims process and avert responsibility for guaranteeing language rights. The federal viewpoint was that institutionalization of language rights would be matters for the GNWT and the new government of Nunavut to deal with. A hunter income support program would also have to be negotiated between the GNWT and representatives of the Inuit.

On December 8, 1989, TFN and the government reached a tentative land claims agreement-in-principle. This agreement-in-principle was formally signed April 30, 1990 in Igloolik by TFN president and chief negotiator Paul Quassa, DIAND minister Tom Siddon, and GNWT leader Dennis Patterson. After land identification negotiations and a final text were completed, the Nunavut final agreement was signed December 16, 1991. The Inuit Ratification Committee was created to organize a plebiscite on the agreement. In this plebiscite, the Inuit of Nunavut ratified the land claims agreement by a vote of 69 per cent on November 3, 4, and 5, 1992.

The rights and benefits which accrued to the Inuit of Nunavut through the land claims agreement included ownership of about 350,000 square kilometres of land, which represents 18 per cent of the land in Nunavut. Of that land, the Inuit will have sub-surface rights to minerals for about 36,000 square kilometres. The Inuit will maintain their rights to harvest wildlife throughout Nunavut. Payment of more than $1.14 billion will be made over 14 years
(representing $580 million in 1989 dollars plus interest). This money will be held by the Nunavut Trust. In addition, the Inuit will receive a share of royalties that the federal government collects on Crown lands from oil, gas, and mineral development. The Inuit will be able to negotiate with industry for economic and social benefits from non-renewable resource development on their land. Measures will be taken to increase Inuit employment in government and Inuit access to government contracts. A training fund of $13 million is provided for.

One provision of the agreement which broke new ground was guaranteed equal representation for Inuit on boards to manage natural resources, including wildlife, in Nunavut. The control over development given by membership on these boards, the decisions of which can only be reversed by the federal minister responsible, is unprecedented in other Aboriginal claims settlements.

Another unprecedented aspect of the claims settlement was the endorsement it gave to Aboriginal self-government. Article 4 of the final agreement included commitments on the creation of a Nunavut territory and government, subject to a boundary plebiscite and the conclusion of a Nunavut political accord. On May 4th, 1992, the voters of the N.W.T. ratified the boundary proposed by former commissioner John Parker. Of those voting, 54 per cent approved the boundary. The vote in the Nunavut area was heavily in favour of the boundary, which encompassed the communities of Coppermine and Cambridge Bay but not the Inuvialuit region. As the population of Nunavut is about 85 per cent Inuit and will probably remain majority Inuit for many years to come, the federal government has been able to maintain the concept of public government (i.e. enjoyment of political rights without reference to ethnicity) while granting Aboriginal self-government.

The Nunavut political accord between TFN, the federal government, and the GNWT was signed in October 30, 1992 in Iqaluit, just prior to the ratification of the land claims
agreement by the Inuit of Nunavut. The accord set the date for the commencement of the Nunavut territory and government as April 1, 1999. This was to be accomplished by an act of the Canadian parliament, the Nunavut Act, the passing of which would coincide with the passing of the act which would give parliamentary approval to the land claims agreement, the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act. The Nunavut political accord foresaw the creation of the Nunavut Implementation Committee (NIC) to plan the new government and committed the federal government to the financing of the new territory.

On March 15, 1993, the Tunngavik of Nunavut Incorporated (TNI) became the successor organization to TFN. Its role was to oversee the application of the land claims settlement, including the administration of the management boards set up in the agreement.

Following the ratification ballot of November 1992, the land claims agreement (the Nunavut Agreement) was signed on May 25, 1993 in Iqaluit by TNI president Paul Quassa, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, and leader of the GNWT Nellie Cournoyea. The Nunavut Act (C-132) and the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act (C-133) were passed by parliament June 10, 1993 and received royal assent July 9, 1993. In the Nunavut Act, the legislation of the N.W.T. is ‘grandfathered’ to the new territory. This means that Inuktitut will retain the official status that it received in territorial legislation in 1990, as discussed in Chapter 5.

For the people of Nunavut, these developments represent an opportunity to take greater control over their lives. At the same time, this political restructuring represents a legitimation of the Canadian state in the North. One reason that the concept of an Inuit homeland was viewed as feasible in Ottawa was that it was “a proposal squarely cast within familiar Canadian institutional and political conventions” (Merritt et al., 1989, p. 106). As Paul Quassa, a leading negotiator of the land claims and political agreements, put it:

we want to be full citizens in our home and country, our native land. Settlement of the land claim and creation of a Nunavut territory will bind us closer to Canada and to all Canadians and promote a more productive relationship between Inuit and the federal government. (quoted in Dickerson, 1992, p. 10)
This is consistent with the proposals of the international Inuit political organization, the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC), on the affirmation of Inuit rights.

By exercising self-determination in circumpolar regions, Inuit do not seek to dismember existing states but rather to better contribute to and strengthen Arctic countries. (Inuit Circumpolar Conference. 1992. p. 7)

ICC was founded in 1977 by Inuit from Greenland, Canada, and Alaska, with Inuit from Siberia becoming full members in 1992.

The fulfillment of the social identity of the Inuit through the creation of Nunavut is closely tied to citizenship in the Canadian nation state. At the same time, the process which has led to Nunavut is an intensely literate one, focusing on the negotiation and construction of texts, as depicted in Légaré (1993). The rights, benefits, and obligations which are to underpin Inuit social identity in the coming century and which link them to the Canadian state are guaranteed by a series of texts written and negotiated by the Inuit leaders and their advisors and their counterparts in the federal government.

Wider fulfillment of Inuit social identity in Nunavut is seen by both Inuit and non-Natives to come through education, an important element of which is literacy. Jack Iyerak Anawak, member of parliament for Nunatsiaq, drew attention to this on the occasion of the passage of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act.

Success [in the area of education and training] is critical to the success of Nunavut. Nunavut offers great opportunities but the people of Nunavut must be in a position to take advantage of these opportunities.

Inuit education levels have improved over the last couple of decades, but we still have a long way to go. It is a sad fact that right now there are very few Inuit graduating from high school. If we do not improve further our education levels we risk being left out of the development of Nunavut. (Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, 1993, p. 20400)

8 Conclusion

The events since 1967 have meant integration of the Eastern Arctic into Canadian political and economic structures. Federal government policy has promoted this integration as a way to facilitate accumulation (through exploitation of oil, gas, and mineral wealth) and to
legitimate its own authority. Coercion, as a means of asserting state power, would have been impractical and ill-advised, given the vast extent and inaccessibility of the territory and the adverse reaction that could be anticipated from the electorate of southern Canada. A continuation of the laissez-faire policies described in Chapter 3 could conceivably have meant surrender of the territory to one of the developed nations which are Canada’s Arctic neighbours.

Pipeline politics and the Berger inquiry made the state recognize that the social identity of Canada’s Aboriginal peoples could not be ignored in planning for development. The Aboriginal peoples defined themselves in relation to the land they occupied and the way of life they lead. They resisted changes like pipelines which denied their social identity and which offered only the uncertain promises of natural resource exploitation in return.

Similarly, attempts in the late 1960s to disregard the distinctive social identity of Canada’s Aboriginal peoples by changes in the Indian Act prompted resistance from Natives and their allies and made the government reevaluate its proposed new policies. Political and legal barriers to the White Paper initiatives forced the government to recognize existing and future treaty rights. Nevertheless, the government was able to go some distance towards incorporating dissident Natives by funding their political organizations and by setting up the land claims process. Aboriginal social identity could be accepted and the state’s authority could be legitimated at the same time.

The extended processes of devolution of power to the territorial and municipal governments also legitimated the Canadian state. It was finally recognized that Northerners, both non-Native and Aboriginal, were capable of making decisions about some aspects of their lives without threatening Canadian sovereignty or development. People in the North might speak a language other than English or French, might support themselves by hunting or trapping, or might live their lives according to cultural values unfamiliar to the bureaucrats in
Ottawa. If government institutions could be altered to respond to these divergent social identities, the authority of the state would be strengthened, rather than weakened.

The participation of Inuit and other Aboriginal peoples in land claims negotiations and constitutional discussions also represented a validation of their distinct social identities while reaffirming Canadian sovereignty and laying the groundwork for development along orderly lines. The patience and determination of the Inuit political leadership yielded Nunavut while the government of Canada established a consensus on the future of the territory.

The processes which lead to these outcomes have been literate ones. The federal and territorial educational systems which were to make the Inuit capable of functioning in mainstream Canadian society gave them the skills to resist the denial of their rights and identity during the land claims process. The idea that what was written down was certain and agreed upon has guaranteed that Inuit have some measure of political and economic control over their homeland.

The use of Inuktitut syllabic literacy in government publications which have explained the changes in the North means that older unilingual Inuit have access to this information. The use of Inuktitut syllabics in the state-run schools has encouraged parents to think their social identity is being respected and has given jobs to young biliterate Inuit. The use of English literacy by the Inuit who have negotiated Nunavut has been a means to resist colonial domination, while remaining citizens of the Canadian state. These are a few examples of how literacy and social identity are related in the context of the processes of political development and legitimation described in this chapter. The next chapter, Chapter 5, focusses on this social construction of language and literacy in the context of processes of state formation.
CHAPTER 5: LANGUAGE, LITERACY, AND THE COMMUNITY

1 Introduction

As the political, social, and economic organization of Igloolik changed as a result of the events described in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, so did the patterns of spoken and written language use. Spoken English, written Inuktitut, and written English began to be used as Europeans arrived in the area during the 19th and 20th centuries. Visiting Inuit, who had learned the Inuktitut syllabic writing system from missionaries elsewhere, taught local Inuit the use of the script. Later, when Anglican and Catholic missionaries came into the area, they also instructed the Inuit how to write Inuktitut so that the Inuit were able to read the Bible and other religious material.

From the time of the whalers, some Inuit spoke English. English was used more for speaking and also writing as a result of the Canadian government's increased interest in the North beginning after World War II. With sedentarization, more English-speaking non-Natives arrived in Igloolik and so the use of English continued to increase. In 1960, English-medium schooling began.

Inuktitut is still spoken and written by Inuit in Igloolik. Sedentarization increased the need for communication in Inuktitut between Inuit and the government. One reason for the standardization of the orthography of Inuktitut in 1976 was to facilitate this communication. A related reason was the beginnings of the use of Inuktitut in the school system. (See Figure 3 for the standardized Inuktitut syllabary.)

This chapter begins with an examination of the ideology of linguistics. I claim that the diffusion of this ideology has affected how language use is understood in Igloolik. After discussing this ideology in general terms, I go on to give a description of language use in Igloolik.
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Figure 3: The Inuktitut Syllabary (Courtesy of Nortext)
The description of language use in Igloolik is further refined in discussion of work by linguists on Inuktitut. In particular, I discuss the linguistic and practical problem of representing syllable-final consonants in Inuktitut. As explained in this chapter, the deletion and assimilation of consonants across syllable boundaries in Inuktitut is a source of variability in the spoken and written language. I argue that an awareness of the ramifications of this variability is one basis for understanding local social relations, as described in Chapter 7.

In the sections on literacy in Inuktitut, I expand on the problem of syllable-final consonants and how the problem is taken up in linguistic ideology. The fact that Inuktitut is a written, as well as a spoken, language has been key to political and legal recognition of the language; this recognition is dealt with in the penultimate section. Before dealing specifically with language use in the setting, I discuss the ideology of linguistics and its implications for languages in general.

2 Linguistic Discourse and Languages

In the contemporary community, residents can draw on knowledge of Inuktitut and knowledge of English as material and symbolic resources in their everyday lives. Different ways of accessing these resources indicate and create different social identities. The description by linguists of English and Inuktitut is helpful in understanding these processes and the relationships among language, literacy, and social identity.

At the same time, the realization that the linguistic descriptions of these languages are social constructs allows a critical awareness of how observation of the setting is conditioned by ideology. In addition, it must be recognized that linguists and those influenced by linguistic discourse are actors in local social processes, with particular material and symbolic outcomes. The Canadian government has supported and encouraged linguistic work in the North. The results have shaped how language is used and perceived by all the residents of Igloolik, for example, in people’s opinions about the correct use of syllable-final consonants.
The practice of linguistic description is delimited by the discourse of linguistics or, in other words, by the ideas shared by those who participate in linguistic research. At the same time that this discourse limits, it also opens up possibilities for different groups in Igloolik. Local ideas about language may complement or conflict with the ideology of linguistic inquiry. The nature of linguistic discourse is mutable over time as material conditions change and as new and resurrected ideas about language develop and circulate.

Linguists working in Igloolik and in the North in general have been influenced by the ideology of linguistics. The results of this for the relationship between literacy and social identity are explained in this chapter. One example is the idea that linguistic notation should make a clear distinction between different phonemes has had significant effects on the way Inuktitut is written in the standard orthography. This in turn has opened up the possibility of different social groups being distinguished by how closely they follow the standard.

In the following sections, three elements of linguistic discourse are considered: that all languages are equal, that linguistics is descriptive rather than prescriptive, and that the goal of linguistics is the description of unitary languages. The standardization of Inuktitut orthography, with its consequences for social identity, is based on these elements of linguistic discourse. In addition, I consider some currents in linguistic thought which challenge the uncritical acceptance of these notions.

2.1 The Equality of Languages

One idea shared by those engaged in linguistic research is that every language is equal in the sense that all languages are equally fitted to the requirements of the people who use them. Because all languages are adaptable, they can change to meet new needs.

The content of every culture is expressible in its language. ... New cultural experiences frequently make it necessary to enlarge the resources of a language, but such enlargement is never an arbitrary addition to the materials and forms already present: it is merely a further application of principles already in use. (Sapir, 1933/1963, p. 10)
This idea represents a rejection of the beliefs of some 19th-century linguists like August Schleicher. Schleicher saw a general process of language evolution from an isolating structure (typified by Chinese), through an agglutinative structure (typified by Inuktitut) to an inflectional structure (typified by English). In other words, Schleicher believed languages evolve from primitive to complex. Lyons has seen this approach as reflecting the influence of Darwinian evolutionary biology (1968, pp. 32-33). The consensus among most contemporary linguists, however, is that there is no evidence that any language is, on the one hand, more primitive or, on the other hand, more logical than any other language (Hudson, 1988).

If there is any truth at all in the 19th-century speculations about the development of languages from structural complexity to simplicity, or from simplicity to complexity, this is not recoverable from the study of any of the thousands of different languages spoken throughout the world today. (Lyons, 1968, p. 44)

Kalmár (1985), however, argues that linguistic evolution, that is, changes in the structure of a language, may be triggered by the appearance of written texts. He offers examples from Inuktitut which he suggests reflect the emergence of a subordinate clause structure as an effect of literacy.

Whether contemporary linguists think changes represent evolution or adaptation, their ideas counter the belief that one language is intrinsically more suitable than another language for carrying out a particular function. From the viewpoint of mainstream linguistic science, there is no barrier to the use of Inuktitut or English for any purpose. The measures described in Section 6 of this chapter for the promotion of Inuktitut in areas like education and government are consistent with the notion that Inuktitut is theoretically suitable for any purpose. The practical results of the measures for the recognition of Inuktitut are to distinguish between and create social groups in ways that I will describe in Chapter 7.

2.2 Description not Prescription

Another element in the discourse of linguistics is that the linguist can offer no professional opinion about whether one variety of a language is better than another.
The discrimination of elegant or 'correct' speech is a by-product of certain social conditions. The linguist has to observe it as he [or she] observes other linguistic phenomena. The fact that speakers label a speech form as 'good' or 'correct' or else as 'bad' or 'incorrect' is merely a part of the linguist's data concerning this speech form. (Bloomfield, 1933, p. 22)

The process of description for purposes of linguistic analysis corresponds to the process of orthographic standardization for purposes of wider communication. Later in this chapter, I will discuss how the phonemically accurate description by linguistic science of how people speak Inuktitut has served as the basis for standardization of the orthography. In turn, standardization has led to prescription about the correct way to write the language, in apparent contradiction to the value-free or objective ideology of linguistics.

The beliefs which underlie the processes of linguistic description and standardization are complemented, but also contradicted, by respect for the rich vocabulary and elaborate morphology of the Inuit elders and their consequent authority in matters to do with language. Paradoxically, the linguistic discourse concerning description, which sees itself as transcending the interests of one group or another, serves to validate particular interests (for example, the interests of those expert in the standard orthography) because of its perceived objectivity.

2.3 The Unity of Languages

The Aboriginal languages of North America have been studied by the Aboriginal peoples themselves, so that they could converse with those from different language backgrounds; by traders so that they could live and trade with the Aboriginal peoples; and by missionaries, for the above reasons and so they could translate Holy Scripture into the vernacular. Scholars needed to study languages for ethnological purposes. "Purely linguistic inquiry is part and parcel of a thorough investigation of the peoples of the world" (Boas, 1911, p. 63). Over time, linguists have studied the historical development of related languages and the structure of particular languages. This study of languages has been both an end in itself and a means to discern a universal grammar which is the basis for all human languages. The practices of these different groups have affected how language is conceived of in the setting.
Faced with "extreme linguistic diversity in the Americas, one early task for linguists was obviously classification, the creation of order from chaos" (Campbell & Mithun, 1979, p. 4). It might be noted that this chaos was from the point of view of the observers, not the users, of the languages. Classification by linguists has constructed unitary languages from the available data; the speech used by various groups has been studied as a means to establish a taxonomy of languages. For the methodological purposes of describing a language, variation has been de-emphasized "either by restricting the description of a language to the speech of a particular group using a particular 'style', or by describing the language in terms of such generality that the description is valid ... for all 'varieties'" (Lyons, 1968, p. 50). For example, de Saussure, the father of structural linguistics, saw the object of study of linguistic science as 'langue' (sometimes translated as 'language'), which "exists in the form of a sum of impressions deposited in the brain of each member of a community, almost like a dictionary of which identical copies have been distributed to each individual" (1916/1974, p. 19). Linguists who have followed de Saussure's conception of language have considered the variation in language use between different users or between social groups as unworthy of study.

For Chomsky, language as the appropriate focus of linguistic inquiry is "an individual phenomenon, a system represented in the mind/brain of a particular individual. ... No two individuals share exactly the same language. ... Two individuals can communicate to the extent that their languages are sufficiently similar" (1988, p. 36). Nevertheless, at present, science has no direct access to the knowledge of language in the mind/brain; a study of it "begins with examples of structured expressions or, more precisely, with judgments by speakers (or other evidence) that suggest at least a partial account of the form and meaning of these expressions" (p. 60). From this evidence, the linguist can derive a generative grammar of a particular language, which in turn provides evidence about the nature of the innate language faculty, the universal grammar underlying all language.
Questions concerning the generative grammars of particular languages, how these languages are acquired, and how they are used for communication are posed in abstraction from the complexity of social interaction "considering only the case of a person presented with uniform experience in an ideal Bloomfieldian speech community with no dialect diversity and no variation among speakers" (Chomsky, 1986, p. 17). Chomsky sees these idealizations as indispensable. He considers that this way of studying languages is in no way prejudicial to a study of language in its sociopolitical dimensions "but this further inquiry can proceed only to the extent that we have some grasp of the properties and principles of language in a narrower sense, in the sense of individual psychology" (1988, p. 37).

While Chomsky's intention to situate language in the individual mind/brain seems to reflect at least a partial break with linguistic description in terms of unitary languages, Love (1990) sees Chomsky's work as remaining within this paradigm.

The thing which a generative grammar model obstinately retains is its status as an abstraction which is only really conceivable against the background of the Western grammatical tradition. That tradition arose out of, inter alia, a concern to teach pupils to write the languages of classical antiquity 'correctly' (that is, in imitation of acknowledged literary masters). It is easy to see how such a tradition should foster the notion that a language consists of a fixed and in principle exhaustively describable system of meaningful forms. (p. 82)

The attempt by linguists to establish unitary languages seems to have much in common with what Voloshinov (1929/1973) calls abstract objectivism.1 In abstract objectivism, "language is a stable, immutable system of normatively identical linguistic forms which the individual consciousness finds ready-made and which is incontestable for that consciousness." (p. 5). Voloshinov rejects both abstract objectivism and what he calls individualist

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1 The authorship of Marxism and the Philosophy of Language is often attributed to Bakhtin. "Much controversy and uncertainty surrounds the question of how much of works such as ... Voloshinov's Marxism and the Philosophy of Language was actually written by Bakhtin himself: but undoubtedly he was, directly or indirectly, the source of their most original (and least Marxist) parts" (Lodge, 1990, p. 2).
subjectivism, that is, a romantic notion that language is purely the product of individual creativity.

While the idealization of language as system may serve for particular purposes, for example, the classification of languages mentioned above, the explanatory capacity of theories based on it is limited, particularly in relation to issues of social identity. As an alternative, Voloshinov proposes that "language is a continuous generative process implemented in the social-verbal interaction of speakers" (p. 98). In other words, language is negotiated, open, and in constant flux. The epiphenomenal fixity of language, however, may be taken up in social process and put to use in the interests of one group or another.

James Collins (1992) found clear examples of linguistic work being taken up in social process. Local Aboriginal bureaucrats called on him to legitimate their efforts at linguistic revival; this was in order that funding could be kept for a teacher education program. He also found how, in the case of Tolowa, a Northern California Aboriginal language, "an academic concern with systematic regularity [on the part of linguists has led] to a neglect of linguistic practice, its historical situation, and its sociocultural implications" (p. 409). While Collins was focussing on grammatical regularity in his linguistic inquiry into Tolowa, the Tolowa-speaking language consultants with whom he worked were interested in language as discourse and in lexical particularity: language for them was words and stories, not "controlled paradigmatic elaboration" (p. 408). Collins calls for a study of language in use which interrogates the ideologies of the different participants, including the linguists.

In a critique of the possibility of a linguistic science, Crowley (1990) also proposes a non-structuralist view of language. He draws on Bakhtin to propose a view of language as heteroglossic (i.e. many-tongued), dialogical (i.e. more like a conversation than a lecture), and resisting description as unitary.

Both de Saussure and the historical linguists made the same mistake from a Bakhtinian perspective since rather than registering a unitary language, which is how they saw
their different sciences of language, they were helping to form one. (Crowley, 1990, p. 44)

For Bakhtin and Crowley, the idea that a language could be a unity is a construction which serves particular interests. For example, the idea of language unity complements the ideology of nationalism which, at least in some manifestations, proclaimed the equation one language—one nation—one state and enforced unity on that basis (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, pp. 60-61).

The description of a language is a social construction with a basis in extra-social physical phenomena (e.g. the sounds of the language). What linguists select from those phenomena as salient, how they order the salient data, and how their observations are taken up or rejected by users of the language and language planners is, however, socially conditioned. Despite the intention of linguists to be objective and scientific, their work is carried out in the context of the competing interests of groups of social actors.

LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) have proposed a model which sees language as a means to act out one’s identity. As with the unitary models of language discussed above, the origins of this model are methodological: LePage and Tabouret-Keller, in their sociolinguistic studies in the Caribbean, found that the diversity of the region precluded explanation by reference to ideal types of languages or ethnicities. Instead:

the individual is thus seen as the locus of his [or her] language, envisaged as a repertoire of socially marked systems. Each system is a property with which he [or she] has endowed a group which he [or she] himself [or herself] perceives; neither systems nor groups, in the way which we are talking of them here, are objective properties of ‘the real world’ but percepts of each individual. Such systems are all more or less fragmentary and overlapping. A group is any perceived cluster of two or more individuals. Language, however, in use by individuals, is the instrument through which, by means of individual adjustment in response to feedback, both ‘languages’ and ‘groups’ may become more highly focussed in the sense that the behaviour of members of a group may become more alike. (p. 116)

In this view, to speak or to write is to project one’s own perceptions on the world, particularly towards those with whom one chooses to identify. In the course of this process, usage becomes
more focussed or regular to the extent that it is reinforced in the interaction of a particular group, or more diffuse or variable to the extent that the user of language must accommodate to members of other groups and their usage. In time, there will be a tendency for the language of a particular group to become more focussed, while, on the other hand, there will be a tendency to diffusion as different groups emerge. One instance of focussing is the emergence of standard languages, which comes about "partly through close daily interaction, partly for the need for solidarity under external threat, partly through the models presented by powerful religious or political institutions or by a single revered individual" (LePage. 1979, p. 176). Linguistic description, education, and literacy may promote this process of focussing. Thus, in this approach, the emergence of unitary languages is socially situated.

2.4 Linguistic Practices and Their Effects

Conceptualizations of languages represent attempts to stand apart from social interaction. These conceptualizations are inevitably taken up again in social interaction. Ideas like the equality of languages, the ban on prescription, and the unity of languages guide actors directly or indirectly and become part of the social fabric. In turn, reaction to the effects of the ideas may inspire new conceptualizations. In the following sections, I consider the nature and use of spoken and written English and Inuktitut in relation to these ideas.

3 The Use of English and Inuktitut

How much English and how much Inuktitut are used varies among the different groups in Igloolik. Non-Natives use English almost exclusively to communicate with each other in speaking and writing. The few francophone non-Natives communicate with each other in French sometimes. Non-Natives sometimes use Inuktitut words for hunting equipment, animals, and clothing when talking with other non-Natives.

English is commonly used when Inuit and non-Natives communicate with each other in speaking and writing. The few non-Natives who can speak Inuktitut most often use it in
conversation with older unilingual Inuit or with bilingual Inuit with whom they are friendly. Some non-Natives who speak little Inuktut will sometimes try to use the Inuktut words they know with older unilingual Inuit. Some of those older Inuit who do not speak much English will use the English words that they know with non-Natives while others rarely do.

When Inuit speak to each other, Inuktut is most often used. Bilingual Inuit will sometimes use English to speak to an Inuk from a different dialect area. When bilingual Inuit speak about a topic of which their knowledge has been formed mostly in English, they will sometimes use English words or converse entirely in English. Younger Inuit will sometimes use English words or converse in English with each other. In my opinion, this is in order to express a cosmopolitan identity that they feel they share with their English-speaking or bilingual peers.

The differences in use are usually seen by the users as reflecting practical considerations. These differences co-exist with a shared belief that both English and Inuktut are equal, unitary languages.

In 1985, Dorais and Collis (1987) conducted research on the use of Inuktut, English, and French in five Inuit communities, including Igloolik. Young people between the ages of 9 and 20 in two Arctic Quebec (Nunavik) and three Northwest Territories (Nunavut) communities were surveyed. In addition, participants were asked to write down as many words as possible, first in their first language and then in their second language, on each of 15 different topics. In Arctic Quebec, judging by availability of vocabulary, participants were Inuktut-dominant at all ages while, in contrast, participants in the N.W.T. were either English-dominant at age 9 or became so at later ages (age 11 in Igloolik).

Survey questions about language use revealed that, although the use of Inuktut was still strong, young people in Igloolik did sometimes use English in conversation with their siblings and friends. When participants in Igloolik were asked about their languages of informative reading, a large majority were reading in English exclusively or mostly.
Dorais (1989) has used the concept of diglossia to analyse these and other data concerning language use in the North. Diglossia describes the situation of languages existing side by side in a community. Each language is used for different purposes. For Dorais, diglossia is a symptom of underlying linguistic conflict whereby a dominant language (English, in this case) tends to replace a dominated one (Inuktitut).

Inuktitut still retains much prestige as an ideological object, an image, a symbol of Inuit identity. Even if in actual conversations many people use more English than Inuktitut or switch constantly from one language to another, the native speech form is considered an important value that should be preserved through education, the media and official recognition.

Such an attitude is perfectly understandable and justifiable on the part of the Inuit, who are now struggling for their rights. But it should not conceal the fact that, objectively speaking, language conflict still exists, and that because of the overwhelming economic and political power of English in the North, English is dominant, even if Inuktitut has high ideological value. (p. 203)

The following sections show in more detail the relationship between the principles of the linguists and language use in Nunavut.

4 Inuktitut as Described by the Linguists

Inuktitut, the first language of the Inuit of Igloolik, is considered by linguists to be a member of the Eskimo-Aleut (or Eskaleut) family of languages. This family has two main branches: Aleut, spoken by the residents of the Aleutian Islands which extend westward from Alaska; and Eskimo, spoken across the Arctic from Siberia through Alaska and Northern Canada to Greenland. The term 'Eskimo' is considered mildly pejorative or old-fashioned by residents of Nunavut. This term is often thought to derive from an Algonkian word for 'eater of raw meat' although this etymology has been disputed (Goddard, 1984, pp. 5-7). Rejection of the use of the term 'Eskimo' in Canada coincided with a self-awareness of Inuit ethnic identity, associated with the formation of political organizations like the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada in the 1970s. Speakers of the language in certain areas (e.g. parts of Alaska) refer to themselves and the language they speak as 'Eskimo'. The widespread use of the term in the
scientific literature since contact with Europeans is perhaps one reason why 'Eskimo' remains in use by linguists for the branch of the language family.

The study of these languages by Europeans began in the mid-18th century (Ruhler, 1987). Scholars like Paul Egede (1750, 1760) and Samuel Petrus Kleinschmidt (1851, 1871) published dictionaries and grammars of Greenlandic. Studies followed in Alaska, Canada, Greenland, and Siberia which are summarized in Collis (1990), Dorais (1990b), Krauss (1979), and Woodbury (1984).

No relationship between the languages of the Eskimo-Aleut family and other languages is agreed upon by linguists although, according to Foster (1982), attempts have been made to link Eskimo-Aleut with Wakashan and Kutenai in Canada, and with Uralic and Indo-European in the Old World, but these efforts are speculative. The most likely genetic relationship is with the Chukotan family of languages in Siberia [spoken by the Chukchi, Koryak and Kamchalad peoples]. (p. 9)

Dorais (1990b) further classifies Eskimo into two subbranches: Yupik, spoken in southern Alaska and Siberia, and Inuit. According to Dorais, the Inuit subbranch is made up of one language, Inuit, spoken by some 66,000 people between the Bering Strait and the east coast of Greenland. (Krauss (1979) refers to the language as Inupiaq while Woodbury (1984) calls it Inuit-Inupiaq.) The Inuit language is made up of different dialects and sub-dialects, of which the people of Igloolik speak the Iglulingmiut sub-dialect of the North Baffin dialect of Eastern Canadian Inuktitut. Other groups of dialects of the Inuit language include Alaskan Inupiaq, Western Canadian Inuktun, and Greenlandic Kalaallisut.

Dorais (1990b) estimates that 90 per cent of the morphology and syntax of the dialects of the Inuit language is the same. He also alludes to important differences between the dialects in phonology and in the stock of lexical affixes, the postbases which in an agglutinative language like Inuit convey much of the meaning. In common usage, the language spoken in Igloolik is referred to as Inuktitut. The hierarchical linguistic classification described above and the labels associated with it substantiate the popular belief that all Inuit speak a language.
with common origins. Otherwise, the classifications and labels are of little concern to most speakers of the language.

The dispersion of the Thule culture across the Arctic, alluded to in Section 2 of Chapter 3, seems to have created dialectal divergence. Based on their study of historical texts, the oldest of which date back to the 16th century, linguists posit that a common language, Proto-Inuit, spoken by the whale hunters in their Alaskan homeland, replaced whatever language was spoken by the Dorset culture people (if indeed it had survived until the arrival of the Thule culture). This language evolved into the different dialects spoken in the Arctic today when the migrating peoples became geographically isolated. Examples of this divergence are discussed in the following section.

5 Phonology as Social Process

Language change in the context of the spread of the Inuit across the Arctic followed different courses in different places. One example is variation in the use of syllable-final consonants in the spoken language, which has had persistent implications for Inuit social differentiation in the Eastern Arctic. The effect of this variation on the written language is shown in Section 5 of this chapter. Its implications for the relationship between literacy and social identity are shown in Chapter 7. Here, I show the linguistic background for the variation which underlies the use of the finals for distinguishing different groups.

The structure of a Canadian Eastern Arctic Inuktitut syllable is (C) V (V) (C): the only obligatory element is the vowel. All roots and affixes end in a vowel or in a voiceless stop, with the exception that occasionally word-final consonants are nasalized. For example, /inuit/ (people) varies with /inuin/. A characteristic of Inuktitut is that:

consonant clusters occur across syllabic boundaries. This is where most phonological processes occur, involving deletion and/or various forms of assimilation. Since Inuktitut is one of those languages traditionally described as agglutinative, these processes continually come into play, as each affix may affect the final consonant of its predecessor. (Mallon, 1985, pp. 138-139)
Dorais (1993) has used the methods of historical linguistics and a comparison of different dialects to trace the pattern of sound changes in Inuktitut. He has characterized the processes of deletion and assimilation referred to in Mallon (1985) as a weakening of the consonant system. This weakening is more advanced in the innovating eastern dialects than in the more conservative western dialects.

This weakening is mainly characterized by the gemination of consonant groupings (geminates are much more numerous in the East than in the West). (Dorais, 1993, pp. 63-64)

An example of the gemination of consonant groupings can be shown by a comparison of two eastern dialects, the relatively conservative Igloolik dialect and the relatively innovating Ungava dialect. The word /ukpik/ (snowy owl), with a velar bilabial consonant cluster in the Igloolik dialect, would have as its counterpart /uppik/ with a geminate bilabial consonant cluster in other dialects, for example in Ungava, Nunavik. The syllable-final consonant has been affected by regressive assimilation in the Ungava dialect.

The comparative degree of consonant weakening across dialects appears to be correlated with the number of years in contact with non-Inuit. While this has been attributed to the influence of bilingualism (Creider, 1981), Dorais (1993) has related regional variation to age and gender variation. He maintains that consonant weakening reflects the ascendancy of the vernacular norm of the women and children over that of the adult males. Why, or even if, distinct gender-related vernacular norms existed is unclear. One possibility, however, is that children had difficulty in articulating non-geminate consonant clusters. Therefore, the pronunciation of women, who were more occupied with child-rearing than men, tended to approximate that of their children. The ascendancy of consonant weakening accompanied sedentarization. Before sedentarization, the use of the tense, or careful, pronunciation, with its non-geminate clusters,

which characterized the men and boys old enough to hunt, was a source of prestige, because it was linked to extra-domestic hunting and travelling activities, which were
highly valued. The other type of pronunciation, the relaxed [geminate] one, used by the women and children and linked to domestic activities, was less prestigious. (p. 66)

Dorais goes on to say that, as Inuit gave up a nomadic existence, those able to function adequately within the confines of the settlement (an extension of the domestic space) became more prominent. Subsequently, the domestic language became dominant, with its more relaxed, or less careful, pronunciation in which these clusters were geminate. Dorais’s proposition, while tentative, alerts us to the possible effects of sedentarization on gender roles, the spoken language, and social identity. The relationship of sedentarization to the written representation of syllable-final consonants is discussed in Chapter 7.

To what extent the presence or absence of geminate clusters in different dialects represents differing rates of arbitrary linguistic change or a subtle interaction between phonology, gender, age of speaker, and duration of sedentarization remains a matter for investigation. Boas, in an editor’s note to Thalbitzer’s (1911) account of the language, mentions a different gender-related variation in South Baffin which preceded sedentarization.

In 1884 the old men from the east coast of Cumberland Sound used throughout the oral stops [e.g. /inuk/ (person), /savik/ (knife)]; while women and young men used nasalized consonants [/inuj/, /saviŋ/]. It seems that the nasalization is in this case due to an extension of the characteristic pronunciation of woman to the male sex. (p. 985)

How productive this innovation has been remains a question. Harper (1974) identifies nasalized endings of this type as archaic, for example, ‘*ng’ [‘γ’ in Boas’s notation or IPA /ŋ/] where one today would expect ‘k’ [/k/]; the voiced uvular nasal ‘rng’ in the Roman version of the dual orthography or IPA /ŋ/. for the voiceless uvular stop, /q/: and /n/ for /t/) (p. 51). I observed the use of /inuin/ as a variation of /inuit/ in Igloolik in 1993.

Mallon (1985) sees the language as tending towards complete regressive assimilation in consonant clusters, with dialects to the south and east more advanced in this historical process and with those farther west more conservative. The Igloolik dialect can be seen as intermediate in this continuum, not forgetting that there is variation within the community and even within the speech of individuals.
Mallon (1985) posits the following rule operating in what he terms the liberal dialects:

"In the sequence of two consonants [the first necessarily being syllable-final] where the first is not uvular the first will tend to assume all the features of the second ... [e.g.] inuk + lu: inullu [and a person]" (p. 143). Uvulars may remain voiceless (when followed by a voiceless consonant) or become voiced or nasal, depending on the following consonant, but they remain uvulars. In Mallon's example: /tupiq/ (tent), the voiceless uvular stop /q/ when followed by /l/, the voiced lateral fricative, becomes voiced but maintains its uvularity: /tupiʌlu/ (and a tent). Similarly, when the voiceless uvular stop /q/ is followed by the voiced bilabial nasal /m/, it becomes nasalized but maintains its uvularity: /tupiʌmni/ (in a tent).

Because there is regional and social variation in the use of syllable-final consonants in the spoken language, their representation in written Inuktitut is not straightforward. This characteristic opens up the possibility that social groups can be distinguished by how they address this problem. Most older Inuit omit the finals, the representation of syllable-final consonants, in their writing. Active biliterates, on the other hand, are expert in representing syllable-final consonants consistently. Because orthographic consistency is seen as a requirement for the Inuktitut which appears in magazines or books, the expertise of the active biliterates allows them to write for publication.

The linguistic description of the sequence of consonants above is related to the characteristics of the standard orthography of Inuktitut, the way this orthography is taught, and its implications for social identity. (The standard orthography is described in more detail in Section 5.5 of this chapter.) According to Mallon, "the rule for writing the initial uvular element in a consonant cluster then became: if the cluster is voiceless, write 'q', otherwise write 'r'. ... Psychologically, this rule has proved very difficult for students to assimilate" with a tendency to use 'r' consistently when an uvular occurs as the first element of a cluster (1985, p. 151). The desire of the linguist for an accurate phonemic representation of the
language seems at variance with the users' intuition or desire for regularity in writing different clusters. The imposition of standardization, as individuals learn the finals, is not straightforward. The solutions advanced by Mallon for the problem are prescription; explanation of the linguistic concepts of voicelessness, voicedness, and nasalization; and perhaps modification of the system.

The linguistic work discussed above indicates the variability across and within dialects of syllable-final consonants: making an accurate written representation of those consonants constitutes a thorny problem for linguists and users alike, particularly across the dialects of what is conceived of as a unitary language. Description permits prescription; the phonemic analysis by linguists has served as the basis for the standardization of the orthography of Inuktitut, as discussed in Section 5.3 through Section 5.6 of this chapter. Adherence in writing to a consistent approach to rendering assimilation, or lack thereof, of lightly sounded syllable-final consonants—'learning the finals'—is a boundary marker between the different groups of users of Inuktitut literacy in Igloolik. The concern by the linguist to represent accurately phonemic reality becomes a concern for correctness in use, in the context of state intervention in language politics. I describe the events leading up to this intervention in Section 5.1 through Section 5.5 of this chapter, while participants comment on the implications in Chapter 7.

6 Literacy in Inuktitut

Literacy in Inuktitut in the Igloolik area predated sedentarization by about forty years: people there began to read and write Inuktitut in the 1920s or earlier. The first use of Inuktitut syllabics was for religious literacy. Missionaries in the Eastern Arctic taught the writing system to convert the Inuit, so that the Inuit could express their belief by reading the Bible, the prayer book and the hymn book. Literacy in the vernacular made access to Christian ideas possible for the nomadic Inuit even in the absence of the missionary, at a time when there was only extremely limited contact by the Inuit with speakers of English or French.
Syllabics originated far to the south of the land of the Inuit. In 1840, the Reverend James Evans, a Wesleyan missionary, began work at Norway House in what is now Manitoba (Harper, 1983, p. 8; Murdoch, 1981). Based on his knowledge of Pitman's shorthand (invented in 1837) and his previous efforts to create a script for Ojibway in southern Ontario, Evans devised a method of writing down the Cree language using syllabics. He translated religious material into Cree and built a printing press. The use of the system proved popular among the Cree people and spread quickly.

The system was so simple that it could be mastered and literacy acquired within a few hours. Moreover, every Indian who mastered the system became a teacher of it, and use of the system spread rapidly [westward] as far as the Rocky Mountains. (Harper, 1983, p. 10)

This system, developed for Cree, was adapted to Inuktitut by John Horden and Edwin Arthur Watkins, Church of England missionaries in the James Bay and Hudson Bay areas (Harper, 1985, 1993). Horden was based in Moose Factory and used syllabics in his work with the Cree there from 1851. Watkins, after arriving at Moose Factory in 1852, later took up his post at Fort George on Hudson Bay. He also travelled to Little Whale River and Great Whale River (Kuujjuaraapik) to bring Christianity to the Inuit there. He was at first reluctant to use syllabics which he found to be defective. He thought an alphabetic system would represent the Inuktitut language more accurately. By 1856, however, he was convinced of the usefulness of syllabics and introduced the Inuit to the system. He used for that purpose a selection of the Gospels printed for him by Horden. This book is the first known to have used Inuktitut syllabics.

The syllabary was based on the concept that each character represented a consonant sound; the vowel sound was revealed by the orientation of the character. (See Figure 3.) The four possible orientations in the early versions corresponded to what the missionaries perceived as the four phonemically distinct vowels of Inuktitut: /ai/, /i/, /u/ and /a/. A modification to the syllabary suggested by Horden was the use of a dot over the character to indicate a long
vowel. In 1865, Horden and Watkins suggested the use of half-size superscript characters from the fourth column of the syllabary to indicate syllable-final consonants. Robert Hunt had proposed a similar solution in his work with Cree. The use of superscript characters to indicate syllable-final consonants was more common in printed material than in handwritten. In handwritten texts, the finals could be omitted as the context would usually make the meaning clear. The use of small finals maintained the relative compactness of texts, a consideration in writing Inuktitut where words can be 15 syllables long.

6.1 The Spread of Syllabics

In 1876, the Church of England missionary Reverend Edmund James Peck arrived at Little Whale River in what is now Nunavik. Assisted by local Inuit like John Melucto and Adam Lucy, Peck took up the work of translating religious material into Inuktitut syllabics and teaching the local people to read (Harper, 1983, p. 14). In 1894, Peck continued his work far to the north when he established a mission at Blacklead Island in Cumberland Sound, near the present-day community of Pangnirtung on Baffin Island in Nunavut. Peck devoted his life to translating the Gospels into Inuktitut and to spreading the word about Christianity in his travels. He was assisted in his work in the Baffin by local catechists like Luke Kidlapik and Joseph Pudloo.

In the vast reaches of the Eastern Arctic, proselytizing required extended travel, by dog sled in the winter and by boat in the summer. The spread of literacy preceded the arrival of the missionaries, for travelling Inuit taught syllabics to the people whom they met. For example, Mathiassen (1928), who visited the Igloolik area in the early 1920s before the establishment of a mission there, noted that most Inuit were using Inuktitut syllabics.

The Peck Syllabic Writing has spread widely among the Iglulik Eskimos, where the mothers teach it to their children and the latter teach each other; most Iglulik Eskimos can read and write this fairly simple but rather imperfect language and they often write letters to each other; pencils and pocket-books are consequently in great demand among them. (p. 233)
Letters were entrusted to family members for delivery during their travels.

This method [Inuktitut syllabics] has proved satisfactory in that written messages can be conveyed to and from the Native, literature recorded, and a Native scholar of tender years can be taught to read and gain amazing accuracy in a very short time. The syllabic character system could receive no greater praise than it is used by both the missionaries of the Anglican communion and the Roman Catholic church, while far and wide in the Eastern Arctic the Natives freely correspond with each other, using these characters. (Flint, 1954, unpaginated)

In 1912, the Roman Catholic church established a mission at Chesterfield Inlet, N.W.T. At this mission in the Keewatin south of Igloolik, Father Arsène Turquetil taught Inuktitut syllabics to the Inuit. He had a Hammond typewriter equipped with syllabics in 1917 (Thibert, 1954, p. 36). By 1931, a mission was built near Igloolik by Father Bazin. The Catholic priests adopted the use of Inuktitut syllabics for the publication of religious material, but with some modifications of the Anglican system. For example, they indicated a long vowel by adding a second character representing a vowel to the corresponding short-vowel character. This was instead of the Anglican practice of representing a long vowel by a dot over the character (Harper, 1993, p. 22). The Anglican missionaries, based originally at Pond Inlet to the north, were active in the area of Igloolik from the 1930s on. Differences in the use of finals, as well as in the indication of long vowels, distinguished Anglicans from Catholics.

Throughout the history of Inuktitut syllabics, a certain tension has existed between the view of this writing system as a necessary expedient in promoting the quick conversion of the Inuit to Christianity, on the one hand, and a view of it as authentically Inuit and enduring, on the other. Some Roman Catholics have argued for use of an alphabetic system instead. When the new standard orthography for Inuktitut syllabics was introduced in the 1970s, Choque (1975), an Oblate missionary, commented that:

the more we insist on using syllabics, the more we will lead the Inuk to believe that this system is linked to his culture, when it is only an outside contribution which is archaic and outmoded. The more we insist on using syllabics, the more we keep the Eskimo in a closed area, writing with symbols that set them apart from other Eskimos, in the East as in the West, the more access to literature, news, magazines, reports will be limited. (p. 21)
In summary, while the missionaries in the Eastern Arctic intended that the Inuit use Inuktitut syllabics for religious purposes, the Inuit soon began to use writing for interpersonal communication. The ease with which Inuktitut syllabics was learned and the frequent difficulty of face-to-face communication, given a nomadic existence in search of game over vast areas, combined to make reading and writing popular practices among the Inuit.

6.2 Publication in Inuktitut

Concurrent with increased interest by the federal government in the Eastern Arctic after World War II (described in Section 5 of Chapter 3), the Department of Mines and Resources published The Book of Wisdom for Eskimo in 1947 in Inuktitut syllabics and in English (Canada. Department of Mines and Resources. Lands, Parks and Forests Branch. Bureau of N.W.T. and Yukon Affairs, 1947). A revised version followed two years later (Harper, 1983. p. 31). The book provided information on health, home economics, and the Canadian system of government. Instruction in secular matters came from The Book of Wisdom for Eskimo in the same way that religious instruction had come from Inuktitut-language Bibles and prayer books.

After World War II, writing by Inuit, in particular by respected elders, began to appear in publications like Eskimo (published by the Roman Catholic church from 1946 on). Inuktitut (published by the federal government between 1959 and 1988, and by ITC beginning in 1988). Inuit Today (published by ITC between 1971 and 1983), and Inunmarit (published in Igloolik between 1972 and 1977 as part of a movement of cultural revival), among others. The personal diaries kept as records of important events by Inuit and the transcriptions of oral narrative by visitors were the twin forerunners of these published accounts.

Writings like these have been collected in anthologies edited by Gedalof (1980) and Petrone (1988). Petrone describes the underlying themes of the autobiographical narratives which appeared in magazines like Inuktitut and Eskimo as follows:
... the importance of the family and the establishment of kin relationships; preoccupation with the seasons and the weather; the complex, rich, and sometimes terrifying spiritual dimensions of this life; the significance of psychic travel and dream visions; the love of story, dance, and song; and a sound respect for the practical and pragmatic. The theme most noteworthy, however, is the Inuit's unique sense of the land. (1988, p. 104)

The increased publication in Inuktitut coincided with a growing desire by the federal government to assert its legitimacy by communicating with the Inuit in their own language. There was also the possibility of the circumpolar distribution of Inuit writing, because aviation had promoted greater mobility.

One problem confronting wider distribution of published material was the variation in orthography according to region. Within Canada itself, the Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic used the Roman alphabet to write their language. In 1771, the Moravian missionaries introduced a different writing system using the Roman alphabet to the Inuit of Labrador. The Inuit of the Central and Eastern Arctic, beginning in Gjoa Haven and continuing to the east, including Arctic Quebec and the Keewatin, used Inuktitut syllabics, but not necessarily in a consistent manner.

Inuktitut writing systems were originally devised by those who did not speak Inuktitut as a first language. Therefore, certain infelicities were present, for example, a failure to distinguish consistently between the phonemically distinct voiceless velar stop (/k/) and voiceless uvular stop (/q/). Also, the Inuktitut syllabic writing system was characterized before the standardization of the orthography by a "marked lack of precision in dealing with syllable-final consonants" (Mallon, 1985, pp. 137-138). This variation in the spelling, or omission, of syllable-final consonants could sometimes lead to ambiguity. When people were writing to someone whom they knew about matters with which they were familiar, ambiguity was less likely because the context would serve to disambiguate words written without finals or with the wrong finals.
An example often given by Inuit to illustrate how words without finals could be ambiguous is the syllabic equivalent of ‘ana’. Out of context, this form without finals could mean ‘a(r)na(q)’ (woman) or ‘ana(q)’ (excrement), where the letters in brackets in the Inuktitut words represent finals.

In retrospect, one linguist has seen the state of the Inuktitut writing systems in the 1950s and later as “a situation crying out for the imposition of some form of standardization” (Mallon, 1979, p. 6). In the 1950s, “in Ottawa an awareness grew among government officials of the inconsistencies in the Inuktitut orthographies in use at the time and the possibility of orthographic reform was considered” (Harper, 1985, p. 36). As the federal government began funding publication in Inuktitut, with an audience across the North, expectations for the correctness and consistency of text based on government publication in English or French began to be applied to material written in Inuktitut. The Inuit were caught up in the process of standardization, and by the 1970s the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada would be calling for Inuktitut language reform. Initially, it was linguists working for the federal government who attempted to devise a consistent Inuktitut-language spelling system.

6.3 Towards Standardization: Lefebvre

Gilles R. Lefebvre, working under the auspices of the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, devised a draft orthography for Canadian Inuktitut in the 1950s. In keeping with a belief in the unity of languages, one of the main goals of his work was to allow for a Canadian-Greenlandic standardization and an eventual “literary unification of the Eskimo dialects” (1957, p. [ii]). To this end, Lefebvre foresaw the eventual elimination of Inuktitut syllabics. He proposed that the “diversity of written mediums as exists at the present time in the field of Canadian Eskimo ... be reduced to one along the lines of Kleinschmidt’s system. i.e. a modified version of the Greenlandic Latin orthography” (p. 4). Kleinschmidt, mentioned in Section 4 of this chapter, was an eminent scholar of Greenlandic.
Previous alphabetic (or Latin, to use Lefebvre’s terminology) systems used in Labrador or the Western Arctic “ignore the phonemic principle, which is absolutely necessary to reconcile dialectal varieties, and ... they are too phonetic, i.e. based primarily on local pronunciation rather than on a broad pattern of basic sounds” (1957, p. 5). He argued that “syllabics, which were first designed for American Indian languages, are not inherently Eskimo”. Further, “a sound for sound division as made possible in an alphabet is much more exact than a syllable for syllable division (of the Eskimo word) symbolized by the syllabary: the syllabic structure of the Eskimo word renders it necessary for the syllabic symbol to be supplemented by an additional sign”. In other words, an accurate phonemic representation of an Inuktitut word in syllabics requires the use of finals (superscript characters which indicate the syllable-final consonants). Nevertheless, much material had appeared, both manuscript and printed, in which syllable-final consonants were not consistently indicated. This material had met with general acceptance by readers of Inuktitut.

At a more technical level, Lefebvre proposed ‘ll’ to represent the voiceless lateral fricative /ɬ/. following the Greenlandic orthography. This sound occurred in some dialects, including the one spoken in Igloolik. On the thorny question of consonant clusters, alluded to in Section 5 of this chapter, he stated that “in order to conform with the old Eskimo tendency to ‘assimilate’ consonantal groups, it is advisable to avoid consonant clusters ... as much as possible” (1957, p. 10). While he recognized that consonant clusters, both geminate and non-geminate, would have to be represented, he foresaw that eventually all consonant clusters would assimilate into geminates. These geminate consonants could be represented by a doubled letter, ‘a long consonant’ in his terminology.

Lefebvre deviated from his strictly phonemic principles in order to bring his orthography in line with the spelling of Greenlandic. In addition to the use of the letters ‘i’, ‘u’, and ‘a’ to represent the three phonemic vowels (and their lengthened counterparts), he
specified 'e' to represent /i/, an allophone of /i/ before uvulars and 'o' to represent /o/, an allophone of /u/, also before uvulars. Long vowels were to be represented by a doubling of the letter.

Lefebvre's task was to attempt a standardization of Inuktitut orthography. Nevertheless, he saw this as a preliminary step in the standardization of spoken and written Inuktitut on the basis of one dialect, along the lines of the ascendancy of the 'langue d'oïl' in France. He proposed basing the standard on the Port Harrison (Inukjuak) dialect of Arctic Quebec. He saw this dialect as the closest phonemically to West Greenlandic, in which a standard writing system and literature already existed.

The use of the standard in schooling and printed literature would promote its spread in the context of cultural contact. "In order to achieve an Eskimo cultural unity through writing and literature in Canada, the cooperation of all the missionaries, educators, nurses, and traders, as well as the administrator's efforts, are strongly needed" (Lefebvre, 1957, p. 6). As it turned out, cooperation was not forthcoming from the Inuit themselves. In their opinion, the Inuktitut syllabic writing system, in the form they were using it, was adequate for their needs. As a result, Lefebvre's work had little direct impact. It contributed, however, to later work in standardizing the orthography. Spalding (1959) sees the work of Lefebvre as more authoritative than the accounts of the Inuit or the missionaries as a basis for an orthography. Spalding's explicit defense of the authority of the linguists represents a general attitude that underpinned government initiatives in language planning from then on.

6.4 Towards Standardization: Gagné

Lefebvre's work was continued after 1960 by the linguist Raymond C. Gagné when he was hired by the federal Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. His tentative orthography first appeared in 1961 and was reprinted in 1962 and 1965. He attributed the inadequacy of the writing systems devised by the missionaries to the influence of their first
languages. Instead, he proposed to design an orthography "by the application of the phonemic principle, that is, ideally speaking, by establishing a one-to-one correspondence between phonemes and graphemes" (Gagné, 1965, Appendix IV, p. 4). This was not merely an academic exercise but was the precondition for the achievement of the following aims:

the growing contact between the Eskimo and the Whites in recent years makes efficient communication between them a matter of necessity. The adoption of a standard medium of written communication is of fundamental importance in achieving this goal, but above all, a standard spelling is imperative for the Eskimo people, not only for all their members to attain literacy in a common system of writing, but also to make it possible for them to share their thoughts and feelings with each other, either in the form of simple correspondence or in a literature yet to be born. (Gagné, 1965, Appendix II, pp. 1-2)

The idea of a common circumpolar writing system for the Inuit has continued to be of interest for those Inuit and non-Natives who would like to see increased cultural and political contact across the Arctic. More recent work has seen it as supplementing rather than supplanting the current systems, as there is resistance to loss of the writing systems already in use. For example, Edna Ahgeak MacLean, an Inuk linguist working at the Alaska Native Language Centre of the University of Alaska in Fairbanks, has proposed that:

the auxiliary writing system should not be designed to replace those in regional use, but to provide a tool for use in comparative studies and in international communication in the Inuit language. (MacLean, 1979, p. 57)

Gagné built on Lefebvre's work with the Port Harrison dialect. He also worked with people from other dialect areas, for example, "Elijah Erkloo and Mary Panegoosho of Pond Inlet, Elijah Menarik of Fort George, Abe Okpik of Aklavik, and Joanasie Salamonie of Cape Dorset, to name a few" (Harper, 1983, p. 40). It was hoped that their advice would aid in the creation of a writing system which could be used by all Canadian Inuit.

Gagné was in favour of a Roman orthography. He argued that an accurate phonemic representation of Inuktitut in syllabics would require the use of finals. This would introduce unnecessary complexity because of the minuteness of the symbols and the difficulty of reproducing them by hand at the upper right of the ordinary syllabic character. Gagné admitted
that the way Inuit wrote at that time, without finals, had some virtues: the distinction of meaning signalled by word-final consonants was minimal. In other words, absence of these consonants in the notation was not an absolute obstacle to understanding the meaning of texts. Further, if finals were not used, interdialectal differences in the spelling of consonant clusters were avoided, eliminating “almost 100 different consonant clusters found in the various Canadian Eskimo alphabetic spellings” (Gagné, 1965, p. 3). So accurate phonemic differentiation would not automatically mean wider comprehensibility.

Nevertheless, Gagné favoured an alphabetic system because he thought it would enhance communication across the Arctic, allow access by Canadian Inuit to the substantial literature in Greenlandic, and encourage non-Natives to learn Inuktitut.

Gagné summarized his tentative standard orthography as follows:

the graphemic code of the Port Harrison dialect consists of fourteen consonant symbols: p, t, k, q, m, n, ng, mg, v, s, j, g, r, l; three short vowels: i, a, u; three long vowels: ii, aa, uu; each consonant occurs geminate except r and ng; each consonant occurs as the second member of two-consonant clusters after r, except k, ng, mg, g, and r.

(1965, p. 6)

In addition, word-final consonants were to be written in only “when they serve the function of distinguishing meanings” (p. 7), which was in keeping with Lefebvre’s desire to avoid their use.

In 1964, the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources published Qaujivaallirutissat or the Q-book which gave practical information on various matters, in particular those related to sedentarization. The Q-book was published in Inuktitut syllabics, in English, and in Inuktitut Roman orthography. It was to serve as a forum for the introduction of Gagné’s new Roman orthography (Harper, 1983, p. 45). While the Q-book paid respect to the Inuktitut language and traditional ways, its main thrust was to reassure the Inuit that the changes accompanying sedentarization were for the best.

Some Eskimos say that the old ways were the best, but the life of a hunter is a hard life and there are not enough animals left to give the Eskimo all the food, clothing and
shelter he needs. (Canada. Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. Northern Administration Branch. Welfare Division, 1964, p. 62)

According to Harper (1983), the use of the Roman orthography did not catch on in the Eastern Arctic because of opposition on the part of the missionaries, who were attached to the systems that they were currently using; the priority placed on the English language in education; and a preference for Inuktitut syllabics by Inuit who were accustomed to them.

Inuit began to be interested in the standardization of Inuktitut syllabics in the 1970s. This was concurrent with the beginning of the use of Inuktitut in the school system, as well as with the continuing increase in the use of Inuktitut for publication.

In May of 1972 a four-day syllabic seminar was held in Rankin Inlet [in the Keewatin] to discuss what form of syllabic writing to use in two booklets prepared in Whale Cove for use in the primary grades. The results of the conference were a break-through in the development of syllabics. (Harper, 1983, pp. 49-50)

Mark Kalluak, editor of the Keewatin Echo, an Inuktitut-language newspaper, proposed the modification of some syllabic characters in order to make distinctions that had been unclear previously, particularly between /k/ and /q/, and between /g/ and /ŋ/. Caleb Apak of Igloolik responded to the proposed introduction of new characters as follows:

I work with syllabics quite a bit and am anxious for their improvement. I also teach it to children. If new letters were to be added to the present system, then it would mean that each and everyone who uses syllabics must agree. It wouldn't be worth it if only a small minority were to use it. Also, I imagine our prayer books and Bibles would have to be changed. Let the people endeavour to improve syllabics by having a seminar.

(quoted in Harper, 1983, p. 51)


6.5 Origins of the Dual Orthography

By the 1970s, the federal government and representatives of the Inuit shared a common interest in standardizing the spelling of the Inuktitut language. In order to maintain its
legitimacy, the government wished to continue communicating with the Inuit in their own language, but in a way that would be accepted as correct and understandable by the Inuit. Moves towards Inuktitut-medium education and teacher training of Inuit, which had gained momentum since the GNWT had taken over responsibility for education, also created a need for a consistent way to write Inuktitut. Linguists funded by the government had laid much of the groundwork for the standardization of Inuktitut orthography in the 1950s and 1960s, as mentioned above. Government support for a language other than English to assert legitimacy had a powerful model: the federal government had undertaken many initiatives to support the use of the French language across Canada as a means to counter nationalist sentiment in Quebec. As well, the government had a precedent in measures by the Danish government to reform the orthography of Greenlandic, a language closely related to Inuktitut.

Many Inuit who came to adulthood in the 1970s had more experience of education, the process of credentialization, and employment than previous generations. This was particularly true in the Eastern Arctic. Their learning of English and their work as translators and in the school system had demonstrated to them the advantages of consistency in a writing system. Their pride in their Inuit identity was reinforced by contact with Inuit from other regions of the North and by Inuit achievements in settings of cultural contact. One means of asserting their identity was by calling for recognition of their language. An apparent obstacle to the expanded use and credentialization of written Inuktitut was the lack of a standard spelling, both within and across dialect areas.

When Inuit delegates met at the first annual general meeting of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, held in Pangnirtung in August 1972, they recommended that a language commission be established. In December of 1973, ITC approached the federal government for funding in the amount of $250,000 for a study to seek the views of Canadian Inuit on the status of their language. At that time, ITC was led by Tagak Curley, an Inuk politician and administrator
born in 1944 in Coral Harbour, N.W.T. Curley was typical of the new generation of sophisticated, bilingual Inuit leadership. At the December meeting between representatives of ITC and the federal government, a standing advisory committee made up of Inuit and non-Natives, which included concerned citizens, linguists, and civil servants, set out the tasks of the commission concerning the viability of the language, the state of the written language, the question of dialect, and Inuktitut-language education.

The Inuit Language Commission was created in September 1974 by means of a contract drawn up between the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and ITC ("Inuit Language Commission", 1978, p. 80). The commission's president was Jose Kusugak of Rankin Inlet, while the commission coordinator was Alex Stevenson of DIAND. Representatives from each of six regions where Canadian Inuit live sat on the commission. These commissioners were Rose Jeddore of Labrador, Aipili Qumaluk of Northern Quebec, Charlie Inuarak of the Baffin region, John Putnak of the Keewatin region, Mary Sakeotak of the Western Arctic, and Guy Kakamiut of the Central Arctic. In July 1975, the commissioners recommended that the administration of the commission be transferred to the Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI) of Eskimo Point (now Arviat) in the Keewatin region of the Northwest Territories. In April 1976, DIAND acted on this recommendation. Tagak Curley continued his involvement as president of ICI.

Hearings and surveys on standardization of the orthography were conducted across the North in 1974 and 1975.

Despite initial confusion and unwillingness in several communities, after the purpose of the Language Commission was explained, the majority of settlements expressed a 'desire to be helped and to help'. ("Inuit Language Commission", 1978, p. 88)

The commissioners found that the people consulted felt that no one dialect should prevail over the others and become the standard. Also, users of syllabics wished to retain the system: they did not want it to be replaced by a Roman (alphabetic) orthography. People who
lived in the areas where syllabics was used had grown accustomed to it. Those who lived in areas where the Roman orthography was used like Labrador and the Western Arctic preferred to continue writing Inuktitut using the alphabet. In order to accommodate readers and writers of Inuktitut in both areas, the commissioners recommended that a committee be set up to devise a dual (Roman and syllabic) system of writing. They also recommended that Inuktitut be recognized as an official language in all Inuktitut-speaking areas of Canada; that radio and television be used more fully to strengthen Inuktitut; and that a language department be set up to develop educational material in Inuktitut.

A technical orthography committee was established to implement the recommendation that a dual orthography be created, based on systems already in use. The members of the committee were Jose Kusugak, Abe Okpik, Rose Jeddore, Aipili Qumaluk, S. T. Mallon, Louis-Jacques Dorais, and Robert Petersen. By April 1976, the system was in substance ready.

During the week of August 30, 1976 at Frobisher Bay [now Iqaluit], the standing advisory and technical orthography committees met to present and ratify the dual orthography (syllabics and Roman). The ratification session was also attended by delegates from ITC, the Baffin Region Inuit Association, the Labrador Inuit Association, and the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches. The Northern Quebec Inuit Association, unable to send a delegate, sent word to indicate it would support any decision reached by the ratifying group. Observers from both the federal and Northwest Territories government attended the meeting as well. ("Inuit Language Commission". 1978, p. 84)

The system ratified at the 1976 meeting is sometimes known as the ICI orthography. It was now possible to transliterate on a standard basis between syllabic orthography used in the Eastern Arctic and the Roman orthographies used elsewhere, as both systems have the same inventory of phonemes and agree on the rules of combination. In publications like Inuktitut, the federal government could present versions of texts originally written in Inuktitut syllabics which in principle could be understood by readers of the Roman orthography, and vice versa. Eventually, transliteration could be done automatically by computer. Pan-Inuit political aspirations were encouraged by this apparent language unity.
6.6 The Form of the Dual Orthography

The design of the dual orthography represents a considered compromise between accurate phonemic representation and adherence to previous conventional practice. (See Figure 3.) The minimum possible number of new syllabic characters was introduced. As mentioned in Section 6 of this chapter, in syllabics, vowel quality is indicated by the orientation of the characters; while Inuktutit has only three phonemically distinct vowels, previously there had been four possible orientations, one representing the diphthong /ai/. This first column of the syllabary was now eliminated; the diphthong (and preceding consonant if required) was to be represented by two characters or, alternatively, by following the previous practice of putting a circle over the characters from the 'i' column of the syllabary. At the same time that the standard orthography was being designed, DIAND had initiated a project to create a syllabic element to be used in the IBM Selectric typewriter. Elimination of one column in the syllabary made it easier to design an appropriate syllabic keyboard.

A further characteristic of the syllabic component of the standard orthography is the consistent use of superscript finals (with the orientation of the third column of the syllabary) to represent syllable-final consonants. A syllable-final /ŋ/ is indicated only by the superscript diacritical element of the character. A diacritical mark is used to distinguish the velar stop /k/ from the uvular stop /q/. The geminate consonant cluster /qq/ written in syllabics was seen to be too clumsy; it required writing a diacritic, a final, and another diacritic as part of the second character. So the second diacritic was eliminated. There was no possibility of ambiguity as the cluster /qk/ did not occur in the dialects using syllabics.

Another diacritic mark distinguished the alveolar nasal /n/ and the velar nasal /ŋ/. A sequence of two velar nasals, /ŋŋ/, was to be written in syllabics as an alveolar nasal followed by an alveolar nasal /nŋ/. The alveolar-velar sequence is not found in the Igloolik dialect but
its presence in dialects to the west has made this innovation problematic, as discussed in Harper (1992, p. 9). A solution has been found for syllabics by using the ‘ng’ diacritic before the ‘ng’ plus vowel character for the sequence of two velar nasals. In the Roman orthography, the use of an apostrophe has been proposed (thus ‘n’ng’) in order to represent the cluster of alveolar nasal and velar nasal.

As well, a character was created to represent the voiceless alveolar lateral fricative, /l/, which is phonemic in some dialects, including the one used in Igloolik. Long vowels were to be indicated in syllabics by placing a dot over the character. The use of an apostrophe to indicate glottal stops (an element of the Natsilik and Kivalliq dialects but not of the Igloolik dialect) and the use of an ‘H’, primarily for loan words such as ‘hamlet’, were also included in the syllabic component of the new orthography. The most salient characteristic of the standard orthography is the mandatory use of finals.

As mentioned in Section 5 of this chapter, segments (syllables or series of syllables) in Inuktitut usually end in vowels or voiceless stops, most often in /l/, /k/, or /q/. When a syllable-final consonant is followed by a different syllable-initial consonant, a process of regressive deletion or assimilation can take place. The extent of these processes varies among dialects. A simple solution to the spelling difficulties would be to write all non-uvular consonant clusters as geminates, based on the syllable-initial second consonant, and by using ‘r’ to indicate any uvular which is the first member of a consonant cluster. This approach was rejected in the standard orthography as distinct syllable-final consonants which would assimilate to the same following consonant are phonemic, for example, in the Igloolik dialect, /iglunni/ (in my house) and /igluŋni/ (in your house). In addition, following this approach would be seen as misrepresenting some dialects (Mallon, 1979, p. 15).

6.7 The Implementation of the Dual Orthography

The new orthography gave governments and organizations which wanted to communicate with the Inuit in their own language a consistent standard to follow. The federal
government employed Inuit to translate publications from English to Inuktitut, for example, the documentation concerning land use planning in the Lancaster Sound region of the Eastern Arctic (Canada. Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. Northern Affairs Program. 1982). The expectation was that these Inuit translators would follow the new orthography closely. Material written by Inuit which appeared in publications like Inuktitut was edited to correspond with the new orthography if necessary. Inuit educators who developed educational material and who taught reading and writing in Inuktitut were guided by the new orthography. Inuit teachers were taught to use the standard orthography in their formal professional development.

On the other hand, the dream of promoting pan-Arctic communication among Inuit remained essentially unrealized. Despite political solidarity in the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, there continued to be limited cultural contact between the Inuit living in Alaska, Greenland, Siberia, and the different regions of Canada.

The churches were slow to adopt the new orthography. They did not see any reason for alterations to a system which they had used effectively in their conversion of the Inuit to Christianity. Only in the 1990s did religious material appear consistently in the new orthography. The new orthography was denounced by Mary-Rousselière, a Roman Catholic missionary of long standing in the North, who found the proliferation of diacritic marks particularly upsetting.

It is quite evident that an effort has been made to please everybody [,] avoiding changes in old practice—precisely when these things should have been changed. The only result is that things have been made more complicated. ... It is quite likely, anyway, that aside from a few zealots, the greater number of Eskimos will continue to write as before, and that firm[ed] in their conviction that ... syllabic[s] is really a national and officialized system, they will not even try to learn the Latin orthograph[y] and will effectively shut themselves out of all means of written communication from the rest of the Eskimo world. (Mary-Rousselière, 1977, p. 3)

The new orthography had been developed as a result of collaboration by the federal government, the young activist Inuit, and the linguists. The assumption of authority by these
groups in matters of writing Inuktitut challenged the power in that area of the missionaries and their allies, the faithful older Inuit. Disagreements over linguistic form paralleled struggles for power in other domains: education, health, and morality. Sedentarization, like standardization, undermined the authority of both the churches and the elders in favour of the government and the younger bilingual Inuit who could operate in the new institutions like the school.

Older Inuit did not, in general, adopt the new orthography in their production of written material. They were, however, able to read material written in it. Younger bilingual Inuit learned the new writing system through employment in educational or administrative positions or through enrollment in educational programs which required the use of syllabics. Children who attended school in the 1970s and afterward were taught to read and write Inuktitut there, using the standard orthography. In general, as children spent more time in school than with their parents, and more time in the settlements rather than in camp, responsibility for teaching how to write Inuktitut shifted from the family to the school.

6.8 Current Status of the Writing System

Harper (1992), a Northern non-Native linguist, businessman, and politician, has described the use of Inuktitut syllabics since 1976 in the communities of the eastern Northwest Territories (Nunavut) and Nunavik (Arctic Quebec): “The ICI standard is followed and has been used in numerous school books, learning aids, government publications, and even a few adult-oriented books” (p. 6). He notes the initial lack of enthusiasm for the new orthography among older people. He sees, however, an increasing acceptance of the system over time by these older Inuit. He suggests that the Inuktitut syllabic writing system is more used now than ever before. The standard Roman orthography of Inuktitut is used in the syllabics area only as a tool for linguistic analysis in some educational programs and in preparation of learning materials for people who do not speak Inuktitut.

Harper (1992) makes recommendations on a few trouble spots in syllabics. For example, he suggests that ‘H’ /h/, when used word-initially in words like ‘hamlet’, should be
followed by the appropriate vowel character. Most words which use 'H' are borrowings from English. In addition to this word-initial use in loan words, he sees no obstacle to its use word-medially on the rare occasions when this is called for.

The question of syllable-final uvulars is also dealt with by Harper.

The ICI standard orthography was accepted in Arctic Quebec, but Avataq Cultural Institute established its own language commission in the early 1980s which made a suggestion that is not consistent with the ICI standard but has been accepted in Arctic Quebec. Thus the clusters which ICI writes as 'qp', 'qt', 'qs', and 'qq' are written as 'rp', 'rt', 'rs', and 'rq'. As Mallon has pointed out, this focuses on the continuant quality of the first letter of the series, whereas the ICI standard focuses on its voiceless quality. Ironically, Mallon now feels that ICI made the wrong choice and wishes that the N.W.T. would use 'r' everywhere [word-medially. (p. 14)

Harper goes on to say that both practices should be tolerated as much material, especially for children, has been produced in the N.W.T. using the ICI orthography. Further, there is nothing wrong with some variation within the orthography of a language. Other recommendations by Harper are improved school programs in literacy; adult education programs where younger users of standard Inuktitut syllabic literacy could teach older people the system; increased publication of legends, autobiographies, and collections of stories in Inuktitut; television courses in the standard orthography; and various encouragements for young people to enter the fields of interpreting and translating.

7 Recognition of Inuktitut

Recognition of Inuktitut was a goal of the Inuit political organizations from the time that they were founded. The Inuktitut language was seen by those involved in the political organizations as something which was uniquely characteristic of all Inuit and which united them. The language was the repository of the wisdom and authority of the Inuit elders which legitimated demands for Inuit political control of their land.

Measures for the recognition of Inuktitut were proposed in negotiations with the federal government towards establishing Nunavut, as has been discussed in Chapter 4. After the 1982 N.W.T. plebiscite in which division of the territory was endorsed, the Nunavut Constitutional
Forum (NCF) was established with representatives from ITC, COPE (the organization of Inuit from the Western Arctic), and the N.W.T. legislative assembly. In the 1983 NCF document Building Nunavut, it is recommended that Inuktitut be an official language of Nunavut and that:

- all public services be available in Inuktitut, and that public bodies including courts and the legislature operate in Inuktitut as freely as in English;
- that French and English enjoy equal status as official Nunavut languages wherever numbers of one or other national official language group warrants, including as language of education;
- that Inuktitut be a language of instruction in the Nunavut schools as soon as practicable;
- that the first Nunavut assembly appoint a Commissioner of Nunavut Languages to recommend and report regularly to the Nunavut assembly on implementation of the above provisions;
- that Inuktitut versions of all Nunavut laws be published and have full official status;
- and that all the above provisions be written into the Nunavut constitution. (Nunavut Constitutional Forum, 1983, pp. 18-19)

The implications of these proposals were addressed in a report to DIAND (Mackay, 1984). The report concluded, inter alia, that:

- many major, complex and costly problems have to be addressed and resolved prior to a Nunavut government being able to give Inuktitut equal status with English in the provision of government services, the proceedings of the legislature and the courts, including the publication of all regulations and ordinances and the provision of education in the various dialects involved. (p. ii)

These problems included development of lexis, dialect diversity, indigenization of the civil service, and availability of resources for Inuktitut as a medium of instruction in education.

The NCF proposals appeared concurrently with a series of events which originated with the issuing of a speeding ticket in the English language only to a francophone Yukon man, Daniel St-Jean. After conviction in territorial court, Mr. St-Jean appealed to the Supreme Court of the Yukon.

The essence of his argument was that he was denied the right to communicate with and to receive available services from an institution of the parliament or government of Canada contrary to Section 20 of the Constitution Act, 1982. (Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly, 1984, pp. 95-96)
Before the case was heard, the federal government introduced legislation to make English and French official languages in both the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. This bill received first reading March 21, 1984.

The GNWT took the legal position that it was not an institution of the parliament or government of Canada. Nevertheless, the government leader of the GNWT, Richard Nerysoo, acknowledged that services in French could be provided. This would be within a program developed by Yellowknife, not imposed by Ottawa. The move by the federal government to give French higher status provoked the GNWT to call for more attention for Aboriginal languages.

The executive council [the cabinet of the N.W.T.] sees the preservation and enhancement of Aboriginal languages as being of prime importance in the N.W.T. This is especially so, because in addition to Aboriginal people being the Territories' first citizens, the number of people whose mother tongue is an Aboriginal language far exceeds those who presently reside here and count French as their first language. (Northwest Territories. Legislative Assembly, 1984. p. 95)

In the debate in the N.W.T. legislative assembly about official English-French bilingualism, both Aboriginal and non-Native members were in agreement that it should be a priority of the government to strengthen the use of Aboriginal languages. At the same time, they recognized it was folly to oppose the will of the federal government. If the federal government was willing to fund the provision of services in French, there was no unsurmountable obstacle to official bilingualism.

Some Aboriginal members expressed concern that knowledge of French would become a requirement for government employment. Northern politicians would only talk about funding for official bilingualism if they could also discuss funding for the enhancement of Aboriginal languages. They could better explain the official use of French to their constituents if Aboriginal languages were also given higher status. Negotiations led in 1984 to a six-year agreement in which the federal government agreed to give the territorial government $16 million for Aboriginal language development and $7 million for the provision of services in
French. In the 1984 territorial Official Languages Act, English and French became official languages of the N.W.T. while Inuktut, Dogrib, Slavey, Chipewyan, Gwich’in, and Cree became official Aboriginal languages of the N.W.T.

The findings of the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages laid the basis for amendments in 1990 to the Official Languages Act that gave the Aboriginal languages the same status as English and French (Northwest Territories. Task Force on Aboriginal Languages. 1986). The 1990 act gave legal recognition to the use of Aboriginal languages in the legislative assembly and provided for selective availability of statutes and proceedings in the Aboriginal languages.

As well, the amended Official Languages Act guaranteed the right of any person to use any official language in court. The act also provided for simultaneous interpretation of court proceedings and the availability of tape-recorded versions of court decisions in the Aboriginal languages. The act also guaranteed the right of any member of the public to communicate with and receive services from the GNWT in any official language, where significant demand existed. The act also established the office of the languages commissioner. This post was filled in 1992 by an Inuktitut-speaking non-Native linguist. Betty Harnum.

These measures received funding from successive three-year agreements between the Secretary of State of the federal government and the GNWT. About $30 million in 1991 and $20 million in 1995 were allocated to French and Aboriginal language programs. The money has been spent in the areas of broadcasting, libraries, and publication of government documents, in addition to translation and interpretation in the courts and legislative assembly.

As the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages found out in its consultations across the territories, recognition of Aboriginal languages was symbolic of respect for Aboriginal cultures and of equality between members of those cultures and non-Natives.

The language cannot be separated from the living culture from which it arises. The recognition of language is not just the recognition of a system of words, but of a unique perception of the world and of the peoples and societies which hold these perceptions. Many people who told the task force to recommend greater recognition of the Aboriginal languages understood their request not just for recognition of languages. but
for greater recognition and respect for the Aboriginal cultures of the North. (Northwest Territories. Task Force on Aboriginal Languages, 1986, p. 18)

In this widely held belief, language recognition is a gesture of cultural respect and resistance to assimilation. This was the context for the process which has led to official status for Aboriginal languages like Inuktitut in the N.W.T. The process, however, was initiated by the federal government's attempt to guarantee French-language rights in the territories. Like the post-World War II provision of government services discussed in Chapter 3, the granting of official status to the Aboriginal languages was not a response to popular mobilization in the territories. Instead, it was a concession to the GNWT by the federal government in the quest for Canadian sovereignty. In this instance, the federal government hoped to counter the threat to Canadian sovereignty by Quebec nationalism by enshrining bilingual access to government services nation-wide.

The territorial politicians have successfully exploited the federal government's concern for language equality. They have accessed resources with the intention of preserving, enhancing, and developing the languages of their Aboriginal constituents. Nevertheless, the nature of the GNWT initiatives reflects their origins. For the most part, the forms of language recognition legislated in the N.W.T. have not arisen out of popular struggle, but instead reflect models of language equality developed for French in southern Canada.

For example, the provision of simultaneous interpretation in all eight official languages in the legislative assembly is based on similar arrangements for French and English in the parliament of Canada. According to Betty Harnum, the N.W.T. languages commissioner in 1994: "80 per cent of the interpreting going on in the assembly ... nobody is listening to" (Northwest Territories. Legislative Assembly, 1994, p. 181). Despite the availability of funding for community-based projects, the impression of one member of the legislative assembly from the Western Arctic, Jim Antoine, was "the focus is not on preserving the language. The focus seems to be abiding by the act according to the regulations in terms of
interpreting policy and regulations” (Northwest Territories. Legislative Assembly, 1994, p. 177). In the North today, the law recognizes Inuktitut and other Aboriginal languages as official languages. The quest for appropriate forms for the development of these Aboriginal languages continues.

When Nunavut comes into being in 1999, many of the gains won in the recognition of Inuktitut will be consolidated. The Nunavut Implementation Committee has proposed that “Inuktitut along with English and French will be the working language of government” (“Nunavut: The future takes shape”, 1995, p. 27). Only time will tell if the obstacles which have inhibited the achievement of language equality alluded to in this section will be surmounted in the new territory.

8 Conclusion

The linguistic ideas of equality of languages, description not prescription, and unity of languages have underpinned the description by linguists of Inuktitut. While Inuktitut literacy was initiated by the missionaries, it was quickly put to use by the Inuit for their own purposes. When the Canadian government began to take more interest in the North after World War II, one of the problems was how to communicate in written form with the Inuit. The government employed linguists to standardize the Inuktitut orthographies devised by the missionaries.

Nevertheless, only in the 1970s, when the political representatives of the Inuit saw standardization as a prerequisite to expansion of the use of Inuktitut, did it take hold. Standardization has made possible a notion of correctness, associated with consistent use of the finals. Acceptance of standardization has come only gradually from the churches and older Inuit. Inuktitut has gained official recognition, but it remains to be seen if this will mean greater equality between English and Inuktitut. This chapter has dealt with what could be called macro-linguistic issues; in the next chapter, the institutions in Igloolik are described in which the micro-linguistics of everyday life play out.
CHAPTER 6: THE MIXED ECONOMY IN IGLOOLIK

1 Introduction

The previous three chapters have shown how the conditions for sedentarization, credentialization, and standardization were created at the national and international level. This chapter describes the local institutions in Igloolik which have come into being through these processes. It is these institutions which pattern social, economic and language behaviour in Igloolik.

People act in Igloolik in the local mixed economy. An understanding of the mixed economy is essential to making sense of the relationship between literacy and social identity in the setting. People use literacy and define their social identity in the context of an economy which has domestic and cash components. As a preliminary to the description of these components of the economy, I discuss the physical site, the ethnographic background, and the population of the community. I go on to describe the domestic economy and its basis in the local environment. My description is quite detailed and specific because I want to show clearly the nature of the contemporary domestic economy. It is neither a moribund remnant of traditional activity nor a completely self-sustaining set of behaviours. Rather, the domestic economy is both vital and closely integrated with the cash economy. After discussing the domestic economy, I describe the institutions of the cash economy and how they shape life in the community.

The private, public, and para-public sectors of the cash economy have expanded along with greater contact between Inuit and non-Natives. After describing the institutions of the cash economy, I demonstrate the implications of these institutions for employment and income. High unemployment and dependency on cash income are both features of the cash economy. In addition, I make an analysis of the relationship between ethnicity and employment in the cash economy. When non-Natives are disproportionately employed and Inuit are disproportionately
unemployed, higher educational levels among non-Natives explains the inequality. Before concluding, I describe recreational activities in Igloolik.

2 Origins of the Community

Igloolik is located about 3000 kilometres north of Toronto near the Arctic Circle in Canada’s Northwest Territories. (See Figure 2.) The community is on Igloolik Island in Foxe Basin, between the mainland of Canada and Baffin Island at 69° North, 81° West. The local topography is limestone lowlands covered with muskeg and ponds. The climate is characterized by long, cold winters and low precipitation.

The concentration of the local population in contemporary Igloolik has resulted from Canadian federal government policies implemented in the years following World War II, as discussed in Chapter 3. These policies culminated in the sedentarization of nomadic Inuit in the late 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s. These Inuit and their forebears have occupied the area around the present community since time immemorial. Igloolik, the place of the houses, is a traditional camping place in fall and winter located on the same island as the present settlement. It is now known in English as Igloolik Point.

Anthropologists began writing about the Inuit of Igloolik in the last century. Boas relied on Parry (1824) and Hall (1879) for his description of 'the Iglulirmiut' (Boas, 1888/1964, p. 36). Boas himself worked with the Inuit of Cumberland Sound to the southeast of Igloolik in 1883-1884. Boas used the term 'the Central Eskimo' to describe all the Inuit who lived between the Greenlanders to the east and the inhabitants of the Mackenzie River delta and Alaska to the west (Boas, 1888/1964, p. 12).

The members of the Fifth Thule Expedition further refined a taxonomy of the Inuit of northern Canada, in particular those Inuit whom the expedition visited. For Rasmussen, "the Aivilingmiut [to the south] and Iglulingmiut constitute, together with the Tununermiut at Pond Inlet [to the north], the Iglulik group" as distinct from groups living to the west, such as the
Caribou Eskimos, living inland from the western shore of Hudson Bay; the Netsilingmiut and associated groups; the Copper Eskimos; the Mackenzie Eskimos; and the Alaskan Eskimos (Rasmussen, 1929, p. 9). The people who hunted walrus from Igloolik Point had had less contact with the whalers than other Inuit to the north and south, although their culture had been documented in some measure by Parry, Lyon, and Hall. Perhaps the members of the Thule expedition considered them typically or authentically Inuit. Thus, they named the larger group, of which the Iglulingmiut formed a part, “the Iglulik group”.

These classifications, while considered necessary by the ethnographers who devised them, are attempts to render static what has been in constant flux. The anthropologists intended to create a unit of analysis intermediate to the Inuit as a whole, who shared cultural attributes from Greenland to Siberia, on the one hand, and the individual Inuk, on the other, whose habits might well vary with respect to his or her neighbours. This taxonomy is based on geographic location, dialect, and elements of the material culture. It corresponds to some extent to Inuit self-perception. Nevertheless, it de-emphasizes Inuit mobility. Studies by archeologists indicate that Inuit had been moving eastward since their arrival on the North American continent between 5,000 and 10,000 years ago. More recently, beginning at the time of the whalers, Netsilingmiut have migrated eastward into the area occupied by ‘the Iglulik Eskimo’. Subsequently, they have been incorporated into that group (Mary-Rousselière, 1984, p. 443).

In contemporary Igloolik, there are Inuit whose places of birth are in the Keewatin and South Baffin, outside the traditional territory of ‘the Iglulik Eskimo’. As well, there are Inuit from other settlements within that territory, such as Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay, Nanisivik, Hall Beach, and Repulse Bay. At the same time, there is out-migration of local Inuit to these communities as well as to Iqaluit, the metropolis of the Baffin region, and to the nation’s capital. The Inuit residents there sometimes style themselves ‘Ottawamiut’. Ethnicity explains
some processes going on in Igloolik; distinctions are made between Inuit and non-Natives, or between Inuit from Igloolik or elsewhere. Nevertheless, these distinctions are socially and historically constructed, rather than essential.

Before 1931, there were no resident non-Natives in the Igloolik area. “From 1931 to 1955 there were never more than three resident White men” (Crowe, 1969, p. 68). These were traders from the Hudson’s Bay Company and missionaries from the Roman Catholic church. Since 1960, many more non-Natives have come to live in Igloolik from southern Canada and elsewhere, in particular because of employment there as administrators, teachers, tradespeople, health care personnel, and police. More details about the composition of the local population are given in the next section.

3 Population

The population of Igloolik at the time of the most recent federal census, conducted in June 1991, was 936. This represents a 9.2 per cent increase over the 1986 population of 857. There were 486 males and 455 females in the population in 1991. In the 1991 census, Inuktitut as a mother tongue was reported by 875 residents and English and Inuktitut as mother tongues by five people. English was reported as a mother tongue by 50 people. French as a mother tongue by five people, and French and English as mother tongues by five people. These figures have been rounded to protect privacy; this may have the effect of inflating the number of those with French as a mother tongue.

More than 90 per cent of local residents are Inuit. This is a young population: according to the 1991 census, about 44 per cent of the population are under 15 years old. Similarly, 40 per cent of Canadian Inuit are under 15 years of age while only 21 per cent of all Canadians are under 15 (Barsh, 1994, p. 7). Non-Native residents are mostly of employable age (between 15 and 64). They tend to be more transient than Inuit residents, although there are some non-Native residents who have lived in Igloolik for many years.
In summary, the population of Igloolik is made up of a larger Inuit group, with many young people, and a smaller non-Native group, mostly of employable age. In the following sections, I present the means by which the population of Igloolik makes its livelihood.

4 The Domestic Economy

The domestic economy based on harvesting of wildlife remains vital to Igloolik. There is general participation by local Inuit in one aspect or another of the domestic economy. In the face of acculturation, there are strong reasons for the retention of the domestic economy. These include the high cost of buying food locally and the relative abundance of game. Many local residents have the knowledge and the equipment to harvest country food. People hunt and fish because there is a local shortage of employment. Social identity is reaffirmed through participation in the domestic economy because hunting and eating game are associated with being an Inuk. Social forms, like the systems for the distribution of food described in Section 3 of Chapter 3, are reproduced in the domestic economy. In the following sections, I document the contemporary domestic economy in some detail, including description of hunting practices. I intend that this full description will substantiate the continued strength of the domestic economy, key to understanding the social relations depicted in Chapter 7.

The extent of participation in the domestic economy varies considerably. About 35 local male Inuit can be considered full-time hunters. Older male Inuit may hunt at every opportunity. Older female Inuit are often active in skin sewing. People who are employed must restrict their hunting to weekends or after work. Some younger Inuit lack the capital to purchase equipment necessary for hunting, although they consume country food caught by their relatives. Some non-Natives also participate in the domestic economy, but not to the same extent as local Inuit. The European sealskin boycott starting in 1983 has reduced the money-earning potential of hunting for Inuit.

The Northwest Territories Renewable Resource Harvester Survey, conducted in winter 1990, reports that 83 per cent of Native (i.e. Inuit) households in the TFN claim area had one
or more individuals involved in hunting or fishing in 1989 (Northwest Territories. Bureau of Statistics. 1991). Further, 91 per cent of Native households in the TFN area reported consuming country food, that is, food obtained by hunting and fishing. The TFN area encompasses larger communities where harvesting is not as important; so an even higher proportion of households in Igloolik may be consuming country food and have household members hunting.

Since sedentarization, wage employment and transfer payments have subsidized the domestic economy of hunting and fishing. While discussing another Eastern Arctic community, Irwin (1989) states that “unfortunately, the high capital and operating costs of mechanized hunting (about $10,000 per year for the fully outfitted, active hunter) restricts hunting to those with a cash income” (p. 4). A study conducted in 1992 of an outpost camp near Igloolik substantiates Irwin’s figures. The study also indicates the high returns on investment in hunting equipment, in terms of food. The capital investment in hunting equipment by three different families was $9,900; $15,580; and $26,500—for a total of $51,160 (Loring, 1996, p. 49). The families received $1,300 a month in social assistance which was spent on gas, oil, ammunition, and food and sundries bought at stores in Igloolik. An annual outpost camp grant from the Department of Renewable Resources of $5,000 paid for fuel and building materials. The net replacement value of food produced was $48,586.40 during Loring’s fieldwork (of about three months). From this figure, Loring has derived an annual net benefit of $148,398.16 (pp. 73-75). Actual cash received from hunting was small, only $470. Nevertheless, Loring’s work indicates that the domestic economy is viable, given some cash income and some capital invested in hunting equipment.

Consumption of country foods has a substantial economic effect. “The imputed value of renewable resources consumed annually in the N.W.T. is estimated at $53.9 million” (Northwest Territories. Department of Economic Development and Tourism, 1990, p. 50).
The local return on participation in harvesting is indicated by a study conducted in 1984 on harvesting in Igloolik and four other Baffin communities (Pattimore, 1985). In the five communities, the average per capita annual consumption of wildlife harvested was calculated to be 344 kilograms. Another study conducted in 1982 found that the average annual per capita consumption of harvested fish in Igloolik was 73 kilograms (Donaldson, 1984). Fast and Berkes (1994), in a survey of the subsistence economy of the Hudson Bay bioregion in which Igloolik is located, found that the replacement value of the harvested wildlife is "in the range of $5,000 to $20,000 per year per household" (p. 25). Usher (1987) has made the point that in the past culturally based land management practices were able to maintain wildlife resources for continuing use. In other words, the domestic economy could sustain itself. Duerden (1992) asserts that:

in terms of community well-being, relative energy consumption and historical compatibility with the environment, Native harvesting appears as an eminently sustainable activity. (p. 222)

At the same time, Duerden cautions that population growth may exert strong pressure on the physical resources that are the basis for harvesting. At what point of population growth and level of participation the domestic economy is sustainable is moot; now and in the immediate future, however, the domestic economy is alive and well.

While men more often kill game, women have input into hunting plans and take charge of the products of hunting for processing into food and clothing. From the time when rifles began to be used, the gender pattern of harvesting activities has gradually altered, according to Crowe (1969).

In the pre-rifle days, groups of men, women and children co-operated at goose drives and caribou drives, or to frighten seals into rising at one central breathing hole. With the use of rifles, hunting became more and more a male specialty. ... Men with bigger dog teams and longer sleds could 'work' a hunting area radially from a central camp, and the use of primus stoves meant that the stone kudlik ['qulliq'] could be left, with its female tender, at the same camp. The decrease in the availability of caribou skins[,] coupled with changes in fashion, meant that fewer women were equipped with skin travelling clothes. Dressed in duffel-cloth, they stayed home during the coldest months.
... In general the changes in technology and clothing increased the sedentary role of women and children. (p. 71)

In contemporary Igloolik, wage labour by some women provides the cash to buy equipment and supplies so a husband or father is able to hunt (Cousins, 1994). Some women hunt themselves. Often, the whole family participates in seal hunting in springtime. Non-Natives usually depend on Inuit when they hunt and fish. The wildlife on which the hunting economy is based is the topic of the next section.

5 Wildlife Resources

The viability of the domestic economy underpins certain aspects of the relationship between literacy and social identity which are discussed in Chapter 7. The presence of animals and of appropriate techniques for harvesting them in turn underpins the operation of the domestic economy. These animals and techniques are explained in this section.

Depending on season, availability, weather, and ice conditions, local Inuit exploit a variety of wildlife resources (Brody, 1976). Seals are a staple. Nutritionally, seal is extremely valuable. Two species are habitually taken: the ringed or jar seal (Latin name Phoca hispida. Inuktitut name ‘nattiq’) and the bearded seal or squareflripper (Latin name Erignathus barbatus. Inuktitut name ‘ugjuk’). The flesh of both kinds of seal is eaten regularly. Seals are also used for dog food. The bearded seal is particularly prized as its skin is suitable for making rope and the soles of boots. The skin of the ringed seal is used for making clothing and, in particular, waterproof boots (‘kamit’). There was a market from the 1940s to the early 1980s for sealskins. With the ban on import of sealskins into the European Community beginning in 1983, however, the price of seal skins dropped from $32 to $5. Commercial demand for sealskins has since diminished to almost nothing. Nevertheless, seal continues to be harvested frequently as it is valued for food, clothing, and footwear.

Seals are hunted in many locales throughout the year. From the time ice forms in winter until it becomes unsafe in summer, seals are pursued at the floe edge, where the
landfast ice meets the open water of Foxe Basin. They are also hunted at polynyas, areas of open water in the sea ice. Hunters travel to the floe edge or polynyas by snowmobile or by dog team, usually returning to the settlement by evening. They wait until the seal shows itself and shoot at it. The shot seal is retrieved with a small plywood boat. Sometimes, seals are lost when they sink.

Seals are also hunted with harpoon or gaff at the breathing hole (‘aglu’). This was the traditional method of hunting seal in winter and spring. Now, this method is more usual in spring, as the use of firearms has made floe edge hunting more productive in winter. In June, the tops of the breathing hole melt, so they are easier to find. At that time of the year, it is still possible to go by snowmobile across the sea ice; the relatively warmer weather and long hours of daylight make travel more suitable for the whole family.

When everyone in the family hunts seal in spring, the odds of success increase. Groups of families set up camp on land near sealing areas, living in canvas wall tents heated by Coleman stoves. They hunt the silver jar seals (‘nattiaviniq’) at this time. These are the young seals which have been born in March. By June, they have a silver coat desirable for making the uppers of boots and sealskin clothing. As breathing holes are found, members of the family are positioned at each one, while the snowmobile is used to find more holes. As other holes are located, the chances increase of the seal eventually appearing at one or another. The person at the breathing hole must stand without moving the body below the knees, as any movement will alert the seal. When the seal comes up, it will either be driven away to resurface at another hole or be harpooned, hooked with the gaff, or sometimes shot. The design of the harpoon is such that the point (‘sakku’) detaches from the shaft (‘unaaq’) when contact is made. A sealskin rope (‘aliq’) is attached to the point and the seal is retrieved by pulling on the rope.

Seals are also shot in cracks in the ice during spring, as are seals basking on the ice (‘uuttuq’). When a hunter spots a seal basking by its breathing hole, he will walk closer until
he is within firing range, stopping when the seal raises its head and continuing when the seal lowers its head.

Seals are also hunted from canoes or other boats in the summer, particularly in calm weather. The 26-foot freighter canoe with an outboard motor of from 25 to 50 horsepower is commonly used. When a seal is spotted breaking the surface to breathe, the person steering the canoe heads directly for it at speed. The seal dives but will be forced to resurface soon to breathe, so that one of the other people in the canoe can get a shot at it. The shot seal is retrieved by grabbing its flipper. Care is taken that it will not bleed into the boat by balancing it on paddles or other pieces of wood athwart the canoe so the blood drains into the sea.

Walrus (Latin name Odobenus rosmarus, Inuktitut name ‘aiviq’) are also hunted from canoes and larger boats in August and September. This is when the ice floes on which they live drift into the general area of the community. The walrus is shot from the canoe while it basks on the ice floe and also harpooned. About 180 walrus are taken every year. After walrus are taken, they are often buried beneath a gravel beach and allowed to ferment. The so-called rotten walrus (‘igunaq’) is dug up after a few months. Rotten walrus is a delicacy particularly characteristic of Igloolik. Walrus meat is also fed to the dogs. The ivory tusks of the walrus are highly valued for carving and sale.

Both beluga whale (Latin name Delphinapterus leucas, Inuktitut name ‘qilalugaq’) and narwhal (Latin name Monodon monoceros, Inuktitut name ‘qilalugaq tuugaalik’ or ‘qilalugaq qirnitaq’) are hunted during the time of open water from boats. The line attached at one end to the harpoon point is attached at the other to a float (‘avataq’). This float was traditionally a sealskin bladder, while now it is a plastic buoy. The float slows the whale so the hunter can get a shot at it. The skin and fat of the whales (‘maktaaq’) are eaten, while the flesh is usually not eaten but fed to the dogs. The tusk of the narwhal is sold to the Northern or Co-op store or made into carvings. The harvesting of the bowhead whale (Latin name Balaena mysticetus).
Inuktitut name ‘arvik’) is usually prohibited by law. A bowhead was taken near the community in September 1994. After much controversy, charges against the hunters were dropped in June 1996. A legal bowhead hunt took place near Repulse Bay, to the south of Igloolik, in August 1996.

The meat of the caribou (Latin name *Rangifer arcticus*, Inuktitut name ‘tuktu’) is also valued for food. When there is snow on the ground, caribou are hunted by snowmobile. If a hunter remains away from the settlement overnight while hunting caribou during the winter, he will construct a snowhouse (‘igluvigaq’) for shelter. The snowhouse is usually heated with a Coleman stove. In the summer and fall, caribou are hunted on foot or with all-terrain vehicles. Canoes are used to reach the hunting areas. In fall, the skins of the caribou are suitable for making winter clothing. There is a commercial hunt from Melville Peninsula with a quota of 250 caribou while those taken on Baffin Island are to be consumed locally. Recently, caribou herds on the Melville Peninsula have shifted south, so the commercial quota is only partly filled. Commercial sale of an average caribou would bring a hunter $100.

Polar bear (Latin name *Thalarctos maritimus*, Inuktitut name ‘nanuq’) is hunted, particularly in March and April when the pelts are in the best condition. These pelts are sold for $100 a foot or upwards of $1,000. Polar bear meat can be eaten, with the exception of the liver, which is poisonous. A limited number of polar bear tags (18 in 1993) are made available to hunters in a draw organized by the Hunters and Trappers Association (HTA). The hunters, under the auspices of the HTA, can opt to set aside tags for sport hunters. In 1993, they decided to set aside three tags for sport hunters. Sport hunters are obliged to follow certain procedures. For example, the polar bear must be hunted using a dog team hired in Igloolik, caribou clothing must be purchased in the community, and local guides are employed to accompany the visiting hunter. Hunters come from southern Canada, the United States, or Europe. About $10,000 per sport hunter remains in the community.
Fish are caught throughout the year, in particular the Arctic char (Latin name *Salvelinus alpinus*, Inuktitut name ‘iqaluk’). In the winter char are netted. Holes are chiselled in the ice of lakes either by hand or by using gasoline-powered drills. Then, nets are strung between the holes by means of a creeper device. These char from the winter fishery are eaten and sold to the Co-op for local re-sale. In June, char are caught for personal consumption with jigs together with fish spears (‘kakivat’) where the lake ice melts away from the shore.

The establishment of a summer commercial char fishery has been a goal of government economic development; a 1990 report projected that 19,000 kilograms of char with a value of about $118,000 could be harvested annually in the Igloolik area by 1995 (Northwest Territories. Department of Economic Development and Tourism, 1990). Netted fish are sold in southern Canada under the auspices of the Hunters and Trappers Association (HTA). About $45,000 annually in direct income is generated, mostly for about eight men directly involved. In addition, about $22,000 accrues to the HTA for the administration of the fishery. Lake trout (Latin name *Salvelinus fontinalis*, Inuktitut name ‘nutilliq’) and polar cod (Latin name *Boreogadus saida*, Inuktitut name ‘uugaq’) are also taken on a non-commercial basis.

Some birds are hunted. Hunting birds is usually incidental to the pursuit of the game described above. Ptarmigan (Latin name *Lagopus lagopus*, Inuktitut name ‘aqiggiq’) are occasionally taken. Birds are shot at the floe edge in spring, for example, the eider duck (Latin name *Somateria mollissima*, Inuktitut name ‘mitiq’). Eggs, for example, those of the brant (Latin name *Branta bernicla*, Inuktitut name ‘nirlinaq’), are taken from nests in the spring for food.

Wolves (Latin name *Canis lupus*, Inuktitut name ‘amaruq’) are occasionally shot to obtain the pelt for sale and clothing. Traps may be set for Arctic fox (Latin name *Alopex lagopus*, Inuktitut name ‘tiriganniaq’) and wolverine (Latin name *Gulo luscus*, Inuktitut name ‘qavvigaajuk’).
minimal. Arctic hares (Latin name *Lepus arcticus*, Inuktitut name ‘ukaliq’) are sometimes taken for food.

In addition to polar bear hunting by non-Native sport hunters visiting the community, local non-Natives also hunt, in particular caribou. When non-Natives go hunting, they are often accompanied by Inuit. Inuit have the right to continue traditional harvesting practices with certain specific exceptions, for example, the limit on the number of polar bears taken annually and the prohibition on taking the (rarely seen) bowhead whale. Hunting and fishing by non-Natives, on the other hand, are more restricted, under the Hunting Regulations administered by the GNWT Department of Renewable Resources. (Since my fieldwork has been completed, the Department of Renewable Resources has been integrated into a new GNWT department called Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development.)

The Hunters and Trappers Association has advisory power over all local wildlife harvesting matters. In collaboration with the responsible GNWT department, it has input into the administration of commercial hunting and fishing, sport hunting of polar bear by visiting hunters, and the outpost program in which families are subsidized to live by hunting and fishing in camps outside the community. The association is made up of all adult Inuit in the community plus the very few non-Natives who had obtained General Hunting Licenses before 1978. The members are entitled to vote for a board and executive. The HTA receives funding of about $12,600 annually from the Department of Renewable Resources. Honoraria of $40 to $70 are paid to board members for their participation in meetings. In addition, a secretary-manager from the community is employed for 20 hours a week. The HTA generates additional revenues from sale of meat, fish, and skin clothing. This includes local sales of meat processed into sausages and other forms by a local Inuk employed on a part-time basis as a meat cutter. Use of a community freezer maintained by the GNWT Department of Public Works further subsidizes HTA operations.
In 1993, the Department of Renewable Resources employed two people locally: a patrolman (an Inuk) and a wildlife officer (currently a non-Native but the position has been held in the past by an Inuk). The qualification required for the wildlife officer position is completion of a community college program in environmental technology or its equivalent. This program is now offered by Nunavut Arctic College in Iqaluit. The wildlife officer and patrolman are responsible for enforcing wildlife laws, buying furs from hunters, administering commercial hunting and fishing, liaising with the HTA, assisting visiting wildlife biologists, and administering the outpost camp program in conjunction with the HTA. Three groups of about 40 Inuit, including about 17 adults, live in three different hunting and fishing camps on a year-round basis, returning to the settlement occasionally to resupply.

In the domestic economy, men and women share responsibility for processing the products of harvesting. Women play an important role in preparing food and clothing. The preparation of skin clothing was traditionally an essential element in maintaining life through hunting. Details of this preparation are given by T. H. Manning and E. W. Manning (1944). Only caribou clothing was warm enough for use in travel during winter. The commercial availability of manufactured clothing has mitigated this need somewhat. Nevertheless, caribou garments are most effective for the cold conditions encountered by hunters. Sealskin clothing and footwear are useful in the warmer months. Sealskin footwear, while requiring more upkeep than rubber boots, is ideal for wet conditions. The contemporary production of skin footwear is discussed by Rebecca Malliki in *Stories from Igloolik* (Igloolik Oral History Project. 1986) and (for a neighbouring community) by Oakes (1987).

Food from harvesting is cooked or eaten raw or frozen. Often, raw harvested meat is left on flattened cardboard boxes near the entrance to Inuit homes so members of the family or visitors can cut pieces off for immediate consumption or cooking. Meat is cooked together with food bought at the store, for example, boiled meat (‘uujuj’) is sometimes eaten in a broth made from instant onion soup mix.
The domestic economy remains a vital means of accessing resources for local Inuit. Today, however, people require income from the private, public, and para-public sectors of the cash economy in order to sustain the domestic economy.

6 The Private Sector

The main domains of private sector activity in Igloolik are retail, hotel, construction, transportation, and communication. As important as food from harvesting is, nowadays everyone also depends on buying food and other necessities and luxuries at the store.

There are four retail outlets in Igloolik. The Northern Store is the successor to the original trading post, the Hudson's Bay Company store founded in 1939. In 1987, the Northwest Company, headquartered in Winnipeg, took over ownership from the Hudson's Bay Company. Since the 1960s, the importance of fur trading has declined; the sales of consumer goods, paid for by wage income and transfer payments, have increased. In 1993, no furs were being bought by the Northern Store. The manager mediates carvings sales between local carvers and a buyer in Winnipeg, using a videophone. In 1993, the Northern Store employed five regular full-time staff and another ten regular part-time or casual employees, of whom 13 are Inuit and two are non-Native. The annual payroll of the Northern Store is $220,000.

The Northern Store resembles a miniature department store. There are well-lighted, attractive displays of food, clothing, hardware, notions, sporting goods, and other products. The Northern Store sells and services snowmobiles and all-terrain vehicles. In the entrance way, there is a notice board with posters and notices in English, Inuktitut, or both. In the absence of a bank in the community, the Northern Store, along with the Co-op, manages credit in the community. Local people can run a bill (with the manager's approval), keep money deposited, or transfer money to other centres.

The Co-op is engaged in general retail merchandising, snowmobile sales and service, fur buying and selling, running a coffee shop and restaurant, purchase of handicrafts including
carvings, provision of 12 channels of cable television, and postal services under contract with Canada Post. In addition, the Co-op bids on government contracts for provision of various goods and services, for example, construction. The Co-op was formed in 1963 with the collaboration of the local Roman Catholic priest. It is run by an elected board which employs a manager (currently non-Native). Given the involvement of unilingual Inuit board members, much of the documentation of the Co-op appears in Inuktitut syllabics as well as English.

From the beginning the goal of Inuit who formed the cooperatives was to establish community-controlled enterprises that would provide cash income to community members from work compatible with traditional work patterns and skills. (Abele, 1989b. p. 82)

To help achieve this end, management training has been provided to Inuit since the inception of the Co-op. A major project was carried out from April 1979 to March 1983 by the Arctic Co-operatives Limited (ACL). The Special ARDA program of the federal government funded the ACL management training program with $1.4 million: “Based on past experience, it was anticipated that trainees would be dealing with conflicting pressures from the community and families, cultural and traditional expectations and the difficulty of the training itself” (Abele, 1989b. p. 85). With this in mind, a six-month training program was developed for each individual. The program was successful in increasing the number of Inuit managers. It was discontinued, however, when changes in the federal government priorities rendered it ineligible for continued funding. Abele concluded from on her study of this program that “unless major funding for long-term training is assured, a better approach might be an incremental one, spreading smaller (but guaranteed) expenditure of funds over a longer period of time” (Abele, 1989b. p. 89).

Training continues in the Co-op on an informal, one-to-one basis. The Co-op employs 15 people (all Inuit with the exception of the non-Native manager) and has a total annual payroll of $180,334. The coffee shop, where candy and pop are sold after the grocery store has closed for the day, is a popular spot for young adults and children to hang out. A
The Co-op buys carvings from local Inuit. These are on sale locally for non-Native residents and visitors. The carvings are also shipped south for marketing by ACL. Some carvers deal with the Co-op while others deal with the Northern Store or sell directly to galleries in southern Canada. Some other crafts, for example, knitting, crocheting, and duffel clothing, are also bought by the Co-op and resold.

In addition to the Northern Store and the Co-op, there are two other retail outlets owned by local Inuit. There have been a series of locally owned stores since the early 1970s. at first specializing in candy and pop but more recently involved in video rentals and sale of camping equipment, clothing, footwear, and other general merchandise. A few local Inuit are employed in these stores.

The Tujormivik Hotel, owned by a local Inuk, accommodates visitors to the community, including transient government employees and construction workers. It has eight rooms, one single and the rest set up for double or triple occupancy. The hotel has meal facilities. The cost of room and board is $160 per day per person. The hotel employs managers, cooks, and cleaners and has a total annual payroll of $152,039.

Local Inuit and non-Natives have invested to form a construction company which in recent years has won contracts for building infrastructure, including residential housing, in competition with firms from elsewhere in the N.W.T. and southern Canada. In addition, it has won contracts for distribution of all petroleum products in the community. The company's busy season is summer when construction is possible. Then it employs as many as 40 people, including electricians, carpenters, mechanics, truck drivers, heavy equipment operators, and labourers. In the slack season, the number employed drops to as low as nine, including office staff and fuel truck drivers. A few non-Natives are employed. The total annual payroll is $572,222.

A resident non-Native is also in the construction business, building and renovating residential housing. He employs local Inuit as construction labour.
Outside construction firms which win local contracts hire some people in the community for the summer construction season, mostly labourers but also sometimes tradespeople. One local Inuk is a qualified electrician who can take on sub-contracts on local construction projects.

First Air, affiliated with Air Canada, has regular scheduled flights to the community which connect with neighbouring communities, the regional centre of Iqaluit, and also with Ottawa and Montreal, the closest southern Canadian cities. A ticket agent and other counter staff are employed, as well as baggage handlers on a casual basis.

Also in the private sector are two video production houses in which both Inuit and non-Natives are involved. Videos produced in Igloolik by these production houses about traditional and contemporary Inuit life have won international awards. Increased television broadcasting for the North, for example by the TVNC network, and government support for the arts have helped to sustain these production houses. Their total payroll is about $70,000 annually.

While the private sector contributes to the local cash economy, more people are employed in the public and para-public sector.

7 The Public and Para-public Sector

As noted earlier, much employment in the community is in the public and para-public sector. Important domains of the public and para-public sectors are police, communications, education, public works, wildlife management, health, housing, municipal government, and religion.

The federal government funds the Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachment. The normal complement is three constables. Currently, these positions are filled by regular members. In the past, one of the positions has sometimes been filled by a special constable. To become a regular member requires a Grade 10 education while to become a special constable requires a Grade 8 education. The period of training is shorter for a special constable. In the
past, these less stringent requirements permitted Inuit to become RCMP members more easily. Now there are Inuit regular members, including at least one who has served in Igloolik.

Guards are hired by the RCMP on a casual basis if a prisoner is being held. The total annual payroll of the local RCMP is $103,000. Members of the force are provided with housing adjacent to their headquarters. They are routinely rotated out of the community after two years. Their duties include the prevention and detection of crime, including assault, sexual assault, drug trafficking, and murder, as well as search and rescue and other administrative responsibilities, such as driver's license testing. They are fully equipped with trucks, snowmobiles, all-terrain vehicles, boats, and radio equipment.

The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) produces television programs which appear on Television Northern Canada (TVNC), the network which serves northern Canada. IBC is an employer of producers, camera people, interviewers, production assistants, and office staff in Igloolik. The annual payroll is $168,650.

The Government of the Northwest Territories is a major employer in the community. In 1993, 108 people worked for the GNWT. Of these, 71 were Inuit (47 males and 24 females) and 37 were non-Natives (20 males and 17 females). The GNWT payroll in Igloolik in 1993 was $2,863,609.

About 42 full-time and part-time GNWT employees work at Ataguttaaluk School in various capacities, including teachers, teacher trainees, office staff, and janitors. Since the GNWT took over responsibility for the school in 1970, there has been a gradual shift to the use of Inuktitut as the medium of instruction in the beginning grades of the local school. Initial literacy is taught in Inuktitut syllabics in Kindergarten through Grade 3. The policy of Inuktitut-medium instruction in the early grades has legal support, from the territorial Education Ordinance; philosophical support, from the members of the Baffin Divisional Board of Education (BDBE), elected by the education councils in their communities; and exists in
practice in the region, along with English-language instruction, as part of a system of bilingual education.

Input from the community to the school has been institutionalized over the years. In 1969, a community education committee was established. By the early 1980s, this had evolved into an elected local education authority with responsibility for the operations and maintenance portion of the school budget. On April 1st, 1985, the Baffin Divisional Board of Education was created, based on the recommendations of Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories (Northwest Territories. Legislative Assembly. Special Committee on Education, 1982). The local education authority was reconstituted as a community education council which elected one member to the BDBE, the regional board. Some local autonomy was sacrificed in favour of the advantages of regional co-ordination and development.

In considering Inuktitut-English bilingual education in Igloolik, it helps to remember that the goals of bilingual education may vary widely. For example, as categorized in Ferguson, Houghton and Wells (1977), they may be as diverse as “to assimilate individuals or groups into the mainstream of society” (p. 163) or “to give equal status to languages of unequal prominence in the society” (p. 171). Typologies of bilingual education, for example as summarized by Hornberger (1991), are useful because they allow reflection on possible models, program types, and goals of bilingual education. These models are a basis for analysing how the relationship of literacy and social identity is constructed in the school. Hornberger sees three bilingual education model types: the transitional model, with goals of language shift, cultural assimilation, and social incorporation; the maintenance model, with goals of language maintenance, strengthened cultural identity, and civil rights affirmation; and the enrichment model, with goals of language development, cultural pluralism, and social autonomy. According to Hornberger, “each model may be implemented via a wide range of program types” (p. 223). In the following paragraphs, I relate the different models to educational policy in the North and in Igloolik.
The Special Committee on Education, in recommending that local education authorities should decide the language of instruction in local schools, suggested that the increased use of Native languages in the schools “will strengthen Native students’ general use of languages and enable them to learn more effectively about every subject in the curriculum.” According to the report, communities should be able to choose from the following options:

... a fully bilingual program to enable residents to use their Native language in public administration, business transactions, health care, broadcasting, publishing, and other local services and activities, as well as education;
... a partially bilingual program to enable students to retain and use their Native language for whatever purposes the community deems important or necessary (both the fully and partially bilingual programs include literacy in the Native language);
... an oral language program to enhance the students’ fluency in their Native language without reading and writing ...; and
... an emergency language program to enable students to develop fluency in both their Native language and English ... (Northwest Territories. Legislative Assembly. Special Committee on Education. 1982, p. 87)

The report goes on to recommend that local education authorities consider making the local Native language one of the school’s working languages and adds:

children will strive to learn the language they perceive has the highest status. If the working language of the classroom and for school business outside the classroom is the local Native language, it will have far-reaching effects on the daily life of the school and the community. (p. 91)

Piniaptuqviut (Baffin Divisional Board of Education, 1989), a Grade 1 to Grade 9 program drawn up in Inuktitut by Inuit educators for the students of the region, has as its major goals the development of bilingual communication skills, pride in cultural identity, and responsibility and independence. The natural language of Inuit five-year-olds in a neighbouring community has been studied as a basis for promoting Inuktitut literacy (Wilman, 1988). The goals of the school in Igloolik are to foster and promote literacy in Inuktitut and English, self-esteem in students and teaching staff, and mutually supportive school/community relations (Ataguttaaluk School. [1991b]. p. 1). Further, one of the objectives following on the goal of student/teacher self-esteem is “Inuktitut will be treated as the first language of the school” (Ataguttaaluk School. [1991a, p. 1]).
These approaches all give support to a maintenance model. An enrichment model with its emphasis on two-way bilingual education and learning of minority languages by students from the majority language culture is not as salient, given the very small number of school-age non-Natives. In quotes given in full in Chapter 7, some local residents say that the purpose of bilingual education in the school has been to use Inuktitut to enhance the learning of English. This is more compatible with a transition model in which “evaluation of the merits of minority mother-tongue instruction is from the point of view of whether such instruction facilitates acquisition and mastery of the socially dominant language” (Fishman, 1991, p. 467).

I would like to make a distinction here between an educational planning model and an analytic model. In terms of educational planning, the operative model is one of maintenance. In terms of analysis of social process in the school, however, there are strong indications that students are making a transition from more or less exclusive use of Inuktitut in the home before arrival at school at age 5 to the use of English for further study after primary school. In many cases, English will be needed to earn a living. At the same time, Inuktitut is maintained as a language of home, church, community social events, and meetings: those settings where direct contact with non-speakers of Inuktitut is minimal. Pressures towards increased use of English come from the presence of non-speakers of Inuktitut in Igloolik; the use of English in the workplace; the attractions of English language media, for example, television; the lack of certified Inuktitut-speaking teachers, particularly in the higher grades; and the lack of Inuktitut-language materials.

Analyzing local bilingual education in terms of a transition model is in no way intended as a criticism of the efforts of Inuit and non-Natives to implement bilingual education over many years; the system as it stands is a strong base for achieving any of the bilingual programs envisaged in Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories (Northwest Territories. Legislative Assembly. Special Committee on Education. 1982). Signs in the school
are in Inuktitut syllabics as well as English. School office personnel are Inuktitut-speaking. Parents who wish to communicate in Inuktitut with non-Inuktitut-speaking teaching personnel have access to interpretation. Official school communications are translated into Inuktitut. Inuktitut is the medium of instruction in Kindergarten through Grade 3 and is taught as a subject in subsequent grades. Local Inuit have become certified teachers and more will be certified in the next few years.

Obstacles to extended use of Inuktitut in the school include lack of trained teachers and lack of curriculum. These aspects are being attended to. with community-based teacher training by the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program of Nunavut Arctic College and the development of Piniaqtuvut and also Inuktitut 15, a Grade 10 syllabus in Inuktitut language which is part of the Alberta curriculum used in the high school years. In addition, the BDBE has published many children’s books in Inuktitut by writers from the region and promoted Inuktitut-language creative writing in the region (V. Freeman, 1990; McAuley, 1991). These measures constitute incipient movement to the credentialization of Inuktitut literacy, as do programs for interpreters and translators at Nunavut Arctic College. Nevertheless, the current curriculum is such that younger Inuit have had more exposure to English-language text than to Inuktitut-language text by the time they leave school.

One possible alternative model for the future of bilingual education is provided by Harris (1990). Based on his experience with Aboriginal-language bilingual education in Australia, he suggests that “the widely accepted theory of bilingual education which supposes the transferability of ideas and concepts or learnings between the first language and the national language needs re-examination” (p. 94). He proposes that there are two separate goals in the Aboriginal-language bilingual school: maintenance and expression of Aboriginal culture and language, and academic achievement in English-medium instruction. To meet these goals, he proposes voluntarily constructing two separate culture domains in the school, with functional differentiation in the language of instruction.
In addition to lack of trained teachers and curriculum, another obstacle to the extended use of Inuktitut in the school is the presence of non-Inuktitut-speaking non-Native staff. Some non-Native staff are transient, many spending only one to three years in the community. While Inuktitut as a second language courses are offered in the region, it is a general expectation on the part of Inuit and non-Natives that non-Natives will not be able to speak much Inuktitut. Even the few non-Natives who do speak Inuktitut do not use written Inuktitut very much. While there have been efforts to teach non-Natives to speak Inuktitut, there has been little effort to credentialize the Inuktitut language proficiency of non-Native staff, as perhaps would be called for in the application of an enrichment model of bilingual education to the setting.

Compared with most schools in Southern Canada, the school in Igloolik has a high drop-out rate; most students who start school do not graduate from Grade 12. More students are finishing high school than in the past, particularly since they have been able to graduate without leaving Igloolik. A study conducted in 1991 of early school leaving across the N.W.T. found that “N.W.T. students at risk of leaving school early and those who have left school place a high value on education” (Lutra Associates Ltd., 1992, p. 13). The study found that adults are less convinced of the value of education. I explain belief in education co-existing with a relative lack of success in education (of which specific examples are given in Chapter 7) by the presence of two value systems. These two value systems correspond with the domestic economy and the cash economy. They are internally coherent but conflict with each other. While some individuals in Igloolik live by values from both systems, the two value systems are poorly integrated in most community institutions. Some people follow the values of one system to the exclusion of the other. Many younger Inuit, however, are impeded from acting on the values of either system by their acceptance of the other. If real Inuit hunt and sew rather than attend school, efforts to complete school are undermined. If education and wage labour are the way of the future, participation in wildlife harvesting is a waste of time. The challenge for the school has been to promote respect for both sets of values.
At the time of my fieldwork, the Department of the Executive of the GNWT was represented in Igloolik by the government liaison officer. This person was the point of contact for the community with departments of the GNWT which do not have local employees. The Department of Public Works (DPW) of the GNWT is responsible for maintaining the territorial government buildings in the community, including the houses in which the GNWT employees live. Inuit and non-Native tradespeople and managerial staff are employed to keep the furnaces running and the occupants content with their dwellings.

The Department of Economic Development and Tourism of the GNWT employs an economic development officer. In 1993, the economic development officer was an Inuk. The main goal of the economic development officer is job creation; he assists in the establishment of local small businesses. The Department of Social Services of the GNWT employs a social worker and a social worker trainee. The social worker position has been held by both Inuit and non-Natives.

As mentioned above in the section on wildlife resources, at the time of my fieldwork, the Department of Renewable Resources employed a wildlife officer and a patrolman. The Northwest Territories Power Commission employs a non-Native and an Inuk. They maintain the diesel generators which provide electrical power for the community. A non-Native adult educator administers educational programs and teach adults for Nunavut Arctic College. In addition, part-time staff are often hired by the college. Some local people have been trained as legal interpreters and they assist the court party when it makes its periodic visits. Minor legal matters are handled by local justices of the peace who work on a part-time basis. The Science Institute of the Northwest Territories runs the Igloolik Research Centre where visiting researchers are welcomed. The knowledge of local elders is being recorded at the research centre. Facilities have been provided there for the preparation of an Inuktitut-language dictionary. About six people work at the research centre.
Since 1988, the health centre has been a GNWT responsibility. There are three non-Native nurses, an Inuk community health representative, a Inuk clerk-interpreter, and a Inuk janitor working there. There has been a dental therapist in the community, but in 1993 the position was vacant. Most medical needs can be met in the community; patients are evacuated to Iqaluit, Montreal, and Ottawa when they cannot be.

Housing has been a territorial responsibility since 1969. Since 1974, it has come under the mandate of the Northwest Territories Housing Corporation (NWTHC). Almost all housing is public, although recently some private housing (about 20 units) has been built. Some of this private housing has received funding from the Homeownership Assistance Program sponsored jointly by the NWTHC and the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. The Housing Association looks after public housing for the residents who are not federal or territorial government employees. In 1993, it managed about 140 units. The Housing Association has a local board and ten full-time and one and a half part-time positions of which three and a half are in the office and eight work in maintenance. There are three non-Natives working there and nine Inuit. The annual payroll is $511,623.36.

The Hamlet of Igloolik is the local municipal government. The mayor of Igloolik and the Hamlet council make decisions, assisted by administrative staff, including a senior administrative officer. The Hamlet employs office staff, supervisory staff, including a supervisor of the recreation facilities, a bylaw officer, mechanics, heavy equipment operators, drivers, and labour. In addition, the Hamlet administers contracts on the behalf of other agencies. For example, the council administers the community library and employs a library worker. Employment and Immigration Canada funds an employment outreach worker whose contract is administered by the Hamlet. The council employs the observer-communicators at the airport. The process of devolution discussed in Chapter 4 makes it probable that the Hamlet will assume other responsibilities when the council is willing to take them on. The
annual payroll for the Hamlet of Igloolik is $1,095,473. Contracts administered by the Hamlet represent an additional payroll of $264,924.

The Radio Society which is the governing body for CBII, the local FM station, employs a manager and announcers. CBII takes over from CBC Northern Service and broadcasts in Inuktitut at lunchtime and in the evening. One of the Radio Society's fundraising endeavours is bingo in the community hall.

The elected Alcohol Education Committee concerns itself with alcohol abuse issues. It has to approve orders for alcohol for all residents of the community. The committee can refuse or reduce orders, particularly for those who have had problems with the law as a result of drinking. It employs an administrator and a counsellor and has an annual payroll of $95,485.

The spiritual needs of local residents are looked after by the Anglican church, the Roman Catholic church, and the Full Gospel Pentecostal church. The churches have provided some institutional continuity between camp life and settlement life. Church attendance by members of all denominations is popular, with services on Sunday and during the week, although there is some suggestion that it is in decline (e.g. Rode & Shephard, 1992, p. 8). The 5 p.m. Sunday service at the Catholic church is in English so that English-speaking Roman Catholic non-Natives can attend a service in their own language. Otherwise, religious services are conducted in Inuktitut, as this is the language in which the vast majority of parishioners are fluent. The messages of non-Native, English-speaking visiting preachers in the Full Gospel church are interpreted into Inuktitut, so that they can be understood by unilingual Inuit. In 1993, English was not used much in the Anglican church as the minister and almost all of the church attendees were Inuit. Many homes have printed religious materials in Inuktitut and English. A new edition of the Gospels in Inuktitut was recently published by the Canadian Bible Society. In 1993, the Catholic priest was an Inuktitut-speaking non-Native. The Catholic church also periodically has lay non-Natives and Inuit working in the community.
From the early days of the settlement until the 1980s, Anglicans lived on one side of the settlement near the Anglican church and Catholics on the other near the Catholic church. With the construction of new housing, however, this pattern has begun to break down. If younger people are entitled to housing, as determined by the Housing Association list of precedence, and that housing is on the other side of town, now they would prefer to accept it, rather than continuing to live in cramped or otherwise unsatisfactory quarters. More intermarriage and other contact across denominational lines are reflections of the diminished influence of the churches.

As travel by airplane became easier in the years following World War II, Pentecostal missionaries from southern Canada began to proselytize amongst the Aboriginal people of the North. In 1958, these missionaries were active in Churchill, Manitoba and the Keewatin, south of Igloolik (Kulbeck, 1958). By the late 1960s, the evangelical message had reached small groups of adherents in Igloolik. The Full Gospel church has drawn its membership from the longer-established Anglican and Roman Catholic churches. The power of some local families and the missionaries is manifest in the running of the mainstream churches; those interested in the new brand of Christianity are attracted by the less hierarchical forms and the lively, spiritual, and informal nature of services. Some say it has more in common with traditional Inuit religion than the mainstream churches have. The prohibition on alcohol use by members has given some the strength to cope with their problems in this area. The Full Gospel church has no employees but is led by local Inuit. Recently a church building was constructed, using the volunteer labour of the congregation.

From the information presented in Section 7, the importance of the public and para-public sectors for local employment and the local economy is clear.
8 Income

Employment in the private, public, and para-public sectors generates cash income for the residents of Igloolik. Approximately 85 per cent of gross employment income was paid out to employees of public and para-public institutions in 1993. The retail trade sector accounts for about an additional 7 per cent of the gross employment income. Income is also generated by local businesses in construction, video production, and hotel accommodation. While in the past businesses were usually managed by non-Natives, now some businesses are managed by Inuit.

Recent years have seen an increasing dependence on wage labour and transfer payments in Igloolik. Hunting and fishing now require capital investment which can only be generated from the cash economy. Sedentarization increased the costs of reaching areas where game is available. Now, store-bought items from vegetables to videos can be easily purchased, and people feel the need for these commodities. People like to be able to choose whether to participate in either the hunting economy or the wage economy; being able to choose diversifies access to resources which vary over time in their availability. This transition from complete reliance on the domestic economy has shaped the social identities which are described in Chapter 7. The increasing importance of wage labour and transfer payments can be illustrated by comparing cash income in 1964 and 1993.

In 1964, sedentarization was in full swing. At that time, the total annual cash income, excluding welfare and family allowance payments, for the Inuit population of Igloolik (approximately 229 people) was $93,007.82 (Anders, 1965, p. 88). Of this, only $20,812.17 was wage income, while the rest represented income from sale of furs and carvings. Welfare payments excluding family allowance for the period April 1964 to March 1965 were $22,862. Family allowances for the region (Igloolik and the smaller community of Hall Beach) were at that time estimated to be between $25,000 and $30,000. At that time, nine non-Natives were employed in the community.
By contrast, in 1993 the gross permanent wage income for Inuit and non-Natives as reported by employers in the community was $6,115,145.62. This total excluded five of the smallest employers. The gross income figure is corroborated by Revenue Canada Locality Code Statistics for 1990: the total personal income for the 370 people filing returns in that year was $6,297,000. Unemployment insurance benefits contribute more than $500,000 annually to the local economy. Social assistance payments for the period between April 1992 and March 1993 totalled $902,959. I was unable to obtain breakdowns by gender or ethnicity for income.

Total annual fur sales for 1992 were estimated by the local wildlife officer to be only $15,000. This amount is corroborated by figures for 1984-85 total fur dollars of $26,415.00 (N.W.T. Data Book, 1986, p. 164) and for 1987-88 total dollars earned (renewable resources) of $7,560 (N.W.T. Data Book, 1990, p. 168).

The increase in cash income between the early 1960s and the early 1990s reflects inflation, the growth in population of the community, and the growth in the number of non-Native residents. It also reflects, however, the decreasing importance for generating income of the fur trade and the increasing importance of a wage and transfer payment economy, created to a large extent by the intervention of the Canadian state.

9 Employment

According to June 1991 census figures, the number of inhabitants of Igloolik who were 15 years and over was 540. Of these, 265 are in the labour force, for a participation rate of 49.1 per cent. Of those in the labour force, 70 are unemployed, for an unemployment rate of 26.4 per cent. In other words, about half of the adult population of Igloolik is either working or looking for work. About a quarter of the adult population is looking for work but cannot find it.

There were 285 males 15 years and over, of whom 160 are in the labour force, for a male participation rate of 56.1 per cent. Of those in the labour force, 45 were unemployed.
giving a male unemployment rate of 28.1 per cent. Of the 255 females 15 years and over, 110 were in the labour force, for a female participation rate of 43.1 per cent. Among women in the labour force, 25 were unemployed, for an female unemployment rate of 22.7 per cent.

The 1989 N.W.T. Labour Force Survey, conducted in the community in the winter of 1989 and based on a 15-years-and-over population of 514, found a local participation rate of 55 per cent and a local unemployment rate of 32 per cent. There were 192 people employed and 91 unemployed (Northwest Territories. Bureau of Statistics, 1989). A job was wanted by 230 people who did not have one; the difference between this figure and the figure for unemployed reflects the large number of discouraged workers. Discouraged workers were not looking for work because they reckoned that none was available. In the previous year, 313 people had worked. Figures for 1989 for the TFN claim area, where Igloolik is located, indicated 89 per cent of households had at least one person who had worked that year.

To consider these figures, I compare them with information from the territorial government Social Assistance Information System and information on unemployment insurance compiled by the Labour Division of Statistics Canada. In June 1992, there were 100 applicants for social assistance in the community. Each of these cases denotes a head of household: the 100 applicants represent 330 persons (many of them dependants under the age of 15). According to the 1991 census, there are a total of 175 households in the community, with an average of 5.3 members in each household. The smaller average number of members in the households receiving social assistance may indicate a disproportionate number of aged people whose children have left home to form households of their own, and of younger individuals and families with as yet fewer children than average.

The number of applicants for social assistance monthly between April 1992 and March 1993 ranges from a low of 87 to a high of 125. Each applicant was rated for employability: in June 1992, 51 heads of household were on social assistance because of ‘no jobs’. that is, they
stated that they were ready to work but no jobs were available. The monthly social assistance payment for a single person is $249 plus rent, utilities, and seasonal clothing allowance and is proportional for a family.

In June 1992, there were 30 unemployment insurance beneficiaries who had been an average of 24 weeks on claim and who received an average weekly payment of $274. (The figures for numbers of beneficiaries have been rounded for reasons of confidentiality.) Between June 1992 and June 1993, there were either 30 or 40 beneficiaries each month, of whom 10 were women.

These figures allow us to conclude that a substantial proportion of the local population (about half) is out of work. At the same time, information collected in Igloolik indicates that opportunities exist locally for qualified personnel in management, construction, health care, and video production (Bishop, 1992). By looking at the relationship between ethnicity and employment in Igloolik, a better understanding of this apparent contradiction can be reached.

10 The Relationship between Ethnicity and Employment

Official figures are not currently available for a breakdown by ethnicity of employment in Igloolik. My own research, however, sheds some light in this area. I restricted my inquiries in this area to those born before 1976 because normally anyone younger would not be working or looking for work. In June 1993, there were 535 Inuit born before 1976 and 64 non-Native residents born before 1976. Of the 64 non-Natives born before 1976, eight were not working outside the home. Of these, six were spouses of employed non-Natives, one was temporarily studying away from the community and her family, and one was a social assistance recipient. Thus, by my calculations, the participation rate among non-Natives was greater than 85 per cent. The unemployment rate among non-Natives at this time was less than 15 per cent.

In the Baffin region where Igloolik is located, the participation rate among non-Natives was 91 per cent and the unemployment rate was 1 per cent, according to the 1989 N.W.T.
Labour Force Survey. Among Natives, (i.e. Inuit), the region-wide participation rate was 55 per cent and the unemployment rate 31 per cent.

In the Baffin region as a whole (combined Inuit and non-Native residents), the participation rate for males was 70 per cent and for females 56 per cent, while the unemployment rate for males was 21 per cent and for females 22 per cent. I have not been able to obtain region-wide or local figures broken down by both gender and ethnicity. Figures given by Guay (1988) for Igloolik in 1987, however, indicate that for a total female Inuit population between the ages of 15 to 64 of 195, 47 or 24 per cent were working (full-time or part-time). For the male Inuit population between the ages of 15 and 64 of 224, 69 or 31 per cent were working. Guay also documents the over-representation of non-Natives in administrative and professional positions and the over-representation of Inuit in clerical and labour positions.

Through considering these figures, we can deduce that local non-Natives have relatively high participation rates and low unemployment rates, while local Inuit have relatively low participation rates and high unemployment rates. This generalization is true for both men and women. Non-Natives come to the community to work or to join a family member who is working. The type of employment they have in the community usually requires credentials (for example, trades, teaching, or nursing certification). Only in unusual circumstances would a non-Native head of household remain in Igloolik if unemployed. Costs are high (about 75 per cent higher than in southern Canada), housing is difficult to obtain, and almost all non-Natives originate somewhere else. Local Inuit may leave the community to find work, for example in the mine at Nanisivik or in the regional centre, Iqaluit; if they are unemployed, remaining in the community permits alternative access to resources through sharing within the family or harvesting. In fact, they may not be working because they want to take advantage of these means of accessing resources.
Non-Natives, particularly those who have lived for a long time in Igloolik, may hunt and occasionally share harvested food with other households. For most non-Natives, however, hunting is closer to recreation than livelihood. They are not sustained by the domestic economy in the same way that Inuit residents are. They are more restricted by the hunting regulations than local Inuit. Non-Natives do not have the kinship ties which are an important basis for food distribution, unless they marry a local Inuk. Non-Natives who do marry locally might think twice about giving up wage labour, because the money they earn often subsidizes the participation of their families in the domestic economy. Quitting work might affect their access to housing, as some housing is provided as a condition of employment.

Learning the skills and knowledge needed to be a hunter or seamstress is more difficult for non-Natives because they usually do not speak Inuktitut well enough. English does not have as detailed a lexis for the domestic economy nor does it have as sophisticated a pronominal system for spatial reference. The experts who can instruct about hunting and sewing are unilingual older Inuit. Because most non-Natives are of working age when they arrive in Igloolik, they have missed the adolescent apprenticeship with an older relative through which Inuit learn how to hunt or sew. Many Inuit have not mastered traditional skills, either, but until the present enough retain these skills for the domestic economy to remain viable, when subsidized by some form of cash income.

Non-Natives who live in the community without employment or kin risk disapproval, particularly from other non-Natives who fear that they will become a burden on Inuit or non-Natives. For most non-Natives, the wage economy is the basis for their presence in the community.

The effect of the dynamic described in the preceding paragraphs is to create ethnic stratification in the division of labour: non-Natives are disproportionately employed and Inuit are disproportionately unemployed. While some Inuit choose or are obligated to access
resources through the domestic economy. Each household requires some cash income, from employment or transfer payments, to access resources directly or to subsidize accessing resources through hunting. Therefore, if people in Igloolik perceived that opportunities for cash income were not allocated fairly, this would be a cause for concern.

As discussed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, legitimation is a process which is crucial to state formation: the state is legitimated because it is seen to treat all its citizens equally, without regard to ethnic background or other elements of their social identity. Ethnic stratification contradicts the ideology of the liberal democratic state which abhors ethnicity as even an apparent factor in economic decisions. Very few people in Igloolik would say that anyone is inherently incapable of performing any kind of job because of their ethnicity.

One means by which the ideology of the liberal democratic state is redeemed as a basis for more or less harmonious social interaction in Igloolik is to incorporate education into the process of economic decision-making. In fact, education, particularly Inuktitut-language education, may be seen as a means to affirm the ethnic dimensions of social identity without disrupting stable social relations. The fact that some people have more education than others and that this is made explicit by the possession of credentials explains the social structure of Igloolik to the people who live there. People think that gradually increasing levels of education for at least some younger Inuit means that the problem of ethnic stratification will eventually resolve itself.

Literacy—the ability to read and write within certain prescribed limits—is crucial to the use of education to maintain stable social interaction. Tested proficiency in literacy provides an important means for educators to decide who is educated and who is not, that is, to determine who is worthy of receiving credentials. Lack of credentials justifies lack of employment. Given the belief in the equality of languages, literacy in one language is in principle as valued as literacy in another.
The validity of the process of credentialization is enhanced because there is some transfer of the literacy skills learned at school to the workplace and to other settings, such as meetings of community organizations. Education and its main constituent, literacy, legitimate the contemporary social system, and by extension, the authority of the Canadian state. This social system permits variable participation in both the domestic and cash economy.

Recreation

In their leisure time, the residents of Igloolik have many ways to amuse themselves. At Christmas, Easter, and other occasions, there are dances, games, and feasts at the community hall or sometimes at the school. People enjoy sports like basketball and volleyball at the gym; skating, hockey, and curling at the arena; and baseball outside or swimming in the indoor above-ground pool in the summer. Some young people participate in the local cadet corps. When the weather is fine, everyone likes to leave the settlement. Visiting and attendance at meetings and church are usual ways to pass the time.

People watch television or videos. They listen to CBC and local radio and also to recorded music. While local radio is almost exclusively in Inuktitut, and CBC radio and TVNC television have Inuktitut programming, most videos and CDs are in English. People play computer games. They sing and play musical instruments. Some people sew, knit, crochet, cook, bake, and look after their houseplants. Often, people have to work on their vehicles, do other repairs, and build sheds. Some people have dog teams to look after. The children play and their parents and siblings look after them. People borrow books and other material from the library or other sources and read. People read the Bible and write letters. People shop and order from catalogues.

Gambling with cards or bingo is popular with some people. Some people drink or smoke hash. Teenagers sometimes break into houses to look for alcohol or solvents. Some young people complain that life in the settlement is boring but other people find the pace of life hectic.
12 Conclusion

This chapter has shown the nature of the contemporary mixed economy which has come into being through sedentarization, standardization, and credentialization. The domestic component of the mixed economy has its antecedents in the traditional way of life which preceded contact with non-Natives. Local people continue to harvest wildlife and process the products into food and clothing. The domestic economy is complemented by the cash economy, because cash income has become necessary to hunt, fish, and sew. The increase in cash income since sedentarization reflects public sector activity, particularly in education, health care, local government, and housing. There has been recent growth in the private sector, for example, in the retail, construction, and communications domains. There are a variety of leisure activities in Igloolik.

Ethnic stratification of labour characterizes the social system associated with the contemporary mixed economy. While local Inuit have relatively low participation and employment rates, local non-Natives have high participation and employment rates. The process of credentialization justifies this division of labour. The way that people position themselves in the social system and how they relate this to literacy and social identity are described in Chapter 7.
CHAPTER 7: MULTIPLE LITERACY PRACTICES AND SOCIAL IDENTITY IN CONTEMPORARY IGLOOLIK

1 Introduction

People in Igloolik use reading and writing for a multitude of purposes. The processes of sedentarization, standardization, and credentialization have shaped how people use literacy and how literacy indicates social identity. In this chapter, I explain how this shaping happens by relating the use of literacy practices to group membership.

Based on what I observed and what people told me during my fieldwork, I have arranged the most consequential literacy practices into three sets: getting an education (in English), learning the finals (in Inuktitut), and reading and writing traditionally (in Inuktitut). These sets of literacy practices are implicated in accessing resources in the setting, but only as mediated by social identity and by sedentarization, standardization, and credentialization.

From my understanding of what I found out in relation to the use of these sets of literacy practices, I have divided the adult population of Igloolik into four groups. Individuals indicate their social identity by membership in one group or another. The four groups within the adult population of the community are: older Inuit (those born before about 1946): non-Natives; active biliterates (Inuit born between about 1946 and 1976); and other younger Inuit (also born between about 1946 and 1976).

I found age and ethnicity to be particularly salient elements of social identity that related to the use of literacy. Age as an element of contemporary social identity is not just a reflection of where someone is in the life cycle; rather, it reflects how individual life cycles pattern on to the processes of sedentarization, standardization, and credentialization. For example, the life experience of someone who turned 20 in 1930 would be very different from someone who turned 20 in 1970, despite the fact that, as 20-year-olds, they would share some characteristics.
The categories that I use in this chapter have arisen from my data collection and analysis. They are only useful if they aid in understanding what is going on; they are not meant to reduce the complex reality of the setting to simple formulae. I have centred my analysis on the adult population (those born before 1976) because this has allowed me to focus on the most problematic aspects of access to resources, for example, through the use of literacy and through employment. Children access resources primarily through interaction in the family. The childhood experiences of the people who are now adults, however, do constitute part of my data.

Almost all Inuit born between 1946 and 1976 have tried to get an education. They have tried to learn the finals, the characters for syllable-final consonants in Inuktitut which I claim are markers of social identity. Active biliterates have maximized the potential of these two processes for accessing resources. Almost all non-Natives have got an education; in fact, many live in Igloolik because they are educationally qualified for work available there. Very few non-Natives, however, have learned the finals, which are mandatory in the standard orthography of Inuktitut. While many older Inuit are very knowledgeable, they have not got an education, in the sense of schooling. Nor have most of them learned to write the finals, as specified in the standard orthography. They read and write in a traditional manner: they can read published material written with finals but in their own writing almost all write without finals.

In the following section, I give a brief overview of how access to resources in Igloolik for the different groups mentioned above is patterned by the institutions of the domestic economy and the cash economy. I go on to discuss the nature of getting an education, learning the finals, and reading and writing traditionally. After that, I show how unequal access to resources for older Inuit, younger Inuit, and non-Natives is mediated by use of these sets of literacy practices. By drawing on the words of the people of Igloolik, I present the beliefs
current about these practices and how the practices are used. I conclude the chapter by
discussion of the contradictions embodied in the use of literacy by the different groups.
2 Power, Social Identity, and Literacy

Power is the capability of actors to achieve outcomes. Actors achieve outcomes by
accessing resources. Rules and resources are drawn upon by actors in making decisions. At the
same time, resources are elements of social systems, reproduced in interaction as structure. I
distinguish here between authoritative resources, that is, control over people, and allocative
resources, that is, control over things (Giddens, 1984). (See Section 4.1 of Chapter 1.)

Two overlapping economic systems underlie the production and distribution of valued
resources in Igloolik: the domestic economy and the cash economy. The institutions of the two
economies have been described in Chapter 6. For the purposes of analysis, I will disentangle
the two economic systems and their respective patterns of access to resources for the different
social groups.

In the domestic economy, older Inuit have access to authoritative and allocative
resources. Because older Inuit are seen to have superior knowledge of practices relating to the
harvesting and use of game, they are the authorities in this domain. The system of social
organization based on kinship, in which the ‘isumataq’ or camp leader exerted authority,
persists in contemporary Igloolik. The meat which is the main product of the domestic
economy is allocated amongst kin under the auspices of the older Inuit. Younger Inuit and
non-Natives access resources in the domestic economy, but in a manner constrained by the
power of older Inuit, reproduced as structure.

This authority is sometimes in contradiction with the authority exercised through state
institutions, for example, as manifested in wildlife regulation enforcement. As mentioned
earlier, hunters killed a bowhead whale in September 1994 near Igloolik. They killed the
whale because an elder had expressed a desire for the taste of the ‘maktaaq’ or whale skin
while he was speaking on community radio. The hunters faced criminal charges but the charges were dropped in June 1996. Ultimately, at least in this case, the representatives of the state were not willing to contest the authority of older Inuit.

Of course, the power of older Inuit is not purely or even mainly economic. The following passage from a publication of Pauktutit, the Inuit women’s association, represents the social authority of older Inuit.

Elder family members continue to play an important role in family life and are treated with great respect. They are considered wise and important sources of knowledge about the past. They are sought out for their story telling and advice on many issues. Children are still taught to be very respectful towards their elders, to greet them before anyone else, try to anticipate their needs, and not to express knowledge to elders before they are asked. (The Inuit Way, 1990. p. 11)

These symbolic resources are an important basis for a distinct Inuit identity which has been able to accommodate to radically altered social conditions. Reading and writing traditionally is an element of this identity for older Inuit. Younger Inuit have invoked the authority embodied in the social identity of older Inuit when they have resisted the power of the Canadian state, for example, in land claims negotiations.

The ability of older Inuit to access authoritative resources has never been total. Alliances (fictive kin relations) counterbalanced kin relations. In the past, those who did not wish to accept the leader’s authority could hunt elsewhere. This flexibility is reproduced in contemporary social relations not only in terms of geographic mobility, but also by the possibility of drawing on resources in the cash economy. For example, people may sell surplus fish that they have caught, rather than give it to their older relatives for distribution. Younger Inuit may ignore the wishes of older Inuit. These deviations reflect in part a blurring of the lines between the domestic economy and the cash economy, in which different patterns of access to resources exist. Kinship structure continues to guide people’s actions but in ways that have been transformed in the context of economic change.
The local institutions of the cash economy described in Chapter 6 manifest the operation of state legitimation and capitalist accumulation, as discussed in Chapter 3. Legitimation and accumulation are not seen here as inherent functions of the Canadian state. Rather, they are observable social processes which constrain and enable access to resources in the setting.

The institutions of the cash economy have been formed in the process of sedentarization. Two ways that people position themselves within these institutions is by getting an education and by learning the finals. In contrast with the domestic economy, authority in the cash economy can be distant in time and space. In the cash economy, one means of accessing resources for both Inuit and non-Natives is through wage labour. Another is through election to one of the numerous bodies which manage life in the community within the constraints imposed by adherence to government policy. These elected positions entitle the successful candidate to a stipend. People can access allocative resources by obtaining social assistance or by commerce. Older Inuit access resources in the cash economy through reliance on their families.

The processes of language standardization and credentialization are more central to the operation of power in some local institutions than in others. For example, a teacher in the school would be engaged in the processes of standardization and credentialization more than a construction labourer. While all life in Igloolik is touched by these processes of state formation, they are not total. People call on resources in ways that are not organized by government or capital.

People in Igloolik orient themselves by their use of literacy practices within overarching processes of state formation like legitimation and accumulation and within general processes like sedentarization, standardization, and credentialization. In the following section, I describe the use in Igloolik of three different sets of literacy practices: getting an education, learning the finals, and reading and writing traditionally.
2.1 Getting an Education

Since education has been available to people from Igloolik, young people have read and written in school in order to access resources later as adults. In the past, local Inuit read and wrote in school exclusively in English; even today, after students are about eight years old, they mostly read and write in English.

The progress of the students through school is measured by how many grades they have completed. A crucial element in deciding whether a child is ready for the next grade is his or her ability to read and write, although other skills like calculating and getting along with peers and teachers also count. In the earlier grades, pupils may be promoted if they attend regularly and make an effort, regardless of the level of their abilities in reading and writing. By high school, literacy is credentialized as grade level through practices like examinations. The credentialization of grade level is one basis for making hiring decisions for employment.

In addition, some of the knowledge one learns in school might allow direct access to resources: for example, by using her ability to read, write, and calculate, a local woman gains respect and makes money by helping people to fill out their income tax returns. Nor is the use of reading and writing in English purely instrumental: many people report reading and writing in English for pleasure and information. I observed English-language books and magazines in many homes in Igloolik.

A: I mean reading is a really enjoyable thing whether you’re doing it in English or Inuktitut and a lot of people who I’ve met through this job are you know get so turned on to reading books that you know they come in here and they’re wanting more and more fiction. They’re gobbling it up. They love it.
Q: Unhn.
A: And they’re- They love it as an alternative to vegging out in front of the TV.
(female non-Native, born in the 1950s)

More usually, however, people in the setting represented the use of English-language literacy in school as giving access to resources by improving one’s chances of getting employment. As discussed in Chapter 6, employment is not only a means to access resources in the cash economy, but also serves to subsidize access to resources in the domestic economy.
Actors collaborate in producing the structures of getting an education. The structure can be both constraining and enabling. Now, a student in Igloolik can complete Grade 12 at the school. More and more students are finishing Grade 12 but most drop out. Those who have higher grade levels see themselves as qualified for employment while those with lower grade levels see themselves as disqualified.

After attaining adulthood, residents of Igloolik can raise their grade level by attending adult basic education classes given by Nunavut Arctic College.

Adult Basic Education ... Admission Requirements
Applicants wishing to apply to this program must:
— complete an entrance requirement to assess English and Mathematics skills. This is not a pass or fail test.
— participate in an interview with Arctic College staff. (Arctic College. 1993, p. 22)

The adult basic education program includes courses in English, mathematics, social studies, personal life management, and Inuktitut.

Higher grade levels open up opportunities to take courses at Nunavut Arctic College or elsewhere. Now, if people from Igloolik want to follow careers as, for example, managers, secretaries, social service workers, teachers, or wildlife officers, they are told that they must have the appropriate grade level which allows them to seek the necessary qualification.

Similarly, attendance at post-secondary institutions outside the region normally requires Grade 12. The prerequisites for getting further training were explained to me as follows.

A: Each of those courses. the co-op cooking or the co-op carpentry or the management studies. have specific requirements.
Q: Unhn.
A: That they have to meet. They have to be at a certain level.
Q: Unhn.
A: Arctic College level. Minimum for most of these courses is about an exit 130 [about Grade 10].
Q: Unhn.
A: Entry 140 level.
Q: Unhn unhn.
A: They often have to have three letters of reference. They have to write a letter of intent explaining why they want to do the program and they have to fill out the Arctic College application form. (female non-Native, born in the 1950s)
Prospective students are tested on their abilities in English-language reading and writing and mathematics so they can be assigned a level. This level indicates whether they are ready for the Nunavut Arctic College program they have in mind.

Education which leads directly to employment, whether at Nunavut Arctic College or elsewhere, typically requires a knowledge of English, for example, in the field of nursing.

Q: Do you have to have English- higher English with this job?
A: Yes, if you want to train as a registered nurse you have to have completed your high school and then you go into either a college program or university program. You have to have a fairly high level of functioning of English because all of the teaching, all of the training for nurses is all in English. (female non-Native, born in the 1960s)

Meanwhile, lack of education is seen as constraining. Inuit in Igloolik often attribute lack of employment to lack of education.

Q: What do you think about the job situation in Igloolik now and what is the employment situation in the community?
A: I think we have too much unemployment.
Q: Unhn.
A: We’ve got a lot of unemployed people. A lot of local people are unemployed and a lot of it has to do with people dropping out of school.
Q: Unhn.
A: But there are a lot of people who want to work but they don’t have enough education.
Q: Unhn.
A: They can’t really ever get any of the good jobs unless they’re really- They’ve really got a lot of experience in something. (female Inuk, born in the 1960s)

Q: Okay so how do you feel about the job situation or employment in the community like now? Is it- Do you know are there enough jobs or-
A: No, there are not enough jobs but I think the answer I suppose is both yes and no because there are enough jobs in the community but there are not enough trained Inuit.
Q: Unhn.
A: To take on some of these jobs that are available in the community.
Q: Unhn.
A: It’s very very difficult like for me to take on as a nurse. It’s out of the question because I don’t have any practical experience. I don’t- I would have to spend four or five years in order to get this job as a nurse.
Q: Just to get the qualifications?
A: Just to get the qualifications. And for lower-paid jobs like being a truck driver there are jobs but more management jobs we just don’t have enough qualified people to fill it up. And that’s very unfortunate. This is why it is important that we try to get the adult people to do more upgrading and because then and only then they’ll be able to take on bigger responsibility more more more decent jobs. As it is right now we have very very few Inuit people who are- who have the qualifications to get in the bigger workforce. (male Inuk, born in the 1950s)
A: At the present time there's not too much jobs. Only there's only labour-
Q: Unhn.
A: Like labour jobs and there hasn't been any like there hasn't been very many jobs lately.
Q: Unhn.
A: So most of these require trainees and graduates.
Q: Unhn.
A: Today so-
Q: More than in the past?
A: Yeah, more than in the past so uh I guess we're more advanced nowadays. (male Inuk. born in the 1960s)

When the students from Arctic College who worked with me asked people working in jobs that they considered desirable about the requirements for employment, grade level was almost always mentioned.

Q: Taassuma sanaarjavit mikksaanut ilinniaqnikuugiaqaqpii, paippaaqutinit pitaarsimajariaqaqpii uvaluunniit pijunnautiqariaqaqpiit?
A: Taanna, taanna kisiani taakkunanga akautuinnartuq kinatuinnaq ilinniarsimanniruni tawunga Grade 12-mulluunniit uvaluunniit tamaunnga tungaunut. ilaak tamaunnga 10, 11, 12, taimanaitungit aturniqavijjuarmijut. suqaimma inuktitullu qallunaaqtitullu uqarunnariaqalluniilu titirarunnariaqarluniilu taimanaittuni nalunaikkutaniq piqarutik. piqaraluartillugit taakkunani arraaguq marruuk ilinniarniup iluani amma ilinniakkanniriaqarajaqmijut taimanaitturtaarasullitik televisaririniup mikksaunut.

Q: Would one have to have a certificate or a license or a diploma [to work in the field of television in the community]?
A: For this one it would be good for someone to have been educated to Grade 12 or thereabouts ... 10, 11, 12. It would be really useful, speaking and writing Inuktitut and English, together with sometimes calculating, along with in the next two years studying inside and training about television. (male Inuk. born in the 1950s)

Q: What kind of training or education do you require for this job [a managerial position in government]?
A: Minimum Grade 10 plus office administration experience. (female Inuk. born in the 1960s)

Q: I'm going to interview a heavy equipment operator. I'm going to spoke[sic] to [name]. What kind of training or education do you require for this job?
A: You have to have a Grade 8 or higher.
Q: Do you require any special certificate or diploma or license for this job- position?
A: You have to have a heavy equipment operator's certificate. (male Inuk. born in the 1960s)
Older Inuit are also aware of the importance attributed to education. A woman who had never been employed or attended school herself referred to the necessity of education for employment.

Q: Ullumiuliqtuq nutaqkat ammalu makkuktut ilinnialirmata. Qanuq isumagivigit?
A: Illinniattaqujaaalugiliruqpakka tamakkua kingulliit, pisimajakkali, sivulliit qiturngakka sivumuksisimangittualungmata ilinnialauqtaminik, illinniattaqujaaalugaluakka ilinniaqsimalutik kisiani sanaaqtarunnarniraqtauqattalirmata.

Q: Children and young people are in schools these days. What do you think of this comment?
A: As for the children with me. I really would like them to do well because my children, who were the first generation to go to school, did not complete their education. I really like to see them do well since we hear these days that one can only find work if one is educated. (female Inuk, born in the 1930s)

Even when older Inuit resent educational requirements, they are seen as playing a part in employment decisions.


In the past, whoever wanted to work was hired. I think that is how it was at that time. Even I, myself, used to work in the heavy equipment field for quite a few years. Despite my inability to speak in English, it never became a major obstacle while I was in my line of work. These days, it is only because of your skills to read and write in English that you can be hired now. Even though this requirement has been in place for quite a while now, I have not seen the expected improvements in job performances and their results. At that time, when we were working, the results were not that great. Well, I still see similar results despite increased qualifications in the job opportunities these days. At least they appear that way. (male Inuk, born in the 1930s)

Some younger Inuit share the skepticism of older Inuit about education. I interviewed another young man who had been my student a decade previously. He was always an excellent student but he told me had dropped out of school because of excessive Nintendo playing. He
had been a reliable employee of a local business. He quit abruptly, however, partly because he would pay less rent if he had a lower income. Later, he found a better job. His comments indicated that the concept of employment selection by grade level is understood but not always accepted.

A: Well like for example like I only went to Grade 8 and well most of the jobs need Grade 10 or 12.
Q: Unhn.
A: But I think it doesn’t have to be that way because we can learn while we’re working or something.
Q: Unhn.
A: And well maybe I don’t know it would be okay- It shouldn’t be too bad working trying to get a job if only if I only had Grade 8.
Q: Unhn.
A: Because I could learn pretty fast or something. (male Inuk, born in the 1970s)

For this participant, one can learn through experience as well as through education. Learning on the job may involve literacy practices as well as other practices, but it lies outside the process of credentialization. I see a link here with the ideas on education expressed by older Inuit in Section 3.1 of this chapter.

When I was interviewing an Arctic College student I remembered that she had commented one day, “Nowadays it seems like you need a Grade 10 to be a table dancer in a bar” (female Inuk, born in the 1950s). This participant had a reputation for being a reliable employee, but she told me a story of being frustrated in her efforts to get a better job.

Q: Okay this one we talked about before a bit. Now for some jobs certain grade levels are required. What do you think of this? I remember before you were saying in the past-
A: That’s what triggered me to take up this upgrading.
Q: Unhn.
A: Because so many times I’ve been rejected.
Q: Is that right eh?
A: Because of my low grade yep.
Q: Even Grade 8. Even though you have a good Grade 8.
A: Unhn.
Q: And you can- I know myself that you can you know I know that your reading and writing is much stronger than many others who have higher grade levels I mean this actual- What kind of just-
A: Like I’ve tried health centre. ... Health centre. They told me my grade was too low.
Q: Unhn.
A: And then I’ve tried a couple of times to Housing. They rejected my application because my grades weren’t qualified.
Q: Unhn unhn.
A: All that.
Q: All that. And would they- Like when you applied would you actually go for an interview? Would they get actually to an interview or would they tell you before-
A: No they didn’t ask even ask to interview me.
Q: Because of that reason?
A: [intake of breath indicating agreement].
Q: Wow. That’s interesting.
A: But I think that was from [name A] and [name B] working there. [Name B] is my sister-in-law and [name A] is my brother-in-law.
Q: Unhn.
A: I thought that was partly the reason.
Q: Partly the relation with the different people. Yeah. (female Inuk, born in the 1950s)

Lack of education was the reason given the participant for not getting the jobs. but she suspects that it is at least partly her in-laws’ desire not to work with her. We never discussed why they did not want to work with her. Perhaps it is because of traditional avoidance of communication with in-laws, discussed in Chapter 3.

Despite the significance attributed to grade level, the relationship between level of education and employment is indirect. Hiring decisions reflect a complex interplay of factors: assessment of relevant experience and educational credentials, as well as judgments about the candidate’s need for the job, physical condition, ability to do the job, character, and reliability. Loyalty to kin may play a part in some hiring decisions, although those hiring in the public sector are required to disqualify themselves from decision-making in the case of kin. The potential employee also decides whether a job is worth applying for and, once hired, whether a job is worth keeping. Prominent and responsible positions are held by Inuit who have little formal education. Others who have relatively high levels of education are underemployed or unemployed. At the same time, some jobs that are available go unfilled. A non-Native who is involved in hiring decisions commented that:

there is little employment and all the time you’re getting population increase. At the one hand it proved- Well it’s not just education. Education is part of it but it’s a number of other things. A lot of people tend to focus on just one aspect. ‘If we can just do something about education many many more people will be represented in jobs.’
don’t think it’s as simple as that. I think you have to look at what kind of jobs, the personal preferences of people that have that kind of education. Jobs have come up here [in this particular workplace] that people simply don’t want although they do have the education and the qualifications. There’s that aspect to it as well. (male non-Native, born in the 1940s)

Non-Natives who hire for employment sometimes say that a certain grade level is required to get a job. When the manager of a local store was asked by an Arctic College student about the qualifications for his job, he stated that Grade 10 was required.

Q: What kind of training or education do you require for this job?
A: Well you need at least Grade 10 and you have to know how to read, write, uh get along with people I guess. (male non-Native, born in the 1950s)

When I interviewed the same participant, he emphasized the importance of literacy for potential employees of the store but de-emphasized the paper qualification.

Q: How about to get the job are there educational qualifications when you hire a person?
A: Our head office wants us to do that but as far as I’m concerned as long as the person can read or write in English-
Q: Unhn.
A: Can understand what I have to tell them-
Q: Unhn.
A: In English like without too much instruction-
Q: Unhn.
A: [sighs] Um then I usually just hire them.
Q: Right.
A: If they can’t read and write they can’t work here. It’s just-
Q: Okay. That’s the kind of thing I’m looking- You know to have somebody- You know it’s easy for me to say that but if I have somebody saying that where I can quote it from a tape that makes my job-
A: If they can’t read and write we don’t want them. I mean the only thing they’re good for is sweeping the floors. Because they can’t go down to the warehouses and pick up boxes of items.
Q: Because they can’t identify them?
A: Yeah.

An employee in the manager’s store described how he used English-language literacy in his job as stock boy. He would write the names of products which were short on the shelves in English in an exercise book. As the products are brought from the warehouse, they are crossed off in the exercise book. He said this was not difficult to learn.
Later in the interview with the manager, he described how he hires people. The opinion of other workers is as important as grade level.

Q: Okay say when you’re hiring somebody new how does it- Okay say there’s a vacancy or something like that how do you go about how do you go about hiring and making the decision?
A: Well I usually go on the radio and say we have an opening. People can come down and pick up their application forms and we give them two or three days and then myself and [an Inuk employee] and one of the other staff will sit down and we go through them. See who would be best to pick and what not and then we call the person up and ask them if they can work. If they say yeah they come down here. I fill out the papers on them and they’re hired. (male non-Native, born in the 1950s)

So here, while grade level plays a part in the discourse of who gets the jobs, the manager acts out of experience in a way which recognizes that the measure is somewhat arbitrary.

An Inuk who is involved in hiring decisions made these comments.

Most of the jobs that people apply for through this office are mostly manual labour jobs. And they would prefer manual labour jobs because of their low grades. (male Inuk, born in the 1950s)

In a later interview, he went into more detail about the process.

Q: Um and are there some jobs which are difficult to find people for? Like it’s hard-
A: Oh yes we always get employment opportunities from the region.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: But let’s see less than 1 per cent of people from here get a job through these employment opportunities because of the qualifications.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: Uh it usually says equivalencies will be considered but it doesn’t- [laughs]. Most of the jobs have to have a minimum of Grade 10. ...
Q: And uh okay so uh what kind of jobs are you able to find people for and the people for the-
A: Mostly seasonal jobs.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: Like carpentry and like Hamlet is great for hiring people.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: So they have hired quite a few what they call casuals only on a casual basis.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: And some of the jobs have a high turnover so there’s always an opening.
Q: Uhhuh so the- And why do you think they have a high turnover? Like why do people-
A: I think it’s not challenging enough for some of them.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: Like they get tired of the routine work.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: So they want to look for something else.

Later in the interview, he talked about people who are not looking for work.

Q: So you were saying that there are some people who are not looking for work?
A: No. they are on welfare and not looking for work. It’s seems like they’re looking for work by bringing a job search paper that we have to sign. Anybody in town who employs people have to sign-
Q: Uhhuh.
A: Sometimes some people come here really looking for a job saying they have no more choice but to go on welfare.
Q: Right.
A: But some of them come by, have me sign the paper, and take off without even looking at the job opportunities that are being offered.
Q: Uhhuh and they could if they wanted to there would be some jobs for them?
A: Oh yes uhhuh I have even had a couple of cases where a person was on welfare and was offered a job refused it because he’s on welfare.
Q: Uhhuh and uh you think they would be capable of doing these jobs?
A: Oh yes they’re very capable of doing the jobs that were offered.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: I guess they wouldn’t be satisfied with the job.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: Or are not willing to work.
Q: Uhhuh what- They might find the job uh-
A: Like a job that would pay a little bit higher than what they are getting on welfare but it would be a routine job like a labourer job.

This participant also told me that the majority of those looking for work do not want to leave Igloolik to take a job. So candidates for employment are selective, just as employers are.

The effects of sedentarization have promoted the belief that educational credentials determine employment decisions. As people moved into the settlement, wage labour became more necessary to access resources. At the same time, improved health care meant lower rates of infant mortality, larger families, and eventually more young people seeking jobs. In the past, when no local Inuk had got an education or was able to speak much English, a positive attitude towards the responsible non-Native might be enough to secure employment. Later, when some Inuit had schooling, the ability to speak English was an important prerequisite to employment. Now, when many seek work or further training, these screens are no longer sufficient. Instead, selection by grade level is seen to justify gatekeeping decisions. Decisions
based on level of education are seen as objective. At the same time, now there are more
diverse opportunities than in the past for accessing resources like unemployment insurance,
social assistance, and small business.

At least in some cases, level of education is believed to be under the control of the
individual. It is sometimes possible to improve your level of education. On the other hand, it
may be more difficult in a small community to change the assessment made of your character.
In this context, the action of dropping out of school becomes the structure of limited job
choice. A former student, encountered informally at her work as a cashier, told me: “Since I
quit school, I have no choice but to work here” (female Inuk, born in the 1960s).

Sometimes, what has been learned in school may help the employee to do the job: in
this way, the ideology of grade level is validated. As one of the participants explained to me:

I guess even if you don’t have an education if you’re an apprentice or somebody
learning on the job you could learn to do a certain job but for things like
some things need a lot of math or a lot of writing you still need your education. You
still need to learn how to do those things properly before you can do a particular job.
(female Inuk, born in the 1960s)

Further, grade level as screen justifies the ethnic stratification in employment which is
the residue of colonialism. This stratification is reflected in the disproportion between non-
Native and Inuit rates of employment discussed in Chapter 6. Some people see this
stratification as problematic.

Q: What do you think of the job opportunities in the community? Are they acceptable
or are there shortages of jobs?
A: There seems to be shortage of jobs in my opinion, as there are a lot of unemployed
Inuit and the jobs that are supposed to be for them are taken by Qallunaat [non-Natives]
outsiders coming in. Inuit are not getting enough jobs, and in my opinion, that is not
quite acceptable. (female Inuk, born in the 1940s)

Some people explain the employment of non-Natives in Igloolik by their higher levels
of education.

Q: What do you think about that? That whole kind of- Just the way it works here-
Some people are coming from southern Canada for the purpose of working here.
A: Yeah I would very much like to see more people, home people working in their
community.
Q: Unhn.
A: Rather than people coming from down south and from other places. That’s what I would like to see very much. Except that I know that you need certain grade levels to get some jobs.
Q: Unhn.
A: That’s one thing I know it’s very hard. (male Inuk, born in the 1950s)

The process of political development described in Chapter 4 means that the legitimacy of the Canadian state in the region requires that people perceive that there is equal opportunity for employment, irrespective of ethnicity. If a consensus is established that educational credentials are a prerequisite for employment, there can be a smooth transition from interethnic stratification to intraethnic stratification. The privileged access of non-Natives to jobs because of higher educational levels is then seen as a temporary phenomenon. Credentials offer both Inuit and non-Natives some assurance that the potential employee will be competent. An ideology of grade level integrates the people of the community into the distant social authority of the Canadian state. Thus, direct challenges to the legitimacy of the state can be avoided.

Learning to read and write in English by getting an education may yield many benefits, including personal fulfillment. The literate abilities learned and tested in school are similar to those required in some jobs. Nevertheless, for accessing resources in Igloolik, the most salient aspect of getting an education is acquiring the grade level credential. Even when people perceive credentialization as unfair, it allows them to explain to themselves unemployment among the Inuit of the community. It explains why non-Natives are mostly employed while Inuit are mostly unemployed. When scarce jobs have to be allocated, it is represented as a means to sort the fortunate few from the unfortunate many. Social identity is shaped in this process, particularly given the increasing importance of wage labour to sustain both the cash economy and the domestic economy. Getting an education, however, is not the only means to use literacy to access resources. People can also access resources by learning the finals.
Figure 4: Inuktitut Syllabics with and without Finals
2.2 Learning the Finals

I saw firsthand the distinction discussed in Chapter 5 between the use of non-standard Inuktut syllabic literacy by older Inuit and the use of standard Inuktut syllabic literacy by younger Inuit when I went on a seal hunting trip with a local family. When we made camp, I was curious about the name of the place. After I was told the name, I wrote it down in Inuktut syllabics to make sure I had it right. I did not have it right. (See Figure 4.)

The young Inuk (born in the 1960s) who was beside me wrote the place name underneath what I had written. The word, written correctly in the standard orthography, if transliterated into Roman orthography, would be ‘I(k)piu(ng)ga(a)li(k)’. The letters in brackets represent the finals and, in the case of the penultimate syllable, the vowel-lengthening diacritic.

Just at that moment, the young man’s father-in-law (born in the 1930s) came up and, not noticing his son-in-law’s writing, also corrected my mangled version. His version, lacking in finals, could be rendered ‘Ipiugali’ in the Roman orthography; not as close to a phonemic transcription, perhaps, but sufficient to distinguish this landfall from others along the shore.

Finals are the small characters in Inuktut syllabics which indicate syllable-final consonants. As shown in Chapter 5, syllable-final consonants in Inuktut can indicate social boundaries because of their variability. For example, variation in the use of syllable-final consonants in either speaking and writing have been markers for boundaries between genders, ages, regions, and religions. Most older Inuit and non-Natives have not learned the finals as standardized in the new orthography. The active biliterates who are expert in the finals are more employable than other younger Inuit. Even if not expert in the finals, most younger Inuit are convinced of the importance of their correct use. One way this attitude has been fostered is by the employment of Inuit as translators by the government.

No matter how ephemeral the message, or how ponderous the style, the expectation is that syllabic finals will be precisely used. This expectation, fostered by other groups of
organized translators [in addition to the N.W.T. Interpreter Corps] such as those employed by the federal government in Ottawa, has filtered down to the community level. (Mallon, 1985, p. 150)

At the level of practice, this expectation means that Inuktitut-language documentation for government institutions is prepared in the standard orthography. The current system of information distribution requires employing people to write Inuktitut who have learned the finals. For example, agenda and minutes of committees in which unilingual Inuit participate are usually written in Inuktitut with finals, as well as in English.

The most important duties are to make sure that the minutes that are done every two weeks. Like we have our regular meeting every two weeks. To make sure that all the minutes are done both in English and Inuktitut and that there’s a lot of confidential papers. And make sure the confidential things doesn’t get out of the office. (female Inuk, born in the 1950s)

Sometimes, notes are taken and minutes are written in English by young bilingual Inuit. These minutes are then translated into Inuktitut for the subsequent use of older Inuit.

Q: Do you write letters in syllabics?
A: Only when I’m translating.
Q: To do with work or something like that?
A: Yeah. Yeah.
Q: How about in English?
A: Mostly to do with work too. … Minutes. I do that almost every two weeks. …
Q: How about in syllabics? Do you do the minutes in syllabics?
A: Yep. I translate whatever I write into Inuktitut. (male Inuk, born in the 1950s)

This same participant told me that notes would be taken in Inuktitut syllabics by unilingual Inuit at meetings, for example, at the Anglican church, just as quickly. This is because older Inuit are used to writing in Inuktitut syllabics.

Younger Inuit may be aware of, and even share, the ambivalence of older Inuit about the standard orthography. Ultimately, however, they accept the new way of writing.

A: But unfortunately you know I really don’t agree with … the revised orthography. I think that was very unfortunate because they took out … the old ones.
Q: Unhn.
A: And make them into new ones. Because it’s much more difficult for our young children to learn Inuktitut you know. As a result you know it’s going to be discouraging to a lot of young people to learn to read in Inuktitut because there are so many complications now.
Q: Unhn.
A: But when I was growing up and I had an interest in learning to read syllabics it was nice and easy.
Q: What? Is it mainly the finals?
A: Mainly the finals and uh like for instance if I wanted to write ‘aivunga’ [I go] I have to write it in the long way.
Q: Unhn.
A: Whereas before the revision it was very simple: ‘ai’—‘i’ with the little dot up at the top, ‘vunga’, but now I have to write it ‘a’, ‘i’, ‘vunga’. That’s four letters. four words. It’s so- It’s really too bad. I know there are some older folks who are not pleased with the new writing system at all but it was made that way. I guess it stays that way. (male Inuk, born in the 1950s)

I asked a young woman about how she had learned to read and write Inuktitut.

A: Because my parents always had Inuktitut Bibles and um just papers. My dad used to go to meetings a lot and he used to bring home papers written in Inuktitut and he used to write them.
Q: Unhn.
A: And I used to read in Inuktitut myself his work . . . .
Q: Yeah. Just- Just- And he would show you sometimes?
A: No. I would sneak up to his room and grab some papers you know. My parents never read anything to me.
Q: Unhn.
A: Yeah.
Q: But you would want to still want to learn?
A: Unhn I’d like to read Inuktitut.
Q: Unhn and then in school too you’d learn some as well?
A: Yes. Back maybe when I was in Grade 2 they started teaching us how to read Inuktitut and write Inuktitut. (female Inuk, born in the 1970s)

I went on to ask her if she used the finals.

Q: So when you write do you put in the finals?
A: Yes I do. I- Finals are really important but I know sometimes I put too much of ‘rq’ into the Inuktitut finals.
Q: Unhn.
A: Part. I don’t mean to but just I do.
Q: But you try and use the finals?
A: I always do.

The phonemic analysis which underlies the standard Inuktitut syllabic orthography disallows a consonant cluster of the voiced uvular continuant (/r/) and the voiceless uvular stop (/q/) (Spalding, 1979, pp. xi-xii). The participant’s usage may reflect shifting norms in the spoken language. Phonetically, her spelling may sometimes be close to the mark. (Compare the discussion of Dorais (1993), Mallon (1985), and Harper (1992) in Chapter 5.)
standard orthography, however, is based on an analysis which would conceive of the cluster in question as geminate uvular stops (/qq/), for example, 'qiqquaq' (seaweed), not 'qirquaq'.

Gagné, in his work on Inuktitut orthography (which was superseded by the standard orthography), took the opposite view.

**Question:** Why write -rq- instead of -qq- for a phonemic cluster frequently found to be a geminate uvular plosive or stop?

**Answer:** It is, in a sense, purely arbitrary. Either graphemic cluster would serve to symbolize the function of this phonemic cluster equally well. If -rq- was chosen it is because the phonetic realization of its first element is found more often as a uvular fricative /r/ than as a uvular plosive /q/. The /q/—/r/ phonemic opposition found in other environments in such pairs as /nirivu/ [nirivuq] ‘he eats’ and /niqivu/ [niqivut] ‘our food’ is then to be said to be neutralized in pre-/q/ position, that is, in clusters ending with the uvular plosive /q/. (Gagné. 1965, p. 2)

The interview that I conducted with the young woman born in the 1970s is at least one step removed from the micro-situation in which she hesitates when she is writing a word in Inuktitut or in which she discusses the correct spelling with her friends. Nevertheless, we have a glimpse of how the macro-process of standardization (discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5), depending on the ‘in a sense, purely arbitrary’ decision of the linguist and the apparatus of linguistic reform, comes to be micro-validated and reproduced as structure. These usages have come to be marks of social identity, distinguishing older Inuit, in most of whose writing the syllable-final uvular continuant/stop is not graphically represented, and younger Inuit, who aspire in their own, perhaps occasional, writing to the standard.

Younger Inuit have learned the standard orthography in the context of the institutions that came with sedentarization. Inuit who are certified teachers began working in the school in the 1970s. They have learned, created, and taught a standard orthography. As already mentioned in Chapter 5, many children’s books have been written in Inuktitut. As well, Inuktitut-language curriculum has been developed under the auspices of the Baffin Divisional Board of Education. Instruction in Inuktitut syllabics has also been given by classroom assistants, teacher trainees, and language specialists, particularly in Kindergarten through
Grade 3. Other Inuit have learned the finals through their work and reading. When I asked one Inuk who is expert in the new system how he had learned it, he told me:

I guess I started reading some of the materials that came out with finals and everything else and I started reading that. (male Inuk, born in the 1950s)

Another young man who works in construction described how he had learned Inuktitut syllabics.

Q: So do you know syllabics like?
A: Write can be[?].
Q: Writing ‘pi’, ‘pu’, ‘pa’?
A: Yeah yeah.
Q: So where did you learn that?
A: Well I didn’t learn that until I was about 28 or 29.
Q: Oh yeah?
A: Yeah they used to try and teach me but I was never interested.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: Yeah it was such a waste of time to me.
Q: Uhhuh what in school?
A: Yeah in school yeah.
Q: How about your parents or older you know older brother and sister they ever show you?
A: No. no. I think these like my parents’ age-
Q: Uhhuh.
A: I think I guess most of them they never really have tried to taught [sic] their kids. Only a little bit of hunting.
Q: Uhhuh.
Q: Uhhuh. ...
Q: And when you were 28 and 29 how did you learn?
A: Well I thought to myself ‘hey come on you’re getting old and you still don’t know how to read or write Inuktitut, your own language’.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: So I tried to learn a bit.
Q: Uhhuh and you can read it now?
A: Yeah.
Q: And write?
A: Yeah slowly but-
Q: Uhhuh.
A: I’ll get it soon.
Q: Yeah.
A: Maybe when I’m 70. [Laughs]. (male Inuk, born in the 1960s)

Those who have learned Inuktitut syllabics in school or who have taught themselves the standard orthography have become used to it:
And to us the younger generation it’s pretty hard to read syllabics when they don’t have symbols [finals]. ... Well for the older people it’s easier to read but harder for them to write. (male Inuk, born in the 1950s)

Learning the finals allows some younger Inuit, whom I have called active biliterates, to access resources through employment. The following quotation from a non-Native educational administrator, not himself expert in spoken or written Inuktitut, indicates how learning the finals plays a part in the gatekeeping process for employment of Inuit in the school.

In this community the use of syllabics is very strong. ... We’re finding varying levels of ability with the diacritics and the finals. We see it because we hire people for those specific things whether it is as an interpreter/translator or teacher-in-training or a secretary at the school. The main criteria for hiring in the school are a high level of spoken Inuktitut and written Inuktitut. ... Within our interviews we have both an oral and written component, to test their abilities with vocabulary and understanding some of the educational jargon which is available in Inuktitut and their abilities with the finals and diacritics. We’ve had several people work on this in the school. From Inuit teachers within the school, secretary, and office manager working on it and finding particular words they know people have great difficulty with in both saying and in writing. Part of it is a translation component. I just take a normal, run-of-the-mill letter that goes out of here probably once a week in relation to educational matters whether to the board office or somewhere else. They are given that and expected to translate it. The spoken- A lot of that is ascertained from the interview questions and their responses to them. It gives a general level of their thought process and how they use vocabulary in answering the questions. (male non-Native, born in the 1940s)

For hiring decisions for jobs which require having learned the finals, there is no formal test that is used on a consistent basis; rather. the administrator assigns ‘a normal, run-of-the-mill letter’ for translation. Even this level of formality may not always apply; decisions may be made on the basis of informal consultation amongst Inuit or between Inuit and non-Natives. For example, an administrator hiring for a job requiring Inuktitut literacy may ask other employees to recommend someone. Thus, learning the finals is assessed but on a more or less ad hoc basis. I would thus term it semi-credentialized because there is some idea of adhering to an objective standard while this standard is not as fixed as, for example, grade level. With the growth of post-secondary educational programs in translation and in education, credentialization of Inuktitut literacy becomes more and more a possibility.
In the past, children learned Inuktitut syllabics exclusively from their relatives or perhaps the missionaries. Now, they are at school most of the day, and so they learn syllabics there as well. They are taught to write with the finals there. Local Inuit are proud of their culture and language; so they support the use of Inuktitut in school. They believe that the use of Inuktitut there will help to preserve the Inuit culture and the Inuktitut language.

Q: Now they use Inuktitut and syllabics in the school. What do you think of this?
A: I think it’s a pretty good idea because a lot of people here especially the people aged about 30 to 40 doesn’t read or write Inuktitut eh and that’s because they weren’t taught at all when they were in school at Chesterfield or Churchill because there were no Inuktitut teachers at that time. Right now they are taught in Inuktitut when they’re in Kindergarten. It’s a pretty good idea. (male Inuk, born in the 1940s)

When interviewed by one of my collaborators (born in the 1970s), another participant also contrasted education in the past with the current arrangement.

Q: Ullumiulirtuq nutaqqat ammallu makkuktut ilinniarmata qanu isumagivgit?

Q: How do you feel about the children and the younger people attending school?
A: Nowadays, they are improving the school system. Like before, the students of the earlier days were not taught in Inuktitut at all but now the students are being taught some Inuktitut as well and I like that. Like people as old as you or as young as you are not able to read in syllabics because they were not taught in school, but nowadays very young children are able to read now and this is like getting back into the olden times. learning Inuktitut. Although the children are not too able to speak in Inuktitut they are being taught and I like that, although ourselves we are speaking like children nowadays. And there are some words used in Inuktitut that are not being understood. (male Inuk, born in the 1930s)

Another participant (born in the 1940s) told me through an interpreter that she liked the idea that the children are taught in Inuktitut. She told me that this is because people are so
busy with other things that they do not have time to think about keeping their Inuit culture and
Inuktut syllabic writing.

Other Inuit participants compared the children’s ability to write Inuktut syllabics
favourably with that of the past.

I think the kids now write much better [in Inuktut syllabics] than the kids in the past.
(female Inuk. born in the 1950s)

When I was at that age I wasn’t as good as my kids are now. (female Inuk. born in the
1940s)

The use of Inuktut in the school has strong but not unanimous support from people in
the community. Inuktut-medium instruction has had the potentially contradictory effects of
easing the transition to English-medium instruction and of maintaining the Inuktut language
and Inuit culture. English is taught as a subject beginning in Grade 1 and becomes the
language of instruction in Grade 4. I interviewed a young woman who had been educated in
Inuktut and English in Igloolik.

Q: And did that [the teaching of Inuktut literacy] continue right also in the high school
grades?
A: Yes. Yes. But not as much. When the grades go higher the Inuktut started going
lower.
Q: Unhn.
A: More English. less Inuktut. (female Inuk. born in the 1970s)

Some Inuit are aware of, and worried about this.

Q: All right and okay now they use Inuktut and syllabics in the school. What do you
think of this?
A: Um I think it’s good they are using Inuktut in school because um that will ensure
in a way that the Inuktut language will not be lost right away but the way they do it I
kind of disagree with because they seem to use Inuktut just so that they can learn
English better like-
Q: Mhm.
A: I agree with the fact that a person learns to read once.
Q: Mhm.
A: And once he’s learned to read Inuktut will have no problem reading in English but
once they start reading in English-
Q: Mhm.
A: They don’t care whether Inuktut- They- Inuktut is being used I mean after that.
(female Inuk. born in the 1950s)
Q: Now they use Inuktitut in the school and syllabics in the school. What do you think of this?
A: Well I think to me there is not enough Inuktitut. There should be more Inuktitut.
(male Inuk. born in the 1950s)

A very few people expressed the opinion that they would prefer more English and less Inuktitut. They differ from the majority view because they are not convinced that a solid grounding in Inuktitut-language literacy promotes English-language literacy when the children make the transition into English-medium instruction. Instead, they believe that the time spent in Inuktitut-medium instruction means less time for getting an education in English. Also, they are of the opinion that Inuktitut will survive even if it is not used in local institutions like the school. Opposition to the use of Inuktitut in the school is definitely a minority opinion among Inuit in the community.

I think they’re using too much Inuktitut in school because in my opinion I think this is why a lot of kids are having difficulty reading English in their later years. I could go on and on but I’m not going to get into it. ... When I was going to school we weren’t allowed to use Inuktitut at all eh. ... And I think with half an hour to 45 minutes, I can’t remember, we used to have Inuktitut lessons and I haven’t forgotten you know the language. (female Inuk. born in the 1940s)

Another Inuk gave his opinion as follows:

Q: Now they use Inuktitut in the school. Now they use syllabics in the school? What do you think of this?
A: At first I thought it was a great idea. And everybody was in favour of it. ... But since my son is in school taking that now I find that it gets you like three years back. Gets you late three years back. And what I am finding today is that my son is nine years old he should know now how to read. Now he’s asking me, ‘what does that say?’.
Q: He doesn’t know how to read in English?
A: No. So I’m having second thoughts. That since we use Inuktitut every day at home and work area I’m having second thoughts. (male Inuk. born in the 1950s)

Later in the interview, he went on to say:

A: I think English should be taught in school. When I went to school it was all English. I even got shit for speaking out for my own language. But look at me. I could read and write Inuktitut. So I think it’s just a big experiment using Inuktitut. With Inuktitut you have no grades. In Inuktitut you learn you start as you grow. Inuktitut in school—what grade is it?

A non-Native working in the school commented on this topic as follows:
A majority of the people in the community want Inuktitut in the school. That’s what it’s always been in this community. This was one of the original communities to push for Inuktitut language as a language of instruction 20 years ago. There is a sounding that the school should only teach English and the language of instruction should be English and Inuktitut should be a subject only throughout the school. There are a handful of people, many of whom have been through the Chesterfield-Churchill educational process. It’s sort of: ‘I’m bilingual. I still have both my languages. I can function in both. So my kids should be able to go through the same kind of system and function adequately with the language.’ That’s the main argument and that English is the language of the world. Maybe they’re finding that people can’t survive just with Inuktitut but that’s not our intent. We are not trying to put out unilingual students. we’re trying to put out bilingual students. We try to put across the understanding that we’re not just trying to put out students who speak Inuktitut because Inuktitut is their first language. Research has shown that students who have a firm foundation in their own mother tongue learn second languages that much easier and are able to deal with language that much easier. So it’s not just Inuktitut for Inuktitut’s sake but it’s use of Inuktitut because it’s the language they best understand and therefore learning concepts would be far easier if it’s done in Inuktitut than trying to learn a second language at the same time you are learning in a second language. (male non-Native, born in the 1940s)

A clear understanding of the social basis for opposition to the use of Inuktitut in the school requires more research. Despite the minority opinion in favour of increased English in the school, most Inuit in Igloolik continue to support the use of Inuktitut there. The school as employer may have a greater effect on the maintenance of spoken and written Inuktitut than the school as provider of education for children. I claim this because some adult Inuit have work there that requires the use of standard Inuktitut syllabic literacy on a daily basis. On the other hand, once they have finished school, many younger Inuit do not use Inuktitut syllabics much even if they know the writing system.

In summary, most younger Inuit have learned the finals. They try to use them and other features of the standard orthography when they write Inuktitut. The use of this set of literacy practices has been promoted by Inuktitut-language instruction in the school. Most people support the use of Inuktitut in the school, including learning the finals. Their experience has convinced them that the use of Inuktitut in the school promotes the maintenance of Inuit culture and English-language academic achievement. The few who do not support Inuktitut in the school see its use as detracting from getting an education. This minority, unlike most
people in the community, have been convinced that students' failure to achieve academically reflects too much time spent on Inuktitut. Their own experience has made them confident that Inuktitut will survive without being taught in school. The differences in experiences, which have led to contrasting viewpoints on bilingual education, are difficult to specify. Other than to say that both groups have been influenced by the opinions of those that they have come into contact with, both Inuit and non-Native.

The use of the finals in the translation from English of material like magazines, government documents, and minutes of meetings has also encouraged their use, along with the limited production of material originally in Inuktitut. Learning the finals is one way for younger Inuit to access resources through employment. Learning the finals means that it is difficult to read in Inuktitut without finals. This is the way that many older Inuit write Inuktitut, as is discussed in the following section.

2.3 Reading and Writing Traditionally

The set of literacy practices which I call reading and writing traditionally (in Inuktitut) is linked to the pattern of access to resources which existed before movement into the settlement.

Both syllabics and Christianity were features of camp life, and ‘Inummariit’ [traditional Inuit] were well-versed in them. They are included in the same association of traditional knowledge as hunting techniques, richness of language, geographical lore, animal behaviour and clearly defined authority in the family. (Brody, 1975, p. 140)

Inuktitut syllabics were originally learned from the missionaries or from family members, using the syllabary in the Anglican prayer book or the Roman Catholic prayer book. Parents taught the children how to write their names and the names of the family members. Soon the children could recognize the characters well enough to follow in the prayer book and hymn book. Eventually, the learner could write letters to relatives who were living in other camps and entrust the letters to travellers.
My mother used to have a prayer book, just as we have a prayer book today. She would have me read. I did not understand at first but I started to understand bit by bit like the individual characters in the syllabics and before I knew it I learned all the ‘ai’, ‘i’, ‘u’, ‘a’. That is how I learned to read and write in Inuktitut. (male Inuk, born in the 1930s)

Most older Inuit do not use syllable-final consonants when they are writing Inuktitut. They often use a fourth column in the syllabary to represent syllables containing the vowel sound /ai/ (Harper, 1992, p. 6). In the standard orthography, this vowel sound is seen as a diphthong and represented by two characters. “I saw some of them [older Inuit] still using old symbols. That upside down one [the character for /ai/], the older people still use them. Because anybody never taught them to use only these three symbols” (female Inuk, born in the 1940s).

Older Inuit, however, are aware of new norms for literacy developed in the process of standardization. They know that in certain settings one must know the finals in order to be able to write Inuktitut. In discussing his work in facilitating Inuktitut-language publication in the local library, one non-Native commented: “Concerning finals, we have these elder men come in who say, ‘we’ll let the students tape us but we don’t like to write anything down because we don’t know how to write it with the finals’” (non-Native, born in the 1950s).

Older Inuit use Inuktitut syllabics to write personal records of important events, to write notes, and to communicate within local organizations.

Q: Kisunikli titirasuunguvit inuktituuqtunik uvvalunniit piqannarijarnut titiraq&utit taimannausuunguviit?
A: Titirasuungujunga tusagaksaqutiqasuungungmingmata arnait suurlu piliriliqaratta arnait ikajuqtiuqataujunik taikkua piliriqattaqtut miqsuqpak&utiklu taikkua tusagaksakutiqaraangamik nunanut asittinnuugajumit titiralausungasuungujunga ammalu titirariaqaqtunik pitaqaraangat uvattinnuunngarujuktuniklu titiralausungasuungujunga.
Q: What do you write in Inuktitut or do you write to a friend?
A: I write as women do have things to write about to other people. For example, I deal with the women’s auxiliary group [of the Anglican church]. What they do is sew and when they have news and happenings that they want to pass on to others I sometimes help them to write when it becomes necessary. (female Inuk, Anglican, born in the 1940s)

Formerly, letters were often written in Inuktitut syllabics but this has been supplanted to a certain extent by the use of the telephone and the two-way radio. Younger Inuit who have learned the finals find it difficult to read material written by older Inuit without the finals.

Q: But how about the older people? Do you think they use finals?
A: No. I have like a hard time reading their writing because there’s no finals. Just like a little kid talking to you.

Q: And how are they able to-
A: Well if it just comes out of their mouth it’s perfectly okay but when they put it down on paper uh-

Q: Maybe they could read it but another person might have difficulty?
A: Yeah. That’s new orthography stuff. (male Inuk, born in the 1950s)

The speech of many younger Inuit does not have the richness, particularly in morphology and lexis, of the elders and is closer to the simplified speech of a child. Therefore, this kind of speech is called ‘baby talk’ (‘surusirtitut’) (Brody, 1975, p. 135). Some younger Inuit make an analogy by calling the simplified writing of the older Inuit (which lacks finals) ‘baby talk’.

Even if most older Inuit do not write with the finals, this is no obstacle to their reading material written in the standard orthography. Older Inuit read the Bible and other religious material at home and in church, as well as bilingual periodicals like Inuktitut magazine and Nunatsiaq News. Notices and minutes of meetings of community organizations are available to them in Inuktitut syllabics.

Q: Inuktitulli uqalimaliraangavit suurlu qanuruluujaq titiraqsimasuungungmata qanuitulluata palungnit uqalimaasunguvit?
A: Inuktitut? Tamarmik uqalimaarialiit uqalimaaqtaqtaqpakka katimajiuqattaliq\&unilu katimajjutiviniit ammalu taunangat tikippalliajuit pivalliajut uqalimaaqpak\&ugit amma tuksiutittinnik tamakkua nallutismajuit uqalimaqatauvakkilugit taimanna uqalimaarialiit uqalimaarunnaqtainnariliqtakka.
Q: There are all kinds of Inuktitut reading materials. What do you like to read the most?
A: In Inuktitut? I read any materials in Inuktitut that I have to read about, for example, because there are committees and councils these days, one must read the minutes and I also read any Inuktitut articles that arrive to us like Nunatsiaq News and I also read the Bible according to what should be read daily throughout the calendar. I can read all and anything that must be read. (male Inuk, born in the 1930s)

Older Inuit mentioned initiating their own learning of Inuktitut syllabics, sometimes to keep up with a younger sibling. “My younger sister was learning to write. I didn’t want to be the only one not knowing” (female Inuk, born in the 1930s). A younger Inuk, who learned Inuktitut syllabics in camp before the move into the settlement, described it this way:

My dad read a lot and [my sister] and I did the same. We’d compete with each other. ‘I know this word and you don’t.’ All that stuff. Sibling rivalry through intellectual means—reading. [Laughs]. We did well both of us, my sister and I. We still read a lot. (male Inuk, born in the 1940s)

One way that older Inuit learned Inuktitut syllabics was by reading religious material. Some older Inuit also learned the Roman orthography of Inuktitut from the missionaries. The variation in the use of the finals between Anglican and Roman Catholic materials symbolizes the difference between the two religious groups.

But the only thing is for the Catholics because their Bible didn’t have any finals that time a lot of them don’t write them with finals and also the Anglican ones quite a lot of them don’t use finals too although their Bible ... had finals. A lot of the older people write without finals. (male Inuk, Anglican, born in the 1950s)

Whether older Anglicans use finals consistently or not, older Catholics associate the use of finals with Anglicanism:

Q: Uqalimaarajaruvit suurlu naaniqarniraqtaungujaqattalirmingmata makua manna titiraqsimajut Inuktitut uqalimaarajaruvit naaniqaqtunit tukisiianiqsunajaqiqik?
A: Aakkattiaq ingirausirulugigakkuli taimanna sanningajuliuqtuillu iliqkusiriniqsullunijjuk tamakkuninga piqatingaanganit aupaluktunuuuqtuinnit aupaluktunuuqtut titiqaqtingit aksuaaluk naaniqaurmata uvangali inuktitut titiraqsimarulutuaqqpata tukisiijunnarakku naaniqangikkalauqtillugu tukisiijunnarakku tamatta sanningajuliuquttigut taimannairujuqkuuqtugut ilaatigut naaniqaungittuugaluaniit tukisiagatta uqalimaarunnaaq&ugu.

Q: When reading in Inuktitut, revised finals are used nowadays. Would you be able to read more easily in Inuktitut with finals in them?
A: Not at all. The way I operate like any Catholic, we do not use the finals and much less so than the others who use the poor red books [comment by translator: Poor red books refers to the Anglican prayer book which happens to be red in colour; 'aupaluktunuuqtunit' in the original] as they are very specific about the finals. In my case, as long as they are in Inuktitut, I can understand them even if they have no finals. I think those of us from the Catholics, well ... some of us can read and write even without the finals. (male Inuk, Catholic. born in the 1930s)

Both the interviewer and the interviewee are Catholic. Use of the finals is associated here not with the standard orthography, but rather with the other religious group. Other older Inuit, both Anglican and Catholic, say that the use of finals does make written material in Inuktitut easier to understand.

In the following exchange between two Anglican Inuit, the older participant seems to bristle at the suggestion that finals are a recent innovation. She distinguishes between an appropriate orthography as used in Anglican religious material in the past, when in certain instances finals were indicated word-finally but not otherwise, and the confusing standard orthography. She claims finals are part of reading and writing traditionally for Anglicans. This older Inuk rejects the new standard.

Q: Qanurli isumagilauqpiuk naniit titiqkait naanikulungit atuqtauliqtillugit ilaak atuqtaulirningit?

Q: What did you think when finals came into use in Inuktitut?
A: We have a Bible that uses finals. I don’t see finals as anything new. In fact, I do not have many comments on it. However, nowadays I see how some people are getting mixed up in the way they use the finals, especially the way they seem to put too many finals in Inuktitut. I observe how putting finals is not how it used to be. The finals that were originally introduced were the only finals we should have stuck to. These days, finals are being added and used that do not seem right. This I recall but, as far as my feeling on finals, I have always seen them as nothing new. They have always been in use. (female Inuk, Anglican. born in the 1940s)
While most older Inuit read and write traditionally, a very few older Inuit do not read or write Inuktitut syllabics. Also a very few Inuit born before 1946 have learned the finals and are experts in writing Inuktitut with the finals. No educational institution certifies level of ability in reading and writing traditionally: reading and writing in this way exists outside any process of credentialization. In the following sections, I discuss the effects on access to resources of getting an education, learning the finals, and reading and writing traditionally for the different groups in Igloolik.

3 Unequal Access

Members of different social groups position themselves by using sets of literacy practices like getting an education, learning the finals, and reading and writing traditionally. By using one set of literacy practices or another, people in Igloolik gain unequal access to resources and identify themselves as members of the different groups: older Inuit, active biliterates, other younger Inuit, or non-Natives.

3.1 Older Inuit

Older Inuit (those born before about 1946) were adults or nearing adulthood before intensive contact with non-Natives began, although “living memory does not ... go back to a time when hunters lived the aboriginal life of subsistence hunting: trade and trade goods pre-date the oldest of today’s population” (Brody, 1976, p. 154). In general, older Inuit have substantial knowledge of the skills and customs of the Inuit, including hunting, fishing, sewing, child-rearing, travelling, astronomy, and mythology. Many continue to use this knowledge, for example, to hunt and fish as long as infirmity or a lack of the cash which has now become necessary do not interfere.

Reading and writing traditionally in Inuktitut are part of the ensemble of practices through which older Inuit assert their authority. This authority guides participation by all in the domestic economy. Older Inuit are mostly unilingual in Inuktitut and have had little or no
access to formal education. As noted above, older Inuit read and understand text written with finals but usually write Inuktitut without finals.

Through the processes of sedentarization, standardization, and credentialization, the power of older Inuit has diminished. These processes have created institutions (described in Chapter 6) which have made possible new ways of accessing resources for everyone who lives in Igloolik. Older Inuit no longer have the same authority over their kin that they did when they were living in camp. At the same time, the new structures enable as well as constrain: increased material security and new forms of authority like office in the institutions which have come with sedentarization have given older Inuit different powers. They share authority with other groups in the community, under conditions which will be explained in the following paragraphs.

Making a living can be hard for some older Inuit.

Q: Qanurli Iglulingmi sanajaksait isumagivigit? Asiangukaalluni.

Q: What do you think of the job situation in Igloolik? A different subject altogether.
A: There are no jobs available in Igloolik. There are a lot of us here who are without money for a long time. Sometimes we don't know how we are going to feed our children because there are no jobs here. There are no jobs available in Igloolik. (male Inuk, born in the 1930s)

Older Inuit may be ambivalent about present patterns of accessing resources. They are not nostalgic, however, for life before the move into the settlement. The changes associated with sedentarization have made hunting easier.

Q: Qanuingittuq maannauliqtukkulli angunasuktiulluni qanuippa qanuinniqsaulipqa?
A: Maannauliqtukkulli angunasuktiulluni suurlu taisumannganit niqjutiit ajurnanginniqsauqkuigiligiliqtakka imannalukiaq avunga ungsikumuukauqturunnansiliuamut ammalu qimirijariaqaqattanginniqsauliq&utilik suurlu ajurnanginniqsauliqtuq taisumannganit tautoqkuigijjara tanna, ajurnalukkaluarillutik, suurlu ilaannit ajurnanginniqsauqkuigiliqtuq taisumannganit immaqaa qimirijariaksarluk
isumaalungiluamuujugut, ilaatigut, taanna ajurnanginniqsaquijjijjutigivara ammalu qilamikuluk avungaaluk pitaqarniqsarnut tikiutijunnaqsilluta taimanna.

Q: These days, what is the situation now for the hunters? Are they better off or worse?
A: Nowadays, looking back to how it was and the way it seems that, with animals being much more accessible, perhaps our capability to go much longer distances, and we have to have less dog food, it appears that it is easier today. Compared to those older days, I see that you don’t have to meet a certain amount of dog food. There are fewer worries. For some of us, it seems to be a much easier life and this is because we are able to cover much more distance in a very short period of time. (male Inuk, born in the 1940s)

This view was corroborated by an older male Inuk in a published interview with a young Inuk:

[Q: Did life seem easier then [in the youth of the man born in 1916]?  
[A: It was not an easier life. Some people were often hungry then but hunger is not as common today thankfully, and an elder’s life is not as difficult. Take myself for example. At my age it would have been essential to hunt by dog team for survival, regardless of health, ability and old age. Now we are given the privilege of relaxing and retiring, but so much so that people become lazy. Even younger people laze around and do nothing. (Evaluarjuk. 1990a. p. 47)

Another man described traditional life in camp to one of my collaborators as follows:


Because of the incredible hardship, there was a continuous worry in the hunter’s mind that, if he does not catch any game, then his wife and family will not get the heat from the blubber and, if the weather gets bad and a blizzard starts, then there is an almost insurmountable concern that perhaps his wife and family may be freezing due to lack of food and heat. Because of this incredible hardship, this would result in tears even to an adult hunter’s eyes. This was the only life they had: a matter of life and death on a continual basis. Nowadays, it is an easy life. In fact, it is like recreational time when one goes out hunting now, seeing how much easier life is today. (male Inuk, born in the 1930s)

The authority of the elders derives from their hard-won knowledge, learned in the days before people relied on the cash economy. This authority is legitimated not only in face-to-face interaction with their kin and others, but also in writing in English and Inuktitut. The publication of the writings in Inuktitut of older Inuit in Inummarit magazine is an example of
this. This magazine appeared between 1972 and 1977 in Igloolik, with the assistance of the
Roman Catholic church. Another magazine which has featured reminiscences by elders about
traditional practices is Inuktitut, published by the federal government and later by the Inuit
Tapirisat of Canada in English, Inuktitut, and French.

The knowledge of the elders has been validated by their participation in elders’
conferences and as resource people at meetings of interpreters and translators. Elders
participate in official ceremonies; this participation legitimates the proceedings.

The knowledge from which older Inuit derive their authority is still the basis for
participation in the domestic economy.

Hunting can be an extremely enjoyable experience and it can be like that at times. On
the other hand, it could also be a very hard-to-endure and difficult experience. In fact.
one goes through death in some ways. However, it is only because of the advice of the
elders that we can survive and have the insight to survive. It is not a coincidence that
one becomes a wise elder. It is because they have listened to the elders that they have
survived up to that point in their life. They have listened to the pitfalls of life that came
from the elders and avoided what they were told to avoid so they have been able to
survive. Thus, that is how they have been able to become elders. (male Inuk. born in
the 1930s)

It is not just because of knowledge as product that older Inuit claim their authority: it is
also through learning as process. Older Inuit make a contrast between traditional learning, on
the one hand, and schooling, on the other. The following passages describe how older Inuit
learned in the traditional manner, informally, in the context of the family, and through
observation.
Our custom was to be observant. We were taught always to observe our parents and mimic them or other adults as they go about things. For example, we learned only by watching the hunter and the hunt. If we didn’t watch, then we would have no idea what to do if we see an animal because we have not seen it before being hunted. In a way, I am not only saying these things. There is a real depth to what I am saying. At that time, it was critical for our survival that we hunted for food and for the purpose of providing meat for the dogs. The most enjoyable moment was when the hunter or our father that we were accompanying caught an animal. (male Inuk, bom in the 1930s)

For example, if a hunter was getting ready to leave, it was guaranteed we were going to help. This helping-out allowed us to start discovering the different types of gadgets used to connect the harness to the ropes as well as the type of harnesses used. If, for example, your father arrived and I am helping him to unharness each of his dogs, just from that experience I will become completely aware of each harness and to which dog it should be connected. Because we did it all the time, we got very good at it. (male Inuk, born in the 1930s)

In traditional learning, language was integrated with observation and action. In describing how to make bleached sealskin for boots, an older woman said that:

You have to really watch and see how they make ‘naluaq’ to be able to say ‘so that is how it’s done’, because just listening to someone tell how it’s done makes it hard to believe without really seeing it. (female Inuk, born in the 1930s)

Nor do older Inuit feel that their uncredentialized way of learning is only appropriate for skills needed in the domestic economy. In the following discussion with one of my
collaborators, an older Inuk relates future language politics to the experience of figuring out how to operate a piece of heavy equipment.

Q: Qanurli isumagiviuk nunavuuqaliqpat inuktutuiliqnaqsautuinnariaqarningit iqqanaijaaksaat tamaani iglulingmi?


Taaqnaa guraiqarniq tautuktuaungulluni nunavuumi sanajisaarjariaqarniarattigut kikkutuinnaat sanajunnatuaqpata aanniaqanngituaqpata.

Q: If Nunavut becomes a reality, what do you think of the possibility of more Inuktitut knowledge requirement in the jobs in the community of Igloolik?
A: If that was to be implemented, it will be difficult to put a line on where the limit will be. in Inuktitut. However, if Inuktitut is continually and strongly emphasized.
there will be more Inuktut. Yes, for example, what is in place now is a requirement for a minimum Grade 10 level for job opportunities. Only if we meet that requirement can we work these days. This requirement is continually forced on us. For example, I can do some level of electrical work and I can also do mechanical work on vehicles and, because I do not have a driver’s license, I am not allowed to do mechanical work and likewise, because I do not have a permit to do electrical work, I am not allowed to do that kind of work either, even though I know I can carry out some level of electrical work properly and competently. I think these requirements need to be taken out in order for those of us who are competent to start to be utilized for our existing skills. even though we do not possess a certificate to carry out the job functions. Even if we do not meet the grade level requirement, some of us are quite capable of carrying out the job functions. For example, there are people (Inuit) who only have Grade 4 level but they must start to be utilized for their skills. at least for a while, in order to have something to work with that will allow more quality as the result in the work place. I know this for a fact: Inuit are this good and I will give you an example.

You know my uncle, [name]? He had never sat down on a D8 [bulldozer] seat before ever in his life up to this particular point in his life. There were three of us, Inuit, who had never seen a D8 before and, in fact, none of us had ever touched one before in our life up to that point. As we started to look at the D8 and observe all its parts in the driver’s seat area, we said to ourselves, ‘Okay, all these metal parts in the front seem to suggest that, with a hand, they ought to be handled.’ So we carefully pushed one metal handle part. one at a time. Using our common sense, we said to one another that this part should start to move and allow the engine to start moving and soon enough we got the engine started all right but how do you turn the lights on? Using our common sense and curiosity, there were some switches that should turn the lights on. Sure enough. we turn some switches on and the lights were on. But the next question was, now that we have got the engine going and the lights on, how do you get the D8 to move? For quite a while, we reviewed various parts and analyzed them. Since the D8 engine was on for quite a while, we then turned it off. Then [my uncle]. knowing him and how he is. was quite clear in his intent. He wanted to learn to drive the D8 and there was no stopping him until he learns how. He was all hyped up with discovery. He went all by himself inside the D8 driver’s seat and started the engine. By experimenting with various metal parts with handles on them, sure enough, he moved the vehicle just a little forward and then stopped. He has learned to move the D8 forward. Then he tried different handles and, sure enough, he got the D8 moving backwards a little bit and stopped again. He was just like all of us who did not know how to drive a D8 moments ago. Now he knows and we can now learn from him. This example shows that when Inuit really want to learn something they can learn how. despite the fact that they do not meet a grade level. Inuit can learn fast just by observing, especially with job functions requiring the use of the hands.

With the implementation of Nunavut, we should utilize our discovering skills and experiment with our current skills we already possess without limiting ourselves and stop putting grade level requirements in the jobs that are and will be available. (male Inuk. born in the 1940s)

In the view of some older Inuit, action, observation, and language may not be

integrated in contemporary education:

Suurlu tautuktautulutik tautuktauguni kisiاني ukpirijaujunaqsingmat unikkautituinnarluni takulauqsimmangilluniuk ilippallianinga takuksaungi ilaak
Their education will not be growing if they just listen and talk and talk and not see for themselves what they are being told. I find this not appropriate. ... I would very much like to see an educational system established where you are taught in Inuktitut by words and be convinced at the same time on the practical side. They go hand in hand. (female Inuk, born in the 1940s)

The integration of learning and purposeful activity seems to some older Inuit to be a sounder basis for access to resources than the credentials awarded by the school. Nevertheless, older Inuit who are employed in the cash economy sometimes see themselves denied advancement because of lack of educational credentials and lack of spoken fluency and literacy in English.

Kisianili uvagut ilinniaqsimanquttikulnulik suurlu guraiqaqittutigut inullariujutigut mikiinniqsauqattaqtut, tamakkua pijunnuaqitut anginiqsamik kinaujaqtaaqiitaqtaqutik & uqutik, uvagut ilinniaqsimi & uqutik atuqtuluungikalualuujutigut tamakkununga kantulaaktaqattaqtunut.

For those of us traditional Inuit, who are not educated and have no grade level, we get less. For those that have their papers they make more. In our case, since we are not educated, the contractors basically use poor us. (male Inuk, born in the 1930s)

The increasing emphasis on educational credentials for employment is not universally accepted by older Inuit.

Any Inuk is competent and capable even if they do not meet the education and qualification requirements. If they show a proper level of interest, they are quite capable of performing to the required level. (male Inuk, born in the 1940s)

Kisianili tavva ajungijjutiqatrujarlutik ilinniarutunga quttingniqattiarlutik tamatunngunga aturluni suqutaungingi & uqit kisianili inuit inuunasullaringnirmik pilirijuunattiaqsimajut tamatunngunga atulungikkaluarlutik iqkanaijarvuqarunnaqsiqunnaqattaqpata piaqijiginiqsaquluaq & uqti tamanna tavva tavvuuna agviariiniruqsa quttingniqariaqarniq.

It would be more appropriate to allow employment opportunities too for those Inuit who have these experiences that are rare and be allowed to train and share with others
their knowledge in Arctic survival. For this reason, qualifications and educational level requirements get in my way. (female Inuk, born in the 1940s)

Reading and writing traditionally are not ways to gain employment.

Q: Kisiani uqalimaarunnarlutit amma inuktitut titirarunnarlutit taakkua ajunngikkanniujarutigilugit. Taakkua pijariaqalauqsimavigiit, taimannaulauqsimaviit?

Q: Were you ever told you must know how to read or write in Inuktitut when you looked for an employment opportunity?
A: Not at all. I never had to use my Inuktitut writing or reading skills. I know for a fact that only if a candidate has English writing and reading skills can he or she get a job. I can tell you that if you cannot read or write in English, you will not get a job. I also definitely know for a fact that, even if you cannot read or write in English, you could still work together with someone who has those skills. In the North, I find it very inappropriate and impractical to have such a requirement where only if you have English reading and writing skills can you be hired. It doesn't make sense. I know that, even though I do not have English writing and reading skills, I am as competent and in some ways better than an Inuk who has those skills. (male Inuk, born in the 1930s)

One way for older Inuit to access material and symbolic resources is by participation in the boards and committees which are the result of the process of political development described in Chapter 4. Here, being able to read the agenda and minutes in Inuktitut is useful. An older man described learning about hunting in his youth and then went on to mention his more recent participation in political life.

Qimuksingaaqattalirama ilaannituinnaulaurluluni qimuksiqattanginirsattiammarilirluni uvangagaaq suurlu qimuksiqattarpallialuarsimajunga. ... Taimailaursumajut taimannaulaurlutik kisiani makunuga katimanirujungnu asianu sangutauluaursimagamali suurlu kuapakkut katimaqattasijuaqluungmata katimaqatauqattalirama suurlu tainna sakkurujungaarlukatimannirmungaaq saarujutuinarnirsauullunga pijumajaalugilaurtama asingaangani pijumajaqangaalirlunga tavvuuna asinggursimagama.
I eventually learned how to use the dogs and I started to do the hunting more than my father. ... I learned all the things men did but later in my life I was focussing more on meetings, like when the Co-op was formed and they started having meetings. That's when I started to attend meetings. I ended up letting go of the things that I had wanted to learn and started more on the meetings and that's the way I am. (male Inuk, born in the 1940s)

Another way for older Inuit to access resources for hunting supplies or for other purposes is by relying on the tradition of sharing within the family, discussed in Chapter 3. Kinship structure continues to organize distribution of goods, although in an altered manner. If older Inuit are not able to access resources directly through wage employment, they can access them indirectly through the wage employment of their children or other relatives.

Q: Sanajaksauqattaliqtut illiniaqsimattiarlutik kisi ini pijunnaqattalirmata, qanurlili tamannat isumagiviuk?
A: Ilak, ammalu illiniaqsimajumik piqatiqarluni illiniaqsimattiangittuugaluaq ikajurunnaqpuqai iqajurunnarasugivakka, illiniaqsimattiaqtumik ikajuqtiqarlutik taimanna ajurunniirnajarasugivakka.

Q: Only those who are educated can apply for job opportunities these days. What do you think of this comment?
A: Yes and perhaps the educated can help the less educated ones. ... I think they should. The less educated with the assistance of the educated should be helped. (female Inuk, born in the 1930s)

Older Inuit in Igloolik must share with non-Natives and younger Inuit the access to authoritative resources that they drew on freely in camp life before sedentarization. The knowledge of older Inuit is valued by younger Inuit and local non-Natives because it forms the basis for participation in the still vital domestic economy. In addition, the knowledge of older Inuit about the land has validated the assertion of Inuit political rights. Decisions, however, are made elsewhere about the lives of older Inuit in ways unheard of when they lived in camp. Sets of practices like getting an education and learning the finals constrain them in competition for wage labour, which increasingly subsidizes participation in the domestic economy. This state of affairs is not universally accepted by older Inuit. They are sometimes critical of contemporary educational approaches, which reflect the processes of standardization and credentialization.
Reading and writing traditionally are practices among others that identify older Inuit. Their use of Inuktitut syllabics is an element of an enduring complex of symbolic and material capital. This complex includes knowledge of the domestic economy and a style of learning based on observation within the family. Reading and writing traditionally is not a negotiable form of cultural capital in the labour market of the cash economy in the same way that getting an education and learning the finals can be.

Nevertheless, the systems which have emerged in the process of sedentarization enable older Inuit as well. Social programs like pensions and new technologies like snowmobiles make some aspects of life easier. Older Inuit can assert their rights to money earned in the wage economy by younger kin (particularly members of their immediate family), if needed for supporting the domestic economy. Older Inuit hold office, thereby participating in decision-making and receiving an income. At community meetings, their knowledge of Inuktitut syllabics allows them to read and act on the Inuktitut-language agenda and minutes; younger Inuit, however, would often prepare these in the standard orthography.

3.2 Younger Inuit

Almost all adult Inuit born after 1946 have had some formal schooling. This distinguishes them from older Inuit. At the same time, the social identity of neither older Inuit nor younger Inuit is wholly defined by different levels of education and ways of using literacy: people of all ages in Igloolik have ways of accessing resources which do not require credentials, such as in the domestic economy and through commercial hunting and fishing, guiding, handicrafts, and some forms of wage labour.

Schooling began when the Roman Catholic priest conducted lessons for children at the mission. Then, in 1955, some Roman Catholic children from Igloolik started to attend the residential school at Chesterfield Inlet. A federal day school opened in Igloolik in 1960. The school came under the control of the Government of the Northwest Territories in 1970. Some
young people from Igloolik attended Churchill Vocational Centre in the 1960s and the 1970s. Some also attended school in Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit) and in southern Canada.

Until about 1970, the school in Igloolik operated almost exclusively in English. Since 1970, initial literacy instruction has been given in Inuktitut syllabics. With the addition to the local school of Grade 9 in 1973, Grade 10 in 1985, Grade 11 in 1991, and Grade 12 in 1992, educational levels are rising among young people in the community. Some younger Inuit have completed Grade 12 and attended post-secondary education. If employers choose to, they are more able to require specific grade levels as part of the gatekeeping process. Those who in the past might have been best qualified for a job may now find their juniors nipping at their heels.

Almost all adult Inuit born after 1946 are to a greater or lesser extent bilingual and biliterate in English and Inuktitut. They know English because they went to English-language schools and because they had other contacts with English-speaking non-Natives. As noted above, when younger Inuit write in Inuktitut, they try to use the finals.

Most younger Inuit say they will read a bilingual English-Inuktitut document in English first. This is confirmed by my own observation and the observations of others.

At ... board meetings, we'd try to get unilingual Inuit involved. We put huge effort into getting bilingual agenda, bilingual minutes, bilingual reports. Everybody under the age of 45 would automatically flip it over to the English version. So much in Inuktitut is not read. (non-Native male, born in the 1950s)

Reasons given for this by younger Inuit were that sometimes the Inuktitut was in a different dialect, that sometimes the English was the original version, that they had more experience reading English, or that they could read English faster. Some people said that, if the original version was in Inuktitut, they would read in Inuktitut. If the original version was in English, they would read in English. "I read Nunatsiaq News [a bilingual newspaper] but it's always in English. I find the translation not at all reflective of the real stories" (male Inuk, born in the 1950s). Another participant said he could read faster in English.

Q: And how about syllabics?
A: Syllabics? I don’t even bother if it has an English- … If there’s an English version I can read faster. (male Inuk, born in the 1950s)

Younger Inuit who said they read bilingual material in Inuktitut first often explained why in terms of Inuit identity, underlining the symbolic value of Inuktitut syllabics.

Since I’m a Northerner here I don’t want to forget my Inuktitut language so I try to read my Inuktitut language first. If I don’t quite understand what I’m reading then I try to read it in the English writing. (male Inuk, born in the 1950s)

This attitude is promoted by the educational system within which the use of Inuktitut syllabics is identified with respect for Inuit culture.

Q: If there is a piece of writing in both syllabics and English, which do you read first?
A: I’m starting on the syllabics this year. Used to be English first and then we had this conference in Iqaluit. All-Inuit conference and they stressed that Inuktitut was very important and we should try and use it first before English so I started trying that.
Q: So that was like an education conference?

Younger Inuit use their knowledge of English and Inuktitut literacy, among other means, to access resources through employment in the educational system and elsewhere.

Younger Inuit share with their kin the material resources that they access through employment.

While some working Inuit may be ambivalent about this practice, others accept it:

Q: Is it a problem like for the people who are working? Do they think-
A: Uh for me it’s not a problem because it’s one of my family. If they want money I can give them money.
Q: Unhn.
A: Because they don’t want- I don’t think they want let’s say about $4500. They just want maybe $10 to $50. That’s all. (male Inuk, born in the 1970s)

Another employed Inuk (born in the 1950s) told me that, when she had money, she found it hard to say no when people asked her for money. She said she had no money when she was younger and feels for those with no money. An Inuk who is employed in a government job (born in the 1960s) told me that his family came to him for money. He said hunters are justified in asking for money because they need it to pay for gas and bullets. He reported giving money to his brother who hunts but not to his nephew who wants to buy drugs. He reminded me that in the past it was the elders who distributed goods.
Sedentarization and the cash economy have altered how kinship impinges on access to resources, but kinship remains salient.

A decision about whether to take a job may be affected by a recognition that the material resources gained may have to be shared. The effort expended in getting an education and finding a job may be rewarded by increased demands from family members. Some younger Inuit are active in the domestic economy themselves while others find hunting or sewing hard and boring. The dilemma for younger Inuit is one of maintaining access to the valued resources flowing from participation in the domestic economy as well as struggling for those resources derived from the cash economy.

At the same time that sharing with kin persists, there is evidence of a transformation in kin relations. This transformation is associated with sedentarization and the cash economy. This exchange came from an interview conducted by one of my collaborators (male Inuk, born in the 1960s):

**Q:** Uvanniingaqtunik apiriaqjugumallunga, qanuillirattakiangait qatanngutigitigut suurlu tavva una akkagigualarluugu attagigualarluugu uvvalunniit arnarvigigualarluugu suurlu iglunga qaninaaqpakkaluaq&utigut isiqattarunniqqita?

**A:** Ii. tamajjilaak tamatumungaunasugijarali suurlu ullulimaaq ilinniarviup tigumiarmagit tigumiaq&unigit tamatumangat inuuniup asittiammarianik ilinniaq&utik uvattimmingit nailuاقتukuluulluni amma sinningnarujuuniit pillugit asimmingnut ulavisautialuullutik taakkua tunngasainngituappta suurlu pijaksaq tunngasainiqsaq tainnaungmat. Tainna tunngaginiqsaullugu suurlu imaikkaluarmingmattauq suurluqai ilama qitur-ngangit tunngasuktittariaqarakkittauq uvanga akkangma qiturngangit tunngasuktittariaqarakkit tunngasuktiikkukkit kisiani tavva qaijunnattianiarmata ammattauq innaugulualiqtut nangminiraluaninik nangminingata ilagaluanginnit suurlu suqutiksangiluaraaluk&utik ajurnarutiumngmingmattauq tamanna.

**Q:** I want to ask you a question which is personally coming from me. I wonder why we as Inuit families, even though we know our aunt or uncle or our mother's sisters and we know where they live, yet we just pass them by these days without even a thought of visiting them.

**A:** Yes. ... The Inuit children are tied up by school most of the day learning in a totally different culture and having little time to spend at home and, furthermore, there are a lot of distractions and if you do not feel welcome to a particular person, even though they may be your relatives, you are not going to be attracted to them anyway. ... For example, in the Inuit relationship structure, we are supposed to welcome our uncle's
children and so forth. But only if I welcome them will they want to come to me. (male Inuk, born in the 1940s)

The availability of education has not affected all younger Inuit equally; depending on their age, inclination, and other factors, they have had greater or lesser access to resources through education and their use of literacy. Younger Inuit construct their social identity on a continuum of possibilities and constraints. I have called the group of younger Inuit who are most likely to use Inuktitut syllabics regularly active biliterates. This group is also likely to use English-language literacy regularly, in their work and leisure.

The boundary between active biliterates and the other younger Inuit is more permeable than the boundaries between, for example, Inuit and non-Natives, or young and old. Some active biliterates are no longer so secure in their membership in the group because they must compete with younger better-educated Inuit for scarce jobs. On the other hand, a young Inuk may be in a position to get an education and learn the finals and so become an active biliterate. In the following section, I will show how the use of literacy interacts with social identity for active biliterates.

3.2.1 Active Biliterates

Among adult Inuit in the community born since 1946, the group whom I call active biliterates has used their knowledge of the finals to access resources through employment. They have taken the opportunity to learn the finals (Harper, 1992, p. 28). I am claiming, however, that learning the finals, in and of itself, is insufficient; it is only together with getting an education that learning the finals yields results.

Some but not all active biliterates attended residential school in Chesterfield Inlet, N.W.T. between 1955 and 1969 or the federal government-run Churchill Vocational Centre in Churchill, Manitoba between 1964 and 1974. Some of these active biliterates had already learned to write in Inuktitut syllabics from their families in camp before leaving for school. Learning to read and write in English at school oriented them further to the acquisition and
display of knowledge through reading and writing. Their schooling made active biliterates attentive to the correct form in literate expression, whether English or Inuktitut. Thus, they were predisposed to learn the standard orthography when it was introduced in 1976. This can be interpreted as a validation of the Interdependence Hypothesis, given that they had adequate exposure to Inuktitut and motivation to (re)learn it upon their return to Igloolik (Cummins, 1981, p. 29). Some of those who attended residential school never learned Inuktitut syllabics from their families; some of these subsequently learned and some have never learned. The extent to which active biliteracy has a psychological basis or whether it can be given a totally social explanation remains a matter for further research.

If a person from Igloolik attended residential school, he or she got ahead of the pack educationally. The pedagogy at the residential school in Chesterfield Inlet has been described by a non-Native formerly employed as school principal in Igloolik as follows:

\[\text{the joyless pursuit of book learning sounds downright grim today. And in fact there’s rarely been an education program so clearly defined and so successfully executed as the residential school program was—a calculated, callous enforcement of cultural change. (Lewis, 1987, p. 46)}\]

 Nonetheless, Lewis goes on to defend the residential school. He credits it with producing many of today’s Inuit leaders, some of whom are from Igloolik.

Local Inuit told me that they had little or no choice about whether to send their children, some under the age of ten, to residential school. The desire of the priest that the children get an education was seen as a directive by the Inuit parents. Some Inuit from Igloolik were able to go on to post-secondary education in southern Canada after residential school. Those who went away to school learned to speak English, they mastered the subjects taught, they gained more sophistication and experience in dealing with non-Natives, and they gained respect from some non-Natives because they had got an education. At the same time, it was difficult to be uprooted from family and culture and, in certain cases, to be a victim of physical, emotional, and sexual abuse (Phillips, 1993). In some instances, the Inuit who
attended residential school may have faced internal conflict and external judgment by both Inuit and non-Natives because they had missed some of the socialization into Inuit culture and the domestic economy.

Active biliterates are employed in various public, para-public, and private institutions in the community, particularly in the tertiary sector. Active biliterates have been active in the land claims negotiations discussed in Chapter 4. Active biliterates have positions as administrators, translators, and educators. The high proportion of children in Igloolik means a relatively large school population and a demand for literate, educated Inuit as employees in the school. Learning the finals may have helped active biliterates to get employed. For example, when the GNWT was taking over education from the federal government in 1969 and instruction in the local school began to be given in Inuktitut (as discussed in Chapter 4), there was a demand for bilingual, biliterate Inuit to work in the school.

Q: When I interviewed you a few years ago you were telling me your mother taught you syllabics before you went to Chesterfield. So how old were you when you went to Chesterfield?
A: I was eight years old.
Q: Eight years old?
A: Uhhuh.
Q: So you learned syllabics before that?
A: Yes I did. I was- Even before I went to school I learned syllabics.
Q: Uhhuh. Wow. And did you ever find knowing syllabics useful in getting a job?
A: Yes uhhuh um I did. 1969 I went for an interview as a classroom assistant.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: And one of the things I remember being asked was I- Could I read and write Inuktitut.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: And I mentioned yes and I think that was part of the reason why I got a job.
Q: That’s why you got the job?
A: Uhhuh. (male Inuk, born in the 1950s)

Because the active biliterates are at ease in both languages and writing systems, they are employable.

Q: So what kinds of different kinds of jobs have you had?
A: Um I mainly had some office jobs. When I went to- I went to school in Ottawa. ... After that I took a nursing assistant job, nursing assistant course in Fort Smith and I was there- Well after I took the course I got home and I never worked as a nursing
assistant but it helped me to raise my kids and that. Later I got a job with GNWT as a social service worker. There was someone there to train me for two years and then I had that job for six years after that and then after I took up another job as a- They call it the position is uh was field service officer with the GNWT but they changed the title since then and that was lots of responsibility and that. Yeah mainly office jobs.

Q: Uhhuh has reading and writing syllabics been useful to you in getting a job?
A: Yeah yeah it really has because a lot of the advertised jobs that are being advertised they’re required to read because right now there is- The people that you have to deal with they only write and read in syllabics.

Q: Uhhuh.
A: And there are other people that read only English and some of them read both but it is important to know if you were working in public relations you have to know- In today’s jobs you have to know both languages.

Q: Both speaking and-
A: Yeah both speaking and writing.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: And reading.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: Yeah. (female Inuk. born in the 1950s)

It is usually only in conjunction with knowing English and getting an education that learning the finals gives an advantage in seeking employment.

A: I went to school in Chesterfield Inlet for seven years 1962 to 1969, finished Grade 7, started Grade 8 … and that’s when I turned 16 before December 31st so I dropped out.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: But a couple years later I didn’t know what I was doing so- I didn’t have any direction so I started attending adult education.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: And from upgrading courses at the adult education centre I got the equivalency of Grade 12.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: That’s about it.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: I think I’m still learning something.
Q: Sure.
A: Every day. But personally I should have finished my Grade 12 in school and gone on to university or college.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: But it’s still very hard for young people today even to get to that stage but we’re learning.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: I believe my son is going to finish Grade 12.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: Perhaps.
Q: And go to university?
A: Yeah. become a doctor or lawyer.
Q: Uhhuh.
A: Or whatever he wants to become and still be able not be afraid to go out on the land over the weekend.
Q: Uhuh.
A: Hopefully.
Q: Uhuh. And when did you learn syllabics?
A: Before I went to school.
Q: Uhuh.
A: It was before I was six even.
Q: Uhuh so you went to Chesterfield when you were about-
A: Seven.
Q: Seven eh?
A: Yeah well going on to eight.
Q: Uhuh.
A: But I learned syllabics from my mother, my sisters trying to read from the prayer book. That was the only book back then.
Q: Uhuh.
A: I could read, perhaps write sloppily, by the time I was six.
Q: And has your knowledge of syllabics ever helped you in getting a job?
A: Well doing stuff that has to be written in Inuktitut.
Q: Uhuh.
A: Yes but not a job- job that would be administrative.
Q: Uhuh.
A: Because we’re still being run in English.
Q: In English?
A: Yeah. Eurocanadian style. (male Inuk, born in the 1950s)

Learning the finals, together with getting an education, is sometimes useful in doing a job as well as in being hired.

Q: So like in the school they stress a lot say when people are writing things in class or something people are concerned about the finals and stuff like that?
A: Yes because we’re teaching it to the students too and that’s what we’re aiming for.
Q: Is that they have the finals?
A: ‘Ii’. [Yes.] Because some words change without the finals.
Q: Some words change?
Q: If they don’t get it right-
A: It’s like baby talk. (female Inuk, born in the 1950s)

The above participant told me that she reads and writes every day in Inuktitut and in English.

Another educator, interviewed in Inuktitut by one of my collaborators, discussed how both Inuktitut and English literacy play a part in her teaching job:

Q: Okay. tavvani iqqanaiaarjarni kisu pimmariulaanguva piliriassarni?
Q: Inuktituurtuni aturiaqalaanguvaa iqqanaijaarjaqnii, illuunniit aakkaluunniit?
A: Ii.

Q: Suurlu uqalimaarniq, titiraqniq uvvaluunniit uqallangnirrnit?
A: Tamainnii. Maannautirtuq makuakuluit suurlu uqallaktangit ujjirisuurigattigut qallunaatut ilattarsilarnaasuungulirmingmata suurlu taimanna uqariaraluaruti qanuq inuktu tajausuunguma imannailiunginnarlutigut kisiani inuktu uqallasuungumata amma uqalimaariursasuungummat amma inuktitu titirarajungnirsaullutik.

Q: Qallunaatitut qaujimajariaqarivaa uuminga iqqanaijarlunii?

Q: What is the most important responsibility in the job?
A: Like, here writing and reading. these ones are the most used. Reading and writing are like the most important. ...
Q: Is Inuktitut essential in this job, yes or no?
A: Yes.
Q: Like reading, writing, or speaking?
A: All of them. Today these ones we look after the way they talk. They add English words. ... We help them in speaking Inuktitut and reading and writing Inuktitut.
Q: Do you have to know English for this job?
A: Yes. Like we teach in Inuktitut. 'Reports' [in English in original Inuktitut version] are in English. We write them in English and when we work on them like reports and reports going to the next year [cumulative files] we work in English. (female Inuk, born in the 1950s)

These school report cards are distributed to the parents in bilingual form.

Q: Do you sometimes read the Bible or the prayer book?
A: Yes unhn. And I read the prayers in Inuktitut.
Q: Unhn and how about some some other things like uh-
A: Children’s report cards.
Q: Unhn.
A: I always compare the Inuktitut and the English. (female Inuk, born in the 1950s)

It is not only in the field of education but also in the media that learning the finals comes in handy.

Q: So the words without finals mean something different?
A: Unhn. Especially on my job I have to be very careful because I put things on the TV. If they’re misspelled and pronounced wrong I look terrible. So I have to know it all. (male Inuk, born in the 1950s)
One Inuk interviewed by an Inuk Arctic College student in English described her job co-ordinating government services and administering government employees as follows:

This job is mainly paperwork. Like in government if the paperwork is done but something has- something has to be done it will not get done unless you get all the paperwork done. Like if you don’t do the paperwork that will delay something happening. And when something happens paperwork follows it so there’s paperwork everywhere. I feel like I’m drowning in paper sometimes. (female Inuk, born in the 1960s)

When I interviewed the same participant later, she explained what she read and wrote in Inuktitut and how she used Inuktitut on the job.

Q: And now what do you read in Inuktitut?
A: Um not all that much. If I go to church.
Q: Unhn.
A: I’ve been to church so many times in my life I know what’s in the [inaudible]. [Both laugh.] I don’t go to church all that much any more but when I was a child we all had to go to church at least three times every Sunday.
Q: Unhn.
A: ... But what do I read now in Inuktitut? Mostly public notices-
Q: Unhn.
A: Or public advertisements. Mainly to be sure that they’re readable and understandable to people who cannot read English.
Q: Unhn.
A: For myself if it’s for my own information I read English.
Q: Unhn.
A: Mainly it’s just to check to make sure that the people who don’t speak any English-
Q: Are able to understand it?
A: Are getting the proper information.
Q: Proper. Oh I see.
A: Yeah.
Q: And how about writing in Inuktitut? Is that also for older people or do you sometimes write stuff in Inuktitut?
A: I do sometimes. Write to my sisters in Inuktitut. Whenever it’s needed. Making public notices for myself, for my job.
Q: Unhn.
A: At home I don’t use it all that much in writing.
Q: Unhn.
A: Unless it’s for my parents or for somebody who speaks only Inuktitut.
Q: Unhn and was reading and writing Inuktitut ever needed in a job that you applied for? Like was it ever a requirement for a job that you were- that you needed to- like you were planning to work at?
A: I’ve always needed it because I’ve always worked in the North. When I worked in Ottawa it was also in translation so I had to know. For me I do need it. It would be hard for me to work alone if I didn’t know any Inuktitut because so many of my clients are ... unilingual.
Q: Unilingual that they only can speak Inuktitut?
A: And also uh a lot of the phone calls for questions for information are in Inuktitut.
Q: Unhn.
A: So I do need it. Otherwise if I didn’t know it I’d need an interpreter all the time.

I take this final comment to mean that a non-Native would require an interpreter to carry out the duties of the job while an Inuk who has the job is expected to be able to speak, understand, read, and write Inuktitut well enough to deal with older Inuit. Other Inuit administrators confirmed how Inuktitut-language literacy and English-language literacy are used on the job. This participant volunteered that he reads English first in bilingual texts but reads the Bible in Inuktitut.

Q: What kind of people would you write to in syllabics?
A: Like if there’s to be some letters from my job. If I have to write some letters to the Inuk who completely can’t read or write English then I would write them a letter in Inuktitut. ...
Q: And how about in English? ... You must write letters in English in your job?
A: Yes. General correspondence going out. (male Inuk, born in the 1940s)

Another administrator, when asked about reading in Inuktitut syllabics, said:

I do like when an older person comes in and asks for help. ... Sometimes they have a hard time seeing what’s in there. (female Inuk, born in the 1950s)

In the same way that non-Natives do. Inuit in positions of responsibility rely on active biliterates to legitimate political initiatives by producing translated Inuktitut-language text, according to what I was told by this Inuk participant.

A: I wish these agencies or organizations that want to inform the public about their programs- I wish those people who are making those programs would take the time to write their own original Inuktitut explanation of what is happening here rather than say okay I’ve written it in English now I’ll give it to-
Q: Somebody who doesn’t know?
A: [A government agency.]
Q: I see unhn.
A: I think that’s become a little better with the [government agency] a few years ago making more effort to talk to the people who they are interpreting for or translating for. Asking questions, taking the time to meet, to ask and find out what this material is that they’re going to translate.
Q: Unhn.
A: It must be becoming a little better. I would like to see especially our Inuit leaders take the time if they’re going to put something in written form take the time to write it themselves.
Q: Unhn.
A: And have it come from them directly rather than a third party.
Q: Unhn.
A: Yeah.
Q: Because they would often write something in English-
A: And give it to somebody else-
Q: And give it to somebody?
A: Yeah.
Q: Even though they speak and write Inuktitut themselves?
A: Yeah. That’s right. That’s right.
Q: Unhn.
A: I mean it’s- I find it hypocritical that they did the- They were so proud to be Inuit and uh you know we’re fighting for the Inuit and they don’t even represent our language-
Q: Unhn.
A: As they should. They could help to promote our language.
Q: Unhn.
A: If they- If they took more time. (female Inuk. born in the 1960s)

Active biliterates interpret and translate documents from English to Inuktitut to inform unilingual Inuit, often about matters emanating from the government. They have jobs as politicians, teachers, counsellors, office workers, and as managers of public, para-public, and private institutions. Whether active biliterates attended residential school or not, their levels of education are higher than other Inuit of the same age: related to this, they are more fluent in English and able to read and write English well. They have learned the finals.

When non-Natives controlled almost all local institutions, Inuit may have enacted a client role with one or more non-Native patrons. The tutelage of non-Natives was more essential in the past in obtaining and keeping worthwhile employment. With the political development of the 1970s described in Chapter 4, non-Natives were hired as managers on the basis that they would be training a Inuk replacement. Now, local Inuit, as politicians, owners of small businesses, administrators, or board members of public or para-public institutions, have input into hiring of Inuit or non-Natives. Active biliterates often work closely with non-Native colleagues and supervisors. While some Inuit continue to be trained by non-Natives, a good relationship with a non-Native patron is not as essential to securing employment as in the past.
When unilingual non-Natives have to communicate with unilingual Inuit, active biliterates are the intermediaries. The ability to do this distinguishes them from English-speaking non-Natives who hold administrative positions. Active biliterates use their abilities in reading and writing to mediate between the authority of older Inuit and the authority of non-Native representatives of the state. In so doing, they access resources: they are paid for their work. In addition, they assume positions of power in the bureaucracy previously held exclusively by non-Natives. Their power depends on being in control of the uncertainty when older Inuit and non-Natives must communicate.

Active biliterates have been able to assert Inuit interests against efforts to circumvent them, for example, in land claims negotiations described in Chapter 4. The move in the direction of hiring Inuit which has come with political development means that active biliterates are in line for more responsible managerial posts in Nunavut.

In contrast with active biliterates, some Inuit born since 1946 have not been able to find work through getting an education and learning the finals. In the following sections, I look at other younger Inuit and how their access to resources and their social identity are conditioned by the use of literacy.

### 3.2.2 Other Younger Inuit

Younger Inuit who are not active biliterates have also engaged in the processes of getting an education and learning the finals. After 1960, when a school was established, more Inuit from Igloolik attended school as they could do so without leaving the community. Children born in Igloolik since about the mid-1960s have learned to read and write in school first in Inuktitut syllabics and then later in English. By the 1975-76 school year, certified Inuit teachers taught Inuktitut-medium Kindergarten through Grade 3. Inuktitut is taught as a subject in the higher grades.

The extent of instruction in Inuktitut-language reading and writing has varied over the years, depending on the availability of Inuit teachers. Some younger Inuit learned to read and
write Inuktitut syllabics from their relatives or at church and then continued to learn in school. A participant who told me that he reads in Inuktitut syllabics at least once a week and writes Inuktitut syllabics once in a while explained how he learned. He now works as a fisher and does not use reading and writing very much in his job.

Q: How did you learn syllabics?
A: From my parents.
Q: From both your mother and father?
A: Yeah.
Q: And how did they teach you?
A: Those little punctuation. Those things.
Q: What? They would write them and then you would write them?
A: No. Yeah. I write them down. They read it and they want me to start again.
Q: You write them down? They read it and then you start again?
A: Yeah.
Q: Like correct it?
A: Yeah.
Q: How about when you were working with them did you ever read a book?
A: No.
Q: How about- Like not a prayer book or hymn book or anything like that? Like what they would just use a piece of paper?
A: Yeah.
Q: And a pencil?
A: 'lin'. [Yes.]
Q: And how old were you when you were doing that?
A: About 10. 10 to 12 years.
Q: Okay. And how about in church. Sunday school. did you ever learn there?
A: Yeah a bit.
Q: And how would they do it there? Would they have books or sheets of paper or what?
A: Both books and sheets of paper.
Q: And they’d read it?
A: Yeah.
Q: They would read some and then you’d read it?
A: Yeah.
Q: Out loud or?
A: Out loud.
Q: But more from your parents?
A: Yeah.
Q: And how about in school? Do you remember learning in school?
A: Yeah.
Q: But more from your parents? You figure you learned more from your parents?
A: Yeah. ...
Q: So like when you use it now what? Do you use- Can you understand like for example if you write something also do you use the finals. like the little ‘naniit’.
A: Yeah.
Q: But when your parents taught you did they teach you the finals too?
A: No. Once I was at the school I learned those finals. (male Inuk, born in the 1970s)

Another participant described learning Inuktitut syllabics in a similar way.

Q: Is that how you learned to read and write Inuktitut? In the school mostly?
A: No. I learned- I've learned to read and write Inuktitut before that.
Q: Oh is that right eh? At home?
A: Yes at home. At home from my mother and mainly from prayer book.
Q: Oh yeah?
A: In those Catholics’ Eskimo prayer book.
Q: Unhn.
A: I used to follow the- I don't know what you call it. The 'ai', 'i', 'u', 'a'. Those 'ai', 'i', 'u', 'a's. So I learned it from there first and after that in school I learned more. (male Inuk, born in the 1950s)

I asked the same participant if he wrote letters in Inuktitut.

A: Not any more.
Q: Not any more?
A: I used to but sometimes every once in a long while I write in Inuktitut.

For one thing, he had been a truck driver for many years. He did not need to write in Inuktitut in this job. Any writing required was in English.

Q: As part of your job, did you need to read and write in Inuktitut?
A: Hardly.
Q: Hardly?
A: Yeah hardly. But there were times when we had like we needed to write in- mainly in English.

Other younger Inuit learned Inuktitut syllabics exclusively in school.

Q: Did you ever learn syllabics before you went to school?
A: No.
Q: No eh?
A: Just when I got to school. (male Inuk, born in the 1960s)

This participant told me he read every day in English but only read Inuktitut syllabics in church.

Q: When was the last time you wrote something in syllabics?
A: When I was in school. ... I'm not very good with those small ones up there [finals].

Younger Inuit whose work does not require Inuktitut-language literacy may not write in Inuktitut syllabics very regularly.

A: Come to think of it I don't write any letters in Inuktitut.
Q: Unhn not too much?
A: I mean who would I write to in Inuktitut? [Laughs.] (female Inuk, born in the 1950s)

Despite having first learned to read and write in Inuktitut, many young Inuit do not always have much occasion to use it.

Q: Okay um what kind of things do you read in Inuktitut? Do you read-
A: I really- really don't read anything nowadays but when I was in school I used to read a couple of things that the teacher told us to. (male Inuk, born in the 1970s)

Church is a place where some younger Inuit do read Inuktitut.

Q: Do you read any Inuktitut in church?
A: Yeah. The Bibles and when you start singing.
Q: Unhn.
A: What do you call it?
Q: Hymn book?
Q: Unhn so you follow along in it?
A: Yeah.
Q: Okay so outside of church or outside of school what do you read in Inuktitut?
A: Posters.
Q: Posters unhn.
A: Yep. That’s about it. (female Inuk, born in the 1970s)

As discussed in Section 2.1 of this chapter. younger Inuit see getting an education as a way to access resources through employment. While older Inuit are sometimes critical of a system that requires educational qualifications for employment, they may expect younger Inuit to accommodate to this system.

[Q:] Do you think education is important for young people?
[A:] Yes. That’s the way of life now, so I think young people today should concentrate and be more attentive toward their education. (male Inuk, born in the 1910s. published in Evaluarjuk, 1990a, p. 43)

Older Inuit see education as a means by which younger Inuit can access the credentials and skills necessary for employment:

Taimannai&uni ilinniaqtaminik sivumuuqtittiqattaq pata kinaujaliuttiqattarajaqtualuugaluarmata amma pijunnauqarlutik laisansiqattialirlutik taimanna pijunnaraluarmata.

If the students had only continued on in school, they would learn such things [mathematical formulae for carpentry] and, had they not quit, they could make so much
more money and they would have their ticket or license to work as required. The opportunities are there for them. (male Inuk, born in the 1930s)

By the same token, younger Inuit are encouraged to stay in school by local non-Natives because it will keep their options open.

A: Probably in this day and age for a young person I would probably counsel them to finish an academic education-
Q: Yeah.
A: In the system that has been imposed here.
Q: Right.
A: Because that is the standard throughout North America.
Q: Unhn.
A: And it’s the standard throughout Canada and it’s the standard throughout the Northwest Territories and it’s becoming the standard throughout the Baffin and I think they’re really going to miss the boat. (female non-Native, born in the 1950s)

Nevertheless, many teenagers drop out of school.

A: Oh first of all I didn’t really finish my Grade- Actually two weeks before I finished Grade 9 ... I really had a bad hangover and I was in school early in the morning kind of sleepy and the teacher said ‘hey [name], if you want to sleep, go home and sleep’ so I got up walked out, like just took my jacket and went out and never came back. [Laughs.]
Q: [Laughs.]
A: So I started with just labourer work here and there and then I went to- I kept on going to adult ed for upgrading and then got into carpentry course and ever since I’ve been doing carpentry which is only about a year or two. (male Inuk, born in the 1960s)

This person would need a higher grade level before getting into a carpentry apprenticeship program. Another participant talked to me about dropping out.

Q: And what grade did you finish in school?
A: Maybe Grade 8.
Q: So you were in Grade 9 when you finally quit?
A: No. I finished Grade 8. When I moved on to Grade 9 that’s when I finally quit.
Q: I see. Okay. And how come you were- Why did you quit? Just because you didn’t like it?
A: I just didn’t like it going to school. Well, I sort of thought it was cool to quit at that age. Not do anything for a while.
Q: Unhn and how do you feel about it now?
A: How do I feel about it now? It’s pretty bad actually.
Q: Why?
A: Nothing to do. There’s nothing to do. No jobs available. You stay home. Keep asking for money from your parents.
Q: Unhn.
A: Yeah. That’s bad. (female Inuk, born in the 1970s)
Some younger Inuit were stalled in their education because they had completed all the schooling available in Igloolik. If they had wanted to continue their education, they would have had to leave home for the high school established in 1971 in Frobisher Bay, the regional centre. (Frobisher Bay is now known as Iqaluit.)

The Inuit in the settlements, who were expected to send their children there [to the high school in Frobisher Bay], were not consulted, but they nevertheless made it clear that they did not want a secondary school at Frobisher. The result is that Igloolik, for instance, from where ten years ago there were about ten Inuit children above Grade 9 at school, last year [1979] there was none. And this at a time when the need for Inuit with higher education is increasing by leaps and bounds. (Rowley, 1981, p. 305)

Brody (1975) makes similar points about the lack of consultation, as well as Inuit and non-Native perceptions of Frobisher Bay at the time. Frobisher Bay had been the site of a military base and had acquired a reputation for rampant alcohol abuse. “Among the smaller communities of Baffin Island it has a black reputation for drunkenness, violence and prostitution” (p. 188). Carney (1983) reports that:

when a group of Igloolik parents protested plans to have their older children attend the new school at Frobisher, the minister of Northern Affairs (Chrétien to Katlutsiak, 6 January 1969. File 630/169-2. 1) replied as follows: ‘in view of the limited employment opportunities in local settlements ... occupational courses [had been designed for Frobisher] which will allow students to find employment in other Northern communities and elsewhere in Canada’. (p. 108)

By the 1970s, parents in Igloolik were less reluctant to assert their opposition to having their children sent away from the family for education. When the priest had urged them to send their children to residential school in the 1950s and the 1960s, they had trusted him because he had shared their lives. They did not have the same trust in the government officials who wanted them to send their children to Frobisher Bay. In addition, the beginning struggles over development and land claims described in Chapter 4 served as models of resistance. The local Inuit on the education advisory council repeatedly appealed to the authorities for higher grades in the community. It was not until 1992, however, that students were able to complete high school without leaving Igloolik.
In fieldwork conducted in 1980, Cole (1985) found that, of the young Inuit from the region who did attend the high school in Frobisher Bay, “only 5.2 per cent … are in the academic stream, while the majority of non-Inuit students (93.8 per cent) continue in the academic program” (p. 110). Cole claims that this streaming reflected encouragement by school staff to take vocational programs, but also a desire on the part of young Inuit and their parents to “continue the social and economic relations in which they are engaged in the settlements, notably the maintenance of strong kinship ties and participation in subsistence activities” (p. 111). A less sanguine interpretation is that expectations by non-Native educational personnel of Inuit, especially those from the settlements, were low. Therefore, the young Inuit were systematically channeled into the non-academic stream.

Some local Inuit suspended their education instead of going to Frobisher Bay.

Q: Unhn so you didn’t go to school outside the community?
A: No. although I wanted to but my mother wouldn’t let me so I never went.
Q: She didn’t want you to go to Iqaluit?
A: No.
Q: Because of the problems there?
A: Unhn I think so. I don’t know really. Because she was worried. … That was back in 1973. (male Inuk. born in the 1950s)

Q: How many years did you go there [to the local school]?  
Q: Unhn.
A: That was my last year.
Q: Yeah. …
A: Because that was the highest grade.
Q: Yeah, highest grade?
A: Highest. Grade 8.
Q: Grade 8, I see.
A: My parents wouldn’t let me go to Iqaluit.
Q: No?
A: No.
Q: Did you want to go?
A: Yes. I would have wanted to. I wanted to.
Q: Yeah. Did you like school?
A: Yeah. I was doing all right. (female Inuk. born in the 1950s)

Q: And what grade did the school go to at that time [1975]?
A: Grade 9.
Q: So you finished Grade 9?
A: Yeah. I wanted to go to [the student residence in Iqaluit] but my parents wouldn't agree because Iqaluit wasn't a very nice place.
Q: Unhn.
A: And people were worried about their kids in there with the liquor store open and all.
Q: All the problems there?
A: Unhn so they refused to send me there. (female Inuk, born in the 1960s)

Some younger Inuit whose parents did not wish them to go to the regional centre for high school were able to continue their education by taking adult education courses in Igloolik or by boarding with families and attending school in southern Canada. Some have become active biliterates. Some younger Inuit who are not active biliterates are successfully able to access resources through employment, for example, construction labour or retail sales, which does not require having got an education and learned the finals. Others feel constrained by their lack of credentials: they blame being unemployed on their low grade level.

During sedentarization, local Inuit relocated to Igloolik because the federal government provided services like education, housing, and health care there. Because of their desire to assert sovereignty and effective occupation, the representatives of the Canadian state did not want the Inuit to continue their nomadic existence. In many other instances of urbanization around the world, people moved to a larger place because of the availability of work; this was not the case in Igloolik. Much of the employment there is in the tertiary sector: this type of work requires credentials. One effect of this sequence of events is the ethnic stratification of labour described in Chapter 6: many younger Inuit in Igloolik are unemployed or underemployed. Despite this, they sometimes face expectations by older Inuit that they should be accessing resources through employment. Some chose to drop out of school: they found school hard, boring, or irrelevant and they encountered no sanctions from their parents or anyone else when they wanted to abandon their studies. Others were stalled in their education by circumstances beyond their control; because representatives of the federal government were unwilling to consult local parents, these representatives were not aware that sending children out of the community for education would be resisted. Getting an education
and learning the finals may represent opportunity for some younger Inuit; they may be able to become active biliterates. Others attribute unemployment to their lack of education.

3.2.3 Summary for Younger Inuit

Almost all younger Inuit (those born after 1946) are to a greater or lesser extent bilingual and biliterate in English and Inuktitut. They have engaged in the process of credentialization by attending school and getting an education. Some younger Inuit have attended school only in Igloolik while others, particularly among the active biliterates, attended residential school. While they may have suffered there, some also benefited from the education that they received while away from home. The purpose of residential schooling was to integrate the young Inuit into mainstream Canadian society: the skills like literacy that were learned there helped some younger Inuit resist colonialism through their participation in the Inuit political organizations like ITC and in the land claims negotiations. The process that was supposed to give them a new identity instead reinforced Inuit identity, albeit an identity that has been adapted to changing circumstances.

Most younger Inuit have participated in the process of the standardization of Inuktitut by learning the finals, either as students, particularly if they were born after 1965, through employment, or through their own efforts. As discussed in Section 2.2 of this chapter, most younger Inuit support the use of Inuktitut in the local school. Not all younger Inuit, however, have been able to access resources through getting an education or learning the finals.

Younger Inuit will usually read bilingual documents in English first. They share the material resources accessed in the cash economy with their kin. At the same time, they share in the material resources derived from the domestic economy.

Among younger Inuit, active biliterates access resources through employment because they have got an education and learned the finals. Because they are bilingual and biliterate, they can mediate between the authority of the Canadian state and the people of Igloolik. When
English-speaking representatives of the state want to communicate with unilingual Inuit. They depend on active biliterates to interpret and translate. When the authority of government is legitimated by the provision of services like education and health care in Inuktitut, it is the active biliterates who make it happen.

Other younger Inuit may feel constrained in accessing resources by their relative lack of educational credentials, although this lack may reflect their position in the demography and employment structure of the community as much as any action on their part. In contrast, educational credentials enable non-Natives in the community. Non-Natives in Igloolik are often able to access resources because they have got an education.

3.3 Non-Natives

The 1991 federal census showed 65 non-Natives in Igloolik, or some 7 per cent of the local population. Non-Natives, with a few exceptions, speak English as a first language. Most non-Natives do not speak much Inuktitut. Other than some who follow along in the prayer book or hymn book in church, most non-Natives would rarely have occasion to read or write in Inuktitut. In almost all cases, non-Natives have come to Igloolik for employment or because a spouse or close relative has secured employment there. Non-Natives work mostly as teachers, managers, health care professionals, skilled tradespeople, religious workers, and, recently, as business people. They are employed in Igloolik because the jobs that they do require skills or credentials which are in short supply among the Inuit of the community.

With the exception of the churches and the Northern store (originally the Hudson’s Bay Company), the institutions in which non-Natives are employed did not exist before sedentarization. When regular intermittent contact began with the arrival of a Roman Catholic missionary to the area in 1931 and continued with the arrival of the Hudson’s Bay Company trader in 1939, non-Natives were dependent on Inuit for access to resources. At that time, the ability to communicate in Inuktitut by non-Natives was valuable. The missionaries, in
particular, were enthusiastic speakers of Inuktitut and users of Inuktitut literacy. The rapid growth of a government presence since about 1960 and improved communication and transportation have meant there are more non-Natives in the community. Now, most non-Natives do not know much Inuktitut.

Sedentarization and its institutions have integrated the region with the Canadian state and the global economic system; the operation of these institutions entails the ability to communicate in English, both spoken and written. Before the advent of schooling and more contact with non-Natives, most local Inuit were unilingual in Inuktitut; so English-speaking non-Natives were hired to run the new institutions. Employment for non-Natives is often dependent on having got an education. Nevertheless, in some cases, conditions in the North mean that education or experience gained elsewhere may not be of direct use for non-Natives in carrying out their duties.

A: My job, my schooling, or my past experience really had no relationship to this job.
Q: Other than your ability to do paperwork?
A: With the exception of the school and stuff like that and my diplomas and-
Q: Yeah. (male non-Native, born in the 1950s)

Another participant felt her experience rather than her education had prepared her for her work in Igloolik.

Well the teaching certificate is supposed to help you but it was a year where it was just a waste of time. I didn't really learn anything from it unfortunately. It was very disappointing for me.

My undergraduate degree? You know, how is it helping me in this job or as a teacher? You know it doesn't really except it's given me background knowledge that I can always bring in. It's given me organizational skills. It's given me um organizational skills. (female non-Native, born in the 1950s)

Employment for non-Natives is not dependent on learning the finals or reading and writing traditionally, with the possible exception of the missionaries. Nevertheless, non-Natives are implicated in Inuktitut-language literacy practices, for example, when translation is needed.

Then there is the whole friction of who are the authorities on written language in town. At the school there's ... often one teacher who is the senior Inuktitut teacher in one
way or another, senior authority on what goes out of the school. Whether it’s proper or not. And I can understand people not wanting anything to go out if there’s spelling mistakes or if it’s grammatically incorrect. On the other hand, I’ve seen it over and over again. Stuff doesn’t get put into Inuktitut because people are afraid of what other people are going to think or they can’t come to a consensus about it. ... Okay here’s how it is for me as a Qallunaaq [non-Native] who doesn’t speak the language. I want to do this sign or notice or letter or whatever it is in both languages. For efficiency’s sake I do it first in English. ... Then I take it to someone. I try to take it to someone whose job it is to do it. ... I take it back to the person for proofreading and then I send it out. ... Then the shit hits the fan because someone else says it wasn’t proper. (male non-Native, born in the 1950s)

The main means by which non-Natives access resources, both symbolic and material, is through employment in the cash economy; this employment is very often the reason that they have come to Igloolik.

A: You cannot find a full-time position down south [in the interviewee’s line of work].
Q: No vacancies?
A: No vacancies. White people get these jobs [in wildlife management], they stay in these jobs and there is no turnover. You know what I mean.
Q: Yes. yes.
A: When I came up I took this job because it offered me an opportunity to get a full-time position and that’s why I came. (male non-Native, born in the 1950s)

Employment shapes the social identity of non-Natives in Igloolik. This is illustrated in an interview conducted by an Arctic College student. Although the interviewee found her work rewarding, she also found it stressful at times.

A: You’re never not the nurse. Like that’s that side.
Q: Yeah. When- When people get stressed do you guys have to talk about it I mean-
A: Unhn.
Q: Talk with a person?
A: I think that’s a problem of keeping nurses in the North because it’s- There’s a lot of factors why but the nurses do get stressed out and sometimes there’s not a lot of support because they’re all strangers to each other. We’re not family. You know we don’t really know each other. It’s just a job but at the same point for a lot of people working in the North this isn’t their home community. They have no family here. When they finish work they go home. Who do they see? Other nurses. You know it’s hard to make a life in the community. I think the nurses that stay, the ones that do well, are the ones that do make a family and a life in the community.

I think it would be difficult for example if you were to become a nurse because you would be treating your relatives, your friends, your family. You know there would be sort of you know an expectation that if somebody is sick on a Saturday night even though it’s your day off that you’re still the nurse you could see me you know-
Q: Unhn.
A: So it's hard. Lifestyle's hard. I think that's why a lot of people come and go. Plus the housing has been very poor here. (female non-Native, born in the 1960s)

Now, younger Inuit can communicate in English and some are gaining higher levels of education and other skills and qualifications. The role of non-Natives in the community may be changing. Interethnic stratification in employment is no longer accepted without question. A recent territorial government report on making government operations more effective has stated that:

the GNWT has relied very heavily, since its inception, on drawing technical and professional human resources from southern Canada. ... Non-Native Northwest Territories residents in the labour force are almost all employed. Aboriginal residents, on the other hand, are disproportionately unemployed. One of the greatest challenges facing the GNWT over the next decade, is to address this situation head on; by developing a more home-grown public service; [i]n the long term, a more home-grown public service will result in better value for dollars expended ... through reduced hiring costs and their knowledge and understanding of the territory and its people. (Northwest Territories, Legislative Assembly. Financial Management Board, 1991, p. 115. emphasis in original)

The report goes on to call for measures to attract and 'stream' Aboriginal candidates for the positions now held by non-Natives. The inception of Nunavut in the Eastern Arctic will promote this trend.

Non-Natives in the community have shown their capacity to mobilize, at least for their short-term interests. When the GNWT introduced a new housing strategy to take effect in April 1993, which increased rents, in some cases excessively, local non-Natives launched a campaign of publicity and pressure on officials and politicians. They enlisted the support of high school students who spoke in a public meeting. The students complained that the housing strategy would impede them from getting an education, as high school teachers were forced for economic reasons to relocate.

Many non-Natives are transient in the community, while some non-Natives have lived in Igloolik for decades. The non-Native community has grown sufficiently large that much interaction takes place within the ethnic group, for example, socializing at parties attended
only by non-Natives. There is variation within this pattern; some non-Natives have established
close relations with Inuit families through marriage (more commonly of non-Native males with
Inuit females, but also of non-Native females with Inuit males) and through other means, often
work-related. These relations are usually the basis for the participation of non-Natives in the
domestic economy.

An older Inuk gave his perspective on relations between Inuit and non-Natives to one
of my collaborators:

Qallunaaq, Inuk, ii taanna piujunniqtuq nunattinni, suurlu qallunaangungmata
ukua inuugama quviasuqatigiingi&ugit suqutigiingi&ugit taimannailingajugut
akunialuk. Nunaqkatigingingnakkit ikkua suqutigiingi&ugit. Tamanna
piujunniqtuq, maanna suurlu iglulikmiutauuttiavujumattiarutta qallunaaq
tikippat tunngasuktillugu inuuqalitaarilugu quviasugasukkutta quviasuqatigiigut
qanutuinnaq.

The relationship between Inuit and non-Natives in our community is not good any
more. For example, we Inuit are conscious where non-Natives are but we are not
sharing with them. They are just there and we do not visit them either. We do not
really care for them. It has been like that for a long time. We know they are not going
to be here very long anyway so why should we make an attempt to get acquainted with
them anyway? ... If we want to create a better feeling of pride in Igloolik, then once
non-Natives arrive in our community, we should welcome them, accept them as people
in our community as ours, share our happiness with them and live with them or
whatever. (male Inuk, born in the 1940s)

The increasing number of non-Natives has erected boundaries, rather than broken them
down. The presence of non-Natives now may have an unsettling impersonal quality. In the
past, the arrival of non-Natives and personal contact between non-Natives and Inuit, while
possibly disruptive to traditional patterns of authority, improved access to material resources.
through relations of tutelage, trade, and so on. Now, this may still be the case but the presence
of non-Natives is more ambiguous; they may be seen as competitors for the scarce resource of
employment.

Here we are a majority of the Inuit unemployed and we’re still hiring from down south
and that’s not too good. (male Inuk, born in the 1950s)

The participant went on to relate this to lack of education among Inuit in the
community. Now, as in the past, power is associated with ethnicity; non-Natives hold many of
the responsible jobs in Igloolik. On the other hand, non-Native managers of public and para-
public institutions are currently answerable to boards made up of local Inuit, or to ministers of
the GNWT who are sometimes Inuit or from other Native groups. These changes may mean
that some Inuit are able to work on an equal footing with non-Natives, in contrast with the
past. In addition, Inuit have gone into partnership with non-Natives in some of the businesses
active in the community. Some Inuit occupy positions of authority formerly held by non-
Natives. Many non-Natives see their role as creating institutions which empower Inuit.

An Inuk woman from Igloolik (born in the 1930s) gave her perspective on ethnic
differences in a published interview.

Each person is different in one way or another. of course, but people who have not
grown up the same way are more so. Qallunaat [non-Natives] and Inuit are quite
different and not only in appearance. Qallunaat are more impatient and get agitated
much more quickly than Inuit do. When someone does something wrong, a Qallunaaq
gets angry at the person. A Qallunaaq gets red in the face about things an Inuk would
just shrug off. Qallunaat also hold grudges longer. To keep them happy, we always
have to give them attention and show them that we look up to them. (Evaluajuk.
1990b, p. 38)

Another Inuk woman (born in the first decade of the century) corroborated some of these
impressions.

Although I consider all people and races the same they do have different characteristics.
I think Qallunaat are a bit more impatient and do not believe anything unless it is on
paper and there is definite proof. When an Inuk is told something, he believes it
without question: at least that was how it was in my time because no one was permitted
to lie.

The history of the Qallunaat shows they seem to seek revenge more often than not.
Sometimes they start fights with their fellow Qallunaat when they are not drunk. When
Qallunaat stay with Inuit for a long time they start living like us and prefer to remain
with us in a community than to return to their southern lifestyles. They also seem to
become more patient and easy-going when they live with Inuit out on the land. We all
have our weak points; they are all recognizable whoever you are. I have met a few
Qallunaat who really believe what they think is right. They can be very nice, too.
(Evaluajuk. 1988, p. 67)

In a document published by Pauktutit, the Inuit women’s association, about Inuit
culture in general. Inuit perceptions of Qallunaat are described as follows:

some Inuit also feel that Qallunaat are aggressive, nosy, domineering and are too free
with their unsolicited opinions. Qallunaat in public positions are often valued for their
ability to handle people, to manipulate people and situations in order to improve production, solve problems etc. These traits run contrary to Inuit values and can make interactions between the two groups tense and unpleasant. (The Inuit Way, 1990, p. 17)

The passage goes on to say that some Inuit cope with such tensions by withdrawing from non-Natives so as to avoid conflict. On the other hand:

Inuit have become increasingly confident and sophisticated in their interactions with Qallunaat and their institutions. (The Inuit Way, 1990, p. 17)

In the past, Inuit in the community were intimidated by non-Natives.

When my generation were children we were terrified of Qallunaat, especially the RCMP officers. but today that fearfulness is gone, at least on the surface. The young people are disrespectful. not afraid of anything. (male Inuk, born in the 1910s. published in Evaluarjuk, 1990a, p. 42)

While conflict is always a potential result of ethnic difference, actors in this setting rarely exploit unfavourable stereotypes for their own ends. Both Inuit and non-Natives prefer to use their knowledge of difference to meet their needs in such a way as to promote at least superficial harmony. For example, allowing a non-Native manager to make hiring and firing decisions may not usurp Inuit power or be a source of tension and unpleasantness but, instead, possibly a means to shift the responsibility for unpopular decisions away from Inuit board members. Most non-Natives are not impeded in their actions by kin ties or by knowing that they will have to spend the rest of their lives in close proximity with the people adversely affected.

Responses to questions about language of work reflect this desire for harmony. An interview by an Inuk Arctic College student with a non-Native administrator, who can speak some Inuktitut but uses mostly English at work, went as follows.

Q: Is Inuktitut essential for this job?
A: Definite asset.
Q: Yeah and you don't have it. [Both laugh.]
A: Definite asset.
Q: Could you explain that please.
A: Well you got to talk to people on a day-to-day basis.
Q: You get calls from other communities?
A: That's right. You get calls from other communities, you get calls from like BRIA [Baffin Region Inuit Association, regional Inuit political organization], BRC [Baffin
Region Council, regional organization of municipal governments], you get calls from people in town who need something or want something or think something should be changed. A lot of the councillors are unilingual only so Inuktitut is a definite asset.

Q: And also English too eh essential?
A: Yeah English would be essential because you’re dealing with a lot of government types, both federal and territorial.

Q: If you were able to write in Inuktitut, would you write a lot in Inuktitut or such or not?
A: Uh things within the community are generally in English and Inuktitut and things that are going out of the community are generally English.

Q: Same thing with English eh?
A: Unnh.

Q: Like you do a lot of writing, reading and speaking as well.
A: Yeah. (male non-Native, born in the 1950s)

Another manager responded to another Arctic College student as follows.

Q: Here’s another one. Is Inuktitut essential for this job?
A: As a management position it would really help yes. I personally don’t speak Inuktitut. Well, not well enough to get along in it anyway but if someone had my position it would be an asset to them to be able to speak and write Inuktitut.

Q: Speaking and writing is it?
A: Yes.

Q: All right. What about English?
A: English is very important. Most commerce today is done in the English language and it would be very good if people had a really good understanding of the English language. (male non-Native, born in the 1950s)

Another non-Native government employee interviewed by an Arctic College student responded this way.

Q: Is Inuktitut essential for this job?
A: I think so.

Q: Why? Can you be more specific? I didn’t get-
A: The only thing.

Q: All the points you told me-
A: Okay.

Q: It’s basically Inuit people who are making the basic decisions now then.
A: When I go to an HTA [Hunters and Trappers Association] meeting everything-everybody’s got to interpret for me. Okay. I-

Q: Did you expect all that?
A: Oh yes. Well no, I didn’t.

Q: When you were first up here-
A: No. I didn’t. No, I didn’t actually. I went to [another community] first eh. That’s where my first posting was and those people there have had a lot more contact with Qallunaat [non-Native] people than they do here.

Q: Unhn.
A: I come here and very few people- Don’t get me wrong. The younger people say 35 and younger speak a lot of English but anybody older than that doesn’t. And quite
frankly the people that I deal with are the people older than 35 years old because they’re the hunters and so that’s where the problems do arise.

Q: Yes.
A: Okay um. One of the big goals I have probably is to learn the language.
Q: Are you working at it?
A: Well I’m not working at it as hard as I should because-
Q: You’re picking up a few words?
A: I try.
Q: Basic words. (male non-Native, born in the 1950s)

Another manager who deals with a board, some of whose members are unilingual in Inuktitut, gave this reply.

Q: Is Inuktitut essential?
A: Inuktitut is not essential. It would be an asset, especially when you’re dealing in a cross-cultural setting when 80 per cent of the local populace speak or write Inuktitut. It definitely would be an asset but not necessarily necessary because most of the paperwork, correspondence for any business is done in English.
Q: Oh I see. Like it’s the same question as English. Is it- Is English essential for this job?
A: Uh yes English is definitely essential for a manager that’s limited to Inuktitut would have to have a good assistant that’s capable of dealing in the Inuktitut [and English] language. (male non-Native, born in the 1940s)

In contrast, an Inuk employed as an administrator gave the following response to an Arctic College student. When asked if Inuktitut was essential for the job, she said:

A: Yes. Definitely. You have to be able to speak Inuktitut for this job. You have to be able to speak Inuktitut because you have to serve the public and some of the public does not know any English and all the mail that comes from the federal government is only in English and French and a lot of people in our communities do not speak English or French so a lot of the times if they don’t have anybody to translate their mail for them they’ll bring their mail and say, ‘what- I got this letter from the government. What does it say? What does it mean?’ and sometimes you’ll get information that has to go out to the public and you translate it or interpret it and give it out to the public.
Q: So writing is involved?
A: Yes.
Q: And reading?
A: Yeah. Yeah. You have to have both writing and speaking skills in Inuktitut. Same with English. Same thing.
Q: Reading. writing?
A: Yes. definitely. You have to. (female Inuk, born in the 1960s)

I interpret these different comments as meaning that, all else being equal, being able to speak, understand, read, and write Inuktitut would make doing many jobs in Igloolik where
you deal with the public easier. Nevertheless, non-Natives are often able to carry out their duties without knowing much Inuktitut. In the past, a few unilingual Inuit held responsible positions and apparently relied on bilinguals to help them do the job. Now that a pool of bilingual Inuit exists, this is not usual: English is considered essential for many jobs. Inuit, however, who hold positions which require educational credentials and a knowledge of English, would be expected to be able to communicate in Inuktitut and, at least sometimes, to be able to write in the standard orthography. They might expect to be called upon to interpret or translate.

Expectations about the use of literacy are filtered through judgments about social identity: there are different expectations for non-Natives and Inuit. This is shown by the responses to the questions about whether Inuktitut is essential by various people with responsible positions. No one is in a position to say knowing Inuktitut is worthless. It is accepted by the Inuit interviewer, however, for a non-Native to admit, ‘I’m not working at [Inuktitut] as hard as I should because-’. The unstated reason is that other things are more important to keeping his job: for example, learning and following bureaucratic procedures. He is not really expected to know Inuktitut. He can do his job to the satisfaction of his superiors without knowing it (although one of his superiors is a non-Native fluent in Inuktitut who has encouraged the interviewee to learn it). If he does need to communicate with unilingual Inuit, there is no shortage of bilingual Inuit to help.

On the other hand, when the Inuk administrator is asked whether Inuktitut is essential, she is definite: ‘Yeah. Yeah. You have to have both writing and speaking skills in Inuktitut.’ Both Inuit and non-Natives expect younger Inuit who hold responsible positions to be bilingual and biliterate. They are often automatically assumed to be able to interpret and translate at short notice. No one asserts the different expectations in a manner intended to provoke conflict; on the contrary, ability in Inuktitut is portrayed by non-Natives in the language borrowed from job descriptions as ‘a definite asset’.
It would be unusual for anyone to invoke ethnicity as a reason why you could not do a job; ethnic stratification in employment is maintained through educational and language requirements. For example, to get a teaching job (as opposed to a trainee position), you have to have a teaching certificate. Now, more Inuit are getting teaching certificates and are hired. Nevertheless, if no Inuk with a teaching certificate applies, the job will go to a non-Native. They are not hired because they are non-Native; still, until there are more Inuit with teaching certificates eager to apply, the effect of the process is to maintain ethnic stratification in employment.

Similarly, if a job requires communication with English-speaking superiors in the regional centre, unilingual Inuit will be excluded from the competition. On the other hand, if a job requires communication with unilingual Inuit, the first choice is a qualified active biliterate. Otherwise, the job will go to a non-Native and arrangements will be made for interpretation and translation.

In summary, non-Natives are a minority in Igloolik. Nevertheless, English is a language of work and education there, along with Inuktitut. Non-Natives are disproportionately employed, mainly because of their educational credentials and skills, including the ability to read and write English. Their social identity in the community is tied up to a large extent with their education and employment. Although non-Natives recognize that knowing Inuktitut would be an asset, most non-Natives are able to perform their work exclusively in English. They have not learned the finals; their employment does not depend on this knowledge. While local Inuit may consider non-Natives different, they, like non-Natives, are reluctant to make this difference a basis for conflict. An end to interethnic stratification in employment may be seen as desirable; the route to this, however, is usually represented as through higher levels of education for Inuit.
4 Conclusion

In this section, I analyse the data presented above in order to shed light on the relationship of literacy, conceptualized as getting an education, learning the finals, and reading and writing traditionally, to social identity, conceptualized in terms of membership in the groups of older Inuit, active biliterates, other younger Inuit, or non-Natives. In what follows, I will adopt the method proposed by Giddens (1979): “don’t look for the functions social practices fulfil, look for the contradictions they embody!” (p. 131). Contradictions in structural principles are played out in history—through historical, social change. Change leads to greater social inequality or greater social equality. The direction of this change, however, is not predetermined; actors in the setting shape structure through their choices in social interaction. I hope the articulation in the following analysis of the contradictions embodied in the use of different sets of literacy practices will be useful for that shaping.

By focussing on the contradictions in reading and writing, I represent literacy as neither essentially empowering or oppressing. Instead, by reading and writing, actors actualize their social identity: while members of groups are aware of their own interests, their acts also have unintended consequences and contradictory impacts.

When older Inuit in Igloolik read and write traditionally, they assert a distinctive Inuit identity. Writing without finals is homologous with hunting, sewing, and other practices of the domestic economy. Reading and writing Inuktitut syllabics are elements of participation by older Inuit in the local churches, institutions which have bridged camp life and settlement life. Their ability to read minutes and other documentation in Inuktitut makes it easier for them to get involved in institutions like local elected bodies; so reading and writing give them access to authoritative and allocative resources. The elaborate apparatus of modern life, sustained in Igloolik by Inuktitut literacy and English literacy, has given older Inuit improved material security without their having to abandon the domestic economy. Older Inuit depend on
younger Inuit, particularly active biliterates, to participate and communicate in the context of contemporary Igloolik. The link in modern life between Inuktitut syllabics and Inuit identity has been a means of maintaining a continuing symbolic order.

On the other hand, the use of literacy by older Inuit has from its origins integrated them into a larger world. This larger world does not always recognize the power held by older Inuit before sedentarization. Socialization of younger Inuit into the domestic economy and into respect for the authority of older Inuit has been disrupted by schooling. In the institutions of the cash economy and the Canadian state, older Inuit relinquish some of their authority and are inducted into new hierarchies. Because most do not read and write English, they are excluded from some jobs. The way that they write Inuktitut is seen as a deficient version of the standard by some younger Inuit.

The use of literacy by younger Inuit contrasts markedly with that of most older Inuit. For one thing, they are almost all bilingual and biliterate in English and Inuktitut. Some younger Inuit are employed in the cash economy because they have got an education and learned the finals: I call them active biliterates. They work as administrators of government services like housing and local government, teachers, and translators. When older Inuit and non-Natives communicate with each other, they often need active biliterates as brokers. This brokerage has legitimated the authority of older Inuit because it has allowed them to express their Inuit identity, including their attachment to the land. The brokerage has also legitimated the authority of the active biliterates: because older Inuit have expressed Inuit links to the land, active biliterates have been able to assert Inuit political rights.

Active biliterates have successfully fought the dispossession of their people; this affirmation of their identity has depended on their literacy. If active biliterates had been unable to read and write Inuktitut and English, the struggle for a just land claims settlement would have been much more difficult. They have taught the children of Igloolik to read and write in
Inuktitut. Active biliterates have been able to access material and symbolic resources through their literacy practices in Inuktitut and English.

While the processes of standardization and credentialization have given opportunity to active biliterates, they have also created an onus of responsibility. Active biliterates are expected to be expert in the use of the finals, and will be judged if they err. If they benefited from learning to read and write at residential school, those who attended also risked abuse. Rising educational levels in Igloolik mean that active biliterates must compete with their juniors in terms of credentials. Their power is mitigated if they have non-Native superiors in the workplace, as well as by older Inuit in the family. The obligations and pressures of the cash economy do not absolve them from the demands of supporting the domestic economy.

Active biliterates are constrained in resolving structural contradictions by their actions. If they mobilize around the full credentialization of Inuktitut literacy, they might speed up the transition to intraethnic stratification, in their favour. They would risk, however, alienating older Inuit, most of whom do not know the standard. Disapproval by the elders would threaten the active biliterates' sense of themselves as Inuit. Access to resources through the domestic economy might be threatened.

As well, local non-Natives, who are usually unable to speak, read, or write Inuktitut, would resist Inuktitut-language credentialization. The active biliterates themselves often report reading in English rather than Inuktitut when they have the choice.

If active biliterates acquiesce to the dominance of English literacy, over time they risk losing their vital spoken and written language. The Inuktitut language is a basis for Inuit unity and identity and for visions of future political development. When the day comes that all adult Inuit are bilingual, translation and interpretation between Inuktitut and English will no longer be needed.

Other younger Inuit have attended school and learned to read and write English there. When they write Inuktitut, they try to use the finals. They find it difficult to read Inuktitut
written without finals. This group is able to access resources in Igloolik in diverse ways, only some of which rely on literacy. If other younger Inuit have not yet become active biliterates, they may in the future, by continuing their education or improving their Inuktitut writing. Education offers them a measure of their abilities which transcends the expectations placed on them by older Inuit and non-Natives.

Because Igloolik was established as a centre for consumption rather than production, levels of unemployment for Inuit are high. Full participation in the domestic economy requires higher levels of capitalization and of skills than most younger Inuit possess. The interethnic stratification of employment means some jobs are held by non-Natives. Nevertheless, Inuit unemployment is often blamed on low levels of education: the process of credentialization is used by younger Inuit to explain social relations in the community. In somewhat the same way, younger Inuit have accepted the process of standardization, even if they are not expert in Inuktitut syllabics; they have been taught in school that the Inuktitut syllabic writing system is an authentic expression of Inuit identity and that the standard orthography is the proper way to write Inuktitut. These processes have created new identities and hierarchies; some younger Inuit are on the lower rungs, subject to the contradictory authority of older Inuit and non-Natives.

Non-Natives have benefited from the processes of credentialization and interethnic stratification in the sense that their level of qualifications is often a reason for their employment and consequent power. Through their expertise in English-language literacy, they integrate smoothly into larger social, political, and economic systems. Because the standardization of Inuktitut orthography is accepted, written communication (through translation) is possible with Inuit who are not literate in English. Notions of harmony and mutual advantage govern interethnic social interaction.

Nevertheless, the dominance of non-Natives is subject to erosion as educational levels rise among local Inuit and political development takes its course. Because many non-Natives
are transient, the effect of these changes on individuals is limited. As a group, however, non-Natives may be in the position of working themselves out of their jobs, or at least having to compete for work on a more equal footing with active biliterates. In the past, the legitimation of the Canadian state in the region depended on the employment of non-Natives in positions of power; more and more in the future, the employment of active biliterates will serve the purposes of legitimation.

In the following chapter, I interpret these findings in terms of the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 1 and the methodology presented in Chapter 2. I relate the findings to the social, political, linguistic, and economic contexts presented in Chapter 3. Chapter 4, Chapter 5, and Chapter 6. Further, I present the implications of this interpretation for practice and future research.
CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

1 Summary and Discussion

Reading and writing in the Nunavut community of Igloolik have different meanings depending on who is doing the reading and writing. This is important to talk about because decisions are made all the time about people’s lives based on the way that they read and write. When I used qualitative methods to do research in Igloolik, I found that, while literacy and social identity are related for every person who lives in the community, there is no one relationship between literacy and social identity. The way that I have chosen to talk about the different literacies which are used in Igloolik is by naming them: getting an education, learning the finals, and reading and writing traditionally. The way that I have chosen to talk about the different social identities is also by naming them: older Inuit, active biliterates, other younger Inuit, and non-Natives. How old a person is and whether he or she is Inuk or Qallunaat will predict how he or she reads and writes Inuktitut or English—not perfectly but well enough to begin to make some sense about what is going on in Igloolik with reference to literacy and social identity.

In order to understand why this is so and what it tells us about literacy and about the Canadian North, I have written in my thesis about some processes that are going on in Igloolik. These processes take place elsewhere in the North, in the rest of Canada, and throughout the world, but not in the same way. The processes have touched everybody in Igloolik but they have touched different people in different ways, according to their different social identities and their different literacies. I have named these processes sedentarization, standardization, and credentialization. After describing these processes here, I will relate them to the expansion of the Canadian state, using two terms: legitimation and accumulation.

Sedentarization is the process whereby people become more sedentary and less nomadic. The Inuit used to be nomadic; they moved with the seasons, following the animals
that they hunted. In fact, they still do, but not as much as before. Now they can stay in their houses in Igloolik if they choose. Ever since Europeans arrived in the North, there has been gradual change in the movement of the Inuit across the land. The really big change came after World War II; it was an attempt by representatives of the Canadian state to assert effective occupation of the Canadian North. The mandarins wanted the Inuit to become the guarantors of Canadian sovereignty on the periphery of the country.

The change in where people lived took effect in Igloolik in the late 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s. Almost all the Inuit who lived around the area became more sedentary. They began to live in houses in the settlement. The children started going to school in the community. Some of the Inuit began working at jobs for money. but people still hunted too. A mixed economy was born, with domestic and cash components. More English-speaking non-Natives came to live in Igloolik, mostly because they could get jobs. The process of sedentarization changed the way that people lived but not completely. As I have shown in my text, literacy was one way of managing the changes that came with sedentarization: the progress of children through school, the hiring of people for wage labour, and the relations between the two ethnic groups in Igloolik. Two processes that made managing the changes possible, standardization and credentialization, are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Standardization is the process in which the way a language is spoken or written is made consistent. In this case, the orthography of Inuktitut was standardized: the Canadian government and the representatives of the Inuit agreed in 1976 that Inuktitut should be spelled in a standard manner, whether using Inuktitut syllabics or the Roman alphabet. This way of spelling was based on consultation with the Inuit and with linguists. The standard orthography of Inuktitut is a compromise between Inuit beliefs about Inuktitut and the linguists’ desire for an accurate phonemic representation of an equal, unitary language. Many Inuit who envisioned self-government in the territory of Nunavut also saw a standard orthography as a prerequisite to wider use of Inuktitut.
People in Igloolik use syllabics to write Inuktitut. In the years before World War II, when Inuit learned Inuktitut syllabics from visiting hunters or from the missionaries. reading and writing traditionally allowed them to communicate more easily with kin living in distant camps and gave them access to the ideas of Christianity. At this time, before standardization, the Inuit did not always write the finals, that is, the signs for the last consonant in each syllable.

After standardization, the writing system changed to meet new needs. In addition to consistent use of the finals, there were some other changes in the way Inuktitut was written. (See Chapter 5.) A lot of older Inuit did not bother writing with the finals, but younger Inuit, for example, the people working in the school, tried to put them in. In the 1970s and after, the children learned how to write Inuktitut at the school with finals. The result of this variation in use of the finals by different age groups was that literacy became one means for distinguishing social identity. These distinctions tended to replicate and confirm decisions made through other means, for example, by judgments about level of education and ability to speak English. After standardization, learning the finals became a prerequisite for Inuit for certain kinds of employment, for example, as teachers and translators. Experience in these kinds of jobs has led to work administering local institutions for some Inuit. I have called the people who learned the finals and got employment as a result 'active biliterates'. Most older Inuit have been excluded from employment in jobs that required having learned the finals.

Credentialization means that people are supposed to have an educational qualification to get a job or to get more education. The process of credentialization seems to be happening everywhere. It is more noticeable in Igloolik, however, because before about 1955 no one from Igloolik went to school. After sedentarization, non-Natives got work in Igloolik. For example, the non-Native teachers had jobs because they had credentials: they had got an education and had teaching certificates. Now, younger Inuit have got an education so when
they go to get certain jobs their credentials are judged. For example, they are supposed to have a specific grade level to get a job, like Grade 10.

Literacy—specifically, a person's ability to read and write in English—is an important element in the process of credentialization. It is one means to decide who has got an education. When getting an education, within the general process of credentialization, is perceived as a basis for hiring decisions, literacy relates to social identity. This is because wage labour has become increasingly important in Igloolik, both as a means of making a living and as a way to subsidize the domestic economy. Employment in the cash economy gives access to resources and so shapes social identity. A lot of Inuit are unemployed in Igloolik but not too many non-Natives are unemployed. I use the term ethnic stratification of labour to talk about this. Credentialization is one way that people in Igloolik explain the ethnic stratification of labour. People, both Inuit and non-Natives, say that Inuit are unemployed because they lack credentials. People are also optimistic that, as educational levels rise among local Inuit, the ethnic stratification of labour will wither away. Education and literacy give the promise of social mobility in the context of manifest social inequality.

The processes of sedentarization, standardization, and credentialization have changed the lives of people in Igloolik a lot. They have changed where they live, how they read and write, and what kind of jobs they think they can get. They have introduced new types of social relations and have transformed the kin and fictive kin relations which were the basis for social organization in the past. I argue that the processes of sedentarization, credentialization, and standardization are ways for representatives of the state to assert control over social identity, to legitimate the Canadian state, and to promote capital accumulation.

Legitimation means that the people who represent the state have to convince the people who are governed by the state that the state has the right to govern them. One way that this is done is by providing services to the people who are governed. This is what the representatives
of the Canadian state wanted to do after World War II. They thought that providing services to
the Inuit and the other residents of the North would mean effective occupation of the North.
Effective occupation would assert Canadian sovereignty—Canada would control the North.
The mandarins who made government policy presumed that, if they did not do this, other
nations like the United States, the Soviet Union, or even one of the Scandinavian countries
might try to annex part of the Canadian North. The previous laissez-faire approach to
maintaining sovereignty in which the government only reacted to immediate threats was no
longer seen as sufficient.

Providing services to the nomadic Inuit seemed too complicated to the mandarins. It
would be easier if the Inuit were in the same place as the services—if they were sedentary. The
mandarins, the Ottawa civil servants whose interests were synonymous with the increasing
power of the federal government, did not foresee the upheaval that sedentarization would cause
for the Inuit. On the other hand, by imposing sedentarization, the mandarins were able to
maintain Canadian sovereignty in the North.

Another way that the state legitimates itself is by communicating with the governed, in
their own language if possible. After sedentarization, the Canadian government wanted to
communicate with the Inuit in Inuktitut. There was a problem, though. No one could agree on
how to spell Inuktitut properly. The representatives of the government did not want to send out
publicity that people would say was misspelled. The political representatives of the Inuit saw
standardization as a means to promote the recognition of Inuktitut. The federal government
was agreeable to funding the study of standardization, the development of a consistent writing
system for Inuktitut, when they were approached by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada in the early
1970s. Just as literacy had been an integral element of bringing the people of the North into
the Christian churches, at this time it would be a way to integrate the inhabitants into the
Canadian state.
By the 1970s, the structure of government engagement in the North had begun to alter. If the government wanted to maintain control of the North, it had to be more responsive to its Northern citizens. It had to recognize their interests. The province of Quebec had begun to be presented as a model for potential political and linguistic regional autonomy. Responsibility for the North was shifted in 1967 to the Government of the Northwest Territories, based in Yellowknife. The controversy around the 1969 White Paper forced the federal government to recognize the rights of the Aboriginal peoples in Canada, including the Inuit. The Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry alerted the government to the stake held by the Aboriginal peoples in development on their lands. Because standardization of Inuktitut orthography promoted communication between the Inuit and the government in the context of the above developments, it legitimated the Canadian state in the North.

Since sedentarization, most of the jobs created in Igloolik have been in the tertiary sector. It seemed obvious to the decision-makers who initiated sedentarization that health, educational, and other services had to be provided by qualified personnel. Credentialization of educational level was the means to ensure this—a process which first excluded Inuit but which has now come to embrace them. The legitimacy of the state depends on competent people being hired for the jobs. People also have to believe that the jobs are being given out fairly, based on objective criteria rather than ethnicity or other factors. By the establishment of an educational system in the North and by the requirement of credentials for employment, the legitimacy of the Canadian state has been maintained.

The legitimacy of the Canadian state in the North permits capital accumulation through the exploitation of oil, gas, and mineral wealth there. By integrating the inhabitants of the region into the institutions of the state and by creating the conditions so that they see themselves as citizens, a stable social climate and a legal framework for investment and economic development is assured. As previously in Canadian history, the economic health of
the centre of Canada is promoted by expansion into the periphery. In the future, the North will most likely become more integrated into the global economy through resource extraction activities there. The extent to which the inflow of capital will benefit Northerners remains to be seen. If they are organized for their common interest, they can avoid the worst depredations of development.

The effects of sedentarization, standardization, and credentialization have varied, depending on one's social identity as mediated by one's use of literacy. While older Inuit may resent the disruption of traditional patterns of authority, they also see themselves as stakeholders in social change and the legitimation of the Canadian state. Standardization has promoted the publication of material in Inuktitut, and so older Inuit are able to inform themselves by reading in their own language. Their use of literacy integrates them into modernity but in a specific, limited manner. The authority of older Inuit is still recognized and, despite sedentarization, they are still able to participate in the domestic economy. Older Inuit perceive themselves as more secure materially than in the past. They are able to access resources through their younger kin. On the other hand, these processes have eroded the authority of older Inuit because new patterns of access to resources have emerged in the cash economy. They are often excluded from wage employment because they have not learned the finals or got an education. Reading and writing traditionally counts for little in the cash economy.

Most younger Inuit, in contrast with older Inuit, read and write in both Inuktitut and English. The manner in which younger Inuit read and write reflects the capture of literacy by the school, as described for other settings by Keller-Cohen (1993) and J. Collins (1991). Provision of schooling was a reason for sedentarization, and attendance at school was an effect of sedentarization. Some younger Inuit, the active biliterates, have benefited from these processes because they have learned the finals and got an education and so have been able to
find employment. They are able to communicate directly with unilingual older Inuit in a way that most non-Natives are not. If they hold more responsible positions, they have power and can still maintain their Inuit identity. On the other hand, straddling the demands placed on them by two cultures is not always easy. The value of their knowledge of the standard orthography may diminish over time, when there are fewer unilingual Inuit.

The interests of other younger Inuit who are not expert in the finals or who have relatively lower grade levels have not been well served by the processes of standardization or credentialization. They face high unemployment, but the time they have spent in school and in the settlement means most are unsuited for full participation in the domestic economy. On the other hand, they have the possibility of getting more education and learning the finals. These processes may yet serve their interests but they have not done so yet.

Sedentarization opened up employment opportunities for qualified non-Natives. Non-Natives often need credentials and the ability to read and write in English to do the jobs which are the main reason for their presence in Igloolik. These jobs are an important basis for their social identity. Most non-Natives do not read and write Inuktitut; they have not learned the finals. Standardization, however, allows them to depend on active biliterates for written communication with unilingual older Inuit.

Until recently, credentialization served the interests of non-Natives because most Inuit had not had the opportunity to complete their schooling. Under colonialism, literacy was a means of reinforcing the power of non-Natives. Now, the process of credentialization stands in an ambiguous relationship to ethnic stratification in employment in Igloolik. On the one hand, it is justification for that residue of colonialism, the disproportionate employment of more qualified non-Natives. On the other hand, as more Inuit acquire credentials, they will be eligible to be hired and non-Natives will be less likely to be hired. High rates of attrition among non-Native employees means that this will probably have little effect on those currently employed. Potentially, credentialization will undermine social inequality along ethnic lines.
In Igloolik and elsewhere, ethnic contact, the expansion of the state, and resistance to colonialism have been mediated through the use of different literacies and through processes like sedentarization, standardization, and credentialization. By observing the use of literacy practices, we can see how non-Native representatives of the Canadian state have used institutions like the school to legitimate the state and their own power. At the same time, literacy has been used by the Inuit to assert their own identity and to resist the imposition of external institutional forms. For example, again, in the school. Because the use of Inuktitut syllabics takes place across, as well as within, social groups, relations amongst the Inuit are organized by literacy. Expertise in Inuktitut syllabics allows the active biliterates to access resources. Their expertise, however, is only valuable because unilingual older Inuit need to access information in their own language. Both groups depend on each other. Younger Inuit believe that they face unemployment if they do not learn the finals or get an education; this belief can be a dead end, or a way forward if they use literacy to challenge their powerlessness.

The picture of literacy that emerges from the above analysis is that it is a diverse set of phenomena which serves different interests at different times. The ability to read and write can be used in a variety of ways. Often, these ways are unanticipated. The missionaries taught the Inuit to read and write so they could read the Bible and other religious material. Soon, the Inuit were using Inuktitut syllabics to write letters to their kin. Some active biliterates were taught to read and write English in residential school. The goal of this policy was integration of the Inuit into the institutions of the Canadian state. These younger Inuit put their literacy into use in resisting the denial of their rights and identity during the negotiations for Nunavut. This resistance had the effect of reshaping Canadian institutions in profound, if unexpected, ways.

Literacy does not have a transcendant, unitary character; it can only be understood in social context. The meaning of different literacy practices is revealed by considering the social
identity of the users: reading and writing (among other practices) identify users as members of groups. Through membership in a group, one is entitled to access certain resources. The circulation of power is managed as people assert their identities through their uses of reading and writing. People use literacy in unanticipated ways which are only comprehensible through reflection on the social context. Thus, in order to put literacy to the service of social equality, a qualitative approach is required which looks at literacy practices in terms of how they indicate social identity and how they are used to access resources and organize power.

2 Implications for Practice

Thus, the broad implication of my work is that literacy research and education must take into account social identity, along with awareness of individual motivation and self-esteem. Social identity is a flexible concept: the analysis made here in relation to age and ethnicity does not exhaust the potential of the concept. Processes like sedentarization, credentialization, and standardization are socially constructed. As such they are subject to change; they are negotiated in the course of everyday life. In the past, they created social inequality. In the future, people may shape them to promote greater equality. The meanings assigned to markers like the finals or grade level are experienced as inevitable; ultimately, however, they are arbitrary and reproduced by knowledgeable actors in recurrent practices.

To the extent that educational and language planners recognize the specific characteristics and learning styles of the different groups in Igloolik, they are successful in their efforts. Promotion of Inuktitut literacy and English literacy must continue to be based on a critical needs analysis of the target populations and on monitoring and evaluation of programs in terms of anticipated outcomes. There is no basis for unquestioning confidence in the benefits of a general rise in educational levels.

Despite the difficulties I have addressed, the use of Inuktitut syllabics in Igloolik is exemplary for Aboriginal language maintenance, particularly in the fields of education and
government. Events like the Inuktitut language weeks held in recent years encourage people to use Inuktitut. These complement efforts to improve proficiency in the standard orthography. In celebrating the use of literacy, different ways of reading and writing should be valued, both traditional and innovative. While there is always room for improvement in reading and writing abilities, the problem of literacy for some younger Inuit in Igloolik is not always lack of skill but often lack of opportunity for use. The publication of material generated originally in Inuktitut should be given as high a priority as translation of government documents from English.

Whether English literacy or Inuktitut literacy should be further credentialized is up to the people of Igloolik and the North in general. There is nothing inherent in the nature of either Inuktitut or English that automatically rules out any options. In making language policy decisions, the consequences for the different groups affected need to be discussed.

Now there are high levels of structural unemployment in Canada and much of the rest of the Western world. The ability of people in Igloolik to access resources through diverse means, for example, through both the cash economy and the domestic economy, may be suggestive for urban Canadians and others.

In summary, I call for a practice that is sensitive to the needs and social identities of the people affected.

3 Recommendations for Further Research

Comparative studies of literacy practices and the relationship of literacy and social identity in other settings, in the North or elsewhere, will confirm or challenge the validity of my analysis. A better understanding of the relationship between literacy and social identity will result from further micro-level qualitative studies of processes of state formation like legitimation and accumulation, as well as of processes like sedentarization, credentialization, and standardization.
I recommend that critical analyses of how the practice of linguistics conditions language planning decisions in the context of state formation be carried out. The possibilities for, and the obstacles to, the use of Inuktitut as a working and official language in Nunavut are topics which will become of increasing importance. If increased credentialization takes place in English and Inuktitut, it will become necessary to devise appropriate measures of proficiency. The relationship of the presence or absence of geminate clusters in Inuktitut speech and writing to elements of social identity like gender and age should be considered in more detail. Another research topic is the effect of written Inuktitut on spoken Inuktitut.

Longitudinal monitoring of how education relates to ethnicity and employment would be useful. Are rising educational levels promoting social mobility and social equality? What are the specific practices that people use to access resources in the cash economy and the domestic economy? How are they able to sustain participation in both?

Attention must be given to how research and education can be integrated in the North, as in my co-operation with Arctic College staff and students. How can research feed back into the settings studied? As a case in point, I hope, as I said in Chapter 1, that what I have written about the relationship of literacy and social identity will be useful for people in Igloolik, for educators, and for language planners in making decisions and discussing alternative courses of action in education, publishing, the media, the workplace, and administration.
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APPENDIX 1: COMMUNITY LITERACY SURVEY

COMMUNITY LITERACY SURVEY. IGLOOLIK, N.W.T., 1990—By Perry Shearwood

I am a doctoral student at the Ontario Institute of Education in Toronto. I worked in Igloolik from 1981 to 1985 as a teacher. Now I would like to ask people in Igloolik what they use reading and writing for. Perhaps this will be useful for the education of the children.

This interview is confidential and I will not tell anyone what you tell me.

When you have anything to add, please stop me and tell me.

1. Name: ........................................................................................................

2. male □ female □

3. Place of residence: .............................................................................

4. telephone: ............................................................. 5. Inuk □ Qallunaaq □

6. Catholic □ Anglican □ Other □

7. Occupation: ................................................................................................

8. How many children do you have?
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 or more □ ...................................

9. Have you been on the land this year (in the past twelve months)?
   (9) yes □ no □

10. Do you make kamik?
    (10) yes □ no □

11. Do you sew caribou clothing?
    (11) yes □ no □

12. What animals have you hunted this year? (Probe based on response.)
    1. ........................................... 2. ........................................... 3. ........................................... 4. ...........................................

13. Have you been fishing this year?
    (13) yes □ no □
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<th>4. Not at all</th>
<th>3. A little bit</th>
<th>2. Well</th>
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23. I speak English

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<tr>
<th>4. Not at all</th>
<th>3. A little bit</th>
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22. I understand English

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21. I speak English

20. For how many years?

19. Were you ever in a school outside the community? (1) Yes (0) No

18. For how many years?

17. Have you ever been to school?

16. What kind of work?

15. Have you worked for money this year? (Wage/Employee) (1) Yes (0) No

14. If so, what work?

13. Is it worth your time to go to; anything?
24 I understand instructions.

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25 I can write syllables.

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26 I can read syllables.

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27 I can read English.

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28 I can write in English.

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<td>Frequency</td>
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<td>30 Read in syllabics</td>
<td>31 Write in English</td>
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33. How did you learn to read and write English?
34. How did you learn syllabics?
35. Did your teacher use a printed book when teaching you?
36. What age were you when you began learning syllabics?
37. Did you ever show someone how to write syllabics?
38. Did you show your children how to write syllabics?
39. What kind of things do you read in English?
40. What kind of things do you read in syllabics?
41. Do you write letters in syllabics?
42. Whom do you write to?

43. in English (43)

44. Whom do you write to?

45. How do you send it?

46. Do you write notices in syllabics?

47. in English (47)

Do you use the computer to write?

48. in English (48)

49. in syllabics (49)
Do you write a diary?

50. in English? (50) yes □ no □

51. in syllabics? (51) yes □ no □

Do you write lists?

52. in syllabics?

53. in English? (53) yes □ no □

Do you write notes?

54. in English? (54) yes □ no □

55. in syllabics? (55) yes □ no □

Have you written anything which has appeared in a magazine or book?

56. in English? (56) yes □ no □

57. in syllabics?

58. Who knows syllabics best in igluulik?

59. Who in igluulik knows how to read and write English best?

60. Do(Did) your father or mother use syllabics? (60) yes □ no □

61. Do you know who taught them?

62. If there is a piece of writing in both syllabics and English, which do you read first?

syllabics □ English □
63. When was the last time you wrote something in English?

64. In syllabics?

65. When was the last time you read something in English?

66. In syllabics?

67. Do you use Inuktitut in Church?  

68. Do you use English in Church?  

69. Now they use Inuktitut in the school. What do you think of this?

70. Now they teach syllabics in the school. What do you think of this?

71. Inuktitut reading test

72. English reading test
Community Literacy Survey, Iqloolik, NWT - 1990

72 'Inuksitut

5 Person reads rapidly and comprehends most or all
4 Person reads slowly and comprehends most or all
3 Person reads rapidly and comprehends little or nothing
2 Person reads slowly and comprehends little or nothing
1 Person cannot read at all

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Issues. Official agreement between Inuit and Government
the signing of the first-ever land claim
historic occasion for Nunavut Inuit, with

16July 1990 marked an

I would like to know your

Where were you born?

Where do you live now?
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3  መን-

4. ወረ.Ed ( ) - 5 ው. ያ ያራ ያ

6  ው. ያራ ያ ያን ያ ያን ያ

7  ው. ያራ ያ

8 ው. ይና የርጆች? (9) ው ያ ያ

9 ው. ያስንጆች ያቅረ? ያ ያ ያን ያንን ያንን? (10) ው ያ ያ

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64 ላይማክይ የሚገኝ ከጋራ ከምት ይህ ይገኝ መላጭ ያስገደር።

65 የሥራው ውጭ ተጠጭ ከጋራ የሚሸገር ከጋራ ከምት ይህ ይገኝ መላጭ ያስገደር።

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67 ላይማክይ የሚገኝ ከጋራ ከምት ይህ ይገኝ መላጭ ያስገደር። (67) ው ከ ው

68 ከጋራ የሚሸገር ከጋራ ከምት ይህ ይገኝ መላጭ ያስገደር። (68) ው ከ ው

69 ላይማክይ የሚገኝ ከጋራ ከምት ይህ ይገኝ መላጭ ያስገደር። ው ከ ከ

70. ላይማክይ የሚገኝ ከጋራ ከምት ይህ ይገኝ መላጭ ያስገደር። ው ከ ከ

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72 ላይማክይ የሚገኝ ከጋራ ከምት ይህ ይገኝ መላጭ ያስገደር። ው ከ ከ
APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW TOPICS AND RESEARCH SUMMARY

Interview topics

Speaking and understanding Inuktitut
Speaking and understanding English
Reading in Inuktitut
Writing in Inuktitut
Reading in English
Writing in English
Learning to write in Inuktitut
Learning to write in English
Schooling
Use of Inuktitut in the school
Use of English in the school
Attitudes toward standardization
Attitudes towards other dialects
Use of language and literacy by different age groups
Use of language and literacy by men and women
Use of language and literacy in the home
Use of language and literacy in the workplace
Use of language and literacy by non-Natives
Use of language and literacy in the past
Use of language and literacy in the future
Summary of research on reading and writing in the community

In May and June of 1990, I interviewed 33 people about their use of reading and writing. An interpreter helped me when needed. The Hamlet Council and the Education Council gave me permission to conduct research in the community.

I tried to talk to Inuit of different ages and backgrounds. I talked to 33 people. The oldest person I talked to was 70 years old and the youngest 19 years old. I talked to 22 men and 11 women. The people I interviewed were from all of the different religious groups in the community. All of them could speak and understand Inuktitut. Some people born after 1947 rated themselves as speaking Inuktitut well rather than excellently. For example, one young man said, "I have to ask [older people talking] what they meant and then they explain it to me." About half of them said they could speak and understand English well.

All of the people I talked to said they could read and write Inuktitut syllabics. I also asked them to read out loud some writing in syllabics. Some Inuit guided me in choosing this writing. I taped the people reading. Then an Inuk who is experienced in teaching reading and writing listened to the tape. He said almost all the people could understand the writing.

Most people born after about 1947, that is, those who had an opportunity to attend school in English, said they could read and write English well or excellently. Some older people said they are able to read and write English adequately or well.

When there is a piece of writing in both English and Inuktitut, people who can read English read the English first. Some reasons that people gave for this was that sometimes the Inuktitut was in a different dialect, that sometimes the English was the original version, that they had more experience reading English, or that they could read it faster. Some people said that if the original version was in Inuktitut, they would read in Inuktitut. If the original version was English, they would read in English.

Almost all the people (31 out of 33) approved of the use of Inuktitut and syllabics in the school. Some people felt it should be extended. Often people said the use of Inuktitut in the school can help the survival of the language and culture.

Those born about 1947 mostly use syllabics for Bible reading, diaries and letters. Those born later but before 1960 did not always learn syllabics from their parents because of time spent in residential school and the disruption of camp life by the move into the settlement. Some use syllabics a lot and also read and write in English. The generation born after 1960 learned syllabics at school as well as at home and they can read and write syllabics adequately.

A longer version of this summary is available. The people I talked to are only a small part of the community, that is, only thirty-three out of more than a thousand. Perhaps how other people in the community use reading and writing is different. I would like to continue my work to see if my conclusions apply to other people.
APPENDIX 3: ADULT EDUCATION

Learning from interviews

If you are interested, Adult Education students would interview people in the community about their jobs.

WHY? To learn - what the job is like.
- to find out if the job is a good one for you.
- what kinds of skills are needed for the job.
- what types of reading are used on the job.
- what types of writing are used on the job.
- which math skills are used on the job.
- about possible problems that go with the job.
- what qualifications are needed for the job.
- how people get jobs.
Also, we will learn how to conduct an interview.

**Who are some people you know who have jobs and would agree to be interviewed?**

HOW?
1. Learn together about interview techniques.
2. Discuss in a group whom you would like to interview and make a decision.
3. Contact the person to arrange a time for an interview that is convenient for both of you.
4. Find out information ahead of time about the place the person works.
5. Think up questions that will let you get the information you need. Discuss these with your classmates and teachers. You can write the questions in English or Inuuktut, depending on the person you are interviewing.
6. Practise (role-play) interviewing with your classmates. Then you can be comfortable asking questions and using the tape recorder.
7. Conduct the interview.
8. Transcribe (write down) the important parts of the interview so you have information for categories like:
   - reading and writing skills needed
   - qualifications needed
   - good parts about the job
   - bad parts about the job.
9. You can use this information to write about the people you have interviewed. Perhaps we can publish this in a book or magazine.
Learning to conduct interviews

Purpose: Students will learn the reasons for conducting interviews as part of a larger research process. They will learn the techniques for conducting qualitative interviews. The focus here is on interviewing for research but the principles are similar for other fields such as journalism and human resources.

Learning to conduct interviews is part of a larger process which will permit the students to understand the current state of the economy, employment and education in the community and give them information necessary to planning their own individual careers and education as well as to contributing to planning the future of the community as a whole.

The assumption is that the perspective of the interviewees (those employed in responsible positions and selected by the students) is meaningful, knowable and able to be made explicit. At the same time in interviews people are reporting their own selective perceptions -- not some absolute, objective truth -- and we need to be aware of this in discussion and analysis of the information obtained.

What is being learned is how to listen. The questionnaire is a tool to give the interviewer confidence and to structure the interview. When everyone is using the same questionnaire, it ensures that the same kinds of information will be obtained from the different interviewees. At the same time, however, completing the questionnaire is a means to getting good information, not the only objective of the interview. The interviewee should be encouraged to supply his/her own words, thoughts and insights. Using Inuktitut for Inuktitut-speakers will promote rich and detailed responses.

Interviewers can use follow-up questions to get more complete information. For example, 'who, what, where, when, why and how' questions can be used. In following up the question 'Is English used on the job?', the interviewee can ask 'When is English used?' or 'Who uses English?' Interviewees can be encouraged to elaborate: 'Could you say more about that?' or 'I think I understand. Could you just explain it again?'

All participants should fill out consent forms to show they understand the nature of the project.
Definitions
Interviewer: person getting information.
Interviewee: person providing the information

Before the Interview
Be prepared. Contact the person you would like to interview and make an appointment at a time convenient for both of you. Explain that this is a project that is part of your upgrading program. Try to find out information about the interviewee's job and workplace. The library may be one place to look. Think about what information you want to know and then write down questions. You can ask the same question in different ways to be sure to get a full answer.

Equipment
You will need a tape recorder, microphone and tapes as well as pen and paper to make notes. ALWAYS check the tape recorder to make sure it is working properly before the interview.

The Interview
While you are setting up the equipment, try to chat about anything with the interviewee so there is a relaxed atmosphere. This is the warm-up. When everything is ready, you can begin to ask the questions. There is no rush. Give the interviewee lots of time to answer.

'Probe' questions
If the interviewee is talking about something you think is important, you can ask 'probe' questions. These build on the questions you have prepared beforehand. For example, the interviewer might ask a question about the requirements of a job. The interviewee might say punctuality was a requirement. The interviewer could 'probe' by saying, 'Could you expand on the part about punctuality?' Or, if the interviewee said an applicant for the job had to have good communication skills, the interviewer could ask, 'What exactly do you mean by communication skills?'

Literacy and Math Skills
Keep in mind that you are trying to find out what people use reading, writing and mathematics for on the job. Also, you want to find out what educational qualifications are required for the job.

'Walk me through a day'
One way to find out information is to ask the interviewee to 'walk you through a typical day'. This means asking the interviewee to describe what he or she does on an average day, starting when they arrive at work and finishing at the end of the work day. This might include whom they talk with on the phone or in person, what material they read or write, and what kind of equipment they use (for example, computers).

Wrapping up
When the interviewee has answered all your questions, you can think about anything you didn't understand and ask him or her. Also, you can ask him or her to make a summary or if they have anything they would like to add. Ask if you can return if you think of further questions. Finally, be sure to thank the interviewee.

Transcription
Later, you can listen to the tape. Using the tape counter, mark down the important parts which answer your questions. After that, write or type these important parts.

Sharing
You can use what you have transcribed for discussion and writing about your interview.
Probe questions:
Could you explain that? Could you say more about that? Could you give me some more detail about that?

Experience questions:
If I had your job, what would I do every day? If I followed you through a typical day, what would I see you doing?

Opinion questions:
What is your opinion about your job? What do you think about the future of the department you work for? What would you like to see happen at your workplace?

Feeling questions:
How do you feel about your work? How do you like working here? What is the most difficult part about your job? What is the best part about your job?
Interview role plays 090293

You have just graduated from Grade 12 at Ataguttaaluk School. Answer questions.
You are interviewing someone who has graduated from Grade 12 at Ataguttaaluk School. Ask him/her about future plans and other questions.

You are Susan Aglukark, singer from Arviat. Answer questions about your life and new CD.
You are interviewing Susan Aglukark, singer from Arviat. Ask questions about her life and new CD.

You are Mario Lemieux, hockey superstar. Answer questions about your problem with Hodgkin's disease.
You are interviewing Mario Lemieux about his problems with illness and his hockey career.

Your mother does crazy things like dying her hair purple, riding a motorcycle and going out with young men. Answer questions about her.
You are Montell Williams. You are interviewing a woman. Ask about her mother who does crazy things.

You are Titus Allooloo, MLA for Amittuq. Answer questions.
You are interviewing Titus Allooloo, MLA for Amittuq. Ask questions about the new housing strategy for government employees.

You are a parent of one or more children. Answer questions about your child.
You are interviewing a parent about their children. Ask about the children's likes, dislikes, future and other questions.

You are a divorced person with two children on the Oprah show. Answer Oprah's questions.
You are Oprah Winfree. You are interviewing a divorced person with two children. Ask how s/he gets along with the ex-spouse and other questions.
Before the interview

- CHECK the tape recorder, microphone and tape before you go to the interview to make sure they are working properly.
- Remember the mike has to be turned ON before the interview and OFF after the interview.
- Label the tape with the names of the interviewer and interviewee and also the date.
- Make sure you have the questionnaire or any other papers you need and a pen.

Opening to interview

- Smile. Introduce yourself, e.g. "I'm Super-Shamou and I'm a student at Arctic College."
- Make small talk about the weather or events in the community.
- Tell the purpose of your visit, e.g. "I'd like to interview you today to find out more about the kind of work you do here at the Starship Enterprise. As part of our program at Arctic College, we're learning about different employment possibilities to help us with our career plans."
- Identify yourself and the interviewee on the tape, e.g. "This is Bruce Lee and I'm interviewing Axel Rose."
- There is no rush. Give the interviewee lots of time to finish answering the questions.

Conclusion to the interview

- Give the person a chance to add any further comments, e.g. "Is there anything you'd like to add on any of the points we've discussed?"
- Thank the interviewee and mention the possibility of a further interview, e.g. "I found your answers today very helpful. If I need to clarify any points, could I contact you. ... Thank you very much for your time."
Telephone conversation

**Interviewer:** May I speak to ....?

**Answer (example):** John speaking or Hamlet

**Interviewer:** This is Sara. I'm a student at Arctic College. Our class is doing a research project on job skills in Igloolik. I'm interested in becoming a heavy equipment operator. Would it be possible to make an appointment to interview a heavy equipment operator? When would be the best time to drop by?
JOB SEARCH INTERVIEW

DATE: ______________________

NAME OF COMPANY: _______________________________________

NAME OF OCCUPATION: _______________________________________

NAME OF PERSON YOU SPOKE TO: ___________________________

1. What kind of training or education do you require for this job? ______
   ___________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________

2. Do you require any special certificate, diploma or license for this position?
   ___________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________

3. What kind of previous work experience is required for this position?
   ___________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________
   Please explain: _____________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________

4. What are the most important duties and responsibilities with this job?
   ___________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________
5. Is Inuktitut essential for this job?
   a) YES _____  NO _____
   b) If yes: Reading? _________________________________
      Writing? _________________________________
      Speaking? _________________________________

6. Is English essential for this job?
   a) YES _______  NO _______
   b) If yes: Reading? _________________________________
      Writing? _________________________________
      Speaking? _________________________________

7. Is math involved with this job?
   a) YES _______  NO _______
   b) If yes how much?
   c) Not very much? _________________________________
   d) Fair Amount? _________________________________
   e) A lot? _________________________________

Please give examples: _________________________________
_______________________________
_______________________________
8. What is the pay range for this position?
   Under $20,000.00 ____________________________
   $20,000.00 to $35,000.00 ________________________
   $36,000.00 to $50,000.00 ________________________
   Above $50,000.00 ______________________________

9. What kind of position is this?
   Permanent full time ______________________________
   Permanent part time ______________________________
   Temporary full time ______________________________
   Temporary part time ______________________________
   Contact ______________________
   ______________________
   ______________________
   ______________________
   Seasonal ______________________
   ______________________
   ______________________

10. Comments ________________________________
    ______________________
    ______________________
    ______________________
Flip chart prepared by the Adult Educator 0193, for Personal Life Management class at Adult Education Centre

Goals:
(1) Find out more about jobs in Igloolik
(2) Learn interview and questionnaire skills

Week 1:
(a) Identify all possible jobs - where/employer/type/position
(b) Identify everything we want to know about the jobs

Week 2:
(c) Design interview questionnaire

Week 3/4:
(d) Interview skills and role playing

Week 5/6:
(e) Set up interviews
   - phone to make appointments
   - partners?
   - who interviews who?
(f) Interviews -2 each

Week 6/7:
(g) Interview follow-up
   - report/presentation to class
   - booklet for future adult education students and the community library