"7 People and a Mayor":

Westernized Communities, Social Change and Violence among the Inuit of Nunavut

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1. Introduction: From “Smiling Eskimos to Drinking Inuit “

In 1822/ 23 an English expedition was sailing through the waters of northern Baffin Island. The command was in the hands of Admiral William E. Parry who anchored with his crew nearby a point that is nowadays known as Igloolik. Hereby, Parry and his men made contact with local Inuit which is assumed to be one of the earliest if not the earliest contact between Inuit and Europeans on northern Baffin Island (Matthiasson 1992: 30). From the European perspective, contact with the local population appeared very friendly. They newcomers described the Inuit as:

“(...) a small-scale society with a rather peaceful and harmonious manner and without an authority that could deal decisively with people who disturbed the order.” (Raising 1994: 25f.)

The travelers continuous to describe the *Iglulingmiut*[1] as people who are very welcoming, warm hearted, trustworthy and who barely know any form of aggression or violence within their society (Rasing 1994: 23).
Over the course of the next 100 years *qallunaat*[2] explorers‘ accounts about encounters with Inuit kept listing the same traits of the arctic societies. The general view was that Inuit lived in very harmonious, peaceful societies that, are hard working, extremely resilient and always keep sharing a joyful smile (Brother Warmow 1857/ 58 in: Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 33; Major L.T. Burwash in Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 290; Corp. J McInnis in Raising 1994: 97)
The stereotype of the “Smiling Eskimo” (Kulchisky 2006: 165) was kept alive and enhanced in the mid-20th century when more and more southerners were temporarily visiting and working in northern communities such as the physician

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[1] people of Igloolik or as it is spelled in Inuktitut: *Iglulik*
[2] [2] *Qallunaat* is the plural of *qallunaq* and is the *Inuktitut* term for “Whites“. It is not fully clear what the word means. Many Inuit informants translated the word with “thick eyebrow“, but personal correspondence with an English Greenlandic specialist suggests that the words derives from *qadlunaq* meaning strangers from the South (TD).

Major N.R. Rawson who described the people of Cape Dorset that he was treating for an epidemic in the highest tones, negating any form of aggression among the local Inuit population and stating that "…they were the smilingest and happiest people in the world." (Tester/ Kulchisky 1994: 47).
As every stereotype, the truth lies somewhere in the middle. There is certainly historic evidence that crime or violence existed significantly less in Inuit societies in pre-settlement times as it does nowadays. Matthiasson (1967: 112) for example notices for the Pond Inlet area of the 1960s that almost no incidents of crime occurred in the Inuit camps. Elders from Pangnirtung confirmed the importance of the social paradigm of non-confrontational behavior and avoidance of conflicts (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 290). Anthropologist Nancy Wachowich describes the elderly Apphia A. S. Awa from Igloolik respectively Pond Inlet as*:*

"A friendly, jovial, kindhearted, woman." (Wachowich 1999: 17).

My personal communications with Inuit about pre-colonial times revealed the same patters for Inuit society. On the other side the data I got also included a lot of information on violent incidences and for example a more differentiated interpretation of the meaning of smiling or laughter that is indeed very common in social interactions with Inuit.
For now, it is only important to establish the understanding that the accounts of the early explorers were very stereotypical. Later chapters will discuss in more detail the complexities of traditional Inuit society
In sharp contrast to the picture of the primitive but happy Eskimo that the explorers painted is the modern picture that many Euro – Canadians both in Southern Canada and Nunavut itself have. Many Non-Inuit I met across Canada associate with Inuit at first with alcohol and drug abuse, high rates of violence; and they see them as people who won't stop asking the federal government for more money instead of taking their lives and destiny into their own hands, It is mostly long-term residents of the North who seem to have a more elaborated view on Inuit society since they also had more opportunities to live and work with Inuit and get to know a more diverse picture of Inuit culture.

In fact, Nunavut is dealing with several generations of Inuit that are traumatized or at least severely affected by cultural and economic changes that started after World War 2 with the resettlement from the land into permanent communities. No matter if we are talking about the actual elders, mid-age adults or pre-teenagers, each of this generation experienced and still experiences various personal and cultural challenges of identity, financial and housing insecurity, food insecurity, substance abuse education, change of social values ranging from inter-generational and gender relationships to the introduction of a foreign political and legal system. On the other side a lot of the traditional societal values are still being practiced in Inuit families. Despite all the tragedies that several generations of Inuit have experienced by now the society keeps generating the strength cultural pride that allows many Inuit both as individuals and as a collective under the umbrella of either Inuit Land Claims or not for profit organizations to advocate on behalf of Inuit culture, to fight for more acknowledgement of Inuit culture and to enhance pride in the historic and present day cultural achievements of Nunavut's indigenous population.,

The social issues, inter- and intra-cultural processes described in my thesis are not exclusive to the situation in Nunavut or to Inuit. Studies from other regions, either in Canada or from around the world (LaPrairie 1987; Jensen 1986; Nunatsiaq News 6/30/2010) reveal similar challenges.

Though many structural similarities can be identified by comparing these studies with each other, e.g. marginalization of the indigenous local population, colonization, paternalism and resulting issues like personal and cultural identity loss it is important to have a more in depth look into the single cases to determine which individual events and developments causes and maybe still cause such a devastating social situation as it is found among many indigenous peoples across the world. From my perspective effective improvements of the situation of a group, a respective community or region can only happen when particularities of socialization, communication and philosophy in the single cultural entities are being considered. That is why my thesis will exclusively focus on developments in Nunavut with regular regards to case studies of single communities. The case studies shall help to identify local differences in historic and recent developments

and thus provide starting points for explanations of different developments in different Nunavut communities.

1.1 Methodology and Data

The scope of my work is very broad because it is intended to provide an overview over the many contributing factors and root causes that contribute to the concerning social situation in present-day Nunavut. The in-depth analysis of each of the social issues in Nunavut could fill a book. Additionally, every topic like suicide, domestic violence, crime, low education, employment, housing, mental health, just to name a few ones that will be discussed in my thesis has some characteristics that define it in comparison to any other ones. When I started out with my research on domestic violence, I noticed very soon that even though the social issues were very diverse they all have some common ground. The goal of my work is to work out that kind of common ground which manifests itself in some fundamental contributing factors or root causes that keep nurturing the dynamics that lead to the social issues that Nunavut is currently facing.

By trying to identify these root causes details of some complexities within every single social issue will have to be neglected because otherwise the physical document of my work would become a thesis of multiple volumes. In my perspective two circumstances can compensate for that loss: for one, instead of getting lost in every detail of a topic it is much easier to focus on the essentials. And secondly, the limits of the work still illustrate nicely that the overall topic of social issues and all its sub-categories is intertwined in a very complex web of dynamics that condition each other.

The second point should always be kept in mind when reading through the individual chapters of this document.

The information of my thesis is a combination of literature and about 60 formal and informal interviews that I conducted in three Nunavut communities (Iqaluit, Whale Cove, Kugluktuk) during my 18 months of field work between October 2008 and March 2010. Many more spontaneous unstructured conversations between me and community members added to the pool of first-hand information that I gathered.

All but four of my structured and semi-structured interviews with professionals were conducted in a one on one setting. Our conversations centered around their experience with particular research topics of mine through their work. They were for example, nurses, mental health counselors, social service workers, police officers, or court workers. This set up allowed me to discuss a certain topic in a very private atmosphere which in my experience allowed my interview partners to speak more freely about sensitive topics than if someone else, like a college, supervisor, subordinate or client would have been present.
Three of the four other interviews occurred in group form which was not intended but more the result of the moment. In those cases, a group of lawyers, nurses and the on-duty staff at a police detachment gave me some of their work time to talk to them. Since all of them had very busy workdays this was my only opportunity to have a conversation with them.
The fourth interview situation with a principal and a school counselor who felt more comfortable if they could conduct the interview with me as a team.
My interviews consisted of a questionnaire of roughly 20-35 questions of which most of them were closed questions and a few open ones. Only a few interviewees asked for the questionnaire in advance. During the interview I added on some follow up questions to eventually gain more details to some answers.
I voice recorded most interviews. Before the start of the interview, of course I discussed any confidentiality requests and concerns about access to the raw data with my interview partners.
In Iqaluit, both principals of the Nakasuk Elementary School and the Inuksuk High School graciously allowed me to attend school classes over the course of one consecutive week, observe teacher-student interactions and talk to them as long as I did not compromise the learning process of the students.
The unstructured conversations happened in many different scenarios. Since participating observation was my primary research method, I had many private experiences with locals. They ranged from spending time with peers at the youth center in Kugluktuk or the cafeteria at the student residence in Iqaluit, over invitations to house parties, dinners and other events at private homes to hunting trips, especially in Whale Cove.

Most of my informal conversations were with people between the ages 18 and 45. As I mentioned in the methodology part, I collected many data in Iqaluit while living and socializing at the old residence of the Nunavut Arctic College.
In Kugluktuk, most unofficial informants were between 12 and 28 years old because I spend a lot of time at the local youth center and in the school. Furthermore, I visited the Brighter Futures program that offered several days a week an elders' gathering and at other times elder-children learning opportunities. Even though the elders exclusively spoke Inuinnaqtun among each other, and I could not understand a word, they were very welcoming to me. I was observing interactions among the elders, between elders and younger generation and could set up an interview with an elder.
Whale Cove is of particular importance for my first-hand experience with Inuit communication and socialization principles. There, most contact that I had was with one family that I lived with for 6 weeks. Many members of the extended family lived in single-family houses spread over town. I switched houses twice and was like the rest of the family regularly visiting the place of the elderly head of the family. The elder also had a cabin just outside of town on the ocean where him and some of his relatives spend a lot of time fishing, maintaining vehicles like boats and an All-Terrain Vehicle (ATV) and socializing. I did get an in-depth view into social interactions within a family and could observe roles of all gender and age groups ranging from age 4 to 72.
Since my field work is limited to those three communities it has a very strong qualitative character. The quantitative side, which allows me to confidently apply my research analyses to entire Nunavut, comes from literature research as well as many informal conversations and a few formal interviews that I conducted with people who had some experience in other communities than Iqaluit, Kugluktuk and Whale Cove.
Many residents of Nunavut travel between communities to visit relatives or work there. For example, court staff who work circuit courts get to hold court in many different communities; police staff who have finished their assignment in a community can apply to be transferred on a multi-year term to another

community, and many doctors and mental health professionals also get to work various communities in Nunavut.
Furthermore, while I was living at the old residence of the Nunavut Arctic College in Iqaluit, I spend time with college students from across Nunavut. Through them, I obtained „case studies "from following communities: Iqaluit, Qikiqtarjuaq, Kimmirut, Pangnirtung, Clyde River, Pond Inlet, Igloolik, Repulse Bay, Cape Dorset, Chesterfield Inlet, Baker Lake, Rankin Inlet, Whale Cove, Arviat, Taloyoak, Kugluktuk.
The information from encounters with those students, other Inuit who shared stories about their relatives in other communities, and from professionals who travel across the North complimented anecdotally my qualitative research.
This in combination with the secondary literature completed the picture.
One of the crucial written references on social issues and its roots is certainly the book of Mancini Billson and Mancini "Inuit Women: The Powerful Spirit in a Century of Change". The two authors did a long-term case study in the Baffin community of Pangnirtung until the early 2000s and outline for that community pretty much the same key factors and interdependencies of issues that I could identify in the three communities of my research scope.
An equally important book is Jean Briggs' "Never in Anger". Her work about socialization and conflict among Utkuhikhalirmiut, south of Gjoa Haven provided a brilliant reference to put my studies of Inuit family dynamics in Whale Cove into perspective. Comparing my observations with hers and her conclusions helped a lot to interpret my data.
Unfortunately, just a summer ago I became aware of Marc Stevenson's book "Inuit, Whalers and Cultural Persistence: Structure in Cumberland Sound and Central Inuit Social Organization". As its title already implies it provides a wealth of information for the South Baffin region on traditional Inuit social structure and Inuit social change from the whaling era till what I call in my thesis the "second generation". Although, time constrains did not allow me to include the book in my thesis I wanted to acknowledge it as an important source that complements my work and explains in more detail certain historic and cultural processes for South Baffin Island.

Very often it is difficult to provide solid quantitative data for many areas of social issues in Nunavut. When talking to mental and social health specialists throughout the territory I was often told that there are no statistical data available. Of course, one can get data on suicide and crime in general, but it seems that there is hardly any statistical work done for example on homelessness, child abuse, prostitution, on people who are going for mental health treatment or the success of healing programs for abuse, addictions or other mental health problems.

A second difficulty with quantitative data on social issues, especially crime is the discrepancy between official and unofficial numbers. Lots if not most of the crime, in particular family violence, goes unreported and will not appear in any police, hospital or social worker files. One interviewee stated that some crimes like family violence become so "normalized" in Nunavut that quite often offender, victim, and community take it as a part of every day life that one simply has to put up with (EDQ 2008).

1.2 A few words to the respective chapters

The categorization in my thesis of "early contact period", "contact", "1st generation" and "2nd generation" is very similar to Damas' terms of "early contact phase", "contact – traditional", "resettlement" that he uses to create a timeline that describes the major phases of impact for Inuit society (Damas 2002: 7, 17).

Chapters 3 is meant to provide an inventory of the key aspects of current social issues in Nunavut. In this context I am looking at the four major aspects that in my opinion shape Nunavut's society:

1) violence and other forms of social dysfunctions
2) the associated services and delivering agencies that try to address those matters
3) Education
4) Inuit cultural particularities in communication and socialization

Those four areas are forming the foundation for the rest of my work. The following chapters will guide the reader through the historic transformation process of Inuit

pre-colonial semi-nomadic society to a society that is living in permanent settlements, strongly influenced if not in many ways dominated by Euro-Canadian culture. Each of those chapters will be referring to the social and cultural changes that happened in the different time periods that I labeled with "Pre-settlement, First, Second, and Third Generation". The relevance of violence and other social dysfunctions, their context and strategies how each generation dealt with those matters will be analyzed while I will be also referring to the impacts that non-Inuit, primarily Euro-Canadians and Euro-Americans had and have on Inuit society. Much of the thesis centers on the understanding of culture beyond the aspects that a foreign observer could identify at first glance, like material culture, spoken language and customs that are performed for tourists or celebrated at public events.
Instead I intend to point out that a huge identificatory aspect of culture is embedded in an extensive set of social practices and co-notations that communication implies that is often culturally specific and not directly applicable to another culture. This means that the foreign observer might recognize social practices that seem very familiar to him – like a handshake or a conversation between two people – but the meaning and implications of these practices do not necessarily have to be the same ones as in the observer's own cultural background. They can slightly vary or even mean the total opposite as in the case of a traditional Inuk who in a conversation might respond with the words "I don't care." Whereas in western society "I don't care" could easily interpreted as a disinterest in a certain topic, in South Baffin Inuit culture it means that the speaker does not claim "authority" over the topic. Maybe he was not sanctioned by his community to speak about that field of expertise or maybe he has a socially higher status than his conversation partner and demonstrates to him that the other person does not need to ask for any further permission, guidance or any other sanction from him in order to deal with the whatever matter the two were talking about (IQR 8 2009).
Hereby, I am focusing on three aspects of culture: a) implications of verbal and non-verbal communication patterns, b) family structure and authorities, c) cultural value system with social values, rules, and sanctioning mechanisms.

Most of the cultural change of the last 70 years in Canada's North did not get initiated by Inuit society but was forcefully brought onto it. Consequently, many cultural particularities are not only jeopardized in their existence but since the change happened and happens without a fair social discussion and major consent from Inuit, the indigenous culture experiences it as very disruptive. My thesis will explain and reference to Inuit cultural particularities and contrast them to the dominant Euro-Canadian culture to illustrate the painful impact that the introduction of western culture had and has on Inuit society.
In pre-colonial Inuit society certain adults of the extended family were the main institutions for acquiring skills and knowledge whereas today formal institutions like schools, colleges and other agencies that offer workshops on particular subjects largely take on the role of passing on knowledge and skills which shoves the traditional teachers aside and significantly shifts the understanding of identity, intergenerational roles and interdependencies within families. Since the shift of the educational system is directly connected with individual, gender based and intergenerational identity crises I decided to dedicate some sub-chapters to it.
I will be starting out by providing an update on social issues in Nunavut. It reflects the situation that I encountered while doing research for my Ph.D. and M.A. thesis between 2004 and 2010. Data from earlier years are also included in the chapter to better illustrate the contingency of many social issues and also to sensitise the reader for potential roots and backgrounds of some of the most severe actual problems in Nunavut.
All of my professional and non-professional interviewees agreed that most of the social issues that are described in my thesis are very prevalent in Nunavut, must be taken very seriously and should be key points on the agendas of territorial politics and community development.

2. Modern Inuit Ethnography on Social Issues

2.1 Violence in Nunavut at time of research – "She was talking too much!"[3]

2.1.1 Crime and crime rates

2.1.1.1 Situation in the 2000s

Basically, from day one of its creation Nunavut always statistically ranked amongst those regions with the highest crime rates in entire Canada. With an overall population of 28000 in the year 2000 male and female offenders committed 774 crimes of violence alone (676 male, 98 female) (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 289).

More detailed statistics for example for 2001 show that the territory's assault rate was at 5419.2 per 100,000 whereas the overall Canadian assault rate was significantly lower at 679.5 per 100,000. Nunavut lead the statistics similarly dramatically with sexual assault rates being at 788.4 per 100,000. Canada as a whole, only showed a sexual assault rate of 78.6 per 100,000 (de Jong 2003: 7). The overall crime rate for Nunavut in 2001 was at 25,000 per 100,000 people (Patterson 2002: 14).

In 2002 the numbers even peaked higher for example with sexual assault rates being at 965 per 100,000 (Levan 2003: 5f.).

When looking even closer the data from early 2000s reveal that the majority of offenders are young males that are very often descripted as being *"angry, confused, ill educated and underemployed"* (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 289).

For 2004 about 556 incidents of domestic assault were reported for the territory. It is very likely that many more domestic cases where not even reported and thus cannot appear in these numbers (Pauktuutit 2006a: 2, 17). Pauktuutit (2006a: 2) published data that showed an increase in the use of places that take on women and children who try to flee abusive relationships by 54 percent over the years from 2001 – 2004. The national average increase however was only 4.6 percent.

A few years later, in 2007 the rate of sexual assault stood at 668.5 per 100,000

[3] IQR 4 2009

which means that it was lower than in 2000 or 2001 but still way above the overall Canadian rate (65.0). The overall crime rate for Nunavut on the other site was at 31,633.1 per 100,000 which is a dramatic increase in crimes compared with the statistics from the beginning of the new century (Statistics Canada 2007).
My first field data from conversations with police (RCMP[4]) officers from Iqaluit in early winter 2008 revealed that this trend in high numbers of violence, assault and some other crime continued. In Iqaluit alone with a population of about 7,000 residents and only in the first 8 months of 2008 the RCMP became aware of 41 drug related incidents, 110 break and enters, 662 assaults, 1101[5] other criminal code offences: 1196 cases of mischief, and 2234 incarcerations (RCMP IQ 2008). And finally, the number of calls coming into the Iqaluit police detachment stood at 6440 compared to 4224 for the first 8 months in 2007 which is a 50% increase[6] (RCMP IQ 2008).
Chart 1 (crime rates in Nunavut) reveals that in the 2000s more crimes were registered for the Qikiqtaaluk than for the other two regions in Nunavut. Percentagewise, significantly more communities from the Qikiqtaaluk region than from other Nunavut regions can be found in the upper third of the crime statistics. Within the Qikiqtaaluk the majority of major crimes (ex. homicide, murder, murder on police officers) in 2007 were mainly committed in Iqaluit, Cape Dorset und Kimmirut (JP 2008).

[4] RCMP is the acronym for Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the only kind of Canadian police forces that is operating in Nunavut.
[5] „Other criminal code offences“ covers a very wide range of offences such as causing a disturbance, failing to appear in court, probation breeches, etc. (RCMP IQ 2008).
[6] As mentioned in the text above, I started my field work in Iqaluit in 2008 (October). Because the year was not fully over, yet I could not look at 12 months data but was given data of the first 8 months. Consequently, I made more sense to compare them with data from the first 8 months of the previous year than with a 12 months period of 2007.

Chart 1 Crime Rates in Nunavut (2006)[7]

Community	Crime rate per cent	population	region
Repulse Bay	2	748	Kivalliq
Chesterfield Inlet	4.2	332	Kivalliq
Gjoa Haven	6.5	1064	Kitikmeot
Kugaaruk	8	688	Kitikmeot
Coral Harbour	8.5	769	Kivalliq
Clyde River	9.5	820	Qikiqtaaluk
Igloolik	10.4	1538	Qikiqtaaluk
Sanikiluaq	10.5	744	Kivalliq
Cape Dorset	11.2	1236	Qikiqtaaluk
Whale Cove	12	353	Kivalliq
Arviat	14.3	2060	Kivaliq
Rankin Inlet	15.4	2358	Kivalliq
Resolute Bay	17.5	229	Qikiqtaaluk
Grise Fjord	17.7	141	Qikiqtaaluk
Pond Inlet	20.2	1315	Qikiqtaaluk
Arctic Bay	20.3	690	Qikiqtaaluk
Pangnirtung	21.4	1325	Qikiqtaaluk
Baker Lake	22.3	1728	Kivalliq
Kimmirut	22.9	411	Qikiqtaaluk
Cambridge Bay	28.4	1477	Kitikmeot
Iqaluit	29.1	6184	Qikiqtaaluk
Qikiqtarjuaq	30.2	473	Qikiqtaaluk
Hall Beach	32.3	654	Qikiqtaaluk
Taloyoak	35	809	Kitikmeot
Kugluktuk	52.1	1302	Kitikmeot

[7] I created the chart based on information that I was given in interviews and from the Nunavut Bureau of Statistics updated October 5, 2018.

total		29474
average	20.8	1179

Furthermore, aside from crime and assault, suicide as a third very severe and prevalent aspect of social issues that was identified for example by Levan (2003: 5f).

Whereas the overall Canadian situation on suicide decreased slightly in 2003 and 2004 Nunavut's numbers on suicide rose compared to the years before (Hicks 2015: 5; Stats Can 2015).

Those numbers do only provide a pure statistical skeleton on crime and violence in Nunavut. Earlier studies from the 1980s and 1990s reveal similarly high crime rates for Nunavut (that at that time was part of the Northwest Territories (NWT)) compared to the rest of Canada. Even back then they were considered the highest in entire Canada (Statistics Canada 1990 2-97ff; Statistics Canada 1998: 10ff; Wood 1997: 14).

The authors of these pre-2000 studies already come up with some explanatory models.

2.1.1.2 Studies between 1980s and 1990s

Between 1977 and 1992 the violent crime rates in Canada nearly doubled while (…) the violent crime rate in the Baffin Region quadrupled. Property crime rate did not rise but the violent crime rate did (Wood 1997: 14). Furthermore, Wood (1997: 21) identified strong differences of violent crime rates between different Baffin communities. In his statistics (1997: 21ff.) two major observations can be made:

1. Some communities like Grise Fjord and Kimmirut had low crime rates whereas others like Cape Dorset had exceptionally high ones.
2. During the 1980s there were several years were crime rates in pretty much all Baffin Island communities rose and fell at the same time. The years were 1983, 1985 and 1989/ 90.

It would certainly be a very interesting task to investigate the factors that may have caused the common rise and fall of crime rates, but this would be subject to another crime focused study that goes beyond my thesis' capacity.

Wood's (1997: 67) statistical data also reveal the interesting fact that for the 1990s communities with more income and employment were also more affected by violent crime than those with a smaller income and less employment. Havermann (et. all 1984: 116) already presented the same findings not only for Nunavut but also for other areas of the Canadian Arctic.

In my experience in many informal discussions with economists (not only in Nunavut but also generally at evening dinner conversations or discussions about social issues in other parts of the world) they usually raised the argument that more financial income in the community leads to a more stable society with less crimes. Property crimes are usually seen more critically because of the "income gap" and thus resulting inequalities and "creed" among community members. In Nunavut's case the exact opposite seemed to have happened: more income in some communities meant more (violent!) crime but had no significant effect on property crime. Earlier I pointed out that Iqaluit, Cape Dorset, and Kimmirut appear in the front of recent crime statistics. With Iqaluit being the financial and administrative center of the Territory and Cape Dorset having a vital arts industry one can again find indicators that an active financial economy rather fosters an increase in violent crimes than a decrease.

I will examine the details of that interesting situation in the later chapter on the" First Generation".

In the next chapter, I would like to sketch a few key aspects of violence as it appears in Nunavut's communities nowadays. This shall help to get a better overview of the current situation, some key contributing factors, and it will shed the first light on the above question why did and does money seem to contribute to increasing violence.

2.1.2 Violence a profile

One of Havermann's (et all 1984: 116) arguments for the increase of violence in a strong economic setting is that increased employment provides people with the

financial resources to purchase liquor which then leads to more alcohol orders who peak in extensive drinking and finally violent crimes.

During my field visits to Nunavut in 2004, 2007 and for the research of this actual project between 2008 and 2010 I could make similar observations as did Havermann and Wood 2 decades earlier.

Another central aspect derives from the question of who is committing violent crimes. Despite Nunavut's high numbers in crime that statistically mean that for example every 6th resident of Iqaluit must have committed an offence of mischief and that every 3rd resident was a prisoner in a cell at the police station in the first 8 months of 2008 it is important to note that of course many residents of Iqaluit and across Nunavut do not get in conflict with the law at all. Instead, there are many repeated offenders. Also, different crimes are committed by different groups.

A RCMP officer in Whale Cove (a community with minor economic class differences and strong connection to Inuit traditions and culture) for example explained that victims and offenders of domestic violence can be found in most families of the community. Violence does happen but not very often in such an exaggerated fashion, from the victim's perspective that it will be reported (RCMP WC 2009). Therefore, reports on domestic violence and crime are statistically relatively low compared to other Nunavut communities (see table on crime statistics in Nunavut).

A RCMP officer from Kugluktuk, a community with larger economic differentiation and a larger erosion of Inuit traditional and cultural identity, estimated that an average of 15 – 20% of the residents are responsible for pretty much all crimes in town whereas only 3% of the offenders are high repetitive offenders (RCMP K4 2008). In addition, crime and domestic violence in Kugluktuk are quite high compared to other Nunavut communities.

These data lead to the following conclusions: violence is more evenly distributed but may not escalate as much in those communities where the population finds itself in a relatively equal economic state or where the population has stronger ties to their own culture and traditions than in communities with bigger economic differences and less cultural identity. Violence in its extreme forms might not spark up as often in economically weak communities as in economically strong ones.

And a relatively large majority of the community might accept violence as a common factor in their lives.
Communities with a stronger economic differentiation and/ or cultural erosion also seem to be the better breeding ground for the establishment of a particular sub-group who might be committing most of the domestic offences. This leads to the questions if there is indeed a smaller amount of people who do commit (violent) crimes
a) might larger group in the community be less directly exposed to violence and thus be more sensitive or receptible to the unacceptable nature of violence?
b) might violence among the members of those sub-groups escalate more regularly into extremer forms?
In both cases residents might feel a bigger need to report incident to the police than it is the case among residents of economically weaker communities.
An additional theory that I would like to raise follows the argument that people in communities with a stronger economy are due to their economic vitality also subject to more exchange with the outside world (more travel between communities or other places for work, for pleasure, more temporary workers entering community etc.). All the exposure also brings more exchange of knowledge, experience and values with others which again could sensitize more residents for not accepting the status quo of violence in their home community.
The economic circumstances in the community and within the family and violence do certainly appear to be linked with each other (Mancini Billson/Mancini 2007: 357).
Despite the economic viability in all communities family violence and this is the most common kind of violence in Nunavut is typically a hidden type of violence similar to sexual abuse (CWS 2009, GHS 2008) which brings many issues with it when trying to properly describe, analyze and discuss it both on an academic level and an action-based level within the communities or among politicians.
Who are the people who are affected by violence and crime? What situations do offenders and victims face on a regular base? What kind of victims do primarily exist in Nunavut and how does violence and crime come across people in their daily lives?

2.1.2.1 Examples of violent incidents

Public data on violence in Nunavut such as police statistics or newspaper articles already illustrate how deeply all communities are affected by violence. Although the regular news of a homicide, a stand-off, or another suicide are very shocking the situation is getting even more alarming when one tries to look at the daily forms of violence that do not make it into radio, tv or newspaper but are the regular business of social workers, women shelter personal, police or nurses. Highly conservative estimates by nurses of the Qikiqtani General Hospital in Iqaluit (QGH 2008)[8] are speaking of between 20 and 30 victims of violence per month that are being treated for injuries. These cases mainly refer to the residents of Iqaluit with a population of less than 7000 and not to patients that are flown in by plane for treatment. Nurses who I was talking to, described the wounds of the victims of (domestic) violence as primarily black eyes, facial injuries and bite injuries (QGH 2008). Considering the fact that those are only numbers of people that went for treatment to the hospital it is very likely that there is a way higher number of victims who do either not feel the need of visiting the hospital for treatment or who are too afraid to seek treatment respectively display in public what happened at their homes. The nurses' estimates receive backup from the high amount of particularly women with effusions or black eyes that I was noticing in Iqaluit on a regular base when walking through town, doing my groceries at the supermarket, visiting the schools or doing leisure time activities. Pinning it down to numbers I would guess that about every second week I have noticed somebody with obvious injuries resulting from physical fighting. The police also identified fighting and hitting each other as the most common kind of physical violence and pointed out that the use of weapons plays a marginal factor in domestic cases (RCMP IQ 2008)

[8] The Qikiqtani General Hospital (QGH) in Iqaluit is the only hospital for entire Nunavut. All other communities have nursing stations, some with some without a doctor but all with well trained nurses who can respond to pretty much all minor and medium cases of illness or injury. At major cases (ex. life threatening for the patient) the patient has to be flown out either to the hospital in Iqaluit or to other hospitals in Southern gateway cities such as Ottawa, Winnipeg or Edmonton. Consequently, the staff at the QGH is dealing with patients from all over Nunavut especially from the Baffin Region and the western Hudson Bay area (TD 2008-2010).

2.1.2.2 Offenders

Over decades the patterns of violence remained steady in Nunavut. Wood (19997: 19) identified for Baffin Island communities where violence is a predominant factor and occurs across all age groups. He also argues that especially sexual violence is very wide-spread and affects many different age groups and both genders. Mancini Billson and Mancini (2007: 226) came to the same conclusion and added that men are most commonly the offenders and women the victims. Interviews that I conducted with RCMP members in all three Nunavut regions confirmed this situation also for the Kivalliq and for the Kitikmeot (RCMP IQ 2008; RCMP K2 2008; RCMP WC 2009).

The offenders are mostly male family members, in particular husbands, common-law partners or spouses. The second largest group of offenders is as contradictory as it may sound first, friends of the victim like best girlfriends especially among older teenagers (QGH 2008). At a later point it will become more understandable why friends of the same gender very often become the offenders. It seems that not only domestic violence is mostly conducted by males between 25 and 40 years old. The same age group is also most prone to be become involved in most other criminal incidents (RCMP IQ 2008).

Females on the other hand do usually appear in police statistics for property damage, assaults and disturbing the public peace while being drunk. Most female offenders fall into the same age group as men (RCMP IQ 2008).

As was outlined in more detail in the chapter "Violence a profile" the majority of the crimes is committed by repeat offenders. The extend of repetition and the quantity of severe crimes might change depending on the economic state of the community but despite local differences all professionals I spoke to agreed that the absolute majority of offenders will regularly return to the RCMP trunk tank, to court of even to jail (CWC 2009; RCMP IQ 2008). Very often the criminal career seems to start for many repeat offenders in their teenage years, peaks up in the early or mid-20s and then, after almost a decade of criminal activity sometimes decreases again. In many other cases it continues as long as the offenders are healthy or strong enough to assert violence or other criminal behavior over others (RCMP IQ 2008).

Another typical feature of violent behavior in Nunavut is the circumstance that after the offender sobered up, he very often does not remember his actions under alcohol intoxication (CKW 2008; QGH 2008; RCMP WC 2009). In his intoxicated state he tends to get a kind of "*tunnel vision* "(Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 304) where he cannot be addressed any longer and where he is resistant to any form of intervention from the outside. When being sober again most offenders do deeply regret their offence and apologize to the victim (CKW 2008; QGH 2008). When talking to professionals I tried to get a better understanding of the severances of intoxication under which those offenders are who seem not to remember their actions anymore. Interestingly I have got some responses that explained that the stage of intoxication does not always need to be very high. Someone raised the hypothesis that being trunk is more like an excuse to justify uncontrolled behavior than it is a real physical influence factor (RCMP IQ 2008).

2.1.2.3 Victims

Victims can basically be found in all age groups. Only children are less often victims of physical violence but when they are, they are mostly sexually abused (QGH 2008) and of course they are very often witnesses of domestic violence which can severely affect their mental health (SSP 2008).

2.1.2.4 Women and domestic violence

In my experiences in Nunavut domestic violence is that form of violence with the most sustainable effect on people. Nearly every family seems to be affected by having either offenders or victims or both in the extended family. Statistical numbers also reveal the frequency of how often domestic violence occurs in Nunavut.

Most adult women have either been victims of violence in their life or are still engaged in an abusive relationship (QGH 2008; RCMP IQ 2008). Spousal assault is the most common form of domestic violence in Nunavut. Rasing (1994: 233) already identified that for Igloolik in the 1990s. During my research in Kugluktuk a social service employee estimated that about 50% of all households are affected by domestic violence with spousal assault basically happening in each of these households (SSK 2008). Nurses in Iqaluit also shared very high numbers of spousal

assault with me. Their estimate was that they are treating the injuries of 1-3 victims of spousal assault per day (QGH 2008) which is about 700-1100 cases/ year at an overall population of less than 7000 residents.
Mostly they either get beaten or sexually abused by their male partner (SSP 2008). A social service worker explained that this kind of regular physical violence very often also indicates the latent existence of other forms of violence such as emotional abuse. Violence and other forms of abuse usually go hand in hand with an instable self-consciousness of the offender. The majority of abuse relationships suffer from the prevalence of jealousy, anger issues very often of both offender and victim and the offender's desire to control his partner. Another typical feature of domestic violence in Nunavut is the involvement of alcohol. Quite often both, offender and victim are intoxicated at the time of physical abuse (SSP 2008). Victim accounts state that a violent situation can come up very sudden. It often starts with minor disagreement between both partners but then spirals up into a serious violent incident that got triggered by the woman disagreeing with her partner and speaking up for herself (CWS 2009; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 277; QGH 2008). A common statement that can be heard from victims of domestic violence is

"My boyfriend got mad at me and beat me up!" (QGH 200; VOI 2008-2010).

One victim of domestic violence gave me a very vivid account of the extent that the man's controlling efforts in an abusive relationship can have:

„Like over little things like ah it comes to controlling. Like if he knows that (...) he's not controlling me if I'm not obeying him. That's when he start getting more aggressive. Like even going out for cigarette it's difficult. Or even standing up to get something like he wanna be in control. And if I just get up and go out for cigarette even if he say I'm not going but I leave him alone for smoking and then he gets aggressive. Afraid that I might not come home. That's what I been doing that's what he's been really afraid of. Like before that I just stay home and it came to the point

where like I kept it behind closed doors but I start going out to my relatives but still not seeking for help." (CWS 2009).

Although victims very often get severely injured by their perpetrators, they tend to stay with them. A key reason for that is their self-victimization. In most if not all cases they are blaming themselves for the offence they suffered from instead of blaming the offender. The final consequence is that they convince themselves they got no reason to complain or even report the incident but better try to avoid the behavior that they think outraged their spouse (TD 2008-2010).
Furthermore, nowadays violence has become so common in every Nunavut community that it is very difficult for many families to picture a realistic chance of practicing a relationship without any (physical) violence at all. Domestic violence seems to have become more accepted than violence between non-family members. Slapping and beating the wife is not only a widespread fact in Nunavut but several sources shared my impression that both men and women actually tend to accept it as common behavior respectively a common reaction to particular situations. Sexual intercourse against the will of the female also seems to fall into that category (EWS 2009, KR2 2008; RCMP WC 2009).
This also seems to be the main reason why such few victims lay charges against their spouses. In many cases it seems that as long as violence is not directly life-threatening to the victim, she does not want to lay charges because she might think charging her partner will neither change him nor enable her to enter a new relationship with less violence. Since break-ups are very uncommon among adult partnerships the idea to leave the partner is very strange to many women and to the families of both partners. Even the victim's family does often only support the victim as long as she does not challenge the unity of her own nuclear family that she entered with her abusive partner (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 277).
As a consequence, reporting the partner to the police will – in the eyes of many families – just escalate the circle of violence even further because the abusive partner will be back in the family and then probably become even more aggressive (DHS 2008; Finkler 1976: 158; SCI 2009; TD 2008-2010).

Even if a victim is trying to escape the abusive household and seeking safety at a women's shelter or someplace else, she very often returns to her old relationship again. For example, the director of the local women's shelter in Iqaluit explained that more than 30% of her clients are abused women who return more than once back to the shelter again after they have moved back into their old relationship (ADQ 2008).

The reasons for the victim's return into a violent relationship are manifold and are related to pressure of her and the partner's family, close family ties, economic dependency from the partner, the need to find employment, the Nunavut's housing crises, the close inter-communal family networks in the territory, potential ostracism of Inuit from other communities. In many cases one can notice a link to the historic cultural paradigm of which the survival of the group (family) was more important than the well-being respectively self-fulfillment of the individual. Since elders do still have a respectable influence in most families and communities the values that they had learned while growing up on the land are carried on with them into the modern world and often make it difficult for the younger generation to find new models of social interaction (CWC 2009; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 277). [9]

I will refer to these and some more aspects regularly in later chapter as they all add up to the web of many spheres and backgrounds that challenge simple solutions for social issues in Nunavut which again contribute to the many forms of violence in the North.

[9] *In many ways, the elders' knowledge, experience and values are of great assistance for younger generations of Inuit. Their guidance is sought regularly and very often the elders' advice contains helpful knowledge and solutions. Despite the very important role of the Inuit elders in Nunavut's indigenous society whose important role shall not be questioned at all in my thesis, I would like to also point toward some critical circumstances regarding the elders' role in the actual society. No society is static; in particularly Nunavut's social, cultural and economic landscape have drastically changed over the past 60 years and undoubtly some perimeters have strongly changed compared to the mid-20th century. Consequently, although many traditional paradigms can still be carried over into today's society some others need to be renegotiated and new solutions must be found. This tension between old and new is definitely very prevalent in modern Inuit society and should be allowed to be addressed without appearing to underappreciate the elders' integrity in Nunavut's society.*

2.1.2.5 Sexual abuse of women

Sexual abuse seems to be very widespread in Nunavut families. Several social workers who I interviewed in Iqaluit between 2008 and 2010 stated that almost every indigenous woman in Nunavut has become a victim of sexual abuse at some point in her life (SWIQ 2008 - 2010). Many women confirmed in personal conversations with me that they were forced to having sexual intercourse by their partners. Sexual abuse seems to be so omni-present that several generations of women in one family share similar experiences with their partners and thus consider domestic sexual violence as a matter of fact (EDQ 2008).
This means for the statistics, sexual assault within the family won't be reported as often as a sexual assault by a strange. An RCMP officer from Kugluktuk estimated that 1 of 6 - 10 sexual assaults are not getting reported (RCMP K2 2008).
Outside of the family sexual abuse of women also happens. Regular occurrences are rapes of women who are intoxicated or have passed out and thus are very vulnerable. Assaults do also happen in the public, very often at night and again very often but not exclusively with intoxicated women (RCMP IQ 2008).
Furthermore, many victims have their first encounters with sexual violence and other forms of abuse during their childhood years where they get sexually abused for the first time (SSP 2008).

2.1.2.6 Children and domestic violence

During his research in the 1970s Finkler (1976: 158) already noticed an increase in the amount of violence against Inuit children. His study was generally geared towards any kind of violence.
Many children *suffer from (...) emotional neglect, lack of communication, and lack of discipline "*(Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 300). They are also very often immediate witnesses of their parents physically and verbally abusing each other which can and most likely will significantly shape on the children's understanding of socialization and self-image (KR2 2008; SSK 2008; SSP 2008; SWIQ 2008 - 2010).
Although no -one of my informants could provide reliable statistics on violence against children interview partners from various key organizations such as Qulliit,

Pauktuutit, RCMP, Social Services or women's shelters agreed that a high number of children in Nunavut are victims of physical abuse, emotional abuse or regularly witness violence and suffer from trauma caused by their experiences (DHS 2008; EDQ 2008; EWS 200;, MHK 200; RCMP IQ 2008; SSP 2008). Several Social Workers from Iqaluit testified that the number of children who are beaten, molested and abused in many ways by their own intoxicated family members is way higher than generally assumed (SWIQ 2008 - 2010). Although children are tremendously valued and loved in Inuit families, alcohol often disrupts the positive character of the Inuit social value system. It is argued that the effects for children who regularly witness domestic violence are definitely severe but can still leave a lot of room for the direction in which the child will develop throughout its adolescence. Despite the sustainably disturbing impact on the child some children may learn from their experience that what they have witnessed is the norm and they will incorporate physical violence as a form of learned behavior into their future relationships. Other children again might be eager to not accept this kind of behavior and try to live a non-violent lifestyle (DHS 200; RCMP IQ 2008).

Furthermore, every representative from the organizations I spoke to sees the need for extended research in order to provide the missing but necessary statistical data on the subject of domestic violence and children (DHS 2008; EDQ 2008; EWS 2009; MHK 2008; RCMP IQ 2008; SSP 2008).

2.1.2.7 Sexual abuse of children

When Rasing (1994: 233) did his research in Igloolik in the early 1990s he could not find any reports of child sexual abuse in RCMP files. This does not mean that sexual abuse did not exists in the 1990s. The existing cases were probably not brought to the attention of the RCMP.

In my research the police were assuming that child sexual abuse occurs less than adult sexual abuse or adult violence (RCMP IQ 2008). Nurses I was talking to, pointed to neglect as the most common form of „violence“ against children but stressed that they hardly notice intentional physical violence. But when it comes to cases of physical violence against children sexual abuse seems to be the number

1(QGH 2008). A mental health worker in Kugluktuk shared the same observation with me (MHK 2008).
In addition, all interview partners with a social service background indicated that there is much more sexual abuse of children happening in Nunavut than widely expected. Though there are no solid record available that closer documents child sexual abuse in Nunavut a social service professional in Iqaluit estimated that there are one to two reported cases of child sexual abuse per month in Nunavut's capital (SSP 2008).
A Pauktuutit report from the early 1990s supports the thesis of a serious problem of child sexual abuse in Nunavut. A women's shelter worker who was interviewed in that report outlined that only 60 out of 600 women at the shelter were not sexually abused as children (Pauktuutit 2006b: 7).
Furthermore 99% of all cases of sexual abuse against kids are happening within the homes. Hereby it is very important to note that this does not mean that parents are the main abusers. It can happen within the immediate and the extended family but also during sleepovers at friends' houses where relatives of the friends' family might sexually assault the child. The likelihood that the perpetrator comes from within the family or from outside the family are pretty much 50/ 50 (DHS 2008; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 298f.' RCMP IQ 2008; SCI 2009; SSP 2008). Most likely perpetrator and victim know each other well (SSP 2008).
Usually female children are victims of sexual abuse but there is evidence that male children though in lesser numbers are also being sexually abused (SCI 2009).
Since the violence happens in a very familiar environment (either within the own family or a befriended family) the victims encounter lots of pressure not to expose themselves and their perpetrators. They also develop lots of guilt and feel overwhelmed to deal with the unbearable situation so that they develop trauma and other mental health issues. A mental health professional from Iqaluit stated for example that within eight years of service he cannot recall a single client male or female who did not report being sexually assaulted at some point in their life (Rousseau 2004: 280; SSP 2008).
Sexual abuse has also become a multi-generational experience. In addition to the actual cases in the communities, adults have experienced sexual abuse during their

childhood at the residential school. They were and are facing similar trauma and challenges to cope with their childhood experience as children and adult women who are getting sexually abused in the communities.

"There is a lot of denial of the problem. People are afraid of speaking out about family members and being punished by those family members. They're afraid of Social Services taking away their children. The women who have been abused are just afraid to open up the subject because it's too overwhelming." (Pauktuutit 2003: 9).

One more dimension of child sexual assault, especially the one within family or friends, is the circumstance that these traumatic experiences can prevent victims from starting healthy intimate relationships in their adulthood. The deep shuttering of a trusting relationship during their childhood easily leads to chronic insecurity and mistrust in future partnerships with peers (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 299).

2.1.2.8 Women being violent against men

Violence of women towards their male partners is said to occur less often but some voices claim that recently it seems to grow (CKW 2008; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 289; SSK 2008). On the other side the police were more cautious to predict an increase in female violence against men. They also confirmed its existence and pointed out that most of the cases they get aware of are situations where both partners are drunk and assaulting each other (RCMP IQ 2008).
Violence against men certainly happens; the motivation for women to become violent seems somewhat different than when men become violent. Aside from cases of jealousy, violence against men is often the result of abused women starting to fight back at their perpetrators (AIP 2008) whereas men are often driven by asserting their male dominance in the relationship through violence.

2.1.2.9 Elder abuse

Aside from women and children elders form a third group of people in Nunavut who easily and regularly get victimized. It is usually relatives or other people like

neighbors who know the elder very well and who are in a trust relationship with the victim. Mostly elders' abuse is geared towards money. Pension cheques, savings or other finances owned by the senior are being demanded and taken by the perpetrator who very often is in need for cash to finance his or her addictions (alcohol, drugs, gambling). The argument over money often leads to the threat or the action of physical violence against the elder (CKW 2008; RCMP IQ 2008)

Some voices are pointing out that many elders who are abused nowadays, obviously lack the respect of their descendants because they were abusive towards their descendants in the past, when they were younger (KN 2008).

When it comes to reporting the abuse, many elders face the particular problem that they are not as fluent in English, may have had bad experiences with a very paternalistic policing system some decades ago and thus lack the confidence in going to the police station or calling in and reporting the incident (RCMP IQ 2008).

2.1.2.10 Peer violence

In addition to violence within the family, violence among young peers happens very often, sudden and unexpected. While alcohol is being consumed somebody says a wrong word that is interpreted as being offensive by someone else and very sudden both people, sometimes several individuals of the partying group join in the argument that mostly leads to physical violence (JP 2008).

The reasons for two or more people starting a fight seem to differ and also depend on the age group.

At school, conflicts regularly arise when new students (whose family may have moved to the community) are joining their new class. Integration is even more difficult if these students perform above average or stick out of the group in other ways (SCI 2009).

Teenagers between 13 and 15 are said to very often fight about relationship issues whereas older youths and young adult mostly argue and fight over money, drugs or because someone is jealous of another person (DNS 2009; SCI 2009).

2.1.2.11 Suicide

Nunavut does not only have one of the highest numbers on violence but also a very high rate of auto-aggression cases which means suicide and suicide attempts.

Chart 2 Suicides in Nunavut (1999 – 2008)[10]

community	region	suicides per cent	1999-2008 total	2006 total
Repulse Bay	Kivalliq	0,67	5	2
Sanikiluaq	Kivalliq	0,40	3	0
Cambridge Bay	Kitikmeot	0,40	6	1
Arviat	Kivalliq	0,49	10	0
Gjoa Haven	Kitikmeot	0,50	5	1
Kugaaruk	Kitikmeot	0,58	4	1
Chesterfield Inlet	Kivalliq	0,60	2	1
Taloyoak	Kitikmeot	0,62	5	1
Rankin Inlet	Kivalliq	0,64	15	1
Baker Lake	Kivalliq	0,69	12	1
Coral Harbour	Kivalliq	0,78	6	0
Iqaluit	Qikiqtaaluk	0,80	50	7
Igloolik	Qikiqtaaluk	0,91	14	1
Kimmirut	Qikiqtaaluk	0,97	4	0
Pond Inlet	Qikiqtaaluk	1,29	17	2
Resolute Bay	Qikiqtaaluk	1,31	3	1
Hall Beach	Qikiqtaaluk	1,38	9	0
Cape Dorset	Qikiqtaaluk	1,38	17	1
Pangnirtung	Qikiqtaaluk	1,43	19	2
Clyde River	Qikiqtaaluk	1,46	12	1
Kugluktuk	Kitikmeot	1,69	22	4
Arctic Bay	Qikiqtaaluk	1,74	12	1
Qikiqtarjuaq	Qikiqtaaluk	2,75	13	1
Whale Cove	Kivalliq	n.d.	1	0
Grise Fjord	Qikiqtaaluk	n.d.	2	0

[10] I created the chart based on information that I was given in interviews and from Hicks' report to NTI from 2015.

total		269	30
average	0.9	15	

The territory is even said to have the highest youth suicide rate in the country with 107 suicides being committed during the first 4 years of its creation (CN 2004). Out of those 107 suicides 103 were committed by Inuit. Most suicides are being committed by youths and young adults under the age of 25. Males are representing the main group of victims with 85% of all suicides. Differences between males and females do also lie in the age groups that are most affected by suicide. The majority of male victims is between 15-19 and 30-34 years old whereas the majority of female victims is 20-24 years old. At least 42% of all victims were intoxicated either by alcohol or other drugs (SSP 2008; Tan et. all. 2004: 5).
Similarly, to the violence statistics suicides also seem to appear more often in the Qikiqtaaluk, followed by the Kivalliq and finally the Kitikmeot (see chart 2; Tan et. all. 2004: 5). Typical triggers for suicide or suicidal attempts are jealousy, break ups initiated by the partner or severe trouble with the spouse (QGH 2009; TD 2008-2010).

Suicidal patterns like this appear to be a recent phenomenon dating back no further than the 1980s (TD 2008-2010; Wachowich 1999: 216, 222).
On a day to day bases suicide and suicide attempt is nearly omni-present in Nunavut's communities. The police in Iqaluit estimated that they are dealing with about 1 to 10 suicidal persons per week (RCMP IQ 2008). Nurses at the Qikiqtani Hospital estimated that they are treating 10 suicide attempts per month. They also pointed out that actual attempts are less common than suicide threats. I was told that patients who expressed a suicide threat are a daily occurrence. Very often patients are intoxicated, being brought in by the police and kept at the hospital over night. The next day or a few days later they are referred to a mental health specialist (QGH 2008).
Social service providers confirmed the data from RCMP and nurses by explaining that people who attempted suicide and are threatening to commit suicide are regular clientele (SSP 2008).

Most often suicide and suicide attempts in Nunavut can be found in two kinds of closely related contexts. On one side it is very often a cry for help and attention because many people have not learned a diverse set of coping skills.
Secondly, it is regularly seen as a „first line of defense" where especially teenagers and young adults are threatening with suicide to finally get that kind of attention and commitment by others that they desire from their environment.
Due to historic reasons such as the residential school phase and other forms of cultural change an entire generation had hardly any chance to learn proper socialization skills.
As a result, that generation who by now has children and grandchildren could not teach and pass on a wealth of coping mechanisms and socialization skills to their descendants who now also lack essential skills that are important for a well-functioning society. Especially boys are regularly subject to a parenting style where developing strong coping skills is neglected. One person who was already working in the northern social services sector way before the creation of Nunavut (1999) describes the observation that parents very often pamper their boys by trying to keep every challenging situation away from them. Whereas girls are expected to take over many responsibilities and chores in the household (including babysitting other siblings and relatives' children) boys are widely shielded from upsetting influences. Instead their parents, and female siblings are trying to cheer up the boy without exposing him to the situation of baring the actual discomfort (EWS 2009). I could witness the same behavior among that group of young adults in Kugluktuk that I was regularly accompanying. Infants and pre-teen children – and again especially boys – were expected to always be happy. If they were not, they were either given special treats, candy, sweet food or anything else materialistic that they little one usually liked. The young mothers, fathers or the older siblings made all kinds of fun until the distressed boy was smiling again. Regular comforting instead was less the norm than respectively providing sweets for comfort.

Among those people who do threaten to commit suicide lacking coping skills often pair up with feelings of low self-esteem, hopelessness and shame due to their

actual cultural, economic and/ or social situation. The easiest form of "empowerment" for many people is to look for ways of how to make one's environment – those people who are regarded to have put oneself into the actual situation- suffer for the own pain that one is constantly experiencing. Killing oneself is then seen by many suicidal youths as payback: one is free of pain and probably even more important, the other person(s) will finally suffer by mourning about the loss caused by suicide. Specialists in the suicide prevention field are convinced that many victims oftentimes feel that the pure threat of committing suicide respectively the act of personally harming oneself without the ultimate consequence of death is enough to get the attention people are looking for. They see their hypothesis backed up by the circumstance that a significant number of people repeatedly attempt suicide. In one case a teenager had 6 suicide attempts. There are even more extreme cases where someone tried to end his or her life for more than 10 times (KN 2008; SSP 2008; RCMP IQ 2008; SCI 2009; SSP 2008, SWIQ 2008 – 10).

Suicide seems to have become so popular among the younger generations in many Nunavut communities that in particular some teenagers and young adults are starting to model that kind of self-destructive behaviour. The deep emotional effects of suicide or suicide attempt on family members and friends are widely noticed in Nunavut. Situations often escalate when alcohol is involved, and people cannot fully control their own behaviour or assess the consequences of their behaviour (SCI 2009).

Of course one should not underestimate that most if not all of these people who threaten to commit suicide, or who attempt suicide suffer from severe personal and social issues in their lives that lead them to such a one way street of feeling overwhelmed with own emotions, not being able to identify alternative behaviour models and losing faith in what is usually anticipated as healthy or „normal" social interaction. It is quite common that many suicidal persons in Nunavut are also victims of physical violence, mental and sexual abuse (DHS 2008; MHK 2008; QGH 2008). This again means that the self-esteem of this group of individuals is very low. This, paired up with some more emotional pressure, traumatic experiences, or challenging life circumstances is a very sensitive mix of overwhelming feelings that

all too often bring up suicidal thoughts or violent behaviours (SCI 2009).
On the other side suicide prevention seems to be a particularly difficult approach in Nunavut due to a huge opposition to openly discuss the topic. Besides the strong desire to keep personal matters very private the Inuit cultural paradigm that bad things will return to the person who talks about them places a significant challenge on Nunavut's strategy to overcome the problem. Other social issues are similarly affected by the same cultural paradigm (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 260; SCI 2009).
In addition to suicide other self-harming actions like slashing oneself can increasingly be diagnosed especially among Inuit youths. Both boys and girls are equally affected. I was given the estimate that at the hospital in Iqaluit alone between 10 to 40 youths per month who are treated for all sorts of medical purposes show signs of purposely injuring themselves (QGH 2008; SW IQ 2008 - 2010).
This very brief examination of various key fields of violence in Nunavut already shows the obvious: violence and how to deal with it is embedded in a complex social and cultural net of values, interdependencies and contributing factors that depending on their nature can increase or decrease the likelihood of violent incidents as well as how community members, especially victims and offenders respond to it. Examining associated key contributing factors to violence will further outline the complexity of the topic and identify essential pillars that form the common ground of the majority of the main social issues.

2.2 Mental Health

Mental Health workers in different communities all pointed out the severance of mental issues in Nunavut. Mental Health issues seem to affect almost every family. Since family ties are usually very close among Inuit, people normally feel strongly impacted by the situation of their extended family members.
An Iqaluit mental health worker was guessing that about 75% of the entire local population is personally having mental health problems. Other mental health workers and nursing station personal estimated that the majority of residents in most Nunavut communities suffer from some sort of personality disorder – often

as a result of past repeated emotional and physical abuse experiences, personal repeated trauma significantly increases the risk of becoming abusive or developing other forms of personality disorders (KN 2008; MHK 2008; SSP 2008).
Since traumatized Inuit are as closely connected to their extended family as anyone else Iqaluit their struggles will also severely hit the well-being of their siblings, cousins, uncles, aunts etc. (SSI 2008). Based on the 75% estimate for Iqaluit that correlates with estimates that I was given by mental health professionals from other communities like for example Kugluktuk it is very likely that other family members do already suffer from personal mental health problems which means that they will face a double impact by their own problems and those of their relatives (DHS 2008; MHK 2008).
My interview partners who work professionally in that field identified following contributing factors for mental health issues but also signs of mental health problems within families:

- Exposure to suicide (attempts) of family members and friends
- Personal suicidal behaviour
- Exposure to domestic violence
- Re-enactment of domestic violence that was experienced while growing up
- Drug- and Alcohol abuse
- Anxieties and depression

When attempting to list the four major mental health issues in order starting with the most common one first risk of suicide is as number one cause for referrals to mental health professionals in the territory. Number two is substance abuse. They are followed by lack of family support and depression (DHS 2008). Again, the order is based on public data and cannot reflect any quantities of cases that stay within the families. It only describes the ones that escalate so badly that they can not longer be hidden inside the family and external intervention takes place.
Both males and females are equally affected by mental health factors, but it seems to be more females who are seeking treatment, especially regarding domestic violence. Substance abuse cases seem to be more equally distributed among the

genders. Suicide risk assessments on the other side are more often done for females who are mostly between 15 and 24 years of age (DHS 2008). Furthermore, in Iqaluit two thirds of the referrals are estimated to be Inuit whereas the ethnical distribution in town is about 40% non-Inuit and 60% Inuit (Stats. Canada 2006). Consequently, Inuit are statistically over-represented.
The same mental health specialist who provided me with the numbers for Iqaluit also offered an explanation for the over-representation of Inuit in the mental health system. According to him more Inuit than Non-Inuit in Iqaluit seem to lack the coping skills to deal with challenging personal situation. Consequently, they feel more easily overwhelmed to deal with problems on their own, develop unhealthy coping mechanisms such as substance abuse, aggression or auto-aggression (suicidal behavior) and finally in some cases seek help at a councillor. In addition, the mental health worker explained that the actual social and political system takes so much self-reliability off the backs of the indigenous population that many Inuit, especially those in less fortunate families easily learn that they can always find somebody (a professional provided by the government) who will help them with their problems without them being active themselves (DHS 2008).[11]

2.3 Alcohol and Drugs: "The Market Is Here! [12]"

2.3.1 Facts and Figures on substance abuse consumption

Researchers funded by Health Canada concluded in a survey that was done in Iqaluit and Kimmirut around the same time as I was doing my research that youths between the ages of 11 to 20 are two to three times more likely to take drugs and drink alcohol than their peers in southern Canada. A lot of them start consuming marijuana and alcohol at the early age of 14. The absolute majority of youths is very familiar with drinking alcohol and smoking dope when they are 18 years old. The study also revealed that both genders are deeply affected by alcohol and drug abuse whereas there seems to be slightly different substance abuse patters

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[11] The topic of self-determination is of central importance for this thesis since it will appear in many different facets through the work. Where a formalized (governmental) support network can be very helpful especially for those people who do not have any more capacities to deal with their situation by themselves, too much external guidance can also be counter-productive in the development of a self-conscious, creative and progress-oriented society.
[12] GHS 2008.

between the genders (Nunatsiaq News 3/28/2012).
The behaviour of substance abuse does continue into adulthood. So did the Canadian Maternity Experience Survey reveal that about a fourth of women (26.6%) in Nunavut had experience with drug use and that about 9% of all pregnant women in Nunavut use drugs. This stays in sharp contrast to all other provinces and territories whose highest numbers of pregnant drug users hover around 2% and less (Nunatsiaq News 5/1/2009).
Intermarital issues are also very often accompanied by substance abuse, mostly heavy drinking. Mancini Billson and Mancini (2007:269) concluded in their study about Pangnirtung that 80% of domestic violence incidents involve alcohol and that significantly more violence happens in the families when alcohol is readily available in the community.
Their findings align with another Baffin wide study from the 1990s that also identified alcohol as a major concern that was directly linked with (domestic) violence (Wood 1997: 88f.). My personal research in Kugluktuk, Whale Cove and Iqaluit as well as a newspaper article about Gjoa Haven where the community‘s mayor estimates that 90 per cent of the violence in town involve alcohol (Nunatsiaq News 9/8/2009) support my thesis that substance abuse and violence are closely knitted together all across Nunavut. Several other sources like academics, police, health and mental health personal come to the same conclusion (CWS 2009; Ineak Ipeelie 2008; QGH 2008; Rasing 1994: 233; RCMP IQ 2008; RCMP WC 2009).
The kinds of alcohol that are usually consumed are mostly beer at the bars and hard liquor, especially illegally purchased vodka, at home (QGH 2008).

2.3.2 Interconnection of substance abuse and violence

Alcohol abuse is associated with many different offences in Nunavut. A police officer in Iqaluit for example listed assault, sexual assault, drunk driving, property damage and theft as the most common areas where the perpetrator is intoxicated

while committing the offence (RCMP IQ 2008). A mental health worker added suicide as another area where alcohol is usually involved (SCI 2009).
Also, both Rasing (1994: 225) and Finkler (1976: 48) pointed out sudden mood swings and a tendency to aggression under the influence of alcohol, which I also observed many times myself.
The severe impact of alcohol use on crime rates, at least on a short and midterm base can be seen in communities where a temporary liquor ban got implemented. A local RCMP officer lined out that the crime rates, especially violence rates dropped about42% during the month of which the police station in Kugluktuk was closed for renovation for one month in 2007. After the station had reopened and the liquor ban was terminated violence and crime rates skyrocketed up to their old numbers again (RCMP K2 2008). Cambridge Bay must have had a very similar experience after their Liquor Control Committee was abolished. With the unlimited access to alcohol local crime rates and local rates of prisoners increased by about 70%. (RCMP K2 2008).
One of my personal observations at the old residency of the Nunavut Arctic College in Iqaluit in 2004 and 2008/ 09 was, that fights happened quite often after payday when many people were socially drinking in their rooms or were returning from the bars in town. After my first year at the residence things started to get out of hand so that by the end of 2009 the number of security guards for the building got doubled from 1 to 2 at night shifts and surveillance equipment such as cameras were installed on all floors.
This spiral appears to escalate even easier when alcohol and drugs are being mixed (JP 2008; KE 2008).
The completely different mind set and mood especially of drunk Inuit was also pointed out by Caucasian staff of the QGH. People recounted scenes of their private and professional experience where most Inuit they know were described as very lovely, friendly and extremely respectful people who are also very shy. But once they are under the influence of alcohol their behaviour changes rapidly to high aggressiveness combined with lots of swearing and threatening to their environment even the own social group (QGH 2008).

As several informants who work professionally in social work, mental health and policing explained, alcohol abuse seems to be THE ONE trigger that leads to physical and verbal outbursts among many Inuit perpetrators. However, my informants very debating how much alcohol is actually necessary for someone in Nunavut to become violent. Some stated that there is nearly no liberal drinking at all in the communities and those who drink liberally do usually not tend to become violent. In most cases in Nunavut the number of consumed narcotics and alcohol very often seems to correlate with an increase in the severity of the crime (RCMP IQ 2008). This argument got supported by a certified alcohol and drug specialist who explained how increasing alcohol consumption directly effects the brain functions (EWS 2009).

Others again saw the amount of consumed alcohol as less relevant than the fact that alcohol is per se involved in violent attacks. They argued that the simple use of alcohol, basically independently of the amount, seems to support any form of violence (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 269; RCMP IQ; SWIQ 2008-2010). Consequently, the question comes up if alcohol does biologically affect Inuit more than other peoples so that their biological reactions after consuming small amounts of alcohol are comparable with the ones of other people at a higher level of alcohol consumption? Or do Inuit use alcohol consumption for a justification of actions that are usually sanctioned in Inuit society, such as violent outbursts? Well, do those question indeed form a useful frame to target the topic or should not someone try another angle from where to tackle the problem? As well staff at the hospital/ nursing stations as interviews with front line workers in the policing and (mental) health sector from various communities show that alcohol is involved in nearly each attack of physical abuse among Inuit teenagers and adults. In most cases both perpetrator and victim are intoxicated (RCMP IQ; RCMP K1 RCMP WC; QGH 2008).

One social worker brought up the question if Inuit in contrast to Euro-Canadians would be lacking enzymes that are necessary to metabolize alcohol or have another genetic disposition so that they more easily tend to black out or lose control and become violent (SSP 2008).

My first counterargument would be that by now many Inuit have a mixed ethnic genetic due to the long history of interethnic relationships between Inuit and explorers, whalers, traders, and finally southern administrative personal. Many marriages between Inuit and non-Inuit happened in the past 150 years and probably the majority of nowadays Inuit, particularly in some communities does have a mixed gen pool of Inuit and Non-Inuit gens.
Furthermore Wood (1997: 35) already noted about 20 years ago that medical science identified more „intra-racial" differences than „inter-racial" in alcohol digestion so that there is no sufficient evidence that an entire „race" or ethnic group would show a particular reaction pattern to alcohol based on their genetics.
Both historic literature and some older interview partners attest that in the pre- and early-settlement area most Inuit did escalate less under the influence of alcohol as they do nowadays (KE 2008; KI 2008, RSQ 2010; Eber 1989: 164).
The people I talked to argue that in pre-settlement times Inuit had less respectively other personal issues and that alcohol consumption brings a lot of the modern issues that people struggle with to the surface. The more they drink the more they let it uncontrollably out (Gordon Rennie 2009; SSP 2008).
And finally, personally I was able to meet, socialize and also consume some alcohol with Inuit who were able to drink responsibly respectively who did not fall into a highly aggressive or suicidal behaviour pattern so that I would be very careful with explanatory models based on ethnic biology or genetics.
It appears to me instead, that a mix of the several factors is very often fuelling the spiral of violence. Below those factors that I will describe below is even a more complex layer of issues that I will explore later on in my thesis.
In addition, many regular consumers of alcohol and drugs come from economically weak households. Their addictive behaviour brings them into a constant shortage in money. Consequently, they engage into illegal activities like drug dealing, robbery, stealing or blackmailing people including other family members (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 190; TD 2008-2010).
Especially adults tend to abusive behavior towards their elders, threatening and physically abusing them mostly to get their person to satisfy the own cravings for

alcohol and drugs (DHS 2008; KE 2008). One young adult[13] illustrated the complexities of the abusive behavior in some families by sharing his own story where him and this younger brother were stealing either hard liquor or money from their parents for purchasing alcohol. Later, once the now young adult started to work and earn some money it was the own parents who pressured him (their oldest child) to hand them out some his financial earnings so that they can buy liquor (TD 2008-2010).

2.3.3 Further effects of drug and alcohol abuse

A very serious issue in Nunavut is the consumption of alcohol and drugs during pregnancy which seems to happen quite often (KE 2008; TD 2008-2010). One of the devastating consequences for the newborn child whose mother is regularly taking drugs or drinking alcohol during pregnancy can be Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder (FASD)[14] which can not only harm the child mentally or physically but does also have a sustainable impact on the society when more and more people with FASD participate in social life, go to school, look for a partner and bring their mental issues like emotional handicaps into their social relations (Ajunngininiq Centre 2006: 1). Officially FASD is widely underdiagnosed because there is no study that focusses on FASD in Nunavut but there are many children, youths and, young adults who show signs of FASD (KN 2008). Programs and initiatives that either raise awareness on FASD or implement strong continuous support for individuals identified with FASD are scarce in Nunavut (Ajunnginiq Centre 2006: 7). The bottom line is that Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder is a very pressing health issue that Nunavut's society needs to address more seriously.

Another destructive consequence of regular abuse of intoxicating substances including alcohol is the physical decay of the user. Though it is difficult to link child/ youth depression, or lacking coordination skills to substance abuse by the mother I was assured repeatedly by residents who are involved with child

[13] The community of the adult is withheld by purpose to ensure the young adult's anonymity.
[14] About 40% of women who drink heavily will give birth to
babies that show symptoms of disorders based on their mothers' alcohol consumption; 60% of babies won't be affected. We don't yet understand what protective factors
are at work in those 60% of women (Ajunnginiq Centre 2004: 1).

development matters that they can observe these symptoms more often among children and youths whose mothers are known for abusing alcohol or drugs than among children and youths whose mothers seem to not have consumed such substances during pregnancy (KN 2008; KT 2008).
Marihuana also seems to enhance some psychological perception disorders like persecution mania or fear of loss (of a beloved one) both phenomena that are very present among Nunavummiut, in particular among those who are traumatized by past mental, physical and/ or sexual abuse experience (KN 2008).
Furthermore many regular users are described of developing some sort of „I don't care" attitude that lets them become physically and mentally inactive and emotionally numb (KWE 2008).

2.3.4 Drinking patterns

Although alcohol is known in many areas of Nunavut for a century and a half, regular drinking was not part of the daily activities in the camps (KE 2008; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 296). Even when there was enough alcohol available to get drunk people either drank less or their tendency to violent outbursts was relatively small (KE 2008; Eber 1989: 142, 164).
This stands in sharp contrast to what can be witnessed in all Nunavut communities, today.
No matter if at home or at the bar[15] social drinking usually means in Nunavut consumption of large amounts of alcohol or at least consuming until oneself is very drunk. Drinking patterns that I experienced firsthand make it obvious that alcohol consumption in small amounts happens very rarely whereas consumption of larger amounts seems to be more likely when people start drinking. Speaking in numbers the consumption of 5 to 7 cans (0.33l each) of beer per person seems to be average at a regular "social drinking evening" with friends at a bar. Those who I interviewed about their drinking behavior were rather measuring their

[15] Most communities do not have public places where alcohol can be consumed. The only communities I am aware of that are having bars are Cambridge Bay, Iqaluit and Rankin Inlet. All information in that document about drinking in bars is based on firsthand experience and data from informants in Iqaluit. I have no information about the situation at the bars in Cambridge Bay or Rankin Inlet at potential bars that I am not aware of in other communities.

consumption of hard liquor in cups (equivalent to a regular glass or a teacup) than in “shots”. 3 or 4 cups were often named to be average for an evening which was also confirmed by a social worker (SSP 2008; TD 2008-2010).
Since there is only a couple of communities where alcohol can be purchased and consumed in a bar or restaurant alcohol consumption usually takes place in private homes both alone or in the company of friends and family.
The present situation of alcohol consumption can be best described as binge drinking. Several factors like availability and the costs of alcohol may contribute to its irregularity (Ajunnginiq Centre: n.y.[16], Korhonen 2005: 1; RCMP IQ 2008). Since binge drinking is dependent on the availability of alcohol it happens any time of the day (RCMP IQ 2008; TD 2008-2010)
As I described above both beer and hard liquor are getting consumed. Alcohol is consumed both on the land and in town, although consumption in town appears to happen more regularly. Many families deliberately do not bring alcohol on hunting and camping trips.
Drinking in the presence of children happens regularly. Under some circumstances children and (minor) youths need to take over the adult role of the caregiver for their drunk parents, for example walking them to the house, assisting them in lighting a cigarette, making sure the drunk does not lose personal belongings like a hat or a glove on the way home, or even driving the ATV and helping the drunk on and off the vehicle because he/ she cannot perform simple coordination tasks anymore. This role reversal within the family, if happening on a regular base, can have many negative psychological effects on the children like identity crises slowed down or stopped mental maturing, losing respect toward adult parents who are expected to act as both guides for the adolescence phase and role models. The education level or social status does not seem to play any role in regard to the behaviour under alcohol (QGH 2008).
I have different information about sharing patterns of alcohol. Some say that alcohol is freely shared at a party or get together (SSP 2008; TD 2008-2010) whereas some who lived and socialized in Igloolik for many years stated that

[16] n.y. no year given

among her friends those who want to drink bring their own alcohol and hold on to it (IQR 5: 2014). Rasing (1994: 224) observed for Igloolik in the 1980s similar drinking behavior as I did in the communities of my research. He also refers to the production and consumption of home brew which is cheaper than purchased liquor.

I could not gather much information on the recent importance of home brew except listening to people talking about it on a few occasions and one single event where I met a *qallunaaq* who made his own beer in Iqaluit and offered it to his guests including me. During that one occasion with my Euro-Canadian host he mentioned that when he was living in a smaller community, he got many Inuit visitors after rumor spread that he had made some home brew. Good manners demanded that he shared the beer with his visitors (IQR 6 2009).

Publications from the Ajunnginiq Centre (n.y.: no page number) describe binge drinking as the worst kind of alcohol abuse because it is its nature that people get seriously drunk which most of the time results in physical violence, in particular domestic violence, trouble with the police, that very often results in temporary incarceration or being so hung over the next morning that regular activities like attending school going to work or providing for your family through hunting and fishing cannot be executed for a while. The devastating effects of binge drinking do apply worldwide and are consequently not a Nunavut specific problem (Korhonen 2005:1).

Nurses described some instances where drunks were so severely intoxicated that they “forgot to breath“ (QGH 2008).

2.3.5 Drug consumption patterns

Consumption of marihuana and illegal drugs is a serious concern in most Nunavut communities.

These kinds of drugs where introduced more recently than alcohol. One source describes that drugs were already well known and used in Pond Inlet in the early 1990s (Wachowich 1999: 232). Although I have not gotten any other confirmed data it seems to me that illegal drugs probably found their way into Nunavut around the 1980s.

Rasing (1994: 231) states for example for Igloolik that the absolute majority of residents is taking drugs both privately or in the presence of friends and family.
A longtime resident and scientist from Igloolik, a community of about 1500 residents, estimated the dollar value spend on drugs and alcohol in Igloolik in 2007 being between 2 and 4 Million Canadian Dollar (IR 2008).
I made similar observations in Iqaluit. Although I was not able to make an assessment of the entire population, I recognized that the absolute majority of the locals that I socialized with was consuming marihuana. Most people who I was delaying with in Kugluktuk also smoked marihuana or "hot knifed ".
Smoking marihuana seems to be even more accepted than cigarettes and many people smoke marihuana regularly inside the houses with children present (CKW 2008). Some young adults were estimating that about 95% of the entire population in Kugluktuk are smoking marihuana. Other sources were estimating 70 – 90% of the entire population (KWE 2008; KYI 2008).
In Whale Cove I was mostly socializing with a particular extended family where some of its members were consuming marihuana and others did not. A very short weekend trip to Pangnirtung in 2004 gave me a very similar impression so that I can argue with confidence that taking drugs, in particular smoking marihuana is a habit in the majority of households in Nunavut. Some informants testified that a large amount of youths in most communities is showing signs of addictive behavior (TD 2008-2010).
Furthermore, since the 2000s other drugs are coming more and more into the communities, primarily ecstasy and cocaine but also crack and hash (oil) and crystal meth. Mostly the younger generation is taking the new drugs whereas those who basically grew up with marihuana very often stick with it (GHS 2008; KI 2008; QGH 2008; RCMP IQ 2008). Cocaine is said to have a strong consumer base in Iqaluit. Hospital staff assured me that even many pregnant ladies do not stop taking illegal drugs on a regular basis (QGH 2008).

Excessive consumption is also a typical pattern regarding drugs. Several Inuit and Non-Inuit mentioned that whatever goods (drugs or alcohol) one possesses the person tends to keep on consuming these goods until they are finally gone (TD

2008-2010). Personal observation proved the thesis of my informants. At those situations I could observe some cases where several people consumed one or two joints during an entire evening and other cases where for example 3 people were smoking 2 joints within 30 minutes and a third one 90 minutes later until all the group had no weed left. When entering the residence of the host, marihuana smell was already heavily laying in the air so that I assume that at least one or more of the three other people must have already consumed a joint within the past hours (TD 2008-2010). Another informant gave the fictional example of one person having enough money to effort 5-7 joints and consuming all of them with some friends at one evening (KWE 2008).

2.3.6 Sniffing

Sniffing is another form of consuming narcotics. According to my observations and Rasing's (1994: 232) research mostly younger teenagers sniff all kinds of substances: nail polish, hair spray, spray paint, gasoline or other solvents that can make one "high". Though sniffing itself is not a crime under the Canadian law some teenagers enter a legal grey zone when opening the tanks of strangers' cars, snowmobiles, or ATVs and sniffing gasoline. Sniffing related property offences also occur when entering stores or homes to steal sniffable substances (Wood 1996: 18).

For Kugluktuk I was given a very careful estimation that 80% of the youths would be sniffing gas (KN 2008).

2.3.7 Availability of illegal substances and alcohol

2.3.7.1 Alcohol

Since there are so many regulations considering purchasing alcohol, informants identified illegal trade of alcohol as a prevalent and flourishing business in many if not in most communities. During my time in Iqaluit a 60ounce bottle of hard liquor for example was traded for $160 and a mickey sells for $80. 24 cans of beer (a flat) costs about $130, in some communities even more in some others a bit less (RCMP IQ 2008; TD 2008-2010). In Kugluktuk for example a 60-ounce bottle of liquor cost $500 (CW 2008; Nunatsiaq News 3/15/2011). One informant from the same

community explained that many people order more alcohol on a regular basis than they consume. Quite often they order for example three bottles of vodka of which they consume one. The other two bottles are reserved for bootlegging (DKH 2008). Controlling the flow of alcohol and drugs into Nunavut's communities exists almost as long as the intoxicants are present in the North. But despite attempts to sanction alcohol consume, ban intoxicated persons from the streets substance abuse issues further increased over time (Finkler 1976: 151; TD 0098-2010)

The illegal trade routes of alcohol and drugs prove difficult to be controlled. Lots is being brought in via mail, but the police are not permitted to open mail unless there is a reasonable and probable suspicion for smuggling (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 187f.).

2.3.7.2 Drug trafficking

Baffin Island compared to the other regions of Nunavut contains a much larger multi-ethnic population (JP 2008; TD 2008- 2010).

The relatively high Non-Inuit population that reaches nearly 50% in Iqaluit but averages only 14% for entire Nunavut mainly recruits itself from all kinds of employees from southern Canada, very often Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Quebec but also British Columbia (Stats Canada 2016; TD 2008 -2010). The high traffic volume between southern Canada and communities like Iqaluit (but also Rankin Inlet and Cambridge Bay) forms a difficult base to control the import of illegal drugs and alcohol. Since Nunavut's capital (Iqaluit) shows the largest amount of Nunavut air traffic with the South the town is a great hub for drug dealing and drug shipping enterprises (GHS 2008; JP 2008; TD 2008-2010). Since drug prices are very high, in particular in the smaller communities like for example Igloolik drug trafficking is a lucrative business for dealers (Rasing 1994: 231).

Many drugs and liquor are illegally shipped by airplane form southern gateway cities to the communities. Although the ways of drug trafficking are basically known, the limited controls of inner-Canadian air traffic and limited human capacities and financial resources unfortunately seem to prevent the Canadian Air Transport Authority to implement more effective strategies that could significantly

decrease the flow of drugs and alcohol into Nunavut's airports and communities (TD 2008-2010).

2.3.7.3 Community regulations

Nunavut's communities can be divided into three different types regarding alcohol consumption and availability: wet, dry, and restricted communities.

Wet communities have mostly a public location such as a bar where alcohol can be consumed. Unrestricted alcohol mail orders are of course also an option in wet communities, in most cases even the cheaper option to obtain alcohol (TD 2008-2010).

Restricted communities have no place to legally purchase any kind of alcohol in town. Instead they run a liquor control committee (LCC). There is no governmental policy of how to implement or uninstall an LCC. The implementation of LCCs is usually suggested by a civilian initiative cooperating with the local RCMP and community council that drafts the operational and legal framework of their particular LCC, brings it to discussion among the community residents and finally opens it up for a plebiscite. Everybody who wants to purchase alcohol needs to apply for an alcohol license granted, refused or limited by the committee. Once that license is issued, one can order a limited amount of alcohol from southern communities (RCMP WC 2009; RSQ 2010; TD 2008-2010).

Dry communities do officially not allow any kind of alcohol within the hamlet boundaries. The unfortunate reality is that many dry communities have still a lot of illegal alcohol circulating between households (RSQ 2010; TD 2008-2010).

2.3.8 Resume

While attending several days of the circuit court in Kugluktuk in September 2008 I could observe a fair amount of violence related trials (mostly domestic violence). Surprisingly to me and contrary to everything stated above no alcohol was involved in many of the trialed incidents[17].

[17] Later in my thesis one will see that the absence of alcohol in the communities does definitely lead to a decline of offences but that there is still so much (domestic) violence or crime happening that one shall certainly not exclusively focus on alcohol and

How does this observation fit into everything else that we have heard so far?
Not too long before my visit Kugluktuk became a dry community. Alcohol was not as available anymore as it used to be. Thanks to a very dedicated police officer in Kugluktuk the local RCMP station had a record of calls and violent incidents in the community that went back multiple years into the time when alcohol was readily available in Kugluktuk. Even then, there were times when alcohol as temporarily banned, for example during Christmas celebrations or while the RCMP detachment got renovated. That record clearly shows whenever alcohol was not available in Kugluktuk violence significantly dropped but rose to its old high level as soon as the temporary bans were lifted again.
Now, that alcohol was not only banned for multiple days or weeks but generally not available for the majority of the population violence numbers first dropped significantly – as expected but:
a) there was still a lot of violence happening among sober family members in the community – as I witnessed during the circuit court and
b) the numbers of violence started to raise again, even without the intoxication component of perpetrators.
For me this clearly indicates that alcohol is not the cause for violence and that alcohol regulation alone is no long-term solution to sustainably increase the physical and mental well-being of Nunavummiut.
Certainly, alcohol is not only among Inuit but also among non-indigenous people across Canada and I assume across Europe an important driving factor for increasing crime, in particular violent incidents (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 296; Wood 1997: 33). In his study on criminal justice in Greenland, Jensen (1986: 65 - 68) argues that „In violence cases and some sexual offences there is often an important and direct connection" with alcohol consumption."
Furthermore, he also points out the relevance of alcohol for criminal actions is more complex and that the effects of alcohol on different kinds of crime vary according to their intensity.

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potential consequences of its consumption when explaining violence in Nunavut or the territories' social issues at all.

Nevertheless, alcohol abuse, also suicide, gambling and other visible social issues in Nunavut (DKH 2008; KR2 2008) are rather outlets for deeper psychological troubles of those who disclose these kinds of behaviors.

2.4 Homelessness and "Prostitution "– "Sex in Exchange for Goods"[18]

2.4.1 Homelessness

Defining homelessness can be difficult because homelessness can have many faces in Nunavut and there is a grey area where one is not too sure if the situation shall be called homelessness or not. Some people only move temporarily to Nunavut for season jobs or to stay long enough to safe money for example in order to pay off some dept or save enough money to start a family in their southern home. Due to the highly competitive housing market with an insufficient number of available units and high costs for renting or buying a place many newcomers or temporary residents stay with friends, house sit or even stay at the hotel for several weeks if not months.

People who move from one Nunavut community to another one face the same challenges of finding an adequate residence. For many people in Nunavut living with family or friends in a house that is already pretty full is not only a short-term experience for a couple of weeks, but it is reality for multiple months or years. They might move from one relative's home to another friend's home and then to the next relative's home.

A few Nunavummiut may only be able to sleep in a tent, car, a parked boat or shacks, like small hunting equipment and tool shacks that are lined up on many beaches or along the outskirts of the communities (FWCDL 2007: 41; TD 2008-2010). The kind of homelessness where people have no solid roof over their head is less common in Nunavut also because the climate does not allow people to sleep in corners of buildings whereas this scene is more common in southern cities (FWCDL 2007: 56; Qulliit 2007:5). In Nunavut homelessness mostly seems to be invisible. As a consequence, homelessness for Nunavut might be best defined as a situation where the access and/ or ownership status regarding a dwelling fulfils

[18] SSP 2008

some of the following criteria:

- The place where someone lives is perceived as a temporary solution,
- The homeless person is mostly dependent on the good will of others to get granted access to a shelter,
- The homeless person is not able to sustainable secure access to their shelter,
- The shelter is either originally not meant to be used for temporary or long term human occupation or the shelter is specifically provided for those people that are publicly perceived "homeless" or in desperate need for temporary housing.

Not all criteria need to be met to be considered homeless. The more criteria apply to a person the more severe the living condition might be perceived by the affected person.

The waiting list for getting public housing in Iqaluit is 6-7 years. People moving to Iqaluit got to stay in town for two years until they can apply to be put on the waiting list (ADQ 2008). Private apartments and homes are expensive to rent and often not affordable by people who have a low or medium income (TD 2008-2010). For several reasons like the complexity of defining homelessness but also because of the hidden character that homelessness oftentimes has in Nunavut it is difficult to get representative numbers of how many people are homeless. One statistical source is the 2010 Nunavut Housing Needs Survey who identified 1220 people or 4% of the entire population who have "no place to call their own" and thus were considered homeless (Nunatsiaq News 29/10/2010).

In Iqaluit alone, in 2007 for example about 150 women were estimated to have been homeless. They typically found temporary shelter at friends or relatives, or in cars, doorways or in a bed of a man who they offered sexual intercourse to. Oftentimes homeless women do not go to a stranger but to the man who they were respectively are in an abusive relationship with. Getting away from the relationship often brought them in the situation of becoming homeless in the first place. If they are lucky those women can move for a while to a safe house or women shelter (FWCDL 2007: 56; Nunatsiaq News 5/25/2007; Qulliit 2007:4).

The Nunavut Housing Committee on the other side released the number of more than 1000 families across entire Nunavut who are in need of adequate housing. This means that several thousand people (including the children of those 1000 families) are living in housing conditions that are only temporarily acceptable which is an important aspect of defining homelessness (FWDCL 2007: 56). Qulliit (2007:4) speaks of 38.7% of all Inuit in Nunavut who are in immediate need of improving their housing situation.
As I briefly mentioned before most homeless people in the territory couch surf at friends or family. Since living space is limited and expensive and families are very often large it usually means for both the host and the homeless person that they need to put up with a serious overcrowding situation (EWS 2009; MHK 2008). One example that I was given as an illustration what overcrowding can mean for Nunavut is 11 people living in a one-bedroom apartment or 16 people sharing a two-bedroom apartment (EDQ 2008; EWS 2009).
The tight living situation often also causes additional issues such as unsanitary and unhealthy conditions, high costs to manage the household (power, water, food, clothing) and a physical unsafe situation for the homeless guest. Especially females who couch surf become victims of physical, in particular, sexual assaults. Their desperation to find a place is often even more fueled by the circumstance that many women in search for a place to sleep are accompanied by their children (FWCDL 2007: 42, 56; TD 2008-2010). This all contributes to an extremely stressful day to day live for everyone involved that often escalades when alcohol or other substances are being consumed after payday or on a weekend or at another occasion (GHS 2008; TD 2008-2010). The children who are living under these conditions are usually the ones who also struggle significantly in school because they are stressed out, suffer from sleep deprivation, cannot find a quiet place to prepare work for school, experience substance abuse and violence in the home without having a safe place to retreat and escape the tensions in the overcrowded house (PIS 2009).
As a result, many people in that situation develop various mental health issues such as depressions and suicidal behavior or health threatening drinking patterns which is more or less a „natural response to abnormal circumstances “as an

employee of the homeless shelter described it. Consequently FASD (Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder) can very often be found within families that are affected by homelessness. This circumstance is something that can also be regularly found among southern homeless people (EWS: 2009). Additional common issues are difficulties in developing coping skills in every regard, building up trust towards other persons and towards themselves and developing a feeling of safety in their new environment, even when a person is finally getting a place at a safe house or women's shelter (EWS: 2009).
In addition to homelessness, violence and coping issues with their personal life and daily routine, homeless Nunavummiut also have to face a lot of prejudices from the society including both Inuit and non-Inuit community members (EWS: 2009)

2.4.2 Sexual Vulnerability

Though homelessness is an issue that is quite often addressed and discussed in the public, "prostitution" respectively sexual exploitation that is often closely linked to homelessness or economic weakness of Inuit women is not much talked about. Especially Iqaluit, the community in Nunavut with probably the least degree of ties between extended family members seems to be affected most by sexual exploitation (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 69; TD 2008-2010). On the other side the phenomenon is nothing new since Finkler (1976: 164f.; 175) already identified places in Iqaluit in the 1970s like the high-rise entrance where young female Inuit, often in the mid and late teens, were regularly waiting for Euro-Canadian men who would give them alcohol and/ or shelter for the night in return to sexual favors. Even though at first glance one might want t to argue that it is the choice of the woman to accept gifts, alcohol, drugs or shelter for the night in return to sexual favors this kind of argument is ignoring the fact that such deals are never voluntarily. They derive from a situation of desperate need that is being exploited by the other person (AIP 2008; MHK 2008). Spending the night with a man who can provide some money, shelter, clothing (for her or her kids), food or other necessities or quickly entering a longer relationship with such a provider who is there for the women as long as she has intercourse with him is definitely a high

pressure situation that also involves various degrees of humiliation, disrespect, loss of self-worthiness, and dependency. For those women "sexual vulnerability" is very often the only option that they see for themselves and their dependents to survive (FWCDL 2007:100; Qulliit 2007: 6).

An additional component of this complex of sexual vulnerability is its close connection with substance abuse. Very often the women are addicts who are struggling with money and with their addiction so much that they offer sexual favors in exchange for needed things for their homes, and children or they suffer other trauma, probably gained during childhood, where degradation and humiliation was a typical experience to those women that they continue to relive this trauma in the new form of degrading themselves and offering their bodies for goods and favors (FWCDL 2007: 100).

The housing crises with its overcrowding situation fuels the desperation of many women to hook up with a stranger. As I have already explained in the chapter about violence most of the sexual abuse and physical violence is happening within families and between couples which also means that an overcrowded house holds a lot of potential for women and their children to become victims of all kinds of abuse by their own partners or other members of the extended family. Starting a short- to mid-term relationship with another man ideally brings the women and maybe the children out of the overcrowded house. When abuse also starts in the new relationship the woman might be able to move on to the next relationship or back to the earlier one. No solution is in any way a win for the woman and still it seems that many affected women are hoping to at least chose the lesser evil by finding a new temporary partner (SSP 2008).

The director of Qulliit Nunavut Status of Women Council (EDQ 2008) pointed to a study that was conducted by Qulliit in the mid-2000s with more than 85 homeless women in Iqaluit. In this study the homeless women reported that offering sexual favors in exchange for receiving life necessities is a very common strategy for them. Other than that, no other governmental or non-governmental institution could give me any kind of statistical numbers about the prevalence of "prostitution" is Nunavut or Iqaluit.

Several sources confirmed that a larger number then generally expected of young women in their early twenties and teenage girls, sometimes only 13 or 14 years old engage in the trade of sex versus goods. For this age group it is mostly drugs and alcohol that are being provided by adult dealers in exchange for sexual services (QGH 2008; SWIQ 2008 - 2010).

In bars it is common that someone is getting invited for several drinks which is followed by the expectation that the person will have sexual intercourse as a compensation for "generosity" of the drinks (MHK 2008; SSP 2008).

Our society of course knows the phenomenon that getting paid some drinks in a bar does very often imply sexual interest of the payer into the one who gets her (his) drinks paid for. The small but very important difference is the freedom of choice and refusal. Usually the person who is being invited for drinks is granted a way out of the situation without being pressured to agree to sexual intercourse whereas in Nunavut it seems to be more an implicitness, almost a non-debatable fact, that if someone pays for drinks, he can expect sexual favours in exchange.

Secondly, in those cases where I refer to as sexual exploitation the ladies who either are getting offered a drink or food at the bar are usually in a severe financial crisis. Either if such an "agreement" sex in exchange for food or other goods happens at a bar or at a local store the freedom of choice by the woman does not exist. Instead, they often only have the choice between staying hungry respectively keeping their children hungry or asking for such a deal to temporarily better their economic situation.

One special observation that I could not confirm any further speaks about women who sell their bodies regularly to the same elderly person who is either disabled or in another way not capable anymore to attract a caring partner. This elder will then support that particular younger lady in exchange for sex (SSP 2008).

An informant from Kugluktuk who is living for several years in town brought up another historic incident of sexual exploitation that revealed an ongoing humiliation of Inuit women. According to that account some tourists, especially southern big game hunters, captains and sailors of supply vessels to northern communities must have regularly seduced local Inuit women with alcohol to have intercourse with them, mostly at the local hotel. The situation must have prevailed

for many years until the hotel finally prohibited local visitors in its rooms (KN 2008).
Although I could not validate that particular information with many additional informants the overall situation of prostitution among Inuit women can certainly be seen as an additional example of indigenous marginalization in the North – in this case the women have their integrity from them and will feel that they are socially lower than their Euro-Canadian counterparts.

2.5 Education "You expect too little of our children"[19]

2.5.1. School Structure

In Canada every province and territory is responsible for their own curriculum development, delivery and quality insurance of teaching. Although there are many similarities between the school systems of the different provinces and territories, they also differ in many ways from each other (WC 2012).
Generally, the following school forms exist with respective variations all across Canada:

- Kindergarten for children five years and older
- Elementary school that usually covers 6 grades and involves children ages six to twelve
- Junior High/ Middle School that commonly include grades seven and eight
- High School that covers grades nine to twelve and includes various follow up programs that prepare students for post-secondary education
- Vocational School or university (WC 2012)

The Nunavut School system is following the same structure (WHED 2012).

Nunavummiut who want to receive post -secondary education within the territory can enroll with the Nunavut Arctic College at its 2 main campuses in Iqaluit and Rankin Inlet and small satellite campuses in many other Nunavut communities.

[19] PNS 2009

Depending on the campus size and capacities different kinds and varieties of certificate, diploma and trades programs are being offered, for example nursing, teacher education, environmental technology, or management. The Nunavut Arctic College also collaborates with a few universities such as Athabasca University, University of Manitoba, McGill University and Dalhousie University on some degree programs. For any other post-secondary studies students from Nunavut need to move to another place in Canada and chose a university there (TD 2008-2010; WHED 2012).

The main language of teaching and learning is English except the cultural studies courses of the Nunavut Arctic College and some elementary grades that incorporate Inuktitut classes (TD 2008-2010).

The Nunavut school system is administered in the following order from top to bottom by the Department of Education, regional and local school boards, the principal and the teachers (PNS 2009).

The Department of Educations sets standards for the entire territory whereas the District Education Authority (DEA) is overseeing regional school operations. The principal of each school needs to report to the DEA about his or her school on a monthly basis. Also, the principal is mostly carrying out administrative tasks and does very often not actively teach in the classroom (PNS 2009).

Teaching and class preparation are being done by teachers and their helpers like student support assistants (SSA) and teacher support assistant (TSA) (PNS 2009). Each school has a number of Student Support Assistants (SSA) who are not teachers but ideally bring some experience working with children to the job.

The SSA mostly helps children with different forms of learning difficulties. Some children might need the extra attention because they cannot concentrate well, others might have physical impairments such as very bad eyesight, hearing and speaking difficulties or are limited in their motoric skills. Others again might have other mental or cognitive challenges and need support. A student support assistant does not need any formal training to be hired. The number of SSAs on each school is very limited so that one SSA usually covers several classrooms which means that not every student who might be in need of extra support has constant access to that support (PNS 2009).

The TSA is working closely with the teacher on the development of learning materials, the preparation of upcoming classes and the review of past classes. TSAs are very often teacher colleagues who volunteer to build a supporting network with their fellow teachers (PNS 2009; TD 2008-2010).

To teach in Nunavut you are required to have at least a bachelor's in education. Inuit culture and language educators seem to be exempt from that policy (PNS 2009).

Teachers are hired on a contract base. As in the entire Government of Nunavut, there is a ranking regarding hiring people. Inuit applicants shall be given priority over any other equally qualified person. Next in the ranking are Nunavut residents and then all other Canadians. According to my interview partner significant effort was made over the past decade to adjust the job interview process to make it more culturally appropriate for Inuit (PSN 2009).

2.5.2 Challenges in Nunavut schools

2.5.2.1 Teacher education

The quality of teaching can be very different and certainly strongly depends on the respective teacher and to some degree on the principal's ability to appropriately serve a multi-ethnic school environment (particularly in Iqaluit) respectively a school setting that is dominated by Inuit and their cultural traits.

Some teachers appear to not be very ambitious and creative to approach the Inuit students with a cultural sensitivity. Others again are very eager to pick up their students in their own cultural and educational environment (PNS 2009).

Although the Government of Nunavut would like to see more Inuit teachers in the schools the amount is still relatively small and their training opportunities in the North are limited. The Nunavut Arctic College offers a teacher education program which is controversial in its quality but seems to improve over the last years (PNS 2009).

Furthermore, due to the remoteness of Nunavut's communities, teachers struggle with easy access to professional development opportunities (PNS 2009).

2.5.2.2 Language issues

The main language in Nunavut's school system is English and there is not much

space for Inuktitut to be practiced. Though still being spoken a lot in the homes it is definitely not considered to be the main language of conversation in the public sector, including the schools. Since English is also so dominant in any other public sphere and southerners whose first language is typically English are generally recognized as the community residents with the better jobs and better education. English is considered the language of power in Nunavut. Despite the efforts to establish Inuktitut in elementary school and offer Inuktitut classes in other school forms it is far from being seen equal or even superior in status in and outside of the schools (PNS 2009, RSQ 2010). Funding for Inuktitut programming is also very limited (PNS 2009).

Inuit teachers themselves struggle very often with one or even both languages, English and Inuktitut. Since many of the Inuit teachers already grew up in an environment where both languages were present but none was taught to them to a high level proficiency many teachers feel not very comfortable to teach complex topics in either language which directly impacts the quality of their classes and probably also leads to more disciplinary issues in the classroom because the students sense the uncertainty of their teacher (RSQ 2010).

2.5.2.3 Education standards

The education standards are relatively low in many Nunavut schools, especially if they are set in comparison to their southern counterparts. In the school year of 2012-13 only about 35% of the grade 12 high school students graduated (Nunatsiaq News (11/24/2014)).

Those few graduates who then continue their education by enrolling in a southern college very often experience being downgraded and having to repeat certain classes again. This is a very frustrating experience particularly considering that those students are regarded as doing academically exceptionally well in their home communities but as soon as they leave Nunavut they are mostly considered poorly educated (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 326; TD 2008-2010).

One principal raised the opinion that children are not being challenged enough academically. Teachers tend to lower the standards because they often face a poor educational level among their students and then think that by adjusting the

curriculum requirements to the limited knowledge and skill sets of the students will bring more success to their educational development then continuously challenging to kids to push their boundaries. Inuit children are equally able to learn and progress as non-Inuit children, but they very often lack some knowledge base that is relevant for a successful school career. A didactical approach that differs from the common ways of teaching in southern schools would probably bring more success to the classroom, so the principal (PNS 2009). The culturally particular learning styles of Inuit children will be discussed shortly.

A very interesting observation comes from a social worker and long-time Nunavut resident who pointed out that most graduates are female and that a higher percentage of males than females is dropping out of school even before graduation (EWS 2009). The latest school statistics from Nunavut fully support the fact that the education system in Nunavut fails its boys. In 2009-10 492 boys and 471 girls were enrolled in grade 10. By 2012-13, out of the same pool only 285 boys and 324 girls made it into grade 12 (Nunatsiaq News (11/24/2014)). This is a significant loss in male students who will most likely not continue their education and face very limited opportunities to find sufficiently paid employment opportunities to support themselves and their future families.

The circumstance that Inuit females tend to be more successful in western education also carries over into Nunavut's work force. Significantly more women than men succeed in their jobs whereas more men crash and lose themselves in personal struggles (EWS 2009; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 322f.).

2.5.2.4 School attendance

For decades the school system in the region what is now Nunavut seems to suffer from high drop out and low attendance rates. Mancini Billson and Mancini (2007: 128,163, 319) testify for the 1990s that Inuit have the lowest levels of literacy and education in Canada. A huge amount of kids drop-out of school between grades 8 and 10 so that not many students reach a higher education. Both high school principals in Kugluktuk and Iqaluit confirmed the situation for their schools for as long as they were working in the community (PHK 2008; PIS 2009). I already met the high school principal from Iqaluit in his position in 2004 so that I can confirm

that he can look back on at least five years of acting in his principal position. The principle from Kugluktuk was not as long in his job but also had more experience in other northern communities.
The drop out rate for the Kugluktuk High School was estimated at 60% (PKH 2008) and at Inuksuk High School in Iqaluit, in 2006 it was about 75% (IHG 2008). Attendance in many schools, especially in high schools, is also characterized by students missing the first school hours of the morning until they show up later. Those who come to school in time often struggle with sleep deprivation and hunger, both factors can be attributed to difficult, multi facetted challenges in their family homes, such as domestic violence, substance abuse, overcrowding, suicide, financial problems (SCI 2009).
For a long time another contributing factor for low school attendance rates in Nunavut was many parents‘ acceptance towards school being an important and helpful space for the development of their children. Many parents suffered from their own residential school experience and/ or were strongly attached to the land so that the school skills were not necessarily considered very helpful for the children. According to several sources this attitude seems to growingly change now. An increasing number of Inuit parents and older students start to appreciate school as a key tool to enter the modern labour market world (GHS 2008; IQR 7 2008; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 345).
A particularity of Nunavut's high schools is their inclusiveness to young adults. If someone who did not graduate from high school in the past is now in their early twenties and wishes to go back to high school in order to complete their graduation, he or she usually has the opportunity to return back to their local high school and finish the classes that they missed in the first place (CKW 2008; KYI 2 2008).

2.5.2.5 Other challenges

When students and their parents or grandparents come together often two worlds seem to clash with each other. The western school education is in many ways unintentionally contradicting Inuit traditions of family values, responsibilities and future aspirations. Modern schooling usually targets the individualisation of the

subject so that after having successfully completed school the student can chose their own lifestyle and pursue personal goals. Inuit tradition in many ways, emphasis the well-being of the collective, in particular the family which also means that the individual though fully self-reliable shall put personal interests behind the common well-being of the group. Consequently, students easily find themselves on the dilemma of being torn between following personal goals or fulfilling family expectations (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 324).
Even if they decide to pursue personal aspirations or even if they get strongly supported by their family to go for example for post-secondary education, they have to leave the familiarity of their northern communities to realize their career goals either in Iqaluit or in southern cities. This means adjusting to new food, ways of transportation, a new daily rhythm, a new speed in the daily routine, different weather, only English as the language of conversation, no available family network in times of distress and many more changes. Students are fully taken out of their comfort zone which is very difficult for them to handle (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 327ff.).

2.5.2.6 Student learning profiles

Earlier I mentioned the need for teachers using didactics that better suit the socio-cultural needs, learning and working styles of Inuit children. What exactly does that mean? One Inuk teacher for example described that Inuit children have a strong tendency to be visual learners. Very often it is much easier for them to excel in subjects with strong hands-on and observation components whereas theoretical learning through reading or writing tends to be a bigger challenge for most of them (RSQ 2010). The main aspects in which learning in school differs greatly from learning at home are:
In the family Inuit focus more on one topic when learning something. They are dealing with one thing at a time that is experienced in its real-life application and the learners are given time to explore the details of the subject they are exposed to. In school students need to process a lot of theoretical knowledge in a very limited amount of time, often learn about its real-life application later and need to move on to a new subject before the first one is fully explored.

Secondly learning in families is closely personalized which means that a relative or other well-known person who has widely proven his status as a role model and knowledgeable person is the teacher. The pace of teaching is fully adapted to the student`s speed of learning even when there are multiple students.
Teachers on the other side have naturally a less close relationship to their students, have their expertise primarily proven through their university degree but have not necessarily been approved by the community for their teaching skills (which also includes social skills). The teaching speed is determined by the yearly curriculum and does only consider individual learning needs of the students in a limited manner. Furthermore, the learning content is standardised which takes out some of the personal connection that exists in a traditional Inuit teacher student relationship.
Finally, the combination of the fast pace, switching between multiple subjects during the course of one school morning and the primarily oral teaching style within a modern school setting is often very overwhelming for children who are accustomed to low, calm voices, observation instead of just talk, and in depth focussing on one subject (Douglas 2009: 43).
Accounts from the early days of the permanent settlements in Nunavut provide some nice illustrations of some of those typical Inuit learning styles. Military personal and other southerners for example where astonished how quickly Inuit were able to pick up mechanical knowledge. Only after a very short period of mostly observational learning and without much verbal explanation they became quickly accustomed to operating for example great heavy equipment or radio communication equipment (GHS 2008).
Inuit children are also described as being less talkative then their non-Inuit peers in the classroom. When talking about a topic or recollecting a story Inuit child seem to express their emotions in less dramatic gestures and also tend to not exaggerate events as much as many other children (RSQ 2010). I my opinion this is part of their upbringing of being humble and emotionally reserved so that there is more space for actual observation, learning and teamwork than when someone is being busy with their emotions or with putting oneself in the centre of attention. Experiencing pressure to excel in something or direct verbal criticism are

situations that Inuit children do typically not know much from their homes. When a child for example misses school and the teacher scolds the child for being late or not showing up at all the child tends to rather miss even more class than feeling encouraged or pressured to fulfill the expectations of the school and show up on time. The feelings of embarrassment and of not being understood and supported by the teacher (most likely there was a reason for being late) mostly overweigh the encouragement that the teacher intended to give my scolding the child (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 321; TD 2008-2010).

A local dentist for example told me that he must be very cautious about how to educate his clients (both adults and children) about cavities. When he detects bad teeth and explains how bad the teeth are and that he recommends the client to do a better oral hygiene most of the clients will not follow up on that or in some cases even not return to his clinic because they feel treated disrespectfully. When the dentist choses the strategy to point out the remaining healthy teeth and talks about how to keep them healthy with good oral hygiene his clients usually regard his services very positively, improve on the care for their teeth and are significantly more likely to return for more treatment and regular check ups (DNS 2009). I could observe the different effects of positive and negative reinforcement in many other situations inside and outside of the school environment and it appeared to me that all age groups and genders are similarly prone to those teaching strategies.

In addition to the socio-cultural aspects some "formal" factors also pose a difficulty for children to effectively learn.

Since the Nunavut school curriculum is based on the Alberta curriculum it mostly contains subjects and content that southern children can relate to. On the other side, the life experiences of many Inuit children are shaped by living in Nunavut`s unique landscape with no trees, a particular fauna, snow and ice, short summers and still living a lifestyle that is much closer connected to the land, and subsistence economy than the one of most southern kids. This includes hunting, eating country food, being immersed into Inuit culture, language, mythology and spirituality. Consequently, most subjects that Inuit children are being exposed to in their schoolbooks are only known to them through tv. Often, they are not known at all.

Mancini Billson and Mancini (2007: 319) quote one of their informants:

„When you get into deep discussions, the Inuit may find it difficult to understand what is being said. They have little or no concept for example of kingdom. They don't have a kingdom. English literature is full of that. "

The following two examples shall illustrate in more detail the realities that schools in Nunavut face. Of course, there are differences between schools across the territory but the cases of Nakasuk Elementary School and Inuksuk High School both in Iqaluit will provide more practical examples to the generalized description of the Nunavut school system that I did on the previous pages.

2.5.3 Case study Nakasuk elementary school

2.5.3.1 Facts and figures example of Nakasuk School

Nakasuk elementary school covers grades 1 to 5 plus a kindergarten class. Since the school has many students (337 in 2009) it can have at least one class per grade. Smaller schools may need to include students of different grades in one class (PNS 2009).
Nakasuk school also provides and English and an Inuktitut stream. In 2009 it had a total of 15 classes with 10 classes in the English stream and 5 in the Inuktitut one (PNS 2009). English or Inuktitut stream means that all classes are being held in the respective language of the stream. In addition, students need to take one second language class per week.
At the time of my research the school had 28 staff not counting janitors and office administrators. Out of those 28 employees 15 were regular teachers, the rest comprised themselves of the principal, physical education teachers, 6 student support assistants, 1 school counsellor and some language specialists (PNS 2009).
88% of the school's students were Inuit. The elementary school is an inclusive school where regular students and their peers with mental or physical disabilities learn together in one classroom. Typical disabilities are motoric coordination issues including walking impairment, speech-, reading-, and writing difficulties, and attention deficit syndrome (PNS 2009).
The average school attendance lies at 80% with some classes being attended by only 60% of their students and others up to 90%. On the other side the amount of chronic no-

attenders is estimated less than 10% which relatively low compared to other schools in Nunavut (PNS 2009).
Teachers were of very different ages and had different teaching experience. Some young teachers had one of their first educator jobs at Nakasuk school and other teachers were looking back at 30 years of professional teaching experience in the North (PNS 2009).

Classrooms are either set up with chairs and desks that fit a maximum of 2 people per desk or with roundish desks that seat up to 4 students for group learning experiences. There is a variety of learning materials available in the classrooms. Some rooms have computers that are used for some exercises.

The school counselor fulfils a crucial role within the school infrastructure and its social system. At Nakasuk school the counsellor has her own room with various comfortable seating areas and activities for students. She deals with any major kinds of disturbances that students may cause in the school. This includes serious behaviour issues in the classroom, non-attendance, mental health and sometimes physical health issues of the students.
Due to his or her presence and portfolio the pressure to deal with the students' personal or emotional problems is taken of the teachers' back which gives them the opportunity to focus on the curriculum instead on social issues in the classroom; to maintain higher discipline and give overall more attention to the students. Thanks to the institution of the school counselor the teachers can quickly respond to students who want to compromise the class by sending them to the counselor. The one on one time with the counselor allows the difficult students to be heard and understood with their problems instead of being misjudged and just disciplined by the teacher, Instead, they can discuss whatever prevented him/ her from successfully attending class this morning and work with towards improving his or her emotional balance.

2.5.3.2 Particular challenges at Nakasuk School

The school is struggling a lot to encourage students taking Inuktitut classes. According to the principal the school is strongly advocating for more use of

Inuktitut but the ratio between the English and the Inuktitut stream is still about 2 to 1 student (PNS 2009).
The language situation is probably more challenging in Iqaluit than in many smaller communities because Nunavut's capital brings together people from all across the territory. Consequently, children with many different dialects are sitting in the same classroom. Since there is no standardized official Inuktitut in the territory the Inuktitut teachers need to find a way how to accommodate the different dialects as good as possible. Usually they teach the dialect of the local community but try to accept other dialects spoken and written by their students, too. Despite the efforts of the teachers it is still a difficult situation for the students and of course teachers need to put a lot of energy into fairly recognizing the different dialects (RSQ 2010).
Another challenge is the curriculum itself. Although the department of education is working on a Nunavut specific curriculum its development is only making a slow process. Many schools including Nakasuk School did not use the curriculum for a long time which meant that teachers were left without much guidance on what and how to teach (PNS 2009).
Furthermore, as mentioned earlier a lot of the curriculum and learning material content is either directly taken from southern school curricula or is very simplistic in its requirements (PNS 2009). Situations where northern subjects that children can directly relate to where chosen, for example for creative writing, story-telling or arts exercises created a very active and inspiring working atmosphere among the students who in opposite to dealing with topics that are beyond their personal experiences led to struggling students who were lacking interest in school (PNS 2009). This proves that a stronger emphasis on subjects that students can relate to helps them to succeed in the classroom.
Other subjects like physical education for example cannot be taught as much as it would be beneficial for young children. Since the school has so many students but only one gym, the gym times must be kept to a certain limit of 30 to 40 minutes of sports every second day and a sports program at lunch for grades two to five (PNS 2009).

Due to limited resources (staff, money, transportation to and from school after regular school times) Nakasuk elementary school could not offer many afterschool programs. The counsellor used to run a program but always had to put extra emphases in ensuring that the attending kids find a save mode of transportation to their homes in the afternoon. In terms of content, the afterschool program strongly depended on whoever was available to help out with the counsellor. Structured, sustainable programming was very difficult to maintain.

The transient nature of a large amount of Iqaluit's population was also felt at the elementary school. In 2009 about a little but under a quarter of all students left the school and got substituted by new students because their parents moved from or to the community. This can cause intense classroom dynamics and both teachers and students need to deal with a regularly changing setting of their own classroom. Ensuring consistency and a relaxed learning atmosphere is certainly a difficult task to master under these circumstances (PNS 2009).

Smaller communities will most like have less issues with a highly transient population, but they are usually even more limited in all kinds of resources, like staff, volunteers, funding, and space. A huge advantage of Iqaluit is also the concentration of many other services and the variety of stores in town. If something is broken at a school or new material need to be purchased it can be done relatively easily in Iqaluit. The further the communities are away from their regional or southern gateway cities the more do the schools need to plan ahead, work with very limited resources and need to wait for extended periods of time (sometimes until the next sea lift comes in summer again) until for example broken or missing equipment can be replaced.

In addition to so many students coming and going we already saw at the beginning of the chapter that there is a significant number of children with attendance issues. One problem with inconsistent attendance is the rupture that it brings into the classroom - as a unit of peers. The other challenge is the question how to deal with the non-attenders and hot to encourage them to return to school.

The school does not have much of a legal angle to force non-attenders back into the classroom, even when they are minor. Just forcing would probably not help a lot anyways since the students might try to boycott the progress of the instructions.

Instead teachers often in collaboration with the school counsellor will contact the family of the absent child, visit their home and have a personal discussion about the student's absence. When the children are already in the higher elementary school classes the teacher and counsellor focus more on talking to the child than to the parents. In addition, they also seek support from the absent child's peers who could encourage it to return to school. When there is a well-founded suspicion of severe family issues in the house of the non-attender the school also contacts social services for help.

In some cases either an elders' committee that will be set up by the District Education Authority or other local elders will be asked to support the school with their intervention efforts (PNS 2009).

The schools in Nunavut including Nakasuk School are dealing with children of who quite a few struggles with different obstacles that make it difficult for them to develop a positive sense of themselves as valuable individuals. Positive encouragement of non-attenders instead of using pressure and force to bring them back into the schools is one strategy how to provide a positively connotated environment for the students.

Another strategy is the school policy of not failing elementary school children. Whereas Nakasuk School could look back of four consecutive years of not letting children repeat a class unfortunately the reality at the time of my research was that some schools in the territory did not completely follow the non-failing policy. According to the principal of Nakasuk School having children repeat Kindergarten or the first grades in their school career due to bad grates easily creates a lot of anger and a perception of self-worthlessness inside the students – more so than in later grates where a better rational awareness of their performance and its recognition through passing or not passing a grate can be expected from the children. Once the self-image of being a failure is being developed in the child, especially at an early age it will be very difficult for the child or future teachers to encourage the child to high performance (PNS 2009).

The philosophical/ pedagogical question of letting children repeat a class or not, letting it go on with its peers or taking it out from its peer group so that it can and

must socialize with the next younger age group is a highly discussed matter and it is difficult to find a general and satisfying answer. There are certainly a lot of pros and cons for both sides. In the case of the principal's argument above I would like to point out that this was mainly directed to the situation of elementary schools. Especially considering that many Nunavut students are struggling with self-worth issues I find it a very important argument that at an early age the basics of a child's identity and its encouragement to pursue school and learning as a very positive trait in one's life need to be established first before the child should further be confronted with the pressure of fulfilling performance standards.

2.5.3.3 Inuksuk High School

Unfortunately, I did not collect any facts and figures for Inuksuk High School as I did for Nakasuk.

Inuksuk High though is one of two high schools in Iqaluit. The second-high school has a special status since it is a purely French oriented one. This means that all students in Iqaluit who have no ambitions to receive most of their education in French need to attend Inuksuk High School.

Similar to Nakasuk Elementary School the high school also has a counsellor who deals with students who either cause trouble or admit feeling troubled.

At the high school one can find some dynamics and challenges that are very similar to the ones at the elementary school, such as attendance issues or finding the proper learning materials that motivate students to learn. Other dynamics, especially inter-personal issues can be very different from those at the elementary school level.

Some particular age groups seem to be more prone to having issues or at least acting out issues than others. The key age is grades nine and ten. Most incidents in school with that age group hover around relationships and jealousies that easily turn into physical fights, severe verbal abuse and a lot of gossiping about each other (SCI 2009). The counsellor of Inuksuk High School also found that teenagers of this age group tend to be rather stuck in their behavioural patterns than older students who can better reflect on their behaviour, who can easier develop future goals and use them to overcome issues and move on to the next higher goal. Also,

peer support seems to work much better among older students than among the younger ones (SCI 2009).

If violent incidents occur the school responds in multiple ways to it. As an immediate response to defuse violent behaviour the perpetrator often gets send home where he or she can calm down. The counsellor and teachers work with the involved students to resolve the issues between them and to ensure a sustainable save and peaceful atmosphere at school. A key component of the intervention is mediation and providing space for everyone involved to express their personal feelings, thoughts and solutions and being heard by the opposite party.

Due to the high frequency of incidents, mostly non-physical violence, the capacities of the only school counsellor are usually stretched to their limits. This disables her to provide more preventive programming which she agrees would be very beneficial for the school. Preventative programming could cover more anger management, group discussions, classroom presentations and various topics other than violence (SCI 2009).

Similar to Nakasuk School Inuksuk School also sees a high need in working with students to develop more self-esteem. In that regard the high school offers several extra-curricula programs in sports, arts and trades that all contribute in their own way to the student's skill development (SCI 2009). Both the counsellor and the school principle agreed that in particular hands-on programming has a very positive effect on the development of the students (PIS 2009; SCI 2009). This fits again with the observations on student learning profiles where I discussed the close hands-on learning affinity of particularly Inuit students.

In regard to attendance issues the high school noted an increase in early morning attendance over the past years which the counsellor and principle attribute to programming that encourages attendance. These reward programs have different faces. Some of them offer prizes for those students with a very good attendance or for students who take part in more than just the mandatory school courses. Other programs may offer exiting activities but exclusively reserve participation for good attenders (PIS 2009; SCI 2009). Other high schools in the territory like the ones in Cape Dorset and in Kugluktuk offer similar programs such as sports participation

reserved to students with a good attendance or overall good school performance record (PHCD 2014; PHK 2008).
The high school also has to deal a lot with students with a long history of non-attendance in middle school or maybe even elementary school. Being now in the high school means for them that their literacy or numeracy skills are underdeveloped and that most of them are severely struggling with the classroom content. This of course also increases their self-worth issues which again tends to encourage some of these teenagers to compensate their issues by establishing dominance through violent behaviour (PIS 2009; SCI 2009).
The Inuksuk high school offers numeracy and literacy programs to students whose skills are particularly week in those areas to address those issues (SCI 2009).
The results of the high school dropout rates and the challenges that schools in Nunavut face are also mirrored in Nunavut's economy. Underrepresentation in higher qualified jobs, unemployment and social assistance is the reality that many Inuit are facing. Statistics from 2006 reveal that about 46% of adults over 25 years of age did not graduate from high school and the unemployment rate for the same age group was at 14.9% (NBS 2008). Of course, it is not said that the entire group of unemployed Inuit recruits itself from non-graduates. Given the fact that about 50% of all jobs in Nunavut are higher education jobs in governmental, health and education services (NBS 2014)
It is very likely that the majority of unemployed Nunavummiut has a low education.
The circumstance that the unemployment rate is much lower than the rate of non-graduates at the high school level also means that a large portion of non-graduates can still find employment in the territory's economy. At the same time, the majority of jobs held by non-graduates is most likely low qualified and thus low-income employment.
In 2006 only 3% of Inuit had a university degree at a bachelor's level or higher whereas 41% of the Non-Inuit had graduated university with a bachelor's degree or above (NBS 2008).
My observations in Nunavut that most governmental jobs are filled with Non-Inuit and that the percentage of Inuit employment drops the more sophisticated the

positions are, align with the discussion of the statistical data. Mancini Billson and Mancini (2009: 342) also concluded in their research that higher positions are still strongly in the hands of Non-Inuit which despite the opposite intentions of many Non-Inuit keeps creating on multiple levels a neo-colonial climate in Nunavut's society.

2.6 Governmental and Non-governmental services and initiatives dealing with social issues: "Nobody is wearing a seat belt"[20]

Most of the issues that I presented in the chapters before are recognized by governmental and non-governmental organizations across the territory. The issue around prostitution seems to be the least addressed. Generally spoken all levels of government, community and public administration in Nunavut try to tackle the issues in some way or another (Levan 2003: 18; Nunatsiaq News 6/30/2010; TD 2008-2010).

The following section of my thesis introduces some governmental and non-governmental initiatives that deal to different extends with these issues. Aside from the following organizations and initiatives there are many more stakeholders who locally, regionally, and nationally aim to overcome the existing challenges. The organizations and projects that will be described on the following pages are the ones that I had access to during my field work. In two cases of facilities for offenders I was denied access so that an important aspect of government services is missing in my thesis. The main purpose of the chapter is to describe basic formal and legal structures in Nunavut and to exemplify the main challenges that governmental and non-governmental agencies usually face in the territory.

2.6.1 Department of Health and social services

Over the past couple of years, the Department of Health and Social Services underwent some structural changes. At the time of my research it had a Child and Family Services Branch that dealt with child protection and child welfare issues (KR 2 2008; NAHO 2011:10; SSP 2008).

The department also offered a lot of support for female victims of (domestic) violence and their children. Due to limited funds it did neither offer particular programs for male

[20] RCMP IQ 2008

victims nor many programs for offenders. When offenders are sentenced and sent to jail, they get into programs that are offered by the incarceration facility (GHS 2008).
Within the community the couple suffering from domestic violence can often get support through the Family Abuse Intervention Act (FAIA) that is funded by the Department of Justice. If the intervention does not help or if the victim feels threatened the offender might get a restraining order or be removed from the home. These are all initiatives that the department of Justice can provide (GHS 2008).
The department of Health and Social Services on the other side has the option to evacuate the victim and her children to a safe house or women's shelter (GHS 2008).
Since there are not many formal programs available the department puts some emphasis in cultural initiatives, such as involving elders for conflict resolution and healing interventions. The funding for these programs usually comes from the hamlets. The government with its limited capacities encourages these types of programs (GHS 2008).
Due to the department's involvement with domestic violence and child welfare cases it is regularly working together with the Department of Justice, Legal Services, Lawyers and the courthouse (GHS 2008).
Another agency that the department of Health and Social Services regularly collaborates with is the RCMP. In many cases the RCMP is calling Social Services when they need assistance to take care of or protect the victim and the children in a domestic violence case (GHS 2008; SWIQ 2008-2010).
The operations of social services do differ to some extend between the larger and the smaller communities. If there is a social worker at all in the smaller community it is usually just one staff who is dealing with everything. Besides child welfare it also includes a lot of probation work and mental health counseling. The tasks strongly depend on the experience and skill set of the respective social worker. Some might take over more suicide prevention work than others because they have a stronger background in it. In the bigger communities, particularly in Iqaluit most of the workload is child welfare related because it appears to be the most pending and work intensive issue that cannot be covered by other not for profit organizations who sometimes take over some community oriented social work tasks (GHS 2009; SSP 2008).
Typical procedures in response to severe maltreatment of children in families (e.g. repeated physical abuse or severe neglect) include the placement of Inuit children

in foster families (SWIQ 2008-2010). When choosing the foster family different ethnic backgrounds do not seem to be considered much. Social workers try to find a new home within the community or at least within the territory of Nunavut but due to the lack of enough foster families some children are being sent to other communities all over Canada. Consequently, many children start suffering sooner or later from identity crises and cultural loss because they often need to adapt to completely new lifestyles, social forms of interaction, social norms and values. Even when they stay in Nunavut it is very likely that they are placed in Non-Inuit families simply because there are not too many Inuit families accepted for foster care. The reason why there is just a small number of Inuit foster homes appear to be rooted in the issues that many Inuit families themselves face (SWIQ 2008-2010).

The eligibility of a foster family is measured on factors such as having a clear criminal record, providing a safe home and family environment, having sufficient financial resources to nurture and educate an additional child, ensuring regular school attendance of the foster child, or providing the foster child with a separate room and bed so that each child's privacy will be protected. As employees of Social Services Iqaluit assured me their goal is to monitor and support the foster family as best as possible to ensure the well-being of the children. In those cases where the social structures of the biological family improve again children will be reunited with their parents as soon as possible (SWIQ 2008-2010).

In 2007 there were roughly 50 foster families that Social Services had to deal with. Depending on other tasks the Social Services Workers cover 5 to 10 cases of child protection and safety each, which is according to their own evaluation too much in order to handle each case with the optimum efforts. They suggested that their overall workload could utilize double the employees that are currently employed at Social Services Iqaluit. Especially prevention work and intensive care for cases are neglected under the present circumstances (SWIQ 2008-2010).

Violence prevention and violence education programming is mostly carried out by various agencies. Often, they are local not for profit organizations or local representations of territorial or national organizations such as Embrace Life

Council or Qulliit Nunavut Status of Women Council. The department may co-fund some of the initiatives (GHS 2008).

The list of private and not-for profit organizations also includes women's shelters and safe houses that the government usually but not mandatorily supports. Women's shelters and safe houses need to form a society that can apply for funding with governmental and non-governmental organizations (GHS 2008). This of course puts these institutions in a very volatile situation. Funding is mostly granted for only a period of one year so that operational planning, project and staffing capacities are jeopardized on an annual basis.

Staffing, particularly filling all front-line worker positions, is also a serious obstacle for the department. Most qualified staff are recruited from southern Canada. Within the territory the Nunavut Arctic College offers a mental health counseling course. Compared to similar educational opportunities in the South, the arctic college mental health program demands less from its students and thus produces lesser qualified graduates. Consequently, many Canadian provinces do not accept the Nunavut diploma (ASSP 2008; GHS 2008; SSP 2008). In addition, the numbers of students who take the course at the Nunavut Arctic College are too low to cover most open mental health and social service positions in Nunavut (GHS 2008).

This implies for the department of Health and Social Services that it can only chose between northern staff who is very familiar with the culture and social situation in the communities but only moderately trained and southern well-trained professionals who however lack the important cultural sensitivity and experience with Nunavut's particularities. Cultural awareness courses for southern social workers are very rare and mostly only available in Iqaluit. Those courses do not last more than two days so that most of the learning curve for social workers will happen on the job (SSP 2008). No matter who the department hires, as long as there are not more financial resources available, staff receives more benefits to move into smaller communities and the North will produce more professionals understaffing will continue to be a problem.

The department's Child and Family Services Act was battling some legal issues. It was under review while I did my research. This was necessary because there was serious reason to assume that parts of the act were not in compliance with the

Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. For example, when a child is being separated from its parents, they had no opportunity to appeal the decision in front of a court in a timely manner (CBC 11/17/2010).

Furthermore, the Auditor General did an investigation at the department and revealed several heavy grievances. Among the top issues are the department's failures to meet its own standards regarding understaffing and burn out of existing staff, safety checks on foster homes, poor coordination between services and insufficient record keeping (AG 2007: 1ff.). The auditor general also left several recommendations on how the situation could be improved and the Government of Nunavut agreed to work on them (AG 2007:25ff; NAHO 2011:11).

The clientele for social workers and mental health workers are a mix of self referrals and referrals from the hospital and nursing stations (DHS 2008). Women tend to consult mental health services more often than men which brings up the question if women are more heavily affected by mental health issues than men. All evidence points to the opposite and men appear to feel bound to some gender specific stereotypes that prevent them from freely asking for mental health (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 228).

Most of the time counselling is crises driven which means that people approach the social and mental health specialists when they are already stuck very deeply in a personal crisis. Therapy or healing unfortunately does often not continue for long but only until the person in distress feels so much relief that he or she feels they can continue with their day to day business. The two factors that motivate that kind of healing approach are that many clients lack interest in continuous counselling and secondly because there is a high turnover rate of social and mental health workers in the communities so that an atmosphere of trust between client and counsellor can hardly be established (SSP 2008).

In some cases, patients are being referred to southern treatment centers, ones like in Ottawa or Winnipeg that already have a larger Inuit population than other Canadian cities. The southern facilities try to consider the cultural background of their Inuit patients, for example by employing some Inuktitut speaking staff or translators or offering country food. These extra services shall take away some of the feeling of estrangement for Inuit from the North (DHS 2008).

The long-term success of that kind of intervention however is limited. Experience showed so far that most patients recover and start doing better during their time in the south but as soon as they come back, they are faced with the same troubles and stress factors that made them seek treatment in the first place. Also, the communities do not have the same multiple resources of support as the southern treatment facilities (DHS 2008).

Another aspect why people progress during southern treatment well and regress in their home community again might be rooted in the amount of ownership that the Inuk patient takes in his or her own well-being. As I will outline in later chapters Inuit-Qallunaat interactions are even today heavily shaped by assumed and real imbalances of power. In many incidents a lot of Inuit feel that they need to follow instructions by non-Inuit and when a qallunaq says "you should do this or that" the Inuk often does it without taking full personal ownership of the action that he or she is supposed to do. My point with the mental health system here is that maybe some Inuit might follow the mental health or social worker referral to the South, follow the treatments' instructions as expected and return home – doing allegedly better. However, the patient and counselor were not able in the first place to cross the cultural gap between them so that the Inuk patient does not fully inherit the treatment approach as his/ her own decision. Consequently, with a potential lack of ownership in the personal well-being efforts the patient is much more likely to fall back into old habits than when he/ she would be fully convinced to be on the right path of recovery.

2.6.2 FAIA (Family Abuse Intervention Act)

The Family Abuse and Intervention Act carries out a program that is specifically intended to reach an emotional balance between struggling family members through mediation. Before the FAIA program all domestic violence, elder abuse or other family violence cases went straight to the legal court respectively to the Justice of Peace. The new act however provides family members with a chance for healing without automatically having charges pressed against the perpetrator. It is also designed to accommodate smaller legal cases of conflict resolution and redemption such as break and enters and to bring the justice system closer to the

traditional mediation approach (CKW 2008; CW 2008; TD 2008-2010).
If the mediation process fails, the case will then be transferred to the courts (Ineak Ipeelie: 2008; RCMP IQ 2008).
Typical challenges in the day to day practice of FAIA are the limited interest in many couples to seek mediation. On the one side people highly value their privacy and do not like to discuss their personal issues with others, in particular with non-family members. On the other side, due to the web of distant relatives in the communities there is a good chance that a couple is ending up with a relative as the mediator who in traditional cultural normative system has no authority of guidance over the couple who is seeking help (Ineak Ipeelie 2008 TD 2008-2010).
Traditional mediation was usually provided by close relatives who had an intimate knowledge of the distressed family members and who were socially sanctioned to guide their “clients”[21].
Some more criticism on FAIA centers on its effectiveness in spousal violence cases. Besides the mediation part FAIA’s policy also states that in case of a domestic situation the victim can ask for removal of the perpetrator from the house (FAIA 2006: 6f.). Since police and justice workers are overwhelmed with work it is difficult for them to monitor and enforce the victim’s request, in particular once the immediate threat of the violent attack that is usually linked to an intoxicated perpetrator has passed. In the moment of the escalating situation the police might bring the perpetrator into custody but depending on the extent of his violent act they can only keep him there until he is sober again. After that he often forces his way back into the house or involves his or his partner’s extended family to put pressure on the partner who “brought shame” over the family by publicly revealing the family issues. Calling the police and getting non-family members involved as victims or protagonists is widely seen as public revelation of intimate issues that should not leave the house. Now, the victim may not only face the own partner but also turn the traditional supporting network of the extended and in-law family into a group of people who will act on behalf of the perpetrator (EWS

[21] I will be giving a more detailed description of traditional conflict resolution methods and interdependencies within families in the two chapters “Culture is more than the 3Ds” and “Historic Ethnography of Eastern and Central Canadian Inuit”.

2009)
If the partner stays away from the house and the victim, he needs to find a new shelter which most likely increases the pressing situation of overcrowding, homelessness and associated issues in his new place of temporary residence.

2.6.3 Justice System including correctional system

The historic and current role of both enforcement and justice services in Nunavut are very important in order to analyze the contributing factors for many of nowadays social issues including the high amount of criminal offenses (Griffith, Wood, Zellerer, Saville 1995: 134). While I will be examining the present situation of the justice system and policing in Nunavut the historic component will follow in later chapters.
Since I could neither gain access to the correctional facilities in Iqaluit and Kugluktuk, to inmates and to correction officers, nor did I have many opportunities to speak with representatives of the court system I will mostly rely on literature already written about the justice system and some few comments that Nunavut residents of whom some are closely connected with justice and correction services, some not, made towards me.

2.6.3.1 Restorative Justice Initiatives

As in the example of FAIA there efforts are under way in the territory to include restorative justice initiatives wherever they might appear to be more helpful than the typical Euro-Canadian justice approach for either the victim or the offender or even both. The advantage of restorative justice initiatives lies in their inclusive structure where elements of traditional justice like for example conflict resolution through elder counseling can be considered.
During the time of my research restorative justice initiatives covered about 50 – 70% of all low crime cases (Ineak Ipeelie 2008).
The statistical data also show that restorative justice is not always used, a circumstance that finds its explanation within the Canadian constitution. Especially family violence respectively violence against women reflects the dilemma where charges have to be laid even against the victims wish or against her/ his preference to deal with that matter outside of the courtroom, once police

respectively the Crown receives evidence for such a crime. This is where FAIA tries to fill in the gap of demands from some victims for an alternative justice model. But courts are basically expected by law to deal with it. The procedure derives from the legal matter that any offence committed in Canada automatically means an offence against the Crown so that they can step in and must step up as prosecutors in the case that the victim might refuse following up on the offence. Many victims however seem to prefer not to involve the RCMP or a court but once their case becomes known to these respective officials the legal process will start for victim and offender (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 301).

2.6.3.2 Justice of Peace Courts

Every community in Nunavut has at least 1 Justice of Peace (JP). The justice system foresees that JPs take over a lot of civil cases, especially youth court, family court, bail hearings, show case and preliminary hearings (de Jong 2003: 19).

2.6.3.3 Regular court

In opposite to Canada's other provinces and territories where there is a provincial/ territorial court and a supreme court Nunavut only has one court level, the Nunavut Court of Justice (de Jong 2003: 7; Patterson 2002: vii)
The Nunavut Court of Justice (NCJ) is expected to handle all legal cases. The only resident court in Nunavut is located in Iqaluit. The rest of the communities is served by a fly-in court who is regularly circulating throughout the communities. The fly-in courts have hearings over a period of several days where local cases are usually being brought forward in a chronological order (de Jong 2003: 7).
There are about 13 to 15 lawyers in Nunavut (CWC 2009). The Nunavut Legal Services Board (NLSB) is offering legal services such as providing legal aid and public legal education and information and managing the court worker services. The NLSB has offices in each region, all together five (de Jong 2003: 8; Patterson 2002: viii).
The structure of a typical fly-in court looks as follows:
The court flies in every 3 months and resides in the community at a public space such as a school gymnasium for about 3 consecutive days. The judge and lawyers almost always switch with colleagues between each community circuit. About all

crimes that were committed since the last circuit court are expected to be dealt with within the three days of the court's presence in the community. When someone is accused of a major crime that person has to stay in custody until the court day. In the case of a lower crime the accused remains free in town until court day. In those cases where the accused is incarcerated or residing in another community he or she needs to be flown into the community of where the offense happens for court trial. The victim independent if he or she is adult, or juvenile is expected to be present in court. In the case of juvenile victims, a custodian or the Crown Witness Coordinator can accompany the victim. If he or she does not show up the charges against the accused will be dropped. The majority of the trials are public. One of the few exemptions are the preliminary hearings regarding sexual violence cases (CW 2008; RCMP K2 2008). If the victim or witness is too afraid to face the accused, they are usually given the opportunity to testify from another room through live screening into the court room. The victim is not required to appear in front of the court when the accused is pleading guilty right away (CWC 2009).

The courts usually try to accommodate traditional justice approaches by inviting one or more elders to sit aside the judge and address the accused at the end of the hearing.

They mostly approach the perpetrator by appealing to his or her responsibility towards the health of the entire community, and the threatening consequences for the community due to his or her misbehavior. Some of those elders already have experience with traditional counselling for example by having acted as "healing camp counselors" in other programs. Often, the judge does announce his sentence after he consulted with the elders (CKW 2008; CW 2008).

2.6.3.4 Court workers

Court workers are supposed to deliver legal services to the communities. Their task is to help clients understand their rights, situation and opportunities within the legal limits of their particular court case.

At the beginning of the new Millennium, Nunavut employed 11 part time court workers, three full time court workers and 8 (staff) counsellors (de Jong 2003: 8).

Court workers do serve in both circuit courts and JP courts where most of the times, they are the only ones who will be representing the arguments of the accused. Their area of involvement is very extensive and includes criminal cases, civil cases, public legal and educational information and sometimes local alternative justice programs (de Jong 2003: 17).
The court workers‘ responsibilities can be very different in their respective communities and usually depends on the degree of training, skills and experience that they have within the justice system (Patterson 2002: 81).

2.6.3.5 Crown Witness Coordinators

In 2009 Nunavut had 5 Crown Witness Coordinators that were all working out of Iqaluit. They were put into rotating teams with one team serving the Kivalliq and Kitikmeot, another one serving the Qikiqtaaluk and one person dealing solely with cases in Iqaluit (CWC 2009). The coordinators travel with the circuit court but usually arrive some time ahead of the judge and the rest of the court. They are tasked to provide support services for witnesses and victims of crime; they assist in explaining them the criminal justice system, court procedures; they help victims to fill out Victim Impact Statements, connect victims with other service providers such as a women’s shelter or mental health, and they are involved with the preparations for the court sessions in the communities (CWC 2009; Levan 2003: 21). The Crown Witness Coordinator also informs the victim when the convicted offender is being released from incarceration (CWC 2009).
It is essential to Crown Witness Coordinators to understand and speak Inuktitut respectively Inuinnaqtun because they are dealing so much with community residents who in some cases are mono-lingual Inuktitut speakers (CWC 2009).

2.6.3.6 Court procedures regarding crime cases: case study spousal assault

Usually a case starts with the RCMP who are among the first responders to a crime forwarding criminal charges to the crown prosecutor’s office. The prosecutor’s office is than evaluating the existing evidence and how likely a conviction is. If the crown prosecutor agrees to lay charges a show case hearing is next. Also, the crown witness coordinator will carefully study all information about the case,

contact the victim and witnesses. Essential aspects of this phase of establishing contact and trust with the victim is the preparation of two documents, the Victim Risk Assessment and the Victim Impact Statement (CWC 2009).

The Victim Risk Assessment consists of 17 questions and is targeted to create more background knowledge on the family situation of the victim‘s and offender's family and their future intentions of living together. It includes questions like „How would you feel about testifying against the offender? "; or „Would you like to continue the relationship? " (CWC 2009).

The Victim Impact Statement is voluntarily and documents the victims' point of view as well as her or his opinion on the personal tangible and intangible impact through the crime (e.g. property damage, emotional trauma etc.). The Victim Impact Statement enables the court to consider the victim's voice without him or her recounting the events of the crime during the main trial (CWC 2009).

After that, more preparations for the main court hearing will take place. Shortly before the court is flying into the community the Crown Witness Coordinator will touch base with the victim (again), review the victim and witness statements with him or her and go with him/ her over the upcoming court process (CWC 2009).

2.6.3.7 Challenges of the justice system

2.6.3.7.1 Infrastructural challenges

Circuit courts are forced to squeeze as many trials as possible in their few days of court in each community. Since there are usually more cases for trial than there is time available to give each case its proper recognition either the quality of the trials is suffering, or an increasing number of cases is being postponed to the next court visit. Over time the waiting periods for trials is getting longer and the pressure for the courts to finally deal with them is becoming higher (Griffith, Wood, Zellerer, Saville 1995: 140).

Some communities are difficult to fly-in because of the local weather conditions like regular fog, high winds and proneness to blizzards. Consequently, the court may have to postpone or skip a community which means even more workload at the next scheduled fly-in court (de Jong 2003:11; Griffith, Wood, Zellerer, Saville 1995: 139).

Furthermore, the circuit court is constantly dealing with infrastructural challenges such as access, set up and maintenance of functioning internet or telephone connections. Nunavut's communication system has to withstand very harsh environmental conditions so that it requires regular maintenance. It is widely dependent on good satellite connection which is easily compromised by cosmic storms and bad weather in the arctic (de Jong 2003:11).

Nunavut has only two incarceration facilities, the Baffin Correctional Centre (BCC) in Iqaluit and the Rankin Inlet Correctional Healing Facility in Rankin Inlet. At the time of my research Kugluktuk had another healing facility that was to my knowledge more run like a boarding home than an incarceration fancily. Focus on the program in Kugluktuk was on healing and reintegration into society and the security status was very low. The communities usually do not have the special and human capacities to keep someone incarcerated until his or her trial so that minor offenders are put under parole until the trial so that they can stay in their home community. People who are accused to have committed major offenses are being brought to BCC, Rankin Inlet or to a facility outside of the territory. Since shipping to another community for incarceration means for some offenders leaving their community for the first time, they sometimes tend to quickly plead guilty just to get past the highly stressful situation of being away from their home, family and friends (de Jong 2003: 11).

The parole situation but also the circumstance that many sentences are community based opens up plenty of opportunity to re-offend (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 307).

In addition, youth sentences are very low and often do not get fully implemented (JP 2008; KHSC 2008). This easily lets many victims feel unsafe in their homes (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 307) and might even prevent them from laying charges in the first place.

The lack of understanding of cultural and social particularities among many defence and prosecution staff can under some circumstances contribute to the creation of unsafe situations for the victim. In one circumstance that I personally witnessed the defence suggested in a case of sexual offender who attacked children that the accused should be under probation, stay in his home community in a

relative's house but will comply with a restraining order regarding all children. Although this approach may sound reasonable in the sense that he can stay with his family the reality in Nunavut's communities is however that there are not only a lot of children in each settlement but that they usually freely visit other homes (of friends and family) so that it is very easy for the offender to get close to children.
A study about Baffin Island from the mid 1990s already revealed the same dilemma in the justice system by concluding that programs that are developed in the South for larger (urban) settings often do not effectively work in a rural northern setting with an aboriginal population that has a different cultural and social background (Griffith/ Wood/ Zellerer/ Saville 1995: 139 f.). This unfortunately proves that the lack of cultural awareness is an ongoing situation for decades, and it appears to me that the severity of the matter might be underestimated[22].
Infrastructural challenges and delays in trials are particularly exhausting for victims and offenders who are kept in custody until the trial and the families of both victim and offender. The insecurity when their case is being dealt with and how much longer they have to spend time in limbo can be very stressful also because many decisions about every one's personal future such as housing, income or safety, depend on the outcome of the trial.

Those convicts who are on probation face very limited supervision because their parole officers and the local police stations are understaffed and overworked. Consequently, probation paroles are often violated, and offenders usually do not need to worry about strict consequences (JP 2008).
The police are mostly focusing on serious incidents in the community and does not have the capacities to dedicate equal attention to cases of small theft, breach of curfew and breaches of probation (RCMP K2 2008).

[22] In later chapters I will demonstrate that the lack of cultural awareness is an ongoing circumstance since the beginnings of the arctic colonization and that this is up to today a key factor for the slow community progress and for the failure of services provided for Inuit.

Many offenders can break their probation two times or more until they face consequences from overworked RCMP and the probation officer. This gives the offender unacceptable large freedom to do whatever he wants to do, and it encourages an attitude of no respect to western law and how “society” or “state” deal with offenses against the law (CW 2008).

2.6.3.7.2 Cultural and cross-cultural challenges

The quality of interpretation services in the communities varies largely which poses a challenge for effective communication between the judge, the prosecution, defence, victim, offender and the other court personal. Most of the court staff are non-Inuit and as they do not receive particular cultural training before starting their work in Nunavut there is no guaranty that cultural particularities are being properly recognized during the trial process (Griffith, Wood, Zellerer, Saville 1995: 139; CWC 2009; TD 2008-2010).

Since the legal system and all its procedures are rooted in western society it contradicts in many ways the traditional Inuit understanding of justice and restitution (Rousseau 2004: 276). Some of its principles and the in depth meaning of its language can be difficult to translate into social concepts and into Inuktitut. This may lead to an “under-representation” of the accused in a trial (de Jong 2003: 12).

The western justice system for example strongly functions under the premise to prove or disprove the guilt of a person which promotes a “system of winners and losers in where the loser is getting punished for having most likely broken the law “(Griffith, Wood, Zellerer, Saville 1995: 136f.).

The Inuit justice system, as many other indigenous justice systems, centers on the restoration of positive relationships between the members of a group. In addition, the individual freedom of all people involved despite their role of accused, offender, victim or witness is very highly regarded (Griffith, Wood, Zellerer, Saville 1995: 136f.).

Another example of the two clashing systems is how many Inuit and Non-Inuit relate to the idea of testifying against an accused. Where the western society has a moral justification to publicly “put blame” on the accused since the person

behaved socially non-conform, Inuit society has a moral code that prevents people to publicly expose the wrong-doing of the accused (Rousseau 2004: 279) unless it is a very severe offense and public ridicule is deliberately chosen to teach the offender a lesson. Certain traditional forms of restitution like mocking or "blaming" the offender or song duels were put into a social framework within which it was allowed to break with the general rule of not openly talking about other people. One could argue that the court provides the western equivalent to the social framework of putting blame on someone in Inuit culture, but it appears that Inuit culture does not recognize the legitimacy of the western court to provide that space.
Another author, de Jong (2003: 14) also suggests that a particular cultural component adds more stress to the Inuit's struggle with waiting periods and delays of trials. In his opinion Inuit seem to have an understanding of immediacy when it comes to dealing with certain matters such as justice issues. Today's reality however demands from people to wait several weeks if not even months until they have to legally deal with whatever incident they were involved in. This often leaves people behind with a feeling of having to experience unnecessary suffering and having to deal with matters that are long over and no longer that important.
The same study from the 1990s that I mentioned earlier showed that many Inuit (on Baffin Island) struggle with this western concept of justice. Also, the narrow job descriptions of each circuit court member often lead to confusion among Inuit (Griffith, Wood, Zellerer, Saville 1995: 136f.).

Authorities in the justice and correction system definitely try a lot to improve the cultural sensitivity of the respective programs and procedures but they are often bound to and consequently limited by federal and territorial law.
Furthermore, critics of the restorative justice system are pointing out that it may prevent offenders from facing adequate punishment for your action and getting proper mental health treatment while incarcerated which increases the likelihood of reoffending (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 277, 308).

2.6.3.7.3 Challenges for Court workers

Court workers face both infrastructural hurdles but also some that are hitting them on a more personal level. Since not every community has a local court worker the existing ones must serve several communities although they might not always have the proper office space and equipment to serve other remote communities (de Jong 2013: 16). Particularly their close network ties with police and justice sometimes puts them in the line of fire by other community members because in their job they are working legal policies and procedures that may negatively affect some community members but in their private time they would just like to integrate themselves into the community they are living in (Patterson 2002: 81). Other community members may mistrust, and judge justice workers and members of the police force based on their job and thus refuse to intermingle with them in private.

Unequal salaries for court workers across Nunavut combined with the high pressure of travelling courts and being a kind of gate keeper between communities and the justice system lead to a high turnover rate in the job which in addition to the limited infrastructural support decreases the quality of services that can be provided (de Jong 2003: 16 f.).

Crown Witness Coordinators for example were facing significant understaffing when I did my research. Consequently, they did not have a lot of time to give each individual case the attention it deserves. Limited or no training and emotional support for dealing with delicate cases like sexual assault adds to the stress that the understaffed crown witness coordinators are facing. In their particular case one of the challenges of being a gate keeper between communities and justice system can be that they might have to do a victim risk assessment with someone who they personally know or who even belongs to the extended or immediate family which easily brings them into an emotional conflict (CWC 2009).

2.6.3.7.4 Challenges for correctional centres

For over 10 years now various reports are continuously pointing out that the correction system in Nunavut is overwhelmed with the number of inmates they are expected to handle (de Jong 2003: 23; Nunatsiaq News 5/3/2010b; CBC

5/17/2007). Part of the situation lies in the long waiting times for court trials (CBC 5/17/2007).
Especially the Baffin Correction centre in Iqaluit is constantly overcrowded. It sometimes hosts more the double as many inmates as it is built for which leads to a long tail of additional issues for prisoners and correctional staff alike. In 2010 the facility was so overcrowded that 30 prisoners out of 102 were reported to be accommodated in the gym. In addition, the correctional centre faces a permanent shortage of staff. Some sources say that there is more than 30% more staff needed. And finally, limited space and financial resources prevent the facility to offer sufficient treatment services and leisure time opportunities like sports to the inmates which again results in increasing tensions among inmates and towards staff, boredom, but also reduced hygiene within the Baffin correctional centre (Nunatsiaq News 5/3/2010a; Nunatsiaq News 5/3/2010b). To provide some relive for the correctional centre a second correctional facility with 46 beds for Nunavut was built in Rankin Inlet. Before the centre in Rankin Inlet was finished voices already pointed out that that institution will be completely filled with inmates right away (Nunatsiaq News 5/3/2010a). This proves the importance of the new building for correctional services in Nunavut but also clearly shows the limits of how much improvement the new facility really means for inmates and corrections in Nunavut. Drug trafficking, violence and verbal and physical threats to other inmates and staff are a regular occurrence at the facility.

2.6.3.7.5 Financial challenges

Nunavut's difficult infrastructure where air traffic is pretty much the only mode of transportation between the communities that are all far apart from each other certainly puts a financial burden on any kind of territory wide service, including the court system. Since Iqaluit is the only community with a permanent court presence all other communities only have one or more justices of peace on site and rely for all other cases on the circuit courts. Providing experts for certain case matters, regularly flying the entire court into the community, accommodating and supplying everyone with food raises the costs of the circuit fly-in courts even more (de Jong 2003: 28f.; TD 2008-2010).

The multi-lingualism of Nunavut also demands for court services in Inuktitut respectively Inuinnaqtun. Many local witnesses, victims or perpetrators may neither be very well familiar with the court system in general nor with their rights and roles within the trial. As was established earlier certain legal concepts may not go conform with the cultural understanding of conflict resolution in particular within a domestic setting. For the longest time cultural particularities of the Inuit population were not considered in the northern justice system. Over the last two decades this started to change and where applicable, the focus shifted more towards restorative justice measures such as victim-offender mediation, family conferencing and healing circles. Consequently, courts in Nunavut require extra staff or at least time and efforts to provide an adequate level of service that will be fully comprehended by the communities. These efforts are of course generating additional costs for the justice system (de Jong 2003: 28f.; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 308).

Interdepartmental, and inter-agency cooperation often lacks in efficiency and intensity in particular in regard to social issues (Mental Health Symposium 2008: 12; SWIQ 2008 – 2010). In one case that I experienced in Kugluktuk for example the community wellness department did not get informed about the re-staffing of the local mental health counsellor position. Although mental health and community wellness offices were located across the street from each other no exchange of information or inter-departmental update happened for several weeks after the position got filled again. Even though both service providers pretty much served the same clients a collective approach would probably have had a much stronger impact on the client, but it never happened due to the lack of communication and collaboration.

When communication or cooperation happens between different service providers significant outcomes in a timely manner are often times slowed down by formalities in the decision-making process and quarrels over competencies within the respective organizations (CKW 2008; TD 2008-2010).

The high demand for services and limited financial and personal resources force organizations to focus on their main mandates which does not leave much space

for extending activities into competencies that are considered marginal for that particular organization but core for another one (CKW 2008; KN 2008).

2.6.5 RCMP and Policing: Case study RCMP Iqaluit

Policework appears to be very similar across the territory. In some ways Iqaluit may show a few more particularities compared to other Nunavut communities. This is mainly due to the significantly larger population, a larger bar and party scene[23] and the high volume of visitor and temporary worker traffic that passes through Iqaluit. The city like character with the high volume of people fosters quantitatively more crime and lately a larger variety of crime or illegal offences ranging from drug trafficking to hit and run accidents and robberies to vandalism (CBC 4/5/2017; RCMP IQ 2008; TD 2015)

Compared to other Nunavut detachments where there are usually two to five officers stationed, the Iqaluit detachment is significantly bigger. In 2008 the time when I conducted my research and interviews there it had 23 officers and three civil secretaries. Additionally, there were 3 cadets who did their 6 months field training in Iqaluit. After their field training the 3 cadets were moving on to another placement in Nunavut. According to my interview partner, in addition to the regular police work the Iqaluit detachment serves as a training base for cadets who want to serve in smaller Nunavut communities (RCMP IQ 2008).

Out of the 23 officers, three cadets, and three secretaries five officers and two secretaries were Inuit from Nunavut (RCMP IQ 2008).

A shift usually consists of about six to a maximum of eight policemen, but it can be as low as three persons for example when staff are ordered to do prisoner escorts or when someone is on leave. A fully staffed shift is very uncommon since most of the time someone has other duties or is on leave. In particular the short placement times of two years[24] that many officers commit, too support the leave situation

[23] Iqaluit is the only community in Nunavut with a theatre. It also has the highest number in restaurants and bars and at least two dance locations where alcohol is legally available.

[24] Since Iqaluit and all other communities in Nunavut are considered isolated posts RCMP officers can apply for a two-year posting. At the end of the time one can apply for another two-year term at the same location or somewhere else. The relatively short posting comes along with a holiday package of 30 days per year plus another leave for one week to go house hunting at your future placement (RCMP IQ 2008)

since leaving officers are entitled to take leave to manage their relocation (finding a new place to live, organize the move etc.). This meant for Iqaluit in 2008 that the detachment of about 23 personals had a staff turnover rate of 10 people in one year (RCMP IQ 2008).

All officers who transfer to Nunavut do that on a volunteer base which means that no one usually gets assigned to a placement in the North. Instead, an officer applies with the staffing officer and undergoes some tests that shall assure the applicant is suitable for a remote and in many ways demanding stationing. If the officer passes, he or she will be transferred (RCMP IQ 2008).

The transient nature that the system of postings of officers in Nunavut often poses a challenge for the community to integrate officers (RCMP IQ 2008). The advantage of the system is certainly that officers run less risk to be dragged too deeply into local family affairs. It is also easier to maintain a professional relationship to everyone, especially in the smaller communities where everyone is so closely connected with each other that it may sometimes seem overwhelming for longtime residents to separate private business from the duties in their profession. As much as it would be desired to have more local Inuit in the force which may support breaking the local perception of police still being an outside force with no connection to Inuit culture and traditions (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007:344) locally recruited officers would most likely be exposed to many ethical dilemmas in which they have to decide between the execution of their duty for example by detaining a close relative or putting family ties over the law by not taking any action at all or trying to mediate the situation in a different way.

Cultural awareness training does not exist for police officers. According to my interview partner it is also not necessary since the duties of police work are defined and are very similar all across Canada. He admitted that some cultural introduction by an elder would be interesting however the ropes of policing in Nunavut could and are being taught to new officers by senior members (RCMP IQ 2008).[25]

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[25] In my opinion this is another example that illustrates the difficulties that a lot of Non-Inuit have understanding how subtle but deep cultural particularities can be and too what extend awareness

In contrast to larger detachments in southern Canada RCMP personal in Nunavut is sharing responsibilities for all incurring work, for example, investigating a case, attending a prisoner in the detachments cell, responding to incoming calls (RCMP IQ 2008). In smaller communities with only 2 or 3 staff on site all officers, even those who are off duty are on call. Incidents may come up where the officer off duty is being called in and in addition to his regular shift he or she may have to work over hours without any additional relief in sight. Once the incident is solved the team is back on the regular shift schedule. When applicable, officers from larger detachments like Iqaluit are sometimes flying into a smaller community to relief some of the local personal from their 24/7 standby duty (RCMP IQ 2008; TD 2008-2010). Although not mandatory many RCMP officers are also contributing personal volunteer hours to the community. They might be getting involved in some kinds of sports or hosting events so that de facto there is not much individual lieu time for personal from the force (RCMP IQ 2008).
Since the general public usually tends to associate police and their work with the execution of state power police in Nunavut is to some degree regarded ambivalently. According to my RCMP interview partner people do not seem to be afraid of reporting incidences to the police. The relationship between civilians and RCMP is generally good and respectful (RCMP IQ 2008). In random conversations with different Iqaluit residents but also when reading the comment section of police work related articles in the territorial newspaper, I could also sense some mistrust towards the police especially the perception that the police is one of the administrative instruments of a Non-Inuit (federal) government that has very little consideration for Inuit. The understanding of imbalance of powers between an occupational government represented by the police and the original inhabitants of the territory surfaces especially in incidents where the behaviour of RCMP members is being questioned as too abusive, ignorant or false in any other way.
Most arrests that the RCMP are dealing with involve intoxicated persons. If their state of intoxication is so high that the person becomes immobilized or if the

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of some of these particularities e.g. communication patterns, concepts of personal freedom and conflict resolution within a community could potentially change the execution of a service like policework and consequently it's outcomes.

person has any injuries that demand medical attention the police escorts that person to the hospital where he or she will be treated. If the person however is in a state of mind where his or her actions do pose a real or potential risk to the hospital personal the detainee will be locked at the RCMP cell until he or she is calm down enough to receive treatment (RCMP IQ 2008). In cases of detainees with a serious mental health condition that cannot be properly dealt with in Iqaluit the RCMP presents the case to a judge who has then the ability to commit the person to a southern facility (RCMP IQ 2008).

Due to the high work load that RCMP officers deal with time for prevention work is limited. There is certainly the desire and the understanding of the importance for networking with other organizations like for instance presentations at local schools, facilitating the D.A.R.E. program[26] (Drug Abuse Resistance Education) in schools, offering victim services or exchanging important information on violence offenders or victims with Social Services, Mental Health workers or the hospital. Each of these organizations is of course also bound to restrictions of confidentiality so that information is not freely floated around between organizations. The amount of collaboration between organizations, exchange of data and prevention work is strongly subject to the individual case (Nunatsiaq News 9/8/2009; RCMP IQ 2008).

The fast pace in which the RCMP in Nunavut is operating cannot be stressed out enough. Most of the time police is trying to catch up with their work while juggling several other work items at the same time so that it is a very common occurrence that police members feel burned out after a while (Levan 2003: 21; Nunatsiaq News 9/8/2009; RCMP IQ 2008).
A very vivid description of the stressful day to day operations and the frustration that RCMP officers are facing comes from my interview partner in Iqaluit who explained why he cannot meet me more often for interviews and summarized the

[26] In 2008 the D.A.R.E. was not facilitated for at least 2 years due to the lack of free capacities at the RCMP. In the same year the RCMP was hoping to train 2 people including an Inuk constable to become instructors (RCMP IQ 2008).

events of the actual day for me:

“I can't see you many times because I'm too busy…., I told you there is like 20 some guys here (…) they don't have time to give you 2 hours or even a half hour. They said "No, forget it. I got things to do!" (…) We gotta get two prisoners onto the plane this morning, 11 have to go to court. So, we need officers to run and do that. 3 court rooms are going. We need 3 or 4 policemen there to look after the prisoners there to look after in court. The members are walking out to go to the truck and there is a baby lying on the street and the husband and wife fighting on our driveway, like it's going on. It's amazing the (…) abuse and the calls and the assaults. (…) it's terribly unfortunate what's going on all the time. You can't fix it (RCMP IQ 2008).”

2.6.6 Examples of organizations who offer programs regarding social issues

Although I heard many voices of professionals and non-professional residents in the communities that state the lack of action towards social issues and in particular violence pretty much every community has governmental health services such as social services, mental health or wellness centers and one or more non-governmental initiatives that work very hard and dedicated on improving the precarious social situation within their respective community.

The government of Nunavut recognizes the extend of social issues in the territory. Approaches to deal with the crises range from joined task forces of the public government and Inuit organizations and regional or local non-profit organizations on particular topics like housing, contracting researchers to conduct in-depth studies for example on suicide to prioritizing the social, education and justice sectors in their annual budgets.

The top expenditures of the government budget for 2009-10 were estimated for Health and Social Services (25%), Education (19), Community and Government Services (16%), Nunavut Housing Corporation (12%) and Justice (7%) (GNDF 2009: V).

A comparison with estimated expenditures for the 2014-15 fiscal year reveals a very similar distribution of funding: Health (22%), Community and Government Services (16%), Education (13%), Nunavut Housing Corporation (12%), Family Services (9%), Justice (8%) (GNDF 2014: V). Since in 2014-15 Health and Family Services are no longer one but two Departments, they are listed separately. Each of the Departments has a wide range of finance items to cover so that the actual

budget estimates only provide a rough point of reference on what the money will be spent at.

In addition to the regular budget allocations the Nunavut government invested for example about $1.8 million in federal funds into drug and alcohol abuse prevention projects in four different communities (Nunatsiaq News 3/16/2011). Staffing of the department positions is certainly a challenge because many of the government positions switch staff very often. People either burn out or only want to come to Nunavut on short contracts.

The Non-government sector, many local and territorial organizations that offer victim support services, family support services, promote physical and mental health initiatives are regularly struggling with keeping their operations going (Levan 2003: 26; Pauktuutit 2003: 34).

The following paragraphs will provide examples of larger local and territorial non-profit organizations that provide victim support services, mental health support services and social wellness services. If victims of a crime or victims of violence in Nunavut are in need of a particular service, they can access it through the Crown Witness Coordinators who have a full list of all officially recognized organizations. The local Social Services bureau can usually also refer individuals to other organizations.

2.6.6.1 Qulliit Nunavut Status for Women Council

Qulliit started its operations in 2001. The organization is fully funded by the government of Nunavut that provides $250.000 per year. This money must cover all operational expenses. The only sustainable and fully funded position is the one of the director under which an undetermined and fluctuating amount of additional staff is working. The staff positions are all project funded which means that their work capacities are only available as long as other organizations (mostly various territorial and federal departments) approve submitted funding applications. Consequently, the director is managing and executing all ongoing operations, finances, hiring, project management and research (EDQ 2008). Its board comprises itself of nine council members who are all being appointed by the government (EDQ 2008).

Qulliit sets its priorities in the four following areas: women and violence, women's health, women and the justice system, women and leadership. Qulliit is providing training, advocacy and awareness on these matters on multiple levels, from community initiatives over supporting other organizations to advising the Minister on policy development and desired changes in the legislation (Qulliit 2012).
Its council members are the key communicators between the organization and the general public by going into the communities and working and discussing matters with the local population (EDQ 2008).
Every year the council members and director have a face to face meeting to decide on the priorities for the upcoming year. Qulliit's commitment covers topics such as female leadership development, (domestic) violence and homelessness, or drug and alcohol abuse (EDQ 2008).
The director and the board are eager to partner with other organizations like Inuit organizations and community-based groups to offer programs that serve the needs of the population but are also designed to consider cultural particularities of the Inuit program participants. A second strong pillar for program development is looking at initiatives that happen in the Northwest Territories and adapting them to Nunavut's situation. Since Nunavut used to be part of the NWT and both regions share a very similar climate and demographic, it is relatively easy to adapt programs that were successfully in the NWT to the needs in Nunavut (EDQ 2008).
The main challenges for Qulliit are according to their director rooted in the limited availability of funding. Due to the high travel costs in the territory the two face to face meetings per year with the council are eating up about 40% of the government funding. The director's salary and council honoraria are making up another 40% and the remaining 20% are pretty much allocated to office rent. Additional funding sources seem to be rare and because the director is responsible for all operations there is not enough time to open up and maintain new significant funding sources (EDQ 2008).
In terms of advocacy for women's rights and family issues the organization appears to network well with the Government of Nunavut and a variety of Inuit organizations. The general public however is more critical towards the Nunavut Status of Women Council. There are the voices who support the work but there are

equally many voices who criticize the organization for being one of many other formal entities that push themselves into Inuit private lives trying to tell families how to live their lives and breaking up struggling families by for example advising women to leave their abusive husbands (EDQ 2008). [27]

2.6.6.2 Women shelters and safe houses

It is not easy to determine the numbers of women's shelters respectively safe houses in Nunavut. From my experience most if not all shelters and safe houses face a difficult financial and staffing situation so that some facilities need to close suddenly, some find the money to reopen after a couple of years again and some others don't. In the early 2000s, out of the 25 communities Nunavut six had safe shelters for women: Iqaluit, Cape Dorset, Rankin Inlet, Taloyoak, Cambridge Bay and Kugluktuk. The shelters shall provide a safe place for women and the children who are trying to escape a violent household. Usually the shelters offer up to two consecutive weeks of refuge. In Iqaluit a woman can stay six weeks or in some cases even longer (CWS 2009; GHS 2008; Levan 2003: 23).

Nunavummiut women who are seeking shelter are expected to turn to the shelter closest to their community. There are instances however, for example where a client and a shelter worker are related to each other and they do not get along or where the safety of the woman cannot be guaranteed in that shelter, that allow women's shelters or safe houses to refer the client to a facility in another community or region. When a relocation is approved the client will also be supported to move in with family members in the other town, instead of having to move to the shelter. In those cases, the government pays per diem fees to the woman who will relocate to family (GHS 2008).

The shelters do rely on external funding that they have to apply for every year. Securing enough operational funds is very difficult as the case of the shelter in

[27] At a later point in the thesis the background for this argument will be explained further from an Inuit cultural perspective. Traditionally, extended families who lived more or less with each other over the course of the annual cycle had a very detailed system of responsibilities and social sanctioning mechanisms among family members. After moving into the settlements, Inuit were expected to accept all western administrative bodies as the new authorities that regulate and sanction social matters. This transition is still ongoing and is most likely being reflected in the criticism that Qulliit is facing.

Kugluktuk shows. During the mid 2000s the Kugluktuk women's shelter was closed, reopened in 2008 just to be shut down 2 or 3 years later again which according to the coordinator of the local community wellness centre was a big loss for the community and the safety of many women (CKW 2008). At the time of my studies in 2008 the shelter in Cape Dorset was already closed due to lack of funding. The ones in Rankin Inlet and Iqaluit were also struggling to keep their doors open (ADQ 2008; GHS 2008; Nunatsiaq News 5/25/2007).[28]
Those communities who have a safe house or women's shelter can provide an important service in particular to women who temporarily seek a save place, for example when their partner comes home drunk and becomes agitated. Being able to flee a (potentially) violent home prevents further trauma to the children and the female partner, helps the male aggressor to release his anger without targeting his own family and thus prevents further escalation of the family dynamics in that particular moment (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 304). Although it does not provide long-term healing for the couple it supports a positive healing process by potentially reducing the severity and regularity of violence in the home.
The situation for victims of violence is especially difficult in communities without extended infrastructure and available services. When Kugluktuk did not have a

[28] Case study Qimaavik Transition House: The Qimaavik Transition House is a women's shelter that was founded in 1984 to serve Iqaluit but developed to a centre for entire Nunavut (ADQ 2008). It is run by the non-profit Agvvik Society. Funding by the GN is not sufficient but the community and local businesses support the institution well (ADQ 2008).
The shelter can take in about 10 women with their children (ADQ 2008; Pauktuutit 2004: 30).). As mentioned earlier clients can stay between 6-8 weeks; sometimes the duration can be extended up to 6 months (ADQ 2008).
The Qimaavik shelter has a dedicated group of staff and volunteers. It provides Inuktitut crisis response at any time, day or night. Inuit staff are actively recruited and trained in counselling and abuse prevention. Part of Qimaavik's services is a long-term transition program that provides support to women moving into independent living arrangements (EDQ 2008; Pauktuutit 2004: 30). The shelter offers counseling services, provides education in parenting and health, assists in the woman's daily life management such as bank business and develops safety plans for ladies who are leaving the institution again. It also offers various spare time activities to bring the shelter residents together and to keep them occupied (ADQ 2008).
While a woman is staying at the Qimaavik Transition House she has unlimited access to a counselor during the day-time work hours (CWS 2009). She also receives support in developing a daily routine including household chores inside the facility, attending the needs of her children (if she is accompanied by any) and she can freely choose from a small activity program like sewing or crafts (CWS 2009).

women safe house for example female victims of domestic violence had to consult social services so that they can fly the battered women out to the women's shelter in Yellowknife (CKW 2008). This means for the women she is not only escaping her violent home but at the same time must be leaving the network of the extended family and maybe the only job in the nuclear family to financially support herself and the children. When her children come along, they must leave their old school and familiar peers behind and adjust to a new school environment. With the women being in another community or southern city, reconnecting with her spouse and following up with restorative justice programs proves nearly impossible unless the women returns to her home community where she then has no place other than her old or her (abusive) partner's house (CKW 2008; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 303f.). Consequently, there is a lack in local follow up services such as transition housing in the victim's home community but also a wide network of institutions that will assist the women in the shelter to potentially start a new life in another community (EWS 2009).

There are also known instances where women seem to abuse the system by pretending to be under immediate thread just to get out of town for a while and enjoy some time off down in the big city like Yellowknife. As a result, some social workers are reluctant to act immediately and offer fly outs for women that approach them with reports on domestic abuse which again leads to a highly precarious situation for both the social worker and even more for the potential victim especially when the social worker does assess the situation wrongly and missed out on an evacuation of a victim that is in real danger (CKW 2008).

2.6.6.3 *Sivummut* House

The Sivummut House in Iqaluit could be seen as an attempt to provide additional local services to victims of violence. It has six bedrooms plus a kitchen, living room, dining room, an office space and can hold up to 14 people (EWS 2009).

It was originally intended as a relief facility for the women's shelter that ran over capacity. Victims of violence who are stabilized enough to move into a less structured environment that also gives them more privacy were expected to move into the Sivummut House. The facility provides extra support services like

programs that strengthen the clients' self-esteem and self-reliance (EWS 2009).
In reality, the majority of the clients are not referrals from the women's shelter but homeless women directly from Iqaluit's streets who mostly suffer very similar experiences with spousal violence and limited institutional support. Many women who seek the protection of the Sivummut House are severely traumatized and affected by mental health conditions that very often already developed in their childhood or during early adulthood (EWS 2009).
Like the women shelter the Sivummut House also struggles with insufficient governmental funding and support programs which leaves it in a weak political and operational status (EWS: 2009).

2.6.6.4 Kugluktuk Wellness Centre

Across Nunavut local community wellness coordinators respectively government funded wellness centers very often take on the task to provide a large variety of programs that foster healthier individuals and a healthier community.
In 2008 the Kugluktuk Wellness Center for example sent out every night outreach workers. Their tasks were connecting with residents who are roaming the streets at night, checking on those (mostly drunks) who might need any kind of help and primarily educating youth on sexual issues and contraception. Since contraception is not overly common in Nunavut and AIDS is still an illness nearly inexistent in the territory a large amount of younger people does not pay much attention to protected sex. Some other sexually transmitted diseases however seem to be more common. Consequently, handing out free preservatives was a central part of the outreach workers' nightly activities (CKW 2008). [29]
The wellness center also hosted the brighter futures program in their building, a program that provided a meeting space for elders to have tea, traditional food, speak Inuinnaqtun[30], and pass on other traditions and welcome visitors and

[29] The outreach workers' night shift usually starts around 9 or 10 pm and ends at 1 am. The outreach workers are all between 19 and 28 years old to better connect with the youth and young adults who are typically the ones on the street at night (CKW).

[30] Inuinnaqtun is the official name of the kind of Inuktitut that is spoken by Copper Inuit. The Copper Inuit homeland in Nunavut comprises the two settlements of Kugluktuk and Cambridge Bay plus Kingaok and Umingmaktok, two outpost camps that were active until the 1990s but are nowadays only temporarily inhabited (Damas 1989: 397f.)

community members alike who want to learn more about Copper Inuit culture (CKW 2008; TD 2008-2010).
In 2008 the wellness coordinator also hosted Anonymous Alcoholics (AA) group that met regularly. I have no data if the group still meets (TD 2008-2010).
Kugluktuk's youth center, also run by the Wellness Centre, closed and opened several times over the past 20 years. While I was in town it was well received and provided a key location for youths and young adults to socialize in a violence, alcohol, and drug free environment. The wellness coordinator reported an increase of vandalism and youth incidents in town after the youth center closed its doors due to budget cuts that prevented its further operation (CKW 2011).
The local women's shelter was just about to open when I did my field work in Kugluktuk. Although many women I spoke in town pointed out the importance of the shelter the facility was fighting with the same issues that I described for Iqaluit and in general: funding was irregular and insufficient, personal animosities among shelter personal and between personal and clients were at times challenging; staffing the women shelter with qualified personal already proved nearly impossible because the policy did not allow hiring of applicants who have a criminal record. Unfortunately, even those ladies who the wellness coordinator identified as capable of doing a good job very often had a history of charges under the criminal code and could not get hired (CKW 2011).

Most settlements in Nunavut have at least one or several organizations that dedicate themselves to offering certain services for the mental wellbeing of their residents. Many of the organizations belong to the non-profit sector. Pauktuutit, the Canadian Inuit Women's Association published a list of community wellness organizations in Nunavut that operate locally (Pauktuutit 2004: 15-32). These local activists are trying to address pending issues that very often mount in tragedies like suicide, domestic violence, sexual abuse, substance abuse in their communities. All organizations share similar struggles with providing sustainable services due to an insecure funding situation and the lack of locally available mental health specialists. The interruption of the services puts a lot of pressure onto the communities because those in need for counseling and therapy have no

place to go or person to turn to and healing efforts are being disrupted which prevents the successful developments in the overall wellbeing of the individuals and the community (Pauktuutit 2003: 36).
Among those organizations are also the Cape Dorset Healing and Harmony Team in Southeast Baffin. The group of volunteers offers counselling and healing programs that are very often linked with culture and on the land experiences (Pauktuutit 2004: 21).
At the beginning of the 2000s Baker Lake in central Nunavut had a hospice society that provided a safe shelter for abused men, women and gave special considering to elders. Their programming included hot meals, transportation services and referrals to counselors (Pauktuutit 2004: 25).
Taloyoak in north central Nunavut had an alcohol and drug education program that targeted adults and youth and run AA meetings and individual counselling services (Pauktuutit 2004: 27).
The community of Arctic Bay in North Baffin had a family resource center that ran courses on parenting skills, social values for children and kept a stock of extra clothing for families in need (Pauktuutit 2004: 28).

2.6.6.5 Pauktuutit

On a National Level Inuit interests are politically primarily represented by the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK). However, Inuit women's right, family issues and community wellbeing are dealt with particularly by Pauktuutit. The organization has dedicated itself to the protection of Inuit women's rights and the safety of Inuit women and their families in all social areas like family violence, substance abuse and gender equality. The organization was incorporated in 1984 and has its head office in Ottawa. All female Canadian Inuit are automatically members of Pauktuutit which means that they are entitled to benefit from the organization's programs. Pauktuutit does not charge any membership fees (Pauktuutit 2011).
Regarding gender equality, Pauktuutit focuses on women's leadership educational programs and campaigns that shall support Inuit women to actively participate in all political and economic levels (Pauktuutit 2011). Other items on Pauktuutit's agenda are:

- Promote the rights and interests of Inuit women and children;
- Provide the Inuit women of Canada with a united voice;
- Work towards better social, economic and political conditions for Inuit women;
- Work for the betterment of individual, family and community health conditions through advocacy and program action;
- Encourage Inuit women to take their rightful place in society;
- Promote equality for the independent view of Inuit women in all levels of Canadian governmental and non-governmental structures;
- Motivate Inuit women to realize their potential as individuals and as a group;
- Promote self-confidence and self-reliance amongst Inuit women;
- Provide resources to ensure that our children are raised with Inuit values, heritage, culture and language;
- Encourage the involvement of Inuit women in all levels of Canadian society and
- Facilitate collaboration between Inuit women and other aboriginal peoples.
(Pauktuutit 2012)

On a federal level funding seems to be the biggest issue for offering services. Nonetheless Pauktuutit is playing a relevant role, especially in regards of advocacy for more support for Inuit women on both the federal and provincial/ territorial level.

2.7 "Culture is more than the 3 Ds: Dress, Dance, and Diet!"31

2.7.1 Introduction

The following chapter is exploring recent Inuit ethics and socialization principles. It shall illustrate the variety of nowadays values and norms that are no longer clearly defined for all members of the same cultural group, family, gender, or age group. Instead of, many traditional values meet modern concepts so that a

[31] (PNS 2009)

common understanding of cultural and social norms is highly negotiated within Inuit society. Consequently, lots of confusion about identity and proper ethics accompanies the daily actions and interactions of most Inuit of the first decade of the 21st century.

Data for that chapter are mostly based on my own observations in Nunavut and on Jean Briggs' study of Utku socialization in the 1960s (Briggs 1970). Briggs' observations form such a central contribution to the chapter because they cover in many ways many points that are also substantial for my description of culturally specific aspects of Inuit identity. The fact that Briggs did live with an Inuit group on the land before its members resettled into permanent communities provides rare insights into a particular Inuit group's socialization before the period of continuous western influence and dominance as it occurred in the permanent settlements. I on the other side was exclusively exposed to Inuit culture way after the resettlement period so that I could only rely on elder accounts and literature like Briggs' and older literature to get a picture of pre-settlement times. The timely difference between hers and my work provides a very interesting opportunity to identify similarities in Inuit socialization and also to point out significant differences by comparing our data. Her study in central Nunavut where I have personally never been gives my study an additional edge since it provides me with information of an area that I only know through literature and accounts from central Nunavut residents that I met in other communities. That in combination with the additional sources she cites regarding other Inuit regions allows me to extend some of my theses on Inuit cultural significances from a local dimension to a regional one. Particularly observations on the aspects of affection, gratitude, temper, aggression and fear, and loneliness are well worth being compared between Briggs' and my own research.

Briggs' (1970: 313) outlines that the "patterns" of these (and other) emotional concepts seem very likely to be "characteristic" and so "considerably consistent" across Inuit groups. Her description of Utku socialization is largely coherent with Rasing's analyses of Iglulingmiut socialization (Rasing 1994: 110f.) and my own findings in Kugluktuk, Whale Cove and Iqaluit which encourages me in my argument that most of my data thought primarily gathered in 3 communities are

not just single case studies of a region or community but that they have the potential to contribute to a larger understanding of Inuit culture and root causes for social issues across Nunavut.

When a lay person is trying to identify ethnic respectively cultural features the same aspects very often seem to be pointed out first: there are physical features like skin and hair color that are assumed to give hinds on a particular ethnicity. The next questions I regularly was asked by laypersons who wanted to know about indigenous cultures were about their language, their dwellings, dresses, diet and finally their religion respectively typical rituals. Thanks to Franz Boas Ethnology overcame the idea of "race" determined by physical features and so does his theory slowly find its way into the broader society's understanding of cultural relativism (Baehre 2008: 26f.) and thus to the concept that is called nowadays ethnicity. While looking at various cultural celebrations that I experienced in Canada the USA and Germany (ex. Octoberfest, Powwows, cultural performances by Inuit or First Nations for tourists, local cultural feasts in my home community or cultural days in schools the majority of the particular cultures was presented through basically three features that are: traditional clothing (dress), ethnic music and dances (dance) and finally food and beverages (diet). Also many interviewees in Nunavut when being asked what kind of services they offer to promote Inuit culture in school, in health, mental health or correction facilities in the North and South or at other occasions they almost exclusively recalled offering country food, teaching and presenting throat singing and drum dance workshops and teaching or presenting sewing classes (KWE 2008; PIS 2009; SSI 2008; TD 2008-2010).

Offering such programs certainly helps to keep some Inuit traditions alive, enables interested people who lack enough knowledge or support in their homes to learn more about Inuit culture and traditions and it can be understood as a creative tool to promote Inuit culture for visitors from other regions and countries.

The argument I would like to make in analogy to a statement that the former principal of the Nakasuk elementary school brought right to the point is that culture is way "more than the three Ds: dress, dance and diet" (PNS 2009). To really understand Inuit society, how people interact with each other and why they

act the way they do, one needs to look behind these 3 Ds. Communication patterns, social roles and authorities and the overall normative system of accepted and sanctioned behavior shall be given close attention.

"(…) Eskimo logic, values, and ways of self-expression are all so different from those of westerners that even when there are no linguistic barriers, white men may feel at a loss when consulting Eskimos. Thus, they ask white middle-men what the Eskimo think or want or need instead of asking Eskimos, middlemen, or others." (Briggs 1971: 64).

Briggs already provides here a hint how Inuit interests were and are all too easily marginalized by western administrators favoring non-Inuit informants as cultural interpreters within settlements that were or are inhabited by a significant Inuit majority.

2.7.2 Communication patterns

One of the keys to understand a group's culture is their language since the language reflects cultural identity. With the change or erosion of a language, culture also undergoes significant changes because cultural paradigms that were embedded in the language are now being lost, questioned or redefined (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 135).

Inuit verbal communication is determined by a high degree of respect towards the recipient of the message, a strong desire to avoid any kind of conflict or negative feeling in your communication partner (Kingston 2008: 158 f.; SSP 2008) and the pretense to describe things and circumstances in a highly detailed way. This also means for a conversation the desire to identify with empirical precision if something has been personally experienced something or if someone has just heard about it from others (Korhonen 2004: 154).

"But I don't want to talk about what I have not experienced." (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 28 or 99)

"He used to tell me what he saw, but I have mostly forgotten, and I don't want to tell lies." (…) *"I try to tell what is exactly true. (…) That's the information according to the people who were to witness the happenings."* (Eber 1989: 40, 62, 67)

Not interfering with someone's personal space was and is a central concept of Inuit speech and behavior. Speaking up on behalf of others or demanding from another adult to execute certain tasks are unusual (McPherson 2003: 19) unless the two persons are connected by a particular family or partnership bond which entails certain interdependencies and authority structures amongst them.

2.7.2.1 Verbal communication

2.7.2.1.1 The power of words

Furthermore, things being verbalized or outspoken seem to be co-notated as being a very powerful concept. Inuit appear to tend to take extra precautions of what to say, when, how and to whom. For example, many people were assuring me that it is not recommended to talk about polar bears or even joke about the appearance of a bear. The simple mentioning of bears could make them show up and frighten you. The same was said about wolves. One informant told the story of her and a friend camping and talking about wolves. Shortly after wolves actually appeared nearby the tent and both campers had no doubt that the wolves' appearance was directly connected with their former conversation about wolves (RSQ 2010).
The power of words is also widely believed to affect pretty much all areas of one's environment and not only the relation between nature and human beings. Several school counselors and social service workers who deal a lot with suicide matters explained that people in the communities often explain their reluctance of discussing suicide with the argument that it will certainly become worse the more people talk about it. Therefore, it would bet better not to talk about the problem at all (SCI 2009; SSP 2008; EWS 2009).
Spinning this concept further and looking at other areas like how many families deal with conflict resolution and domestic violence it seems logic that the concept of verbalizing things might be another contributing factor of why so many families and individuals prefer to keep quiet about interpersonal issues respectively try to solve the problem by not talking about it and letting time "heal the issues". Both, personal observations and statements from professionals who work in the fields of crises intervention, conflict resolution and domestic violence, all describe similar coping mechanisms for Inuit. When issues between two parties that are involved

in a conflict are being attempted to be discussed in a way of western conflict resolution or western mediation, the reaction of one or both of the individuals involved is mostly *"Stop talking about it. It won't happen again!".* Particularly when the victim consults with the traditional advisors like parents or elders in domestic violence cases, they very often demand patience from the victim: *"Be patient. It'll get better one day!"* (TD 2008-2010).

2.7.2.1.2 Low regard of Yes – No questions

When asking a question, it seems that it is usually avoided to approach someone with a "yes" or "no" question. Asking those yes-no questions would mean to bring the addressee in the unpleasant situation of not being able to answer other than "yes".

Why would the addressee not be able to answer "no"? Answering with "no" or in *Inuktitut "akka"* is considered to be very impolite (Briggs 1970: 279; TD 2008-2010). Instead, there are several ways to decline a question.[32] One way of declining the question is by simply ignoring the addressee. He/ she either switches the topic, pretends to be busy with something else or that the question was just not heard (Briggs 1970: 121, 139; TD 2008-2010).

As an alternative the addressee picks up on the question, expresses deep empathy for the addresser and explains reasons why it would be more in the sense of the addresser not to get his wish.

2.7.2.1.3 Avoiding negative feelings

In case one is so impolite to ask directly a response that very often follows is either *"Maybe"* or *"I'll let you know."* or something similar like this.

If the addressee is willing to answer the question, he/ she also does not often answer with a *"yes"* or "*ii*". More likely the addressee will share details of his/ her plans so that the addresser knows what to expect next (TD[33]).

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[32] All examples of communication strategies are taken from experiences I was either involved in as addresser or addressee or I have personally witnessed among Inuit. Also, most analyses are based on observations within an extended family setting. Some communication principles might only apply to such family settings whereas others might be more applicable to the public sphere.

[33] Kingston (2008), an Inupiaq from King Island/ Alaska describes the same observations of non-confrontational communication in an article about her playing a key role between some researchers and Inupiat at an anthropological field study.

Below are examples of very brief conversations that shall illustrate the theoretical concept that I tried to explain before. The examples are based on personal experiences, but I altered and shortened them so that they demonstrate the core of my argument.

Example A and B are two adult men and A wants to follow B seal hunting.

A (asking impolitely): *Can I follow seal hunting?*

B: *Maybe. I'll let you know when I can take you with me*.

(B leaves open if he will take A out but makes it obvious that it won't happen soon, and that B is reluctant to take A out)

The politer way of asking would be:

A: *Today is a great day to go seal hunting. I haven't been out for a long time.* Or *"It would be good to get some fresh meat in the freezer."*

B (if not interested in taking A along): *Ignoring A;* end of conversation.

Alternatively

B: *The Sea is getting rough out there and it's cold. I don't want you to get wet and freezing.*

(Both times it is no for A)

Or

B: *Yeah, it's a nice day. I might leave right after breakfast.*

(That is as good as an invitation for A to follow.)

Likes and dislikes of people are also being expressed in an indirect way. Instead of labeling someone with negative terms one can often observe that people who are not being liked or people with unappreciated behavioral features are simply described as "different" (TD 2008-2010). Briggs also observed the same patters among the Utku who labeled a person with "negative traits" as "kind of different" (Briggs 1970: 22). Dislike is usually also not expressed into someone's face (Wachowich 1999: 40).

When talking about a person their name is usually not mentioned but the person is described in a way that it is obvious for the close-knit community who is meant (Wachowich 1999: 40).

2.7.2.1.4 Dos and Don'ts

Briggs (1970: 127) describes that Utku children are rarely confronted with "'do's and don'ts" which is more common in the western world. Interestingly I was constantly observing situations where Inuit parents approached their children by using "Don't do this!" or "Do that!" which brings up the question if Briggs observation is something typical for the Utku but not for other Inuit or if this communication pattern might have changed. I would argue that the polite way in Inuit communication is to recognize somebody else's wishes before they are spoken out. This would imply less need of using "Do-"or "Don't-sentences" because the addressee should know what he or she is expected from and thus fulfil the expectations (Briggs 1970, 127; TD 2008-2010).. Consequently, the stronger presence of the "Do- and Don't – sentences" could be interpreted as a change in communication and child rearing concepts. The relevance of this theory will be backed up by later parts of my thesis where I will demonstrate how western settlement patterns and the (residential) school experience fostered the partial transition to western education, communication and socialization models. In addition, the breakup of the traditional socialization system challenged various aspects of identity, values and Inuit society including inter-generational relationships so that many modern families certainly tend to struggle with the provision of a uniform child-raring model than in pre-settlement times.

2.7.2.1.5 Positive encouragement and "manipulation"

„Like my grandmother would say:" You should be doing this by now." She wouldn't say: "Oh, you're, you don't know how to do it. Ahh, you'll never learn." She doesn't say that. She would say that:" This is the time, this you're in a age where you're supposed to be learning all these. These are the things you should be doing." (Inf 1 2008). Another way of asking for something is referring to benefits for addressee if he or she actually does what is expected of him or her. When I was the addressee, I was often not aware that the actual conversation was aimed to fulfill a need of my conversation partner until I was done with my part and it became obvious what kind of benefit the other person would have through my action. Since I was only able to spend a very limited amount of time in Inuit culture I cannot say how much Inuit are aware of the final goal that the addresser has but I can imagine that the

understanding about the state of mind, interests, needs and wishes of their opposite is very clear to them just because is it absolutely common for them to think and act in these ways where it was a total new experience for me. Briggs (1970: 102) confirms as well for the Utku that it was a standard way of communication to express concern for someone else's well-being in a way that lead to the fulfillment of one's personal interest.

Below are two examples that shall illustrate this particular communication style.

Example: A is the spouse of B

A: I need to buy some gas for the Honda (*ATV)*.

(30 minutes later) B: Didn't you want to go buy some gas? How else do you wanna get to work tomorrow?

(A *goes buying some gas for the ATV and returns)*

After A returns home with a full gas tank on the ATV:

B: My friend from the other side of town asked me to visit her.

(B is taking the ATV and leaves.)

B's main intention to remind A of filling up the ATV tank was driven by B's immediate desire to use the vehicle. Instead of voicing the personal interest B pointed out to the benefit that A will have (next day).

Another example of Inuit communication is as follows:

On a nice day with light waves the uncle (B) wants to go out by boat check the nets. His niece (A) wants to follow.

A: Can I follow boating?

B: Ignores A.

A: Please, I haven't been boating for a long time.

B: There's some waves out there. You might get wet.

A stops asking and B leaves without her.

Sometimes this kind of behavior is interpreted by *qallunaat* as manipulative especially when the expression of concern for someone else is directly linked to a personal benefit resulting from that concern (Briggs 1970: 67; TD 2008-2010). From an Inuit perspective it is not manipulative. Instead I would interpret the Inuit intention behind that form of conversation as an attempt to avoid confrontation or negative feelings among the other person by pushing them to do something or

focusing on the negative implication of the conversation. By expressing certain affection (as in the case of the boating conversation) or stressing out a personal benefit (as in the ATV conversation) the addresser creates a positive bond with the addressee which shall keep up the spirits of everyone. Of course, it is hard to determine how honest the affection is meant but because Inuit families usually had and partially still have such strong feelings for each other I see no reason why the "manipulator" does not seriously feel emotionally close to the turned down person. Regarding the example above, maybe the uncle does not really worry about the niece getting wet in the boat but no matter why he doesn't want her to follow boating he still loves her and can express his honest emotional attachment to her in between the lines while at the same time turning down her wish.

Briggs gives another similar example regarding her failure to offer tea to her guests in the Utku camp. The visitors asked her if her "water supply was low and offered to replenish it ", instead of asking directly for a cup of tea (Briggs 1970: 27).

These forms of avoiding negative feeling and paying high respect to another person also include the ideal to anticipate and meet the needs of another person before he or she is verbalizing them (Briggs 1970: 27; TD 2008-2010).

Aside from the social spheres that haven been mentioned already, these patterns of communication reach into every other aspect of modern Inuit life, including schooling and modern employment. The problem nowadays however is that once a person physically leaves the house and thus their mono-cultural environment the public sphere is shaped by a mix of Inuit and Non-Inuit cultural paradigms. Inter-ethnic interactions are common everywhere but the awareness of particularities of Inuit communication among Non-Inuit is very low and rudimentary. Consequently, most conversations in public, at school or the workplace are dominated by a western communication style that very often feels frustrating, confusing, and insulting to Inuit. The example of the dentist who learned to rather positively encourage his patients to apply better dental care instead of pointing out all the cavities and short comings in the client's dental hygiene (IQR 3 2009) is a good illustration too how awareness of culturally specific communication patterns can positively change the course of inter-ethnic interactions in Nunavut.

Many times, Inuit mentioned to me how unhappy they were with the way they got treated by nurses or doctors*: "They are mean.", "They make me feel bad."* These are typical statements that I would relate not to an actual bad attitude of hospital or nursing station staff but to a different cultural concept of dealing with unpleasant matters.

2.7.2.1.6 Coded sentences

An additional communication pattern of Inuit language is the use of certain expressions to describe one's state of mind or one's emotions. As Briggs (1970: 242) notes and as I could observe, too, "being tired" does not necessarily mean feeling that one's body needs some sleep or rest. It can also be used in the context of describing feelings of "emotional exhaustion" like feeling lethargic or psychologically weak.
Or the expression *"You are becoming an Inuk"* does not mean real cultural transition (going native) but a respectful acknowledgement that one is acquiring the same skills and abilities an adult Inuk (person) is supposed to have to successful life in the Arctic (Briggs 1970: 252).
The bottom line is that there is a whole set of verbal expressions that imply way more meaning than noticeable by an outsider at first glance so that there is lots of room for misunderstandings when Inuit and qallunaat interact with each other without having a detailed understanding of what the same sentence can mean in the two different cultures.

2.7.2.1.7 Greetings and Farewells

Briggs (1970: 100) describes that there were hardly any obvious farewells exchanged between members of a family or group if for example someone departed on a journey. I could make very similar observations during each of my field visits to Nunavut regardless of the community I was staying in. No matter if family members of roommates or friends that spend some time together (in my case at the Arctic College Residence) left for hunting trips, went buying groceries, or visiting friends, or if they left the friends' house at the end of a visit hardly any words of "good bye", "thanks for inviting me over", "it was a wonderful evening" or similar expressions of appreciation of the friends or family were made. Instead

people simply stood up and left without any further word. After I permanently moved to Iqaluit in 2013, I started to notice among those families that I visited that other visitors sometimes use “Good by”, “see you”, “thank you for the meal” or similar phrases before they leave the house again. The extend of farewell wishes and conversations that I am used to from both visiting Non-Inuit households in Nunavut and my experiences from my home in Germany still tends to exceed by far the conversation that is made in those Inuit households that I was present at.
Travelling together also differs when comparing Non-Inuit and Inuit experiences with each other. Self-sufficiency is key and expected among adults, especially hunters. Although hunting parties are often being formed and there is mostly the agreement that the most experienced hunter will lead the group there is no immanent obedience in the group. If someone disagrees with a decision that person is free to leave the group without anyone having hard feelings towards each other. While travelling, everyone is expected to be able and navigate the trail by themselves and problem solve individually. Of course, one is always willing to help out each other but the primary assumption among the hunting party is that everyone is self-reliant. The individual members of a hunting party can be stretched out over several kilometers of trail or individuals of the group might part for a while and rejoin later again since everyone is allowed to have a hunting agenda of their own.
This attitude to travelling can also be observed in the town environment when for example a group of young people is walking together from one end of town to the other. I took part in several instances where an individual from the group for example had to tie his shoes or wanted to stop by a banking machine to withdraw cash and the rest of the group kept on walking without any particular notion of waiting for the one who had to do some extra business.
Especially in hunting and travelling situations in such a remote and unforgiving environment as the Arctic teamwork is key for the success of the enterprise. Nonetheless, every individual is expected to be both, a team player and highly undependable and capable of managing his affairs by himself.

Since a lot of Inuit in the westernized communities seem to have lost this self-sufficiency this aspect must have a severe impact on the identity and emotional health of modern-day Inuit. Interestingly it was pointed out to me in several conversations that many of these very passively, and dependent acting community residents, including the teenagers become fully self-reliant, active people as soon as they get on the land for travelling, hunting, fishing, camping or any other traditional activities (IQR 4 2009.

2.7.2.1.8 Spoken versus written word

When looking at the importance that Inuit and non-Inuit cultures give to spoken and written word strong differences can be recognized. On a reoccurring base, Inuit pointed out to me that they wonder why *qallunaat* need to write down everything and that it is so "tiring" to read and read if one needs information like (journalistic) news instead of being able to easily access a larger source for oral information transfer. I could identify a particular issue on oral versus written conversation in the context of education and employment and I am sure this is not the only area where those matters arise. In the following paragraph I will present some cases that I personally witnessed:

Both, in classrooms of the Nunavut Arctic College and at placements respectively at work after having finished college, many students regularly face conflicts with time management (being on time at class or at work, finishing papers or other tasks in a pre-given time frame). Especially the employers and less the teachers[34] respond to the failure of showing up on time by handing out written warnings to the late student. Some students/ employees who were talking to me about the issue were mentioning two main aspects that confused them about the written warnings and their consequences that can in the worst-case lead to loss of the workplace. At first many of the employees or students do not understand why them being late is such a big deal since *"everybody is late"* and *"it's those qallunaat from the South who are new up here and keep on bothering everybody else"* (TD 2008-2010). On the other side, which is more important for the point that I am trying to make, many Inuit

[34] Teachers often use other options than written warnings which I understand to be the last option at College to sensitize students for their failures.

students and employees felt that they do not need to care so strongly about the written warnings since their boss had not spoken to them personally, yet. This implies that those students regard a personal conversation (not only in private but also in a professional environment) more serious than a written word which is quite a contrast to our western understanding of discussing and debating things verbally but writing the most important ones – the essence – down for everybody to reread and follow.

2.7.2.2 Gestures

2.7.2.2.1 Facial expressions

Another, more direct way of expressing consent or disagreement is by two facial gestures that can sometimes be accompanied by the verbal "ii" (yes) or "akka" (no). For "ii" one rises the eyebrows and opens the eyes whereas for "akka" one wrinkles the nose and brings the eyebrows a bit closer together. In these cases, the spoken "ii" and "akka" do not dominate the conversation but with the opportunity to be pronounced in many nuanced ways depending on the respective situation they help to stress very sensitively the actual seriousness of the situation. A more serious "ii" may be reserved for situations that touch the other person more whereas a succinct "ii" will be more likely used in minor situations. Kulchyski (2006: 159f.) gives a very illustrative description of the facial gestures and its implications but primarily reduces his results to the observations in Pangnirtung where he did field work. He outlines that the facial "ii" and "akka" happen to be used more often without a verbal supplement whereas the verbal "ii" and "akka" happen to be used with the facial supplement. Especially Pangnirtung elders seem to not leave out the facial gesture when verbalizing their consent or denial.
Based on my own experiences with indigenous Nunavummiut originating from almost every single community I feel confident to argue that the concept of "ii" and "akka" as facial gestures and verbal statements can be universalized for Inuit across Nunavut.

2.7.2.2.2 Smiling

Exchanging smiles with each other in a public situation is very common. Kulchyski (2006: 166) argues that the smile carries a "community building" meaning because

it stands for the "*initial willingness to appreciate the other"* and *"that one has some residual energy left (…) to lift the other's load emotionally and have someone else lift one's own load".*

Smiling can also mean an attempt to bond with a potential sexual partner which can easily be misinterpreted in favor of the second meaning than the first one of community building. Peer of opposite genders in particular, often interpreted such behavior as sexual interest in the other person. In fast growing communities with a lot of transient community members like Iqaluit it can be noticed that the typical smile in public between strangers is being exchanged less than in the smaller communities.

2.7.2.2.3 Eye contact

Although non-verbal communication plays such a crucial role in Inuit interactions and therefore demands from both conversation-partners a high degree of sensitivity and observation skills, direct eye contact is usually not appreciated. The only example that I am aware of where eye contact is justified happens between partners where, similarly to our western society, it can be used to underline respectively express each other's strong attachments. Other than that eye contact, even if just one of both parties looks straight towards the other person for an extended amount of time (maybe more than a couple of seconds) is usually being considered "staring" which is co-notated negatively. Between different genders staring is mostly considered a blunt expression of showing sexual interest or even availability towards the stared at person. As a result, exchanging looks between different genders is highly avoided, even if it's just about laughing at a joke, sharing a common thought or any other situation. Sharing some laughter or other emotions on a regular base with somebody of the opposite gender easily leads to the point where at least one of the two parties assumes that the other person is sexually interested in the other one. [35]

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[35] The entire concept of social interaction and thus sharing of things between different genders seems for an outsider to be a highly fragile area where privacy lines can easily be crossed so that the other person either feels offended or feels being sexually desired. One Inuit lady explained for example that she could never imagine living in a shared apartment or house where one or more men are also among the tenants. She expressed she would be worried all the time that the men would stare at her. So, she would constantly have to "give them shit" (TD 2008-2010).

Nunavut is a society nowadays where more and more Euro-Canadians who are not used to Inuit communication patterns live in the North and whose western culture interprets regular eye contact as an expression of politeness results in many unpleasant situations with Inuit. Their spouses often will get involved as well. The situations that were described to me by many people and the ones that I sometimes became involved in myself ranged from:

Somebody who I only talked to once before at a board game night suddenly trying to hit on me when I met her again, but this time in a drunk state of mind which gave her a confidence boost; to a *qallunaq* lady who told me how she happened to meet a co-worker and his spouse on the street, smiled at them and greeted friendly without getting any feedback at all from them. But shortly afterwards that man started avoiding any contact with her at work and the man's spouse started calling her at home, swearing at her she shouldn't dare getting closer to her partner (TD 2008-2010).

Especially the last example cannot only be interpreted through the lack of awareness of traditional communication patterns. The high degree of jealousy that can be found all over Nunavut nowadays, also needs to be considered. On the other side one needs to ask where jealousy comes from. Families are traditionally very close-knit groups that are comprised of several generations of consanguine relatives, their spouses and children. Once a person switches from a life as a single into a serious partnership his or her place is within that network of extended family members and his/ her main responsibility is towards the partner and to other relatives. Relationships outside the consanguine and spousal family are considered less significant and, in most cases, negligible. If a partner is now displaying signs of affection or interest to stay closely connected to someone else who is not part of the family network some traditional families might feel that the person does not fulfil his/ her family obligations because he/ she is distracted by maintaining relationships that could threaten the harmony or interfamilial networks based on dependencies of helping, teaching and supporting each other.

Another aspect of eye contact is "*giving somebody certain looks*", as my informants called it (TD 2008-2010). *"Giving somebody a look",* usually means looking at somebody in a mean, threatening, disgraceful or disapproving way. These looks do

not necessarily have to be as obvious as in western society, but they are taken very seriously by both, the one who receives the look and by the one who gives the look. From my experience giving somebody a look is part of the repertoire of expressions of disregard when two people are in a serious dispute. Certain looks are also used inside families to express disapproval of certain behavior.

2.7.2.2.4 Shaking hands

Shaking someone's hand is a very popular gesture that I mostly observed among Inuit in Nunavut in two distinct situations: either when two strangers introduce themselves to each other or when one is meeting a very dear friend, or family member who has not been around for a longer period of time. In the latter case I would interpret the gesture as an expression of joy and value of the other person. I am not certain if the handshake has been taken over from the *qallunaat*- which I assume - or if it was traditional used already. Either way, Inuit seem to have developed their own way of using the handshake as an expression of a particular emotional state of mind and a welcoming gesture. Furthermore, the form of shaking hands also tends to be executed in a particular way. Briggs (1970: 19) mentions that the gesture already existed when she first arrived at the Utku camp and describes the gesture's particularities:

"As the pilot, the interpreter, and I emerged, the Eskimos smiled and, smiling, came silently forward to shake hands, the "shake" no shake at all but a gentle squeeze almost entirely lacking in pressure. (...) later I found that husbands and wives, fathers and children greeting one another after the absence with the same restrained, tentative-seeming gestures. Even a newborn baby is welcomed into life in this way by its family and neighbors."

I could not witness how babies are nowadays welcomed by their families, but I experienced and witnessed the same shake combined with the smile countless times between family members, close friends or as mentioned before a welcoming gesture towards strangers. Hugging or kissing between partners or relatives is also

very common today which according to Briggs (1970: 19) notes was not appreciated in public 50 years ago.

2.7.3 Social rules and authorities

2.7.3.1 Interactions within the family

Although I was conducting my research in three different communities about half a century after Jean Briggs' fieldwork at the Utku of Chantry Inlet[36] I noticed many similarities in social interaction patterns between Inuit that I met and Inuit that Briggs described. A pillar in a person's life seems to be family, including extended family. Hereby the extended family is basically defined as "*genealogical or adoptive siblings and the children of these siblings*" (Briggs 1970: 177).

Wherever I went in Nunavut the concept of "us and them" seemed to be very prevalent among Inuit. "Us and the others" does not primarily mean Inuit vs. Qallunaat but instead describes a level of identity that relates to extended families, traditional inhabitants of one geographic area versus Inuit who moved into that area or Inuit from a larger region versus Inuit from another larger region. These lines of identity regularly cause breaks in the current governance structure in Nunavut because different families, residents of certain communities and inhabitants of certain regions often do not trust each other and refuse to fully cooperate with each other.

Douglas data during her research in Arctic Bay in the 1990s support my observations. She describes that Inuit kin relationships are basically not any longer necessary in the community but still *"influence social activity…"* (Douglas 2009: 42). Although she does not point out any resulting conflicts based on kin identity, she clearly identifies a lack of communal identity which includes the residents' lack of taken over responsibilities for matters outside the kin group that might affect the community like for example teaching or disciplining children of other kin groups (Douglas 2009: 42ff).

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[36] The Utku of Chantry Inlet (short version for Utkuhikhalingmiut) have ties to both inland and coastal Inuit. Since no permanent community was established at Chantry Inlet or nearby and due to famines the Utku started to move to the surrounding communities of Gjoa Haven, Baker Lake, and Taloyoak (Briggs 1970: 15; Damas 2002: 153 ff.).

The importance of family became very obvious to me when I was staying at the Nunavut Arctic College residence. After having seen twice in 2004 and in 2008/09 how fast the residence empties of students over the semester I started to wonder if most of the students leaving were indeed quitting their education and if so, why were they giving up? The ones I talked to, gave mostly several reasons but one aspect that about 90%, named was homesickness. Those who quit were not the only ones talking about homesickness. With the semester progressing, being homesick became more and more the subject of daily conversations at the lunch or dinner tables at the cafeteria. Whenever friends or family were visiting most students started talking about their guests several days prior to their arrival. And after family or friends left again their stay was recalled for several consecutive weeks. Most students who used to get drunk explained their drinking behavior with being bored or more importantly being lonely because they are apart from their families.

Closeness of family was and still is expressed by both the continuous presence of family members in one's mind and thoughts and through particular sharing practices. Hereby the degree of sharing between members of a kin group and members of different kin groups but also the degree of space that one reserves for non-family members in one's mind largely differ (Briggs 1970: 178; TD 2008-10). Sharing includes food, money and material culture without hardly any restrictions. If for example someone values very much a certain tool it is not uncommon that this tool gets hidden from other family members so that they cannot borrow it. Refusal to lend something to a relative is commonly considered rude (IQR 8 2009). From personal experience I would argue that thoughts of family largely outweigh thoughts of friends or non-family members. The roles that particular family members fill out are the ones of teachers, keepers of knowledge, or providers. Some family members can sanction the behavior of others, interfere in conflicts or mediate for example between spouses. Family also acts as a back-up for individuals. Since early contact times the extended family was the base for survival. The ill and weak were cared for. Without relatives, ill people were often easily neglected within the society and had little chance to survive (Rasing 1994: 19f.).

Even if a family member has broken social or legal conventions the family generally protects the individual in public from outside retribution or criticism. Within the family the wrong-doer will have to answer to his or her family authorities and might as well face serious consequences for his behavior (TD 2008-2010; Wachowich 1999: 40).

The way how the bonds between members of the extended family were historically renewed differed between local and regional Inuit groups but the paradigm that the extended family was the core of social interaction was very similar all over the Canadian Arctic (Briggs 1970: 36, 39).

In one case that I personally experienced two adult cousins (both in their 20s respectively early 30s) who have only met less than a handful of times in their entire lives coincidentally ran into each other on the way home from an evening of fishing at the nearby river. They immediately felt this strong bond of responsibility for each other as family members and practiced it by the one cousin sharing the catch of the day with the other cousin who was less lucky and was about to go home empty-handed.

Briggs (1970: 178) writes on that matter that fishing or trapping companions were also mostly found within the extended family. Furthermore, adults visited relatives more often than non-relatives. Relatives also had to right to eat whatever food was in the household of the person they visited whereas non-relatives were expected to wait for permission to eat. While relatives were helping each other out with tasks, non-related visitors would not partake in any chores.

At both places in Iqaluit and in Whale Cove I could observe very similar interaction patterns of residents as described by Briggs. While being in Kugluktuk I was not closely enough connected with a family to have been able to investigate these matters but in regard to the other two communities it also seemed to me that mostly siblings and cousins were visiting each other and pretty much everybody of the kin group was regularly visiting the central elderly couple of the extended family. When a family member wanted to borrow an ATV or a rifle, close relatives were asked first and in case one needed help to repair a boat or one was looking for a hunting companion, company was easily found within the extended family but less outside of the family.

In some exemptions strong relationships exist between non-family members but they are mostly targeted to a particular purpose as for example hunting partnerships (IQR 6 2009). In cases where I became more closely involved with some hunting families and their close non-consanguine friends it did not take long until most of those individuals who I interacted with jokingly referred to me in various terms of quasi-family relations. Each of these individuals approached me with a different social relationship term of reference. The three main references to me where “second husband”, “son”, “my son’s older brother”. Nonetheless, I was not considered a full family member and neither did I have to fulfil all traditional roles that would have been expected from a (second) husband, son or older brother. The terms however were based on certain key features that determined my relationship to the respective individuals such as age and sphere of interaction. I am taking the circumstance that quasi-family relations where created in regard to me as an indicator that the concept of family is so important that it feels easier to welcome and integrate non-family members in the social group when they are being assigned a quasi-family status.

One aspect that represents the closeness of consanguine ties but also shows some confusing aspects of present-day family support can be found in the events of domestic abuse. Residents from Chesterfield Inlet and Repulse Bay for example confirmed that there is less violence in their communities than in Iqaluit and that one reason aside from many others might be the stronger ties of the local social network of relatives for the individual in those smaller communities. Additionally, they also added that there is more (domestic) violence however, than official data show and that many cases will not be reported due to close-knit families that prevent a person from making his or her personal situation public. Furthermore, personal shame or victimization automatically falls back to the entire family that will feel embarrassed. And in case the perpetrator is a family member that entire family would have to share the embarrassment of public exposure with the perpetrator and the victim alike. Consequently, many Inuit do rather keep silent about their violence experience than bringing shame over the entire family (CIR 2008; CIR 2 2008; Inf.1 2008; RB 2008).

2.7.3.1.1 Obedience within the family

Since traditional Inuit social life was shaped by clearly defined roles of respect, cooperation, obedience, and responsibilities among family and non-family members, people learned from early age on what was expected from them (Douglas 2009: 38f.).

Parry already describes on his journey to Igloolik that the Iglulingmiut were even tempered people with very sensitive and lovely child raring practices and that disobedience was practically not known (Rasing 1994: 24).

It is obvious that still today this kind of social principle prevails in many Inuit families to some degree: the living elders are the heads of the family and they as well as any other member know their personal responsibility within the extended family (Douglas 2009: 39).

Wachowich (1999: 112) describes for example how Apphia Awa's family chose Pond Inlet for a permanent home because her mother in-law wanted her son, wife, and children nearby so that they could support her.

During my research in Whale Cove and Iqaluit I could observe several more cases in which young adults in the 20s followed their parents' or grand-parents' wish for example to move back to their home community or to quit or shorten post-secondary education far away from home so that they could physically support their older relatives. Although it often meant letting go of a big personal dream they gave in without a word of discussion. It is very difficult for many youth or young adults to picture themselves leaving their home community and even when they do so, again a huge number of them starts suffering fast from homesickness, estrangement, loneliness and the desire to return to their families. Being around family does not only give them a feeling of safety, support and intimacy. Due to the traditionally close bonds within the Inuit family and the interdependency of its individuals due to the authority system the concept of individualism (individual freedom, personal live and career detached from one's family) as it is valued in western society is traditionally not existent within Inuit culture. Just recently it is starting to develop especially in the larger communities where there are other opportunities for the individual and where one's family is very often not present

because they are living in another village. Consequently, youth and young adults very often have not learned to live just for themselves.
Aside from the elders, parents, uncles, aunts but also older siblings were and are sanctioned to take over certain advisory and directory roles within the family. The obligation to mentor, teach and mediate certain relatives comes along with the right to demand certain tasks from those family members or younger siblings (Inf 1 2008; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 70; RSQ 2010).
The oldest sister for instance has authority over her younger siblings (in particular the younger sisters) but at the same time carries lots of responsibility for them (Briggs 1970: 128; Wachowich 1999: 163). This can mean that the younger siblings can be hold accountable for doing certain chores like taking of their oldest sister's *kamiit*[37]. The oldest sisters in return is expected to give guidance and advise to her younger siblings should not ask the younger siblings for advice but can address other family members like her parents' generation group (parents, aunties, uncles) or elders (TD 2008-2010). The concept of interdependency stays valid for life. In Iqaluit I met someone in his 70s who describes how he as the younger brother has just recently begun to drive the boat when he and his older brother are travelling together on the water because the older brother is getting to old and weak to physically lead the hunting party. Up until recently, it was the older brother who was theoretically and practically in control of matters in the family, including tasks of leading hunting trips (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 88).
Interdependencies are being formed by assigning different roles for each family member that interconnect, however. As long as all family members are being conform with their particular roles, they all contribute to a strong extended family that has higher chances of survival due to the mutual support
Another example of relatives' roles and duties is the deep engagement of the parents into their children's lives and decision-making processes. No matter how old the children are, even if they are already 40, 50, or 60-year-old adults they are still expected to consult their parents –if alive- and listen to their words. Of course, listening to the parents' words does not always mean following their advice 100

[37] *kamiit*: plural for *kamik*: boot

per cent but there are many situations the parents' word is supposed to be the final directive. One interview partner talked to me about her (arranged[38]) marriage with a husband who she feels she cannot divorce from unless the parents of both partners agree to the divorce. Even if the marriage is unhappy or partners decide to live apart from each other – which is usually already a very huge step against the parents' advise – the legal marriage is being kept alive as long as both partners' parents live (Inf 1 2008).

Family relationships are defined by both, namesake relationships (who someone is named after) and by consanguine or adoptive relations. If a child is named after someone else's' late grandfather, there is a high chance that the child who is carrying the late elder's name and the grand-child of that late grandfather will enter in a grandfather- grandchild relationship in which the child will take over some roles that are usually expected by a grandfather (TD 2008-2010).

On a consanguine level it is not uncommon that someone's aunt is younger than the ego. In that case the aunt and ego will still develop over time a regular aunt-nice/ nephew relationship (Inf. 1 2008).

Another example for the importance on the family in Inuit culture is depicted in some arguing styles. Here the other person (often a relative or close friend) tries to put down the second person by verbally creating a scenario of social ostracism for the other person: *"I don't know you anymore!" Your family doesn't know you anymore!"*

I have no data if this kind of arguing already existed in pre-colonial times. Given the fact that any open display of anger was generally disregarded, and the extended family had enough resources and opportunities to quickly intervene or counsel the fighting relatives I would assume that the phenomenon became more prevalent in modern times. This kind of arguing is also an interesting facet of adapting the traditional concept of ostracism (for serious wrong-doers) into recent

[38] Nowadays arranged marriages seem to have mostly disappeared. I was told only once (by a former Pangnirtung resident) of an actual arranged marriage that took place in the Pangnirtung area in the 1990s (IQR 4 2009). Based on the first-hand information on arranged marriages I acquired it seems that this form of marriage vanished within the settlement period somewhere between the 1950s and the early 1980s.

conflicts respectively conflict resolution. Of course, no real resolution takes place but the idea of separating a single person from its family as a way of restraining that person and creating a strong sense of discomfort is obvious.
It is important to note the reasons why that system of family socialization worked in the pre-settlement period but shows some serious weaknesses in the modern times: Historically the Inuit social system was shaped by an ambivalence of authority and social control on one side and individual self-sufficiency on the other. When Inuit lived on the land the entire kin-group was only randomly present in the individual's life. For most of the year camps consisted of 2-3 related or befriended nuclear families and their elders (Douglas 2009: 39; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 33ff). Those small units formed a very strong bond of sharing and helping each other out (RSQ 2010). Every family member was connected with each other through a web of responsibilities and limited authorities. Depending on the region and cultural group the guidance received from the elders and other family members who had authority over EGO were more or less binding. The harmony of the family, however, had priority over individual interests (Inf. 1 2008).
Also, over periods of time the camp broke into smaller entities, often defined by age groups such as elders, and younger children in a camp and capable middle age men and women with youth in another camp in order to extract particular food sources at the same time in different locations. For example: elders and young children were catching fish during the fall fish run while hunters in their prime walked inland to hunt and cache caribou for the winter (TD 2008-10).
Consequently, the individual was expected to manage most challenges very self-sufficiently. After childhood, during which, one learned all the necessary survival skills one had to be highly self-reliant to survive in the Arctic so that daily life was simply a "teacher" that demanded the development of coping skills, responsibility and self-esteem. Otherwise, without those traits of character ego and his family would not have been able to survive.
When the extended kin group met again the authority system that spans across generations was reestablished and executed. Whenever more people were living together for a while everyone had to follow his or her particular duties within the

kin group including respecting authorities and overtaking certain responsibilities. During that time severe issues for example between partners, relatives, friends were solved through the elderly authority and teachings of knowledge and guidelines for a proper and healthy life could be passed to on the younger generations (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 70; KE 2008; Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 87; RSQ 2010).

Knowledge transfer happened within the families, e.g. from mother to daughter, grandmother or sister to grandchild or sibling (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 35; KE 2008)

Now, with a more westernized life that is concentrated within the community where most people only occasionally, leave the village for a short hunting trip, some weekend camping, medical treatment or other short visits the space for the younger generation to get off the watching eye of the authorities and to make experiences by themselves has clearly shrunk. In the end, the modern community structure even leads to a double effect that seems contradictory but only at first sight: people become less self-sufficient due to the daily closeness of their families and secondly, their socialization is less healthy because of the distance to their families. How does this kind of ambivalence look like in modern community life? The breakup of the traditional authority system of course comes along with the lack of accepting traditional authorities. Furthermore, new authority figures like schoolteachers, Christian priests or ministers and especially the Canadian law were introduced. Since the traditional system is practiced even though it is very often broken, and many Inuit do not fully identify with the western system many individuals and families struggle with questions like who to seek advice from or who to accept as new authorities (Inf. 1 2008).

The traditional knowledge of basic rules of genders and age groups is still present in many families. Being integrated in such a structured system were everyone mostly knows and follows their duties suggests that there is no strong need of communicating wishes, orders or even asking for permission for doing something. Indeed, living within an Inuit social setting let me experience a wide range of interactions that could be complex but had still a strong non-verbal component.

Non-verbal communication can be observed in many different situations. For example, while getting ready for hunting or camping trip each person knows what to do and where to help out.
Another example is that younger family members like the niece or grand-daughter are expected to pour the grandparent a second cup of tea before he or she needs to ask for it.
In Wachowich's book Saqiyuq Sandra Katsak describes the phenomena that one was expected to be very aware of one's environment which included acting quickly and not wasting one's own time or the time of others when times demanded immediate action, which was the regular case (Wachowich 1999: 119).
One of the most impressive experiences an outsider can have while being with a group of Inuit on the land is having a break and sitting silently with some hunters over a cup of tea and some dried fish, resting and recovering from the long travel until suddenly, almost through a telepathic-like signal all men are raising at the same time, storing away stove, tea cups and kettle, and before the perplexed outsider has finished his own cup of tea everybody is packed and ready to continue their travels.
Of course, the phenomenon that I have described above is neither telepathy nor magic but certainly based on intimate knowledge of protocols, the companions' behavior and huge sensitivity for your surroundings. In cases where people are lacking that kind of sensitivity or where someone in the group is not used to this kind of non-verbal communication embedded in a clearly defined frame of rules and protocols misunderstandings almost necessarily will happen. When we are now looking at a northern society where that silent and nonetheless highly efficient way of Inuit communication meets a western culture dominated by the desire to democratically discuss, debate and negotiate this and that, where socialization is strongly shaped by explanation of what is right and wrong instead of simply listening to what the elders say, where education focuses on verbal and theoretical explanations instead of learning by observation and where team building basically works by consensus through discussion two different concepts seem to clash together. Since Nunavut's public life and politics is adapted to the Euro-Canadian system, western communication patterns consequently dominate

the public sphere so that Inuit are being forced again to question their own system and adjust to another foreign one (Inf. 1 2008; TD 2008-2010).

2.7.3.1.2 Child-rearing

The following pages on child rearing and adoption are not intended to provide a full analysis of present child-raring or adoption practices in Nunavut. The description of random practices that are typical for many Inuit families nowadays is meant to contribute to the overall picture of illustrations of structural differences in traditional and modern culture as compared to Euro-Canadian culture.

In Inuit society babies and little children are adored by adults and older children alike. According to Rasing (1994: 20) Parry already stated in the 1820s that Inuit have a very deep affection for children. And Mancini Billson and Mancini (2007: 228) as well as Wachowich (1999: 242) attested the same observations during their field works as did I during my time in Nunavut.

During their first year's children get very often hugged, kissed, petted and called the sweetest names not only by their parents but also by all other family members and even by non-family members who randomly have contact with the children. At older ages, emotional attachment seems to be demonstrated significantly less in the presence of other people. My private experience as well as information from people who talked to me about these situations allow the conclusion that the way of expressing emotions tends to shift to Euro-Canadian cultural norms. One example is the increase in instances where partners are kissing each other on the lips instead of giving the more traditional "*kuniit*"[39] (Briggs 1970: 70f.; TD 2008-2010).

Executing authority over children follows different patterns in Inuit society then in the Euro-Canadian one. Whereas most Euro-Canadian parents tend to raise their voice when they are upset about the misbehavior of their children the opposite can

[39] „kuniit“: Plural from kuniq a form of kissing where one's nose touches the skin of the opposite person and one starts taking a short but deep breath. Giving kuniit is still very popular for kissing babies and small children but less common nowadays amongst adults (Briggs 1970: 70; TD 2008-2010). Kulchyski points out that the "snuffing" is reserved for babies whereas adults just touch the opposite's nose or the skin without snuffing (Kulchyski 2006: 164). In some families I could observe that "snuffing" is also practiced among adults.

very often be observed in traditional Inuit families. Instead of getting louder the parents may lower their voice and start talking even more calmly and quite to their children than usual (KWE 2008).
In the past scolding of children was uncommon and was considered one of the last options to sanction a child (Briggs 1970: 331).
Although one can observe Inuit adults directly approaching their children with "Do- and Don't sentences" or scolding them many people assured me that this is not the ideal way of socializing and sanctioning children (TD 2008-2010). Sandra Katsak from Pond Inlet also describes in the story of her youth that she cannot remember her grandparents scolding her but that she remembers every time when her (*qallunaat*) teachers scolded her (Wachowich 1999: 252).
Still today many children are not given any or only few boundaries until they are between 3 and 6 years old (JP 2008). This stands basically in the tradition of pre-settlement child rearing practices. The difference to the past lies primarily in the fact that according to my observations many parents struggle with insisting on boundaries when the kids turn older. Instead, many older children can still act however they like without significant adult intervention which all too often prevents them from developing needed social skills for respectful interaction with other community members. One of the principals in Iqaluit explained to me that many of his students are under-parented. They do not receive the supervision and care that they would need to develop mentally and physically to healthy adults (PNS 2009).
Many observations of mother child interactions that I could do were mostly limited to mothers who are still in their early twenties or teenage years. They revealed that a typical way of comforting children was distracting them with chunk food, candy, and other sweets. My observations were confirmed by similar experiences of a social worker (CKW 2008). Though the parents usually have the best intentions by providing their children with these distractions two long term effects might result from the behavior:
1) children might become conditioned to candy and chunk food as "helpers in bad times" and

2) children will not learn to actively deal with their frustration since their negative emotions become immediately and easily substituted with a distraction that is not targeted to a successful solution of whatever issue might have caused the negative feelings.
Especially boys are subject to this kind of unconditional catering. Given out candy for comfort is only one way of keeping the child happy. Oftentimes boys are being spoiled in all kinds of ways, with material goods, with attention and most importantly one tries not to upset them. Favoring male children produces many young men with a general sense of entitlement, no coping skills and a tendency to demand an obedience from their spouses similarly to the pampering style in which their parents raised them (EWS 2009; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 234f.; MHK 2008).
Elders mostly feel the effects of changes within the family structure in a sense that the younger generation does not seem to pay them the same respect and obedience anymore as a few decades ago (IYA 2010; KE 2008; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 34).

2.7.3.1.3 Adoption "Horizontal" vs "vertical"

Adoption is and was a common phenomenon in Inuit society. Typically, it can be differentiated between horizontal and vertical adoption. Horizontal means that a newborn is adopted by the members of its parent's peer group, mostly by siblings, cousins or friends. Horizontal adaption seems to have been the primary case in the past.
According to Raising (1994: 19) in the Igloolik area men mostly arranged adoptions.
In the case that an adoption was revoked again, for example because one of the adoptive parents died, or their family went through a starvation period and the biological family had more resources left, returning siblings were often not fully accepted as family members. They were often neglected or maltreated by the biological family (CWS 2009, IQR 10 2018).

Nowadays, vertical adoption appears to be the dominant form. It is mostly the grandparents, one of the grandparents' siblings' families or great-grandparents who adopt the child and raise it as their own. The adopted children are usually aware who their real parents are but in terms of social responsibilities, interactions and kinship terminology the grandparents and adopted children address each other as parents and children and consequently the birth parents, for example the birth mother would be addressed by her child with the term "sister". In my personal observations across Nunavut it is commonly the mothers, respectively the couple (father and mother together) who are reaching out to the potential new family to arrange an adoption.
Based on the circumstance that the adoptive parents are mostly from the children's mother's family the biological father does very often not play an important role in the child's social network so that there is no need to address him with a certain term other than „biological dad "(TD 2008-2010; Wachowich 1999: 18).
Experiences in adoptive families must differ a lot by case. One informant who is professionally involved with children described to me that many adoptive children are being treated significantly worse than the biological offspring of the parents. (SCI 2009). Personally however, I met many adults who were adopted as children and could not confirm any maltreatment by their adoptive parents. The same interview partner who reported the maltreatment of adoptive children also agreed that there are many cases where parents do not make any difference between biological and adoptive children (SCI 2009).
Since the grandparents are part of an older generation who tends to embrace a more traditional value system (IQR 3) there is a high possibility that those children raised by elders or older biological grandparents might face a few extra challenges of cultural identity than those children whose social and cultural life in the home has many similarities to life in the public sphere.

2.7.3.2 Interactions outside the family

2.7.3.2.1 The historic community

As demonstrated earlier camps fluctuated in size depending on the season and available food sources. This had not only a direct influence on social interactions between members of the extended family but also regarding different kin groups who might temporarily inhabit one camp. Among Utku, for example closeness was stronger in the summer months. During winter the nuclear family was more focused on itself (Briggs 1970: 179). I cannot say if this is also valid for other groups, but I would assume that some differences might exist. In the case of the Copper Inuit, the largest congregations of people occurred in fall and winter whereas in summertime the extended family was divided into smaller separate camps so that it is more likely that this might also be the time of strengthening family bonds. When remembering the whaling times at Baffin Island and the Western Hudson Bay similar patterns of congregation and separation were common. Consequently, the assumption lies near that the prime social times for bonding and sharing were the fall hunting season and the winter.

Although it was common on the land that several families were temporarily camping together (Briggs 1970: 30) several lines of identity and distinction from each other were running through the camps. Briggs (1970: 177) observed that the bond among consanguine related nuclear families in a camp and any associated activities such as choosing hunting partners, sharing resources and helping each other out in other ways was significantly stronger than between non-related families.

The next level of identity after the family unit was the unit of the same cultural group. After Christianisation the unit of the same religious congregation added another layer of identity usually followed along family lineages. Briggs (1970: 40) for example observed during her field studies two marginalized households in her Utku camp. One household seemed to be marginalized because its members were Netsilingmiut and not Utku. The other one consisted of Utku but they were Catholic and unlike the rest of the camp Anglican.

Similarly, the historic camp of Qaummaarviit near Iqaluit was abandoned during the early days of Christianisation when certain families decided to convert to Christianity whereas other families kept following pre-Christian traditions. The

division of the camp and its final end also followed along the lines of nuclear families and not individuals (IQR 11 2018).

2.7.3.2.2 Sharing

Parry already described in the 1820s the importance of reciprocal sharing practices among Iglulingmiut (Rasing 1994: 20). More recently, Kulchyski (2006: 163) and one of my interview partners (IQR 2010) pointed out that a guest who is visiting a household where tea and country food are placed in their common living area is expected to just help himself or herself with food and tea instead of waiting for a formal gesture of invitation by the host to start eating. I would even go a bit further and claim that eating some of the host's food and drinking his tea or water is a sign of courtesy to the host.

Additional accounts from across Nunavut and from different decades prove the central importance of the sharing principle for all Inuit groups (Briggs 1970:181; Eber 1989: 102; Hippler/ Conn 1973: 18; RSQ 2010; Partridge/Trudel 2009: 30). Especially one situation in Whale Cove illustrated how much the traditional normative system of sharing is still embedded in current-day Inuit culture. While walking behind the houses I met two young boys who were collecting geese eggs. They offered me some of their catch. But when I refused by pointing out that they should keep the fruits of their efforts for themselves they replied they were taught not to keep Inuit foods just for themselves and that I could take some. So, I thankfully took four eggs and we parted from each other again.

At the Nunavut Arctic College Residence in Iqaluit whenever somebody received country food from back home the fish or caribou was placed on a table in the students' cafeteria and everybody was allowed cut himself or herself a piece off.

I could not find much evidence that western lifestyle goods such as TV, cell phone or other in-town "necessities" are shared that much neither within nor outside of the extended family. Exceptions are again alcohol, drugs, and cigarettes, things of which reciprocity can be easily expected since almost everybody consumes them, regularly runs short on them but also quickly obtains them again so that one will regularly be the one who shares and the one who benefits from somebody else's share.

When we look at the relatively small and strongly isolated communities where the same kind of people are repeatedly interacting with each other and where each individual and family is lacking some resources but where some members of the group are temporarily in excess of a desired good it becomes obvious that sharing is to the mutual benefit. The ones in need receive their share now and will be able to return the favor in another way at another time. Overall the concept of sharing creates dependencies and can be regarded as a mechanism of long-term social bonding and collaboration. It can even exceed generations: When I share now, my grandchildren, when in need, may receive more from the grandchildren whose grandparents I actually shared with (Kulchyski 2006: 164). Sharing was always a strong tool for strengthening both inter-family relationships and inner-family relationships. Sharing meant a direct proof of healthy, positive relationships within the extended family (Wachowich 1999: 132f.).

Sharing does not only involve consumable goods but also extends to material culture. However, personal observation and accounts from informants show that even though sharing of equipment still largely happens the actual willingness to share tends to decline and is nowadays more and more substituted by direct compensation such as payments for gas, bullets or for renting out that particular piece of equipment (TD 2008-2010; Wachowich 1999: 133, 137). Accounts like the one of Apphia Awa from Northern Baffin Island proof that this is a very recent development. She is still describing a reality in the 1960s and 70s where it was normal among family members to borrow things even if they could afford their own equipment (Wachowich 1999: 132f.).

Nowadays the principle of sharing has even been incorporated into some programs of the Hunters and Trappers organizations: Inuit hunters who cannot afford their own hunting equipment can apply with their local HTA for certain equipment such as a snowmobile, or an all terrain vehicle. If the application is successful, the applicant and thus new owner of the piece of equipment is expected to share his new vehicle for a period of two years with other community members. I personally observed that kind of practice in Whale Cove and was told that it also applies to other Nunavut communities but am unaware if the same rules exist in the larger city of Iqaluit.

2.7.3.2.3 Gossip as key indicator for different levels of community and identity

Forms of gossiping and social loyalty are additional mechanisms how family identities are being established and strengthened. Briggs' case of the Utku describes a society where close relatives usually never pointed out negative behavioural patterns of each other. Neither did they confront each other with feelings of unpleasantry nor did somebody talk somehow badly about their close relatives behind their backs. In contrast, it was common to gossip about distant relatives or particularly about members of other families by describing them with all those negatives attributes one's own family members of course do not have at all (Briggs 1970: 183f.). The division was made between family and outsiders (Briggs 1970: 80).

Based on my observations, lines of social inclusion and exclusion can still today be identified by observing gossiping patterns. A social service professional from Iqaluit for example described to me that many of his clients rather deal with social service staff who has moved up to Iqaluit than with local staff because they are worried about local staff talking to other community members about their client despite the duty of confidentiality (SSP2008). Clients are worried about the other person spreading gossip about them in the community.

Gossip happens primarily within the same age group. When listening to gossiping Inuit regardless of their age and gender they mostly targeted either strangers, peers, the same gender, non- family members or distant relatives that are physically not part of the conversation. I could witness in particular two different areas of identity and delineation. On a reoccurring base, very similar to Briggs extended families, local individuals when interviewed about social issues in Nunavut were presenting themselves and their own families to me in a very positive light but had a lot to say about other families who were the ones affected by the many social issues. Even if family members did not deny that severe issues occurred within their family, they usually felt more comfortable to recall issues they have witnessed or were told about members of other families.

Gossiping is a typical means to release frustration about that person. Briggs (1970: 184) notes that she was often not sure about the seriousness and accountability of

the “accuses “that were made towards the person who was gossiped about. It appears to me that gossip certainly contains some exaggeration. Since the modern communities are much bigger gossip spreads like wildfire and the victim easily gets branded by people that heard the gossip maybe third hand but have no further business with the victim. Consequently, the victim needs his or her own strong family support to either overcome the gossip, once it spreads through the community, or to gossip back and disgrace the other family, a situation that is especially present among the younger generation that uses more and more multi media like social online networks to continue their gossip. No matter how serious or truthful gossiping is or how much of a scapegoat character it has, it quickly becomes obvious that regular gossip which often occurs over public radio life shows, is a strong tool of communication and to form alliances.
The second form social loyalty is the one of community or regional affiliation which often encompasses a larger cultural area, e.g. South Baffin Inuit versus those from the Kivalliq, or Inuinnait (Inuit from the western Kitikmeot/ Copper Inuit) versus Baffin landers. Multiple times, someone pointed out that their cause was not supported by another organization because their decision maker was from another region in Nunavut and thus would only support Inuit from his region and not others. Or somebody from one region said that it is “those people from the other region who are so violently and frightening whereas nobody back home would ever be that scary as those others“ (TD 2008-2010).
According to Kulchyski and Tester (1994: 111) Taloyoak’s social structure is another example that exemplifies the difficulties Inuit of different –miut-groups often had and have to socialize with each other. They state that as a result of the HBC’s relocation of several Inuit from Cape Dorset to Taloyoak the town still shows distinctive marriage pattern where families originally from the Boothia Peninsula region do very rarely intermarry with families originally from Cape Dorset.
Bad mouthing or spreading rumours about people from another community or region are certainly part of that level of identity building.

2.7.3.2.4 Communal responsibilities in child raring

As mentioned before, children are highly cherished in Inuit society. One can find many situations where random people will assist a mother with her small child or assist a distressed mother or father with child.
Mancini Billson/ Mancini (2007: 122) for example describe the common situation where a toddler is wandering through the aisles during church service. The moment it is starting to cry for whatever reason a random person from the audience will immediately step up and tend to the child.
In my position as a project manager for an Inuit organization in Nunavut it was common practice that mothers brought their babies and toddlers on the plane and to the workshop that may be conducted in another community for several days. The women at a workshop would step in for each other whenever one needed help with her young one carrying it around calming it down, occupying it with songs or small games and and and.
An elder from Kugluktuk also shared some stories from her younger days in which mothers would interfere when someone else's children would break social norms (KE 2008).
Initially, such a strong community-based network for child -raring does fosters of course a sense of community building. Furthermore, it gives the growing child in a village a lot of physical and emotional security (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 122f.).
The question however, is how far does this common bond reach and where does it stop? Does social support within the family reach further than between non-related residents of the same community? Communities also differ a lot, especially Iqaluit, where one can already notice a drift to socially separated core families that try to function on their own without additional assistance by other community residents (besides the extended family maybe) or without having the opportunity to receive additional support. During my work I did not examine the above questions any further so that they pose a valuable angle under which more work regarding changing social patterns and new identities in larger agglomerations could be done.

2.7.3.2.5 visiting

Visiting each other was and is a central gesture in Inuit culture to underline attachment or dislike of a person. Hereby, it does not matter if one addresses family or non-family members. At the Nunavut Arctic College residence daily visits among befriended students were common as was the avoidance of students who were not liked (anymore). At mealtimes, the ones without friends or family at the residence usually sat alone and were very rarely approached by others. Family members from town also came regularly to visit at the residence or students went visiting their downtown friends and families fairly regularly. Loneliness was usually identified by the students I spoke to as one of the worst situations they could imagine (TD 2008-2010). This again fully agrees with Briggs' (1970: 274) and my own conclusions that I am pointing out in the upcoming chapter on traditional justice and conflict resolution that ostracism was and is a very important and effective means of social control.
In the settlements people are also used to visit each other spontaneously and often. Within families there seems to be two visiting practices. Although the expression does not fully fit I would call the one form as non-formal visiting where almost all relatives visit each other as they please. The more formal kind of visiting is centered at the house of the elderly head of the extended family. Often the visits occur to particular daily events, like breakfast or supper. Grandchildren and adults, siblings and cousins regularly get together at the house of the elder and thus practice and celebrate family unity. Although not everybody is always present, reoccurring absence will be interpreted as dislike of the own family. Since children are the center of emotional excitement among Inuit families it is especially them who are being encouraged to visit the house of the head elders to bring them joy (TD 2008-2010.)

2.7.3.2.6 Shyness

A commonly unappreciated behavioral pattern is to place oneself in the center of attention (Briggs 1970: 350). People in senior positions at enterprises and organizations and teachers mentioned for example that many Inuit job applicants or students often struggle with presenting themselves in a very positive light at a job interview. They also pointed out that many Inuit face similar struggles at any

other situation where the single person is facing a crowd or a professional supervisor. Instead of "selling themselves" in a good light, they tend to either draw a very objective if not even critical picture of themselves (KE 2008; PNS 2009; TD 2008-2010). One informant described it in a very simple way:
"Well if you ask an Inuk to weaknesses, they'll give you a long long list. If you ask for their strengths, they won't tell you anything because that's rude. " (PNS 2009).
While I was facilitating a conflict resolution class in Kugluktuk we talked, and role played a lot about verbally standing your ground and self-assertiveness. Teamed up in a group of 2 or more the teenage girls who participated could very easily and convincingly act strong, assertive and in control of the situation. The moment where they were singled out however, while the rest of the participants was sitting in a circle around the individual most of the teenagers became significantly more passive, and shy. Of course, I could observe similar behavior among participants of conflict resolution or women self-defense classes in my home country Germany. Nonetheless, I had the strong sense that participants who were put in the sole center of attention displayed a substantially larger shyness than most participants of such classes in my home country.

2.7.3.2.7 Control of emotions

Even though Jean Briggs did her fieldwork among Utkuhikhalirmiut about half a century prior to me and my regional residence was on South Baffin versus Central Nunavut countless observations of hers resonate very closely with mine. So, does her description of emotional control among Inuit. She describes two major phenomena:

1) Being able to control one's emotions, and not displaying any displeasure is interpreted as a strong sign of emotional maturity. This also means in reverse if displeasure is publicly displayed that person is not only very angry maybe even a violent person because he or she cannot control themselves. Furthermore, such a person is considered very childish (Briggs 1970: 4, 9, 47f.).

   Being annoyed is interpreted as being unhappy, angry and not liking the actual companionship (Briggs 1970: 261).

Angry or loud people were feared as the most likely ones to bring the camp order in danger, suppress other residents, raise tensions in the camp and make wrong decisions regarding the survival of the group (TD 2008-2010). The same assumptions about tempered people are still alive and shape interactions in all spheres of community life (TD 2008-2010). That kind of ill temperedness was and is particularly associated with *qallunaat* whose temper was very often compared to the one of small Inuit children who haven't learned the social convention of restraining their own feelings. As a consequence, when dealing with *qalllunaat* most Inuit feel they must comply with their demands in order to avoid an escalating conflict (RSQ 2010, KE 2008).

2) In order to demonstrate good will, maturity, and desire to maintain positive relationships with one's actual social group it is appreciated if not even expected to (consciously) display signs of happiness such as smiling at each other, laughing, or joking. (Briggs 1970: 47f). It seems to be important that the feeling of happiness is a true one and not just facade because it is believed that thoughts alone can be very powerful. Ill thoughts have the potential to harm the person they are directed to whereas positive thoughts foster good spirits and create a safe environment for everyone (Briggs 1970: 48).

Briggs (1970: 261) illustrates the Inuit value of emotional control and non-confrontational behavior in her citation of an Inuk cultural broker from Gjoa Haven who said:

"If an Eskimo gets angry it's something to remember, but a kabluna can get angry in the morning and be over it by afternoon."

When comparing this and other examples that all stress out the peaceful, non-aggressive ideal in Inuit society (also see chapter "demand for peacefulness") with modern day society in Nunavut's communities one will directly notice that the ideal is still widely existent. At the same time, modern reality is also shaped by

loud arguments and even physical fights among Inuit partners, family members or friends (TD 2008-2010). Consequently, since all my primary and secondary sources confirm that the level of violence was lower during the pre-settlement area than in present day Nunavut one must acknowledge that even though the practice of non-violence and emotional control is still an important ideal in Inuit society a shift has happened away from the ideal.

The reasons for that are in my opinion manifold and many core reasons can probably be found in the main arguments regarding social change, colonialism and ethnic marginalization of this dissertation.

Later chapters of my thesis will outline a strong dominance of western culture which encouraged Inuit youth since the 1960s to take over more and more *qallunaat* features which lead to the neglect of traditional Inuit cultural and social values.

The actual chapter on Inuit culture as well as the chapter on Inuit – Qallunaat Relationships do not only identify strong differences in communication patterns and socialization patterns of the respective cultural group. They do also illustrate how complex the respective cultural features are and how difficult it is for members of the opposite cultural group to fully grasp the opposite culture and all its implications. Briggs book is a brilliant account on these difficulties that even a professional like her could not overcome – in her case the issues based on differences between her own culture and Inuit culture accumulated instead of dissolved over time. During both my 18 months of PhD research and now close to 6 additional years of residency in Iqaluit I am regularly hitting cultural "roadblocks" that are confusing, unexpected and repeatedly demonstrate to me how far away I am still from having a complete understanding of Inuit social order and ethnically specific communication patters.

Back to my point: differences and complexities of both western and Inuit culture may have made and might still make inter-ethnic communication a huge challenge that effects Inuit and *qallunaat* in the same way. Due to western dominance, many Inuit felt encouraged to adapt *qallunaat* cultural patterns into their own world. Thus, over time, the western communication style that allows display of emotions also might have been incorporated into Inuit culture. Since culturally specific

behavior is often complex it is doubtful that in this particular case Inuit society could fully identify and incorporate a full understanding of boundaries and situations that allow the display of negative emotions in *qallunaat* culture. Consequently one of my unanswered question is: Aside from so many other contributing factors for excessive verbal and physical violence in present Inuit society, can the incorporation of western emotional aggressiveness without the understanding of its very own limits regarding accepted and non-accepted behavior among *qallunaat* into Inuit behavior be seen as one further aspect to explain the pattern of sudden aggressive outbursts that are then usually followed by a serious apology and its common acceptance?

2.7.3.2.8 Concept of non-interference

The pressures to maintain a peaceful order in the camp and be conform within the group demanded from the individual a strong sense of privacy regarding his or her thoughts and emotions (Briggs 1970: 21; TD 2008-2010).

Briggs (1970: 55ff.) gives a great example of how an entire social group handles a conflict within the group not only in a non-confrontational but also in a non-verbal way: The respected camp member and lay minister who is leading the mess wants to introduce that people should stand up during sections of the mess which they had never done before. He announces the change and asks everybody to follow the new rule. In the following weeks whenever the catechist is asking the community to stand up at first all camp members are following his demand until a few weeks later most camp residents, led by some elders, silently ignore the “order” until the catechist finally gives up asking the audience to stand up and gets back to church service as usual. Briggs (1970: 56) also mentions that the entire conflict was resolved non-verbally.

Another historic example from Gjoa Haven is the story of the local HBC trader who is of mixed ethnic (Inuit/ Non-Inuit) descent and thus has a good understanding of Inuit customs and social norms. When Inuit come trading to his store, he deliberately does not make any suggestions of what to buy because he feels he would interfere with the personal integrity and decision-making process of his clients (Briggs 1971: 69).

One of many other examples from my life in Nunavut is about Inuit students who didn't attend class and felt offended when the teacher asked them about their whereabouts. In their opinion that's a personal matter and nothing the teacher needs to be concerned with.
As can be seen in those two examples Individuality is as paradox as it may seem as important in Inuit society as conformity.
In the event of an open conflict other members of the social group do not engage because they assume the conflict would escalate further and they themselves would become targeted. The general reaction one will get up to today when two other people are having an argument with each other is "It's their issue. -not mine." More importantly the society as a whole would not appreciate one of their members to step up and interfere in a situation that did not involve him or her in the first place (Hippler/ Conn 1973: 17; Rasing 1994: 92; TD 2008-2010).
In pre-settlement society there were also certain authorities who had the legit right to interfere. Since Inuit society was based on camp life within smaller congregations of people where everybody was already controlled by socially sanctioned authorities there was less need for others to feel responsible for enforcing the peace within the community.[40]

The concept of individualism carries heavy weight here since the society will recognize that someone's problems are entirely their personal affair.
Secondly conformity plays into this as well, since first and foremost every community member is expected to display peaceful behavior. The thought behind all this is: the more everyone stays within the realms of a conflict-free society the individual and the group can overcome any issues quicker and go back to a successful collaboration.
The conformity is heavily driven by different concepts of fear that Jean Briggs explains as follows:

[40] see chapter on pre-settlement family life

"The relevant ones here include kangngu-, defined as shyness, or wanting to be inconspicuous or unobserved. This attribute should follow naturally once the child develops isuma. While Inuit consider it a prerequisite for greater maturity and knowledge, Qallunaat (non-Inuit) consider it a hindrance to advancement. Another emotion is ilira-, a respectful fear or fearful respect that instills a wish to obey. (…) A final emotion is kappia-, a fear of physical injury[41]. This emotion once implanted instills a fear of angry, unpredictable people. It also makes children unwilling to evoke anger in others. Such a feeling was and is not permissible among Inuit because it disrupts social relations and could destroy the group."

The survival of the group is the "red line" that needs to be threatened before the rest of the community will interfere with someone's integrity and get involved in the conflict. The bar for this is usually very high which equips Inuit society with an extraordinary high degree of tolerance for individuals who display unsocial behavior (Douglas 2009: 40; Kingston 2008: 158ff; Kohonen 2004: 154).
The refusal of help is according to Briggs (1970: 266) a clear indicator that someone or the group as a unit disagrees with the respective action. In her case her adoptive father did not assist her by erecting a tent during wintertime, probably because he thought using a tent in winter was not wise (Briggs 1970: 266). Since the freedom of the adult individual and his/ her decision is such a highly treasured good in the society other adults would usually not interfere and verbally discuss someone else's behavior with that person. Instead one would grant the other person their right of choice and, depending on the situation, refrain from any further involvement with that situation. Personally, I experienced this at an early winter-hunting trip on the sea ice. Several small hunting parties and single hunters were looking for seals. Our group of three joined up with four to five other hunters and we all kept travelling down the sea ice. Since the ice was still in its early formation process the ice thickness declined the further we travelled away

[41] The deep rootedness of fear or *kappia-* in Inuit societies can also be seen in their first encounters with the whalers where they feared to be killed by the white strangers until their spiritual leaders the *anggakkuit* casted a spell over the newcomers and consequently disabled them from causing the Inuit any physical harm (Eber 1989: 3f.).

from town. We stopped at the line that separates the solid ice from the very thin ice to measure the thickness and look for alternative travelling routes. As no other routes were found, some of us ventured out on the very thin ice. Others stayed behind. Once we reached the safety of thicker ice at a nearby island our group looked back again to assess if anyone else was following. We noticed that some hunters decided not to follow us any further and were turning back to town. Before the group split no discussion of who will travel further and who will turn around happened. One of my hunting partners explained to me that I could turn around anytime and that I was not bound to any commitments to the group.
As this example shows there is a very strong acceptance among adults that every other adult can make choices of their own that will not be questioned or discussed any further. Also, there are no expectations of either party to verbally agree on a decision. Discussions that lay out the various facts and options do happen among the group, but it is the freedom of each member of the group to decide what option they favor and follow through with.

2.7.3.2.9 Resilience and the myth of a passive culture

During my research, several *qallunaat* stated to me that Inuit would primarily focus their lives on the here and now and would not fight much against current odds to achieve future goals (JP 2008; KWE 2008; TD 2008-2010). They usually concluded that Inuit culture was not based on sustainable thinking and that this attitude would transfer into the modern world as well. Those conversation partners of mine argued that this is the reason why so many people struggle to regularly come to work, go to school, finish their education etc.
As I will demonstrate in the upcoming chapters on historic influencing factors for Inuit social issues the history of Inuit -Qallunaat interactions is determined by many experiences in which Inuit felt an overwhelming dominance by western culture. The result was an increasing passivity among Inuit, especially the more the indigenous population became exposed to and adapted to a westernized model of society.
Inuit before the settlement period had to be very active, innovative and both highly responding and self-driven to successfully master their own and their families'

survival. Intimate knowledge of annual cycles of their environment and sustainable thinking and action were crucial for the survival of the group. Consequently, I would disagree with the argument that Inuit traditional culture mostly focuses on the present and hat not many elements of forward thinking.
The passiveness that many Non-Inuit seem to attribute to Inuit culture might stem from a combination of a cultural trauma and the traditional concept of resilience. Korhonen (2004: 154) and an interview partner from the police (RCMP K1 2008) agree with me on this concept of accepting things that no one can change which is also described in the Inuit language with the term "*ajurngnamat*". It literally translated "It cannot be helped".

2.7.3.2.10 Sexuality

Matthiasson (1992: 100) provides an example that illustrates Inuit culturally specific pattern regarding partnership and sexuality that regularly leads to misunderstandings between Inuit and Non-Inuit in the modern settlements. The author describes a scene were a southern female teacher wanted to show her good will and openness to the community by inviting Inuit, including Inuit men over to her house, for –as she thought – simple socialization. Instead, some men interpreted the smiles and friendliness of the lady as overtures for sexual encounters. According to Matthiasson, once identified the misunderstandings could be solved in mutual respect.
Over the 14 years that I spent on and off in Nunavut I could regularly observe that peers of the opposite gender interpret regular contact in particular on a one on one base as a strong indicator for the sexual interest by the other person. Regular eye contact with a peer of the opposite gender, smiling, exchanging pleasantries or inviting him or her to activities easily creates the impression by the other that one has further intentions (TD 2008-2010).

2.8 Resumé

The previous chapters provided an overview of the many forms of social issues that currently exist in Nunavut, a summary of some organizations and programs that target these issues and a presentation of existing Inuit culturally specific

attributes that go beyond material culture (dress), performance (dance) and nutrition (diet).

As mentioned before, it was not my intention to provide a complete discussion on all those issues and aspects. Instead I wanted to provide an overview that can be used as a reference to contrast Inuit culture to Non-Inuit culture and thus raise more awareness of the inter-cultural misunderstandings, misconceptions, misinterpretations, and challenges that the clash of Inuit and Non-Inuit culture creates.

Many Inuit in Nunavut seem to live in 2 worlds nowadays that are often difficult to merge together. A lot of traditional values, for example sharing food among community members are being promoted and many individuals claim that they identify themselves with the values. On the other side many situations can be noticed where these values are being ignored for the benefit of the individual. For example, country food is regularly offered for sale on social media whereas until 15 years ago it was inacceptable to charge money for food that was harvested off the land or water.

Another example stems from my personal experience at a community feast in Kugluktuk where a well-known and respected community elder got officially honored for her leadership and contributions to the community. When the feast started everyone was rushing to the food and the elder who could barely walk was left sitting on her chair. It took about 20 minutes until some women recognized the elder and start serving her food and beverages to her (TD 2008-2010).

The work ethic in the communities among many Inuit appears to differ strongly from the regular “western”/ euro-Canadian work ethic. Whereas employees are expected to show up at their work place in time, follow the working hours very precisely and inform their employer early on about reasons that might keep them from performing well in their job many Inuit in the communities that I have visited had huge difficulties to follow these expectations, no matter what employment they had. For example, during a six-week research period in Kugluktuk every employee at the local Youth Center several times showed up late for work. When I asked them about their late arrival their answers were normally:

"I overheard the alarm clock, slept in at home, was busy with personal stuff (e.g. sick children or relatives), partied to much the night before, was still drunk." (TD 2008-2010)

Observations in other communities and other workplaces like schools (Inuit SSAs), security workers, cashiers at food stores, Arctic College Students and others lead to the same observations. On the other hand, I could also observe, and I was told from other long-term Northerners where the same Inuit that appear to be tardy at their work show a very different attitude to any aspects related to hunting and harvesting activities. The organization of hunting trips is excellent, very safe, no one is late, and everyone contributes to the benefit of the group. People act very diligent and do not hesitate to deal with any hardship or challenge that comes up (TD 2008-2010). There are most certainly many cases that do not fit into the slightly exaggerated black and white picture that I just painted. Nevertheless, it is a fascinating phenomenon that I could repeatedly observe.

All that adds up to the imbalance of well-being that exists in Nunavut right now. Especially the aspects of domestic violence, substance abuse and suicide do weigh heavy on the communities and their residents. Those experiences significantly affect the physical and mental well-being of so many people who can develop mental health conditions like depression and many other conditions which will limit them in their daily performance. Routines like getting out of bed in time, dealing with pressure and having a caring attitude for themselves and others can become increasingly foreign to them (EDQ 2008; TD 2015).

On top of it the actual programs and initiatives struggle so hard to effectively fight existing social issues. A lot of the programs, especially government run ones have their origins in Non-Inuit philosophy on family, violence, problem solving, communication, and social interaction and do not seem to work for Nunavut.

Based on this introduction into background and consequences of social issues the following chapters will have a more in-depth look into historical but also recent developments that according to my interpretation have strongly encouraged and still encourage the existence of social issues. Some do even prevent existing initiatives from succeeding.

3 Historic influencing factors for social changes – "On the land we lived in deepest darkest sin"[42]

3.1 Inuit Contact

3.1.1 Early contact period

The early contact period describes the era before non-interrupted contact with *qallunaat*. Explorers and whalers fall within that time period so that they are the main sources that can provide us with data on Inuit life (Damas 2002: 7f.). Although other explorers like Martin Frobisher or Henry Hudson landed in southern Baffin Island 200 to 300 years prior most other explorers and whalers their impact on Inuit culture was negligible. It was whaling captains like William Penny who arrived in Cumberland Sound in 1840 who seemed to have had the first long lasting impact on traditional Inuit societies (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 11). In some regions like the Hudson Bay it is said that the first white whalers regularly sailed through the waters since 1719 (Raising 1994: 49). For the western region of Nunavut that was traditionally occupied by Copper Inuit (*Inuinnait*) the explorer and HBC agent Samuel Hearne who arrived about 1771 in their territory is usually seen as being the first Euro-Canadian who got in contact with the *Inuinnait*. But it would take another 50 years until contact with *qallunaat* (English explorers) became a regular occurrence (Johnson 2004: 118). Overall the early contact period is starting with the early 18hundrets with the voyages of Parry (1821-22), Franklin (1821), Hall (1845, 1867- 1868), and other explorers (Johnson 2004: 119; Rasing 1994: 3, 47f.). It is ending about the 1920s when permanent posts were established all over the Arctic by southern traders, missionaries and the federal police force, the RCMP.

Although the whaling years, especially between 1860 and 1915, were a time of regular contact between Inuit and *qallunaat* (Raising 1994: 50) and thus do not fit the classic definition of the early contact period with interrupted, irregular contact I am going to include it into that period due to the nature of cross-cultural dynamics and the extend of consequences that contact between early explorers or

[42] (Wachowich 1999: 139)

whalers and Inuit had. Undoubtfully, Inuit material culture was influenced by both groups (Raising 1994: 50f.) as was the traditional hunting economy after more and more Inuit families joined whaling enterprises for extended periods of the year. However, the indigenous social structure and cultural identity, the two main aspects that I am going to analyse in my thesis, changed in a speed and in a way that allowed the respective Inuit camps to adapt to changes under their own terms. Inuit kept control of the extend and the areas of change within their own societies. During the contact period structural changes increased in Inuit society but basic ethics and socialization persisted and thus kept determining Inuit behavior and attitude toward the upcoming changes and challenges for the personal and cultural identity.

3.1.2 Contact period

The contact period that Damas (2002: 17) called "contact-traditional period" was shaped by regular contact between Inuit and traders, missionaries and finally administrators from the Canadian Government including the RCMP.
During that era whose end could be associated with the early 1970s when the last Inuit families moved from the land into the communities, Inuit society was still strongly shaped by traditional values but also faced a constantly growing influence of western rules and live style, in particular Christian religion.
It is important to keep in mind that Inuit groups lived a highly independent life and although they widely shared common or at least similar social, religious and other cultural similarities the actual camp life was primarily determined by the actions of the respective camp residents. This means that it is very difficult to make statements concerning the traditional lifestyle and interactions among Inuit without finding information that contradict the picture of Inuit society that one just painted for certain camps. Mancini Billson and Mancini (2007: 64) quote a Pangnirtung elder:
"We are just starting to realize that in those days people in different camps lived different ways of life."
Consequently, my descriptions on early Inuit life are the result of my attempt to find the most common denominators of data gathered both in a variety of

ethnographic books and through my personal research in Nunavut. Additionally, I am also relying on descriptions of social ideals how they were described in the literature and by my informants.

3.2 Historic Ethnography of Eastern and Central Canadian Inuit

3.2.1 Camps

The size of Inuit camps changed over the seasons and was usually subject to factors like availability of food or need to collaborate for particular hunting techniques. The factors also determined the extend and the location of the camps (Damas 2002: 15).

The late nineteenth century traveller Lofthouse who travelled along western Hudson Bay coast all the way to Marble Island near Rankin Inlet counted groups of up to 150 people (Damas 2002: 10). Similar encounters were recorded by Vilhjalmur Stefansson in the early 20th century when he met Copper Inuit (Damas 2002: 15).

Inuit groups of other areas like the northern interior Kivalliq formed small hunting parties and only gathered in a unit of about 50 or 60 people during some time in the summer (Kulchyski/Tester 1994: 240).

Accounts from Baffin Island suggest that Inuit there had the tendency to form smaller groups of up to several dozen people. The seasonal fluctuation however was also given on Baffin Island (QIA 2010: 8). 19th century explorers for example point out that Iglulingmiut camps were varying in size over the annual cycle with relatively small encampments in summer and with the larger agglomerations containing about 30 – 60 residents in winter (Rasing 1994: 11ff., 18).

Typical for the small groups was that they comprised themselves of close kin and in-laws and maybe a few closely befriended families (QIA 2010: 8; RSQ 2010; Wachowich 1999: 21, 85, 153).

Furthermore, those tight knit communities were regularly complimented with a few members of other Inuit groups, who moved from another region and had the intention to integrate themselves into the local society (Boas 1964: 54f.).

In conversations with some Inuit I was told stories of individuals who regularly travelled distances of several hundred kilometers either alone or with their family

to trade, arrange marriages, sometimes explore new land or moving away from tensions with other Inuit (TD 2015).
Despite the regular contact between some distinct Inuit cultural groups tensions, rivalries or hostilities between the different groups probably was as common as peaceful interactions, too. Boas (1964: 56 f.) mentions incidents that sometimes resulted in physical aggression between different groups for example on Baffin Island or the Kivalliq.
Inuit had different dwelling structures for different seasons and in different regions. Typical structures were skin tents, either made of seal skins or caribou skins and later canvas for the snow free months, sod houses in fall and early winter and *igluit*[43] in winter and spring (Boas 1964: 131ff.; Raising 1994:11).
Although the transition from traditional housing types to western wooden houses happened throughout Nunavut in a very short time, some accounts suggest that sod houses were kept in use on Baffin Island longer than in some areas of the Kivalliq region. The Hudson's Company Trader Gordon Rennie describes that the area around the trading post of Tavani (between Whale Cove and Arviat) in the 1950s housed about 40 people of whom all were living in either skin tents or igluit except for one person who occupied a shack (Gordon Rennie 2009; Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 148).
In the Pangnirtung area and on Padlooping Island sod houses are described have been used all the way into the 1960s (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 32; RSQ 2010).
The transition period after World War II heavily shook Inuit society. The housing styles changed to wooden single-family homes. All traditional structures were designed to accommodate a society in which its members where tightly connected with each other through social norms and control. Some house forms like the iglu-agglomerations where single units that could be connected with each other through a tunnel system and provided space for several families that were literally living wall on wall to each other. Other dwellings like tents or sod houses could be erected in each other's close vicinity which made visiting but also mentoring by

[43] Plural for iglu (engl: igloo)

elders very easily. The new settlement style with matchbox houses, larger congregations of people and families not living next to each other anymore cut deeply into the ability of Inuit society to socialize its members in the customary way.

The sheer quantity of congregation that the new settlements brought along was very challenging for many Inuit. Within about two decades Inuit from over 700 camps that spread across the Canadian Arctic moved into roughly 40 settlements (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 5), 25[44] of which are in what is nowadays the Territory of Nunavut. On the surface it may have looked like as if the new population was finding a way to maintain Inuit customs within the communities. An elder from Kugluktuk remembered in an interview with me the beginnings of her home community:

“Ahm when they first moved from inland to Kugluktuk most of their activities were drum dances or either square dances (...) or whatever in those days, no card games (...). Everybody was busy. During that before the evening people would get ready you know they have a feast and dance, have dances and ahm have good time. But there was no alcohol.“ (KE 2008).

As mentioned, a few paragraphs earlier, the new settlements fostered the split of the social bound within the families. The first cracks among families already appeared when some family members (e.g. elderly, sick ones or children who were subject to Canada’s compulsory schooling) permanently moved to the newly created settlements and the rest of the family staid behind on the land (Wachowich 1999: 154).

Furthermore, the economic and social roles, in particular of men changed since they were bound to the city live now, trying to make ends meet with payed jobs instead of going hunting. Also, they could no longer regularly educate their own children in Inuit culture and traditions but had to leave most of their children’s

[44] In the first two decades of the transition period between 1950 and 1970 Nunavut had a few more settlements, mostly nearby on old trading post. Tavani in the Kivalliq is one as them, another one was on Padloping Island near nowadays Qikiqtarjuaq (Baffin Island) or Kingaot (Bay Chimo) and Umingmaktuk (Bathurst Island) on the mainland across Cambridge Bay in the Kitikmeot. Those communities all got abandoned at a different time and its residents moved to other settlements close by.

education to a western curriculum that was taught by foreign non-Inuit teachers. The skill set of men was no longer needed so that a lot of men lost confidence in themselves, they lost their role as provider for the family and they lost their primary educator role for the young boys. The women on the other side still continued their traditional household chores and could now aspire for other job opportunities that would make them take on some of the new provider role within the family (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 5; SSP 2008). The feeling of being worthy of nothing seems to prevail among many men up to today which is certainly a very important aspect for the understanding of social issues, in particular domestic violence in Inuit society (SSP 2008).

I will conduct a detailed analysis of the transition period in the chapter on "Historical roots of cultural breakup and social devastation ".

3.2.2 Social structure and authority

Inuit societies were determined through a strict and complex model of clearly defined authorities, dependencies and interrelationships between camp members. The core of social interactions and identity is based on consanguinity and affinity between families including betrothal of children (Boas 1964: 170; Rasing 1994: 78f.). Relatives were the first people one would camp with or invite each other to common hunting and trips (Briggs 1970: 86f.; Matthiasson 1992: 84; Rasing 1994: 66).

In most parts of what is now Nunavut a camp mostly consisted of an elderly male camp leader with his sons, their partners and their children (Damas 2002:16; Raising 1994: 79).

Among *Inuinnait* the core camp or family was formed by the nuclear family (Damas 2002: 16), whereas during certain periods of the year many families gathered in large *iglu* camps.

Netsilik-Inuit tended to maintain year-round camps with extended family members (Damas 2002: 16).

And Iglulingmiut and Inuit from Baffin Island formed camps that fluctuated in size, depending on the season. Here, very often peers were travelling together (Damas 2002: 16).

The authority of elders as well as the one of most other adults in a traditional setting derived from experience, wealth and/ or spiritual power. In this context, experience usually means expertise in one or several crucial fields of daily survival like for example hunting, knowledge of the surrounding landscape and its animals. Wealth basically relates to ownership of useful technology such as weapons and tools and sufficient provision with food and clothing.

3.2.2.1 Leadership

Since no formal leaders widely existed in Inuit encampments it was usually an adult male, with outstanding skills in hunting, conflict resolution and similar crucial features of Inuit society, who organized the camp and led the extended familiy in many matters of their daily business (Briggs 1970: 42f.; Matthiasson 1992: 85). Despite his role as head authority in the camp the so called *isumataq* had in a limited formal influence on his community members. No-one was obliged to follow him. The camp‘s “obedience“ was mainly based on respect toward his experience and wisdom. Furthermore, the close kinship bonds between the camp leader and the community fostered a social climate of loyalty and harmony. However, he had no say in regard to the private life of the other camp member. His influential spheres were only the one of the organization of economic activities (for example: who goes with whom hunting, fishing, and trading) and the timing when and where the camp be moved again (Boas 1964: 173; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 57f.). If individuals or groups within a camp disagreed with the local leadership, they were free to leave the camp, make up their own new community or move into another camp where, if accepted, they would become immersed into their community (Matthiasson 1992: 85).
The importance that the local male head authority played in many camps can be better understood with the example of the fast collapse that hit many camps in the transition period (1950s – 1960s) after their main camp leader either died or left for medical treatment to a southern hospital (Damas 2002: 156). Without a strong and wise *isumataq* many camps appear to have lost their ability to successfully function (IQR 1 2010).

During the contact period the role of camp leader of camp leaders seemed to have increased even more than it had been before (Matthiasson 1992: 118). For centuries western authorities tended to impose their own political system of a single king-like leader onto many aboriginal societies across the world. In the Arctic they were also trying to identify a single head authority within Inuit camps who would become their main person of reference for any discussions and negotiations. Although the traditional influence of the camp leader did not reach that far it started to expand more under the increasing western influence of Inuit camps.
Aside from the *isumataq*, the *ataniq* was the other form of a camp leader. His superior role was less grounded in wisdom and respect by the camp members than more by fear of his camp fellows who could hardly influence respectively sanction him when he behaved socially non-conform (Freeman 1971: 47).
The spiritual authority in a camp was the one of the *angakuq*. Both, *angakuq* and *isumataq* held leading roles within Inuit social units. Both roles were mostly separated and held by different people. The *angakuq* could also spell sanctions on single people when they broke spiritually related taboos whereas the *Isumataq* had no such authority (Matthiasson 1992: 118f.; Rasing 1994: 21).

Single adults like unmarried or widowed ones commonly had the lowest status in the camp. Widowed women mostly had an unequally harder destiny because they were living in their deceased husband's camp with no other sanguine relatives. As a consequence, they very often had to either marry another local man or a man from another camp and move to their new husband's community or they had to accept a live on the margins of the family they married in (Inf 1 2008).

3.2.2.2 Marriage practices

Several authors stressed out that an Inuk man and a woman were only eligible to marry once they mastered certain skills associated with their respective gender. Before the couple was not able to sufficiently meet all tasks of food provision, household and child care they were not regarded mature and thus could not marry

(Boas 1964: 171; Guemple 1986: 14).[45] This already points toward the aspect that marriage was strongly an economic necessity where both partners where contributing their skills to each other's survival. Marriages were usually arranged by elders mostly without any say of the future wife. However, Inuit customs also allowed for marriages based on mutual affection (Boas 1964: 171; Briggs 1970: 83f.; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 67; Rasing 1994: 80f.; Wachowich 1999: 36). Depending on the regional customs locality of the couple could vary. In some cases, like in northern Baffin Island the married couple usually moved to the husband's family (Wachowich 1999: 36) whereas early accounts from southern Baffin Island indicate that new families were often living with the wife's parents (Boas 1964: 171; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 66). Polygyny was also known in some areas and polyandry in others like the Netsilik region (Boas/ Collins 1964: 171).

Since children were taught Inuit life skills from early age on many teenagers often had acquired the skills that were necessary for someone to be seen as a mature person. Consequently, it is no wonder that European explorers like Captain Lyon in the early 1820s already reported the common practice of teenagers marrying (Rasing 1994: 19). Teenage marriage prevailed into the 20th century but were not a must (Finkler 1976: 49; Wachowich 1999: 36).

Divorce has usually been avoided to the benefit of a permanent relationship. However, the concept of temporary wife exchange was very common. Mostly relatives, close friends but also other people who one wanted to strengthen positive relationships with, were included in the wife exchange (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 63). Wife exchange means that the husband and the other man who was either not married or for any other reasons was not able to bring his wife

[45] As we will see in the chapters on the settlement period and its consequences for the first and the second generation the concept of defining maturity by one's ability to be self-dependant which includes being skilled in traditional land skills got carried over into the permanent settlements as a social norm of defining personal and cultural identity. Since the settlements required from their residents new skills and also limited the opportunities to focus on the traditional skill sets the changing living circumstances were shaking up many people's perspectives of self-esteem and identity.

along to a longer trip made the agreement that the husband was giving the other man his wife for the duration of the travel. The wife would be taking over all duties of a regularly married wife, ranging from mending the household to having sexual intercourse with the temporary husband. Upon return from the trip the temporary husband would return the wife to the original husband. Such a deal was considered a serious matter that provided the base for future exchange of commitments, resources and services to one another.

3.2.2.3 Interdependencies

In historic Inuit societies men and women had separate roles and defined tasks that everyone was expected to follow (Briggs 1970: 80; Guemple 1986: 12; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 35; SSP 2008). Sanikiluarmiut for example defined "work" as "something one does for the opposite gender" (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 38). This is a very good indication for the understanding of priorities in a relationship. One of the key responsibilities and identities for adults was their gender specific contribution to the survival of the family.

The women's roles included maintenance of the household, childcare, food preparation and the processing of fuel (seal fat, gathering twigs and moss for fires) (Guemple 1986: 13). Setting up and taking down the camp was part of the women's routine as was fetching water, preparing skins and sewing clothing. Young girls were given increasingly more responsibilities and more complex tasks according to their age. For example, 10-12 years was considered a good age to be taught skin preparation and sewing skills (EWS 2009; Inf 1 2008; SSP 2008).

The boys on the other hand would learn from male adult relatives (Inf 2008). The men's main task was the provision with food, raw materials for clothing, to build the majority of equipment and tools that were needed in the household and to construct the family's shelters (Briggs 1970: 81; Guemple 1986: 13; Wachowich 1999: 22). Within the daily camp life, men did not have too many physical tasks. Since hunting and trading demanded a lot of time and physical endurance from the

men they used a lot of their time in camp for recovery and rest before they were heading out again (EWS 2009).[46]

The men were the heads of the households. A lot of decision making over family affairs rested on their shoulders. In some regions their authority went as far as deciding about adopting out a child without having to consult with its mother. If they wanted to, they could also demand and in certain instances physically enforce the wife's obedience. In those cases, the man could usually count on the support of his parents-in-law who would either punish or reprimand their daughter to please her husband (Briggs 1970: 293; Rasing 1994: 18, 83; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 56, 63).

On the other side violence and leadership through intimidation were not considered positive traits within Inuit society. Furthermore, women also had the right to stand up for themselves. A peaceful relationship definitely reflected the ideal of an Inuit relationship more than one with domestic violence (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 60; Rasing 1994: 84). The complexity of male authority over women and its limits is illustrated by a short account from Sanikiluaq from the 1960s. There it is said that regarding to sexuality between husband and wife the wife must agree to intercourse when the man asks for it, but he is also not allowed to force her to agree (Guemple 1986: 16).

Men also assisted their partners during childbirth and took over the roles of a midwife. (Briggs 1970: 154f.; Wachowich 1999: 61).[47]

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[46] This is an important point when comparing traditional roles with the new roles with modern settlements. Through the transition from a hunting culture into permanent villages with a wage-based economy the overall paradigm that time spent within the camp/ settlement should be used for rest and relaxation, except when handicraft skills were needed, was thrown overboard, since now also men were expected to invest most of their labour while being in the settlement. Based on the actual struggle of many men to be active within the community the question can be asked if the shift of this particular role paradigm is the underlaying base for the passivity of many men in the permanent settlements. It appears to be one more of many other culturally specific aspects where Inuit and western society were colliding with each other with the result of many Inuit being overwhelmed with the strange new rules and habits that they felt they have to adapt to in their new reality.

[47] With the increasing presence of *qallunaat* and the establishment of medical services across the Arctic pregnant women in the second half of the 20th century were soon forced to leave the comforting environment of the family to deliver their babies in Iqaluit or in southern hospitals (Wachowich 1999: 103). Consequently, the traditional support structure that included female midwifes and the husband was broken up.

In Iglulingmiut society younger children had to obey older siblings of the same gender but all female siblings had to obey to the male ones (Rasing 1994: 93). Despite the existence of gender specific roles and responsibilities as well as some imbalances of power in certain spheres of daily life, the general perception between genders was the one of equality (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 37). Although genders crossovers existed it was the general understanding that through the fulfilling of everyone's gender specific roles each gender contributed their part to the survival of the family and a functioning society.

3.2.2.4 Commitment and divorce

Since a well-functioning household was so dependant on the successful collaboration between genders the separation of a couple generated serious hardships for the extended family. Commonly people were strongly encouraged to overcome their issues for the sake of the camp (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 38, 65). [48]

According to an elder from Kugluktuk jealousy was pretty much unknown in the pre-settlement days and the community helped couples to overcome potential issues in order to grow together (KE 2008). Based on other resources I would not go that far and deny any jealousy in pre-settlement times but argue that a peaceful, supporting marriage was the social ideal that the community and family tried to maintain.

However, there were plenty of opportunities and incidents where this ideal was not followed by neither the husband nor the wife. Inuit societies also legitimized to some degree for both genders having additional temporary relationships besides the main marriage. If a man went hunting and did not have a wife, he was sometimes offered his best friend's or brother's wife as a hunting companion so that he had someone to help him with daily household chores on the extended trip.

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[48] This might also explain that commitment to the partner is still seen as a very high and desirable value although many adults and even teenagers do not practice it anymore. Having another sexual partner while being in a relationship is considered cheating and causes many family problems. Jealousies do often lead to domestic violence. Other factors like fears of being left by the loved one are also very common nowadays and may be taken as an additional explanation but not a root cause when partners struggle with suicidal thoughts, or domestic violence (TD 2008-2010).

For the duration of the trip sexual intercourse between the two was usually permitted. This practice is said to have been common for North Baffin pre-Christian Inuit camps (Rasing 1994: 83).
Many whaling captains had Inuit partners although they were married to an Inuk man. The practice of cross-cultural wife sharing was still reported for HBC traders and other non-Inuit who moved to the newly formed settlements in the 1950s (Gordon Rennie 2009; Partidge/ Trudel 2009: 186).
It seemed that it was easier for men to break the rules especially during travels when the own camp could not sanction the individual. Women who usually stayed in the camp were more permanently exposed to the judging eye of the community. Punishment for cheating on each other seems to also have been more severe for women than for men (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 280).
Rasing (1994: 84f.) brings up an interesting fact that divorce among Inuit decreased with the introduction of Christianity. The more rigid Christian moral system probably fed very well into the Inuit ideal of family and supported that the more liberal aspects of sexuality became outlawed.
When a family finally separated the children usually stayed with their mother (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 38).

3.2.2.5 Role cross-over

As mentioned earlier, both genders contributions for the household economy were essential for survival as was the reproduction of children to rely on when one was to old to care for oneself (Rasing 1994: 80). Role crossovers between men's and women's spheres were common occurrences especially when a set of some extra hands was needed.
Briggs for example reports for the Back River region about a family who was short on men so that some female members partially took over tasks like fishing with a net and maintaining a trapline (Briggs 1970: 183).
Guemple (1986: 13) writes about women on the Belcher Islands in the1960s who were proficient in shoreline and spring ice seal hunting. She also noted that 40 years earlier many women had to carry out household and hunting tasks at the peaks of the trapping years, when men were on the trap line and barely at home so

that women also became the main providers for the remaining family or ran small traplines themselves.
Similar accounts exist for Inuit camps that were working with whalers in the late 1800s and early 1900s for example for Naujaat (Eber1989: 99) or Pangnirtung. When the men where out with the whaling crews some women were for example taking over the hunting by dog teams (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 48, 106; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 44f.).
Men who crossed into the women's sphere often developed skills in food preparation, sewing clothing and tending the *qulliq*[49] (Guemple 1986: 14; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 44f.).
Gender crossovers can be observed up to today. I found examples in Pangnirtung (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 48), Iqaluit, Whale Cove and Kugluktuk which leads me to the assumption that the phenomenon is universal across Inuit societies.
The women who I met and who did a lot of chores that are considered traditionally men's work are mostly divorced or single mothers who either find their new identity in being independent from (their abusive) ex-partners or want to provide their children, in particular their male children with country food and opportunities to grow up in gender appropriate way as young male hunters (TD 2008-2010).
One additional form of role cross over is based on the Inuit naming system. Since both genders could be given names of ancestors or valued community members of the opposite sex it is believed that most of the former name carrier's attributes were transferred with the name to the new name carrier. In consequence, the new name carrier, even after having past childhood and entered into adulthood, could perform tasks normally reserved for the other gender because his or her name sake was from the opposite gender (Rasing 1994: 106f.).[50]
Although gender cross over seems to be widely known among Inuit it would be interesting to study if some communities, in particular those with a long history of trapping and whaling like Pangnirtung have or had higher affinity to gender-cross

[49] oil lamp
[50] During my stay in Whale Cove for example I could observe a female child in her early teens that called "uncle" due to her name sake in the family who was the uncle to many other family members.

overs than other communities. The close connection with whalers or a long trapping history poses a significant change to the traditional annual hunting and travelling cycle of Inuit families which may have supported the independence of Inuit women.

3.2.2.6 Children

As mentioned before, children are highly regarded in pre-settlement and modern Inuit society. Families usually show a deep and very strong affection to their children. Furthermore, children are also seen as the future providers for the community and for their respective parents once they are too old to take care of themselves (Rasing 1994: 88).

In pre-settlement times there seems to have been a tendency that boys were valued higher than girls (EWS 2009; Rasing 1994: 19; Matthiasson 1992: 78; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 81; Wachowich 1999: 21). The special appreciation of male children continues, maybe not as strong as 50 years ago but can still be observed in present day Inuit society (EWS 2009; TD 2008-10; Wachowich 1999: 215).

The tendency to favour boys over girls may come from the man's role as a provider. Starvation and hardships were regular occurrences in Inuit life cycles. If a camp was thrown back to the absolute necessities of life having good hunters was the key for survival. Furthermore, since many freshly married families moved to the husband's mother, boys respectively men stayed in the camp for life whereas the camp would most likely lose their girls to whoever married them. Consequently, the continuous support of consanguine men was more relevant for the camp than the support of consanguine women (EWS 2009).

A central concept of growing up respectively of child development is the acquisition of *isuma*[51] and the child's ability to become a useful and well-socialized member of the local community. (Briggs 1970: 111, 112; Hippler/ Conn 1973: 10).

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[51] The concept of *isuma* might be of special interest for the community's reaction toward intoxication and resulting violence. Since, as Briggs describes it, a *„person who lacks ihuma"* is considered to not being able to assess situations properly and either tends to react overly happily or unreasonably angry he thus can easily lose control over himself (Briggs 1970: 360). Interestingly people who were committing crimes in a drunk state and seriously apologize after being sober again are often easily forgiven by the victims and the community. Certainly, the overall dogma of

Children were raised in a very non-violent way (Hippler/ Conn 1973: 10). Depending on their age they were given different degrees of freedom regarding acceptance of authority and following orders. The very little ones, until about the age of three were mostly allowed to do whatever they wanted, and the community was usually eager to please all the toddlers' wishes. They were also granted the right to freely articulate their emotions and letting out their anger or frustration unfiltered (Briggs 1970: 110f.)[52]
Once the children grew older, physical closeness was purposely withdrawn as in the example of the Utku who according to Briggs hardly shared any physical warmth except when falling asleep one next to the other (Briggs 1970: 117). The only perpetuation of physical closeness among the Utku seemed to have occurred between siblings and younger children who were closely friends with each other (Briggs 1970: 117). By the age of five or six the child usually displayed considerable *isuma*. But
„(...) if he misbehaves (...) if he loses his temper for instance – one of the elders may (...)" interfere (Briggs 1970: 112).

Matthiasson (1992: 79) describes for Tununirmiut[53] a similar shift of adult-child relationships as Briggs did for the Utku*:*

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keeping the peace within family and community must be of central concern for the decision to forgive the perpetrator. Additionally, the decision might also be made easier by the thought that intoxicated persons temporary lost *isuma* by drinking and thus do more easily act inappropriately. But once they regained *isuma* they become aware of their wrong-doing and if they assure their good intentions they are trusted again.

[52] Briggs description of small children's behavior with screaming, crying, rages, and showing irrational fears correlates in a certain way with the behavior that I could often observe among drunk adult Inuit who lost the temper and interestingly also quickly changed back and forth between aggression and emotional attachment to their counterpart (TD 2008-2010). It would be interesting topic of further research to look at structurally similar behavioral patterns between young children and drunk adults in particular when assuming that some of the distress that is coming out under the influence of alcohol is driven by similar emotions than the distress that toddlers and children easily overwhelms, like for example loss of control over a situation, assumed loss of significant others, jealousy or fear of emotional marginalisation. Furthermore, as I will discussing more detail at a later section of the thesis, many young men and women were brought up in a poor parenting situation so that it is questionable how much *isuma* respectively emotional maturity they have actually reached.

[53] Tununirmiut are Inuit of Northern Baffin Island between Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay (Damas 1989: 432).

“When boys reached the age of about ten years, they quickly lost any favourite status they may have enjoyed and began training for adulthood“

The loss of a clear picture of male identity in modern Nunavut society may be a very important factor that might often prevent modern Inuit boys and young men to successfully make the transition of adolescence on an emotional level, too. Matthiasson (1992: 79) explains *“training for adulthood“* as the acquiring of all skills a man and hunter must have to provide for his family[54].
Once they turned older, especially when new siblings were born, the older ones had to take over some responsibilities in the household and in caring for the newborn siblings.
From then on, the authority of the parents became unquestionable and their word often had to be followed without any further explanation or reasoning by the adults (Briggs 1970: 66f.; Wachowich 1999: 28). Boys would mostly be mentored by their father and other male relatives who would introduce them to the world of male responsibilities whereas girls would learn from their mother and other female relatives. The first chores of girls would be looking after younger siblings, cooking some meals and simple sewing tasks (Inf 1: 2008; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 84; Rasing 1994: 20, 93; Wachowich 1999: 27). With increasing age

[54] Since hunting and learning hunting skills lost its core role in male Inuit life and the realities of Inuit children centre more and more around western lifestyle and western education their adolescence process also changes. Some of the traditional transitions from a child without much *isuma* to a care taker of younger family members, to a boy or girl, to a young teenager who is learning the ropes of becoming a man or women and finally to a self-sufficient adult are missing respectively are less prevalent in present day adolescence. At kindergarten age they have obviously not enough *isuma* to be considered ready for transition from child to man. The later educational steps just follow one after the other until high school graduation which theoretically could serve as a step to complete the passage from child to provider. On one site many youths do not complete high school and on the other site most Inuit graduates do factually not automatically enter into the provider role due to lack of employment opportunities, lack of personal motivation to find work or because they want to continue to post secondary education. Consequently, young Inuit find themselves for a very long and undetermined time in a state of lacking self-responsibility that was formerly taught during the adolescence phase by the parents in the camps. Now, with formal education completely in the hands of the schooling system and parent’s exclusion of decision-making regarding schooling respectively child education since the beginning of the settlement period, many parents do not want to get involved much with any (western) education of their children. Due to the lack of passage from child to hunter novice many parents might not find the right moment in the adolescence of their male children to switch from “spoiling“ the child to socializing it in an adult-like manner.

of the older siblings their parents gave them more responsibilities to care for their younger siblings or cousins (Matthiasson 1994: 79).
Children were also taught not to directly ask for services and goods from people outside the nuclear family (Briggs 1970: 113).
A typical teaching concept was learning by observation. Children of both genders were repeatedly encouraged to practice what they have observed among adults (Briggs 1970: 100; Rasing 1994: 108).

"… eye contact, modeling, negotiation and exhortation",

were additional means of teaching children (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 80).

3.2.3 Economic System

Living on the land was determined by constant and hard work for both men and women. Mancini Billson and Mancini (2007: 32) describe it as a struggle for survival.
The prime concern of that struggle for survival was the enough provision with food. In most parts of the Arctic successfully hunting caribou or sea mammals ensured the well-being of the group but way to often the game could not be found or appeared in too few numbers which endangered the long-term survival of the group (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 32; Boas: 1964: 30) In later years, the establishment of whaling stations, trading posts and finally settlements very often either scared the game off its traditional migration routes. Those animals that stayed sooner or later became overhunted (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 32; Rasing 1994: 167).

Economic activities were also strongly based on the cooperation of members of the extended family. It was mostly relatives who camped together, went hunting together or ventured off on longer trading trips (Briggs 1970: 86f.; Matthiasson 1992: 84; Rasing 1994: 66).

3.2.4 Hostility and Violence

3.2.4 1 Violence

Generally, Inuit culture is dominated by the ideal of peaceful interaction. However, hostilities between individuals, different –miut groups, members of different cultural groups or even between Inuit and First Nations did happen (Boas 1964: 173; Freuchen 1961: 179f.; Hippler/ Conn 1973: 18; Rasing 1994: 25; Rasing/ Oosten/ Laugrant 2000: 174).

Elders in Kugluktuk for example, remember the incident of a huge fight over fishing rights on Reed Island. One of the conflicting parties won over the other group in a physical fight but according to the elders the fight was socially sanctioned and was seen as legit (KE 2008).

Boas describes for South Baffin that the integration of a newcomer into the camp was mostly accompanied by a ritualized fight between him and a camp resident that could end in the death of one combatant (Boas 1964: 173). Parry noted on one of his voyages in the 1820s that jealousy was never publicly displayed but articulated to a third party (Rasing 1994: 25) who in some instances could than decide to bring the situation to the person who caused the jealousy so that he or she can initiate actions that will bring an end to the unhealthy dynamics between the two involved persons.

Violent behaviour was also known in the pre-settlement period. Though outbursts could happen they were not appreciated as Rasing (1994: 22f.) quotes to Parry's account from the 1820s. There, an *iglulingmiut* man physically fought with his two wives who were jealous at each other. The result was serious injuries for one of the ladies who had to be sewn up. It is also said that other local residents assured the explorer the exceptionalism of the incident and that the explorer also never experienced a similar incident again although being in the Arctic for a long time.

This aligns with the social set up that certain community members had the authority to interfere and mediate in severe incidents like domestic violence. Usually it was the elders, parents of either one of the spouses or other adults who would talk to the perpetrator (Inf. 1 2008; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 291, 300).

Another example of violence in the domestic setting is that of men physically asserting their power over women by beating their spouse (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 60; 95/ Rasing 1994: 83f.; 130). Women and older age children could be subject to physical violence. Older children were expected to have enough *isuma* to understand the reason for them being physically restrained. Raising (1994: 112) points out that all his informants insisted that parents were typically were cautions when physically restraining their children. It
"had to be done with one's hand. Using objects was (…) not allowed. One had to take care not to beat too hard, too often, or to hit in the wrong place. Also, one had to show care and affection by explaining why the child had been spanked."
The justification of domestic violence differed between the regions. Sources from the early contact-period state for example for Baffin Island that the husband was not allowed to seriously punish or physically hurt his wife. If he did anyways, either the wife could leave him, or the wife's mother could demand the couple to separate (Boas 1964: 171).
Sexual intercourse was also expected to happen in mutual respect. In reality every marriage was different, and the particularities of every individual partnership determined how peaceful or violent a marriage was. Consequently, some women lived with understanding husbands who were patient and waited until their (young) newly married wife was ready for intercourse. In other cases, the husband simply took advantage of his assumed right and raped the wife (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 69).[55] The idea of male privilege seems to have carried over into present day settlement life (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 165).

[55] Mancini Billson and Mancini (2007: 291) make the very interesting note about camp life that men became relatively irritable and angry if they were bound to the actual camp life for too long, in opposite to regularly going out hunting. This small piece of information opens up a lot of space for speculations about contributing factors for violent behavior of men in nowadays communities. Some of my observations of teenage boys and men are that they tend to increase violence in a household setting where men are lacking physical activity, are staying at home, the family stays in the community (violence while camping seems to occur significantly less often) and men have no means of regularly executing their traditional role as a provider with country food. In that regards the argument could be made up that one contributing factor to (domestic violence) is the lack of culturally appropriate and meaningful occupations (activities that the affected man can identify themselves with) for men in the modern communities.

Incest on the other hand is a highly contradicted topic. Whereas some Inuit claim that it was often accepted to have intercourse with adopted children. Others strongly oppose that statement (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 299).
Although the literature and some of my interview partners argue that physical violence and sexual abuse were already present in pre-contact Inuit life, I am convinced that one should differentiate between incidents that happened in the pre-settlement times and their root causes and (domestic) violence that presently occurs in the communities. Since marriage for example was formerly often the result of arranged agreements between parents of both husband and wife or between the parents of the wife and her future husband it is very likely that the first few times of intercourse between the spouses may often not have involved the equal consent of both partners (Wachowich 1999: 40). Having said this we should remember that husband and wife were expected to live in respect to each other and families were having an eye on the newly married couple and interfered whenever possible and necessary if ethical boundaries including sexual abuse and domestic violence were crossed.
Present-day violence happens without any boundaries, mostly on a reoccurring base with no supervision or hardly any interference by family members. And sexual abuse is no longer bound to marriage concepts but simply results from typically a man, the husband or male relative, asserting cruel physical dominance over the wife or another female as a means of gaining self-esteem. Accounts from women of the generation, who observed first-hand the transition from camp life into settlement life indicate that there is a drastic increase in domestic violence behavior (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 290). Consequently, one needs to acknowledge that nowadays (domestic) violence cannot be viewed as the simple continuation of the traditional ideas of physical violence within a family setting. Furthermore, the question has to be asked what lead to the increase of violence and where are the differences between traditional aspects of physical punishment and modern-day physical abuse.
The definition and justification of "violence" by the community and the actual perpetrator and victim could shed a new perspective on that. If one identifies any kind of physical "restrain" as violence it could be argued that indeed violence

widely existed in the pre-settlement days. If one considers a certain system of social norms where non-conformity with these norms could be physically enforced within a certain framework of rules that regulate the kind of severity of physical restrain one could distinguish that kind of physical abuse from the unjustified and uncontrolled violence. In that case as Mancini Billson and Mancini learned from women who experienced the transition period one could argue that violence in pre-settlement days existed significantly less than in present day Inuit society.
A common denominator between violence in the pre-settlement days and modern Inuit society however is the concept of males feeling privileged to assert physical force over females (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 165).

3.2.4.2 Murder

The literature about the pre-settlement period provides various examples of violent incidents among Inuit. The cases such as the death of the famous leader and whaler Johnnibo or the one of Uissakassak, a Polar Inuk (Inughuk) who along with some other Inuit was taken by Robert Peary to Franz Boas at the museum in New York and later returned to his homeland reveal that Inuit society also had to deal with murders. Typical reasons for murder were competition over women, jealousy or rivalry for economic success and material goods (Eber 1989: 57ff; Harper 2000: 21, 176f.).
In addition to these very personal driving factors there seems to be a more culturally relevant aspect that becomes important for our efforts to understand the huge confusion and disorientation that many Inuit felt when they were confronted with incorporating the completely strange and unknown customs of white settlement culture. For example, both, Uissakassak and Johnnibo had been in close contact with *qallunaat*, were exposed to a lifestyle that is very different to traditional Inuit lifestyle, saw on their journeys to the United States things unimaginable to their fellow Inuit and thus were able to develop a wealth of experiences that they could not really share with anybody else in their homeland. Consequently, after being back home again their recollections of the south, their thoughts, maybe even some of their actions might have regularly left other Inuit in disbelief so that in the eyes of their fellow camp members they lost some of the

predictability and trustworthiness that is so crucial for a healthy and safe camp life. In a society that is built on trust, strong reliance upon each other, non-confrontational behavior which includes acting in predictable ways unpredictable people, or people who suddenly become non-conform, pose a risk for the survival of the group which no-one can afford. Consequently, the safest way to resolve that risk is getting rid of it which in the cases of Uissakassak or Johnnibo resulted in their deaths (Eber: 1989: 5; Harper 2000: 176; Wachowich 1999: 26).
It appears that a socially regulated system to justify murder existed in Inuit society similarly to the structural and regulated justification of domestic violence: The person of concern must be somebody who the entire group considered to be a threat to the community. Consequently, the group had to mutually agree to kill that person. After that, one or several community members were allowed to kill the person. Usually a well-respected man was chosen to be the assassin (Boas 1964: 174; Finkler 1976: 47f.; Freuchen 1961: 161; Rasing 1994: 139; Rasing/ Oosten/ Laugrant 2000: 164).
Other historic incidents talk about blood vengeance between individuals, families or respective camps. Sometimes it could continue across generations (Boas 1964: 174).
Animals, in particular sled dogs were sometimes reported to be subject to physical abuse. Briggs for example, describes that *Utku* dogs were on a reoccurring base beaten, kicked or rocks were thrown at them which went beyond pure disciplinary respectively pedagogical actions. She also notes that she believed to have witnessed some enjoyment among those who went against the dogs while doing so (Briggs 1970: 46). The assumption lies near that treatment of their dogs seems to have provided Inuit –or at least some groups like the Utku- a justified opportunity to break out of that highly sanctioned corset of non-violent behavior.

3.2.4.3 Peacefulness and Self-effacement

One of the most important aspects of Inuit culture that I have mentioned a few times already is that anger and any other form of disharmony was seen as a potential threat for a healthy society so that camp members were highly encouraged not to show any form of disagreement, frustration or anger (EWS

2009; Rasing 1994: 24). Raising (1994: 116) stresses out for *Iglulingmiut* pre-settlement society that nonconform behavior was uncommon. Some of my informants were stating the same situation for pre-settlement Copper Inuit and South Baffin Inuit (Inf 1 2008; KE 2008; RSQ 2010). Especially behavior such as competitiveness, jealousy, anger and any form of abuse were unacceptable among camp members (EWS 2009; KE 2008). Even noisy play of children was eventually considered to be disturbing (Briggs 1970: 350).[56]

Tensions among close kinsmen were even more strenuously denied and rigorously controlled (Briggs 1970: 181). Promoting a high level of interdependence among the parties in conflict was a very helpful tool to prevent re-occurring violence or arguments among them (KE 2008; Rasing 1994: 24).

Several groups incorporated the demand for peacefulness in their believe system: Among *Iglulingmiut* for example, it was believed that thoughts alone had enough power the death or misery about others. Even these kinds of thoughts were feared (Rasing 1994: 125). *Utku* also believed that the thought of physical violence can cause harm and that a person needs to stop such thinking right away (Briggs 1970: 197; 332f.).

Another aspect of the demand for peacefulness is the premise of self-effacement. Briggs provides in her study of *Utku* two wonderful examples for that:

1. At church service the local Inuit lay priest's presence does not feel as dominant as does the presence of the *qallunaat* clergyman (Briggs 1970: 51).

2. At games, the young males hesitate to compete with the older more respected adults and instead just give a clown-like imitation of the seniors which will result in the loss of the younger ones against the old timers. This allows them to meet the obligation to compete against them in sports while they ensure that the older men will keep their face (Briggs 1970: 95)

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[56] I witnessed several times that parents were sanctioning their children when they were engaged in wild play outside which included happily yelling or even just causing some noise. Many Inuit parents in different communities commented on that kind of play with *"Wiiild childrennn."* and asked them to play either less noisy or other, less euphoric games (TD 2008-2010). The example also displays a typical way to express discomfort with one other's action. Saying out loud *"Wiiild children."* does normally not need any further action by the adults since their children immediately recognize the tone and the direct approach toward their behavior as a clear indicator for them causing discomfort and that they and need to change their behavior.

In Iqaluit I could observe many similarly motivated situations, especially while hunting. For example, it is considered a sign of respect to give more experienced/ older hunters the way of right when leaving the town or returning to town by boat or skidoo.
If a younger and an older man are both familiar with a trail, repairing a broken engine or another meaningful task the younger men usually let the older man take the lead unless he indicates to them verbally and through a physical signal like a certain hand movement that they should take the lead.

3.2.5 Traditional justice/ conflict resolution

Both Rasing (1994: 121) and Briggs (1971) are pointing out that the respective Inuit groups they were visiting clearly distinguished between non-conform behavior of people who were attested some kind of mental inability to think like any other healthy adult Inuk and between those who intentionally ignore and bend social norms (Rasing 1994: 121; Briggs 1970: 1960).
Typical socially inappropriate behavior could be ranging from physical aggression over yelling and loud arguing to other forms of losing emotional control, being stingy, being dishonest, not helping others, not sharing with others or using spiritual powers to harm others (Griffith/ Wood/ Zellerer/ Saville 1995: 136; Rasing 1994: 121f.)
When facing a breech of social norms among *Iglulingmiut* it was the responsibility of each adult, especially of the camp elders to react and restore the peace of the group again (Raising 1994: 121). In the Igloolik area and other areas other one kind of early intervention was that single camp members did speak to the arguing couple about their misbehavior (Rasing 1994: 84; Rasing/ Oosten/ Laugrant 2000: 43f.).
If such a form of private counseling proved fruitless the larger community became involved in formally straightening out the wrongdoer. Their involvement meant a sincere embarrassment to the perpetrator which is said to have usually been punishment enough to bring him back in line (Rasing/ Oosten/ Laugrant 2000: 46). Apphia Awa points to the mediator role of elders concerning conflicts in a camp. They were the ones who would publicly talk to a wrong-doer. That alone is

said to usually have felt scary and intimidating enough for the accused to stop the improper behaviour and stay conform with social norms again (Wachowich 1999: 134). Other sanctioning mechanisms such as gossip that the wrongdoer would become aware off could be applied if the other attempts of conflict resolution did not work out (Rasing/ Oosten/ Laugrant 2000: 46).

Rasing (1994: 121 ff) identified following common forms of social control or social response to misbehavior: gossip, mockery, withdrawal or avoidance, ostracism, counselling by a leader or elder(s). Other researchers and my own observations confirm these and some more sanctioning mechanisms.

Gossip or shunning appear to be among the most common social sanctioning mechanisms. They were applied to a wide range of misbehaviour such as reluctance to provide or share food, stealing women, witchcraft or murder. In the cases of the more serious offences such as witchcraft or murder a person could also easily be banned if not killed following a consensus decision (Griffith, Wood, Zellerer, Saville 1995: 136). When rules regarding the spiritual world got broken it was usually sufficient retribution for the violator to publicly confess his or her wrong-doing and ask for forgiveness (Rasing 1994: 117). [57]

The option of conflict resolution by third party centered around the question of when and how to interfere by not violating the individual freedom of anybody involved in that particular quarrel. Generally, it was considered inappropriate to react openly to social dynamics that one was not directly involved in or affected by (Briggs 1970: 68). Individual freedom traditionally stopped however at that point where one‘s actions negatively affected the entire community or hurt another individual.

On the other side elders pointed out for example that other adults, respectively elders were obliged to not only intervene in severe situations such as sexual abuse or over-disciplining children but in particular to investigate the cause for such misbehaviour and to work with the victim and offender to overcome their issues (Rasing/ Oosten/ Laugrant 2000: 58).

[57] As we will see later the concept of confession and forgiveness was carried over into modern socialization where persons are mostly forgiven once they publicly or at least face to face with the victim announce and regret their misbehavior.

Thus regarding, it is important to note that in opposite to western conflict resolution systems, especially the formalized one like the Canadian civil law that follows the principle „justice through punishment“ (Rasing 1994: 144), Inuit conflict resolution is mainly directed to restore the social order again by letting wrong-doers realize their misbehavior and giving them the opportunity to change their behavior so that they can become again a productive and equal member of the camp/ society they are living in (Hippler/ Conn 1973: 17; Rasing 1994: 144). Confession was considered a way for the wrong-doer to prove that he or she has realized the negative impact of his/ her action for the community (Hippler/ Conn 1973: 33). Furthermore, when doing an honest confession, the wrong-doer also expressed his honest intention to avoid the same or similarly peace disturbing actions in the future (TD 2008-210).

3.2.5.1 Laughter

Laughter was the first way of deescalating a situation. Basically, any kind of stressful situation was thought to be deescalated with laughter or joking. Women who for example worried about their men returning healthy from a hunting trip were often distracted with jokes and laughter about other topics (Matthiasson 1992: 78).
If someone failed in a task, the failure was often commented with common laughter that implicated sympathy for the distressed person (Briggs 1970: 115).
I could observe that insecurities or awkward situations, e.g. somebody did something clumsy, open criticism or disagreements are also answered with laughter to reduce the stress for all parties that are involved in the situation (TD 2008-2010).

3.2.5.2 Non-Verbal Resistance

Issues regarding the entire camp or individuals could sometimes be solved non-verbally, for example through resistance respectively ignorance of changes that caused the problem. Briggs (1970: 56) case study of the catechist who tried to convince his community to make a few changes to the church service and who failed due to the quiet protest of his community comes into mind again.

Another historic account on non-verbal conflict resolution comes from early 20th century Kimmirut. A man called Qayuarjuk was asked by whalers to follow them to the South. The camp however favored Kingwatsiaq over Qayuarjuk to go with the whalers. When the whaling ship was about to arrive Qayuarjuk was told by his relatives to accompany them to a caribou hunt inland whereas Kingwatsiaq stayed back. So, Kingwatsiaq went on board of the whaling ship (Eber 1989: 103).
That way the camp did not even have to argue with the whalers who will travel with them. They created a situation that demonstrated their interests to the whalers who then could decide if they agree by accepting Kingwatsiaq's company or not.
In the case Apphia Awa's arranged marriage in the Igloolik area her family also created a situation that left very little choice of argument: She was supposed to marry a man that she didn't know before and Appiah was not interested in that marriage at all. When her soon to be husband arrived by dog team both were argueing a lot about the marriage. Apphia even considered running away. Instead of interfering in the heated discussion her family waited until the couple calmed down again and set up Appiah. The next day the entire family was travelling, and the potential husband followed in a distance. When Appiah needed a rest and did not pay attention to her family, they took of without her so that Apphia had no other choice than following her promised husband who waited for her (Wachowich 1999: 39f.).
Of course, this was not the regular way of marrying someone. But the example illustrates one way of conflict resolution: Apphia's family was clearly demonstrating her what they were expecting from her –to make peace with her future husband and finally agree to the marriage. Through their actions they avoided any kind of open debate regarding the topic of concern and thus no-one had to exchange any words of anger or discomfort. By moving the scene from the camp to the land no-one else had to witness any potentially discomforting and frightening scenes of interaction so that peace and good-will among all camp members was still kept. And finally, the action of simply leaving Apphia behind could even be interpreted as an additional move of sanctioning. The night before was filled with anger and physical fight in the camp caused by Apphia who did not

want to obey her family's will to marry. By leaving Apphia behind on the land she got pushed into the situation of an ostracized community member with no-one else to turn to.

3.2.5.3 Song Duels

Although emotional control was a pillar in Inuit society, constantly holding negative feelings inside is not manageable for a person. Consequently, many Inuit groups developed spaces where people could release their frustrations in a formal setting such as song duel contests (Rasing 1994: 125; Rousseau 2004: 178). Rasing (1994: 125) describes for the *Iglulingmiut* that at those duels the conflicting parties could present mocking songs about the other party and thus release their own frustration and anger. Even if one opponent was not aware of him being the cause for trouble, songs were made up to illustrate the problem that another person has with him. When being confronted with the song the accused was expected to realize his (unintentional) wrong-doing and to change his behavior. An apology was also highly appreciated (Rasing 1994: 127).
Freuchen (1961: 175) also describes the positive educational effect of song duels that ridicule the victim usually had for the wrong-doer.

3.2.5.4 Shaming

Shaming was another method often used to make show a person how much his behavior is disregarded and at the same time provide a solution of what kind of behavior would be more appreciated. Briggs (1970: 287) describes the case were a person who is considered to be greedy gets offered many goods and praise about his helpfulness although he actually behaves the exact opposite. The addressed person is expected to realize that all the unusual attention that is given to him or her means that the community feels the exact opposite about him or her. Finally, the person will try to eliminate the awkward feeling of exposure by sharing more than before so that the economic exchange among the group is leveled out again. Peter Freuchen (1961: 174) and one of my interview partners confirm such shaming interventions for Inuit groups that they had lived with (EWS 2009).

With the emergence of the Christian church, the concept of shaming single people got adapted into church service and practiced there in order to restrain unappreciated behavior of community members (Wachowich 1999: 178).
Freeman (1971: 38) describes the socially devastating effects for a law-breaker when he got arrested by the police. In the presented case of Grise Fjord, although traditional law and Canadian civil law did not have to be conform in some cases, the Inuk who got arrested under the Canadian civil law instantly received a bad reputation as an unlawful person among the members of his Inuit community.[58]
Parry already mentions in his voyages during the1820s that gossiping is often used as a tool to remind other community members of keeping their emotional decency (Rasing 1994: 24).
Furthermore Guemple (1986: 13) adds for the Sanikiluaq area that "ridicule" was the common mechanism to maintain gender roles and that Griffen[59] testified the same phenomenon for other parts of the Arctic as well. Here conflict resolution it not applied to aggression or anger but to stabilize other social norms that define gender identity.
The efficiency of shaming a person of course also has its limitations. According to Hippler and Conn (1973: 19), persons who are asocial will not be very impressed by social sanctioning and thus continue their destructive behavior.

3.2.5.5 Ostracism

A stronger more dramatically sanctioning mechanism was to ostracize single people who the community was not able to put back in line. Instead of openly addressing the misbehaver, the group as a whole withdrew from the person and left that him or her alone. Visits declined or were not made at all, help was offered

[58] The example does not illustrate the importance of shaming within traditional conflict resolution mechanisms but the high value that Inuit put into the meaning of law or maybe better called authority in general. As pointed out in the chapter on Christianization, Christian law (the authority of the Creator) was often even followed in situations where common sense and necessity of survival should have demanded the breaking of Christian law, for example camping on weak spring sea ice because it is a Sunday. The elders' law, their final word was usually undebatable (see chapter 3Ds –authorities). And here regarding civil law we find the same attitude (Freeman 1971: 38).
[59] Griffen, Naomi (1930): The role of men and women in Eskimo culture. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
Griffen will not be cited in the bibliography because I am not familiar with her publication. She was only cited by Guemple (1986).

less, shared goods were reduced to the smallest amount acceptable without running risk of being accused impolite and settlement patterns could change so that the ostracized person was finally living on the margins of the community (Briggs 1970: 174ff.; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 293; Rasing/ Oosten/ Laugrant 2000: 54).

Instead of ostracizing just one side of the conflicting parties it could also happen that both parties were sent to different camps far apart from each other so that they did not have to meet again and could forget about their issues (Rasing 1994: 124).

A third form of ostracism is described by Matthiasson (1992: 70f.) who tells the account of a man who almost got banned from his camp due to his neglect of checking the nets of other camp members who were on a trip and asked him to keep the nets and ice holes for the nets intact during their absence. This does not only refer to banning a single individual, respectively one entire family since the individual and his family were considered one unit, but it does also give us one example of the kind of misbehavior that is not related to violence that had to happen in order to ban or ostracize a person.

An elder from Kugluktuk shared a story with me where a person claimed sole fishing rights for a stretch of the Coppermine River near Bloody Falls. The rest of the community was open to work together in the fish harvest and to share the catch, but this man wanted all for himself. The community however overpowered him and banned him from their camp. He had to leave the area and find another place to live (KE 2008).

In all three cases the basic survival of the group was threatened directly (by not fulfilling necessary duties) or indirectly (by enabling successful cooperation among adults).[60]

One could also be ostracized if someone’s actions could not be predicted anymore by the community. Briggs (1971: 3) experienced that situation firsthand when in the eyes of the Utku she displayed very unexpected and inappropriate behavior

[60] Other than ostracism fear for blood vengeance can also be added to the circumstances that might motivate a family or single person to move to other group located off the influence sphere of the actual cultural group and potential revengers (Boas 1964: 58).

towards *qallunaat* tourists who fished nearby the camp, interacted with the Utku but were lacking a lot of cultural sensitivity towards the Utku. Briggs, as a woman who was publicly standing up and talking back to the fishermen unsettled the Utku so much that for a while they felt unable to predict her behavior and role within their own camp. On one side it made her a kind of community risk, on the other side it also made her a law-breaker who does not abide by the camp rules and complex social rules of gender, age, and rank within the camp and family. Especially in the context of domestic violence ostracism is somehow still prevalent in Inuit communities though its direction changed by 180 degrees. Nowadays it is usually the victim (who presses charges against the offender) who will be ostracized by the extended families of both victim and offender (Rousseau 2004: 280). In pre-settlement times ostracism was directed to the offender. As confusing as it may seem first one needs to consider Inuit understanding of social norms. If the victim had not made the domestic incident public a healthy extended family would most likely have dealt with the situation and would have tried to bring the offender back in line. Since the extended even the nuclear family in modern settlements is often not as close anymore as in the past and authorities within the family often partially lost their say many families are now characterized by a less effective social network and thus also sanctioning system. Furthermore, individuals do not need to depend as much on the family anymore and instead can look for support and alliance outside of the family with other community members. Consequently, restraining the offender does often not work as well anymore as in the elders' generation but the cultural concept of conflict resolution within the extended family respectively the desire to deal with the situation away from public attention is still widely valued. As the victim is bringing the offender to court the victim acts in several ways socially non-conform:

1. by ignoring traditional conflict resolution mechanisms,
2. by bringing shame over the own extended family because outside involvement proves the incapability of the family to independently deal with their own matters,
3. with the potential incarceration of the (male) offender his family is losing a vital provider,

4. depending on his land skills the entire community temporarily loses an important member for the maintenance of Inuit tradition and identity since hunting is closely associated with the preservation of cultural identity.

3.2.5.6 Revenge

Revenge was a popular answer to heavy breeches of the social norm such as killings. The family could take revenge on the murderer himself or on his extended family (Freuchen 1961: 168; Rasing 1994: 131; Rasing/ Oosten/ Laugrant 2000: 30). To avoid revenge the murderer respectively his family was moving off the influence sphere of the relatives of the murdered. Or the perpetrator or his family could personally consult the relatives of the victim and ask for forgiveness. Again, confession of the misbehavior was the first step to reconcile (Boas 1964: 174; Rasing 1994: 131).

Though I have not been in contact with murderers I could talk to many persons who had been involved in physical confrontations with non-family members. Despite the norm of non-confrontational behavior their first and often only response toward their opponent was revenge. They were either talking about revenge or practicing it once the "right moment" came up. The desire of revenge was even extended to family members in other communities. For example, if the perpetrator moved to another community where the "victim" also had relatives, the "victim" sometimes asked his or her relatives to take revenge which sometimes happened in forms of physical harm to the "perpetrator" or public shaming by speaking badly about the perpetrator on the community radio and/ or face to face with other residents. I have also heard of few recent cases were nuclear families were moving to another community because one of the nuclear family members committed an offence so that the family felt threated by potential revenge from the victim's family.

Of course, it cannot fully be determined if this modern form of revenge can be derived from the traditional model of revenge, but there are many similarities including the fact that revenge is limited to severe incidents and does not happen at minor ones.

3.2.5.7 Public Confession

Public confession is a key element of traditional Inuit conflict resolution. Rasing (1994: 56f.) describes for example a case for the Igloolik region where the protagonist went through a phase of sincere starvation. During that time, she resided to cannibalism in order to survive. She was said to have only been able to continue a healthy, happy life because she fully confessed in public the events that occurred during her starvation experience. If she would have kept to herself that she was eating human flesh, which is normally socially not accepted, she would have not been able to live on for so many more years. But because she publicly spoke about what happened the community absolved her of any unethical behavior, and she could immediately return to her status of a respected, loved, and integrated member of the community

Although the woman's case seems very dramatic one can find many correlations to other incidents where Inuit society was forgiving wrong-doers. During my research in Nunavut I also witnessed and was told of many incidents were law-breakers were relatively easily forgiven once they publicly confessed (TD 2008-2010).

3.2.5.8 Coping Skills

Hippler and Conn (1973: 13) identified the displacement of aggression as a main coping mechanism for suppressed negative feelings. Since Inuit society demanded a high degree of conformity by the individual, which included the suppression of any kind of displeasure about decisions made by authorities or about existing social norms the individual had to channel his or her frustration through other outlets. The authors see the reoccurring maltreatment of "toy animals" such as little birds or dogs by Inuit children as their way of releasing anger in a socially accepted way. They also refer to Briggs who made the same observations for Utku children. Furthermore, they argue that male Inuit can release most of their anger during the usually physically tiring hunt and by killing the game, whereas the act of taking the animal's life is not as important as the high degree of physical effort that is linked to hunting and harvesting activities. This basically supports my argument that I am making in the chapter on life in the settlements, that increasing physical

aggression among male Inuit family members in the permanent settlements is closely linked to limited opportunities for displacing their frustration away from the nuclear family and towards other activities. This is an additional example for the interconnection between traditional Inuit social or cultural patterns and the influence that their disruption has on present day Inuit society.

3.2.6 First encounters with alcohol and drugs

Throughout Nunavut alcohol got introduced at different times and through different sources: Whereas Dene are commonly identified to as the ones who introduced home brew to the *Inuinnait* (Copper Inuit) historic evidence shows that it was whaling crews who exposed Inuit on Baffin Island to alcohol (KE 2008; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007:12, 186). The whalers in the Eastern Arctic restricted alcohol to their own use and the use of their sailor comrades which includes Inuit whalers and their families.

Wilhelm Weike who is Franz Boas‘ personal servant during Boas‘ Arctic field work in 1883/ 84 writes in his diary a lot about get togethers with Inuit who lived nearby the whaling station. Those parties involved some drinking. Also Boas regularly “paid“ his Inuit helpers with rations of alcohol. Despite the regular consumption of alcohol at the Pangnirtung whaling station Weike does not mention once a negative incident that involved intoxicated Inuit (Mueller-Wille/ Gieseking 2011: 47ff.).

Across the Canadian Arctic alcohol in the early days was only available in limited amounts for a limited time so that its consumption was very temporary (/ Eber 1989: 164; KE 2008; Wachowich 1999: 121).

A significant increase of alcohol distribution in the Western Arctic occurred in the late 19th/ early 20th century with the increasing number of non-indigenous travellers, traders and sports fishermen who spread alcohol widely among Inuit (Finkler 1976: 67; KE 2008). Finkler (1976: 67) also points out how these southern temporary workers and tourists often lured Inuit women into sexual intercourse by offering them alcohol for sex.

As we will see in more detail in the chapter “Historical roots of cultural breakup and social devastation it was not the whalers but contact with Euro-Canadian

personal in northern communities“ in the 20th century and experiences during the residential school time in the South respectively in northern hubs that fostered alcohol and drug abuse. Overall the end results across the Canadian Arctic are very similar: abuse of alcohol and other intoxicants increased with the adaptation to western lifestyle very often resulting in uncontrolled, violent outbursts that were no longer successfully socially reconciled (RSQ 2010). Some researchers like Kohonen (2005:1) argue that the devastating effect of alcohol on 20th century Inuit society may also be linked to bad role modelling of non-Inuit in the North who according to her did a lot of binge drinking and became ill-tempered when being drunk.

The fact that there is no indication that Inuit behaviour changed significantly while they were working and drinking with the whaling crews who commonly recruited themselves from a similar social milieu as the military and blue-collar workers of the 20th century weakens in my opinion Kohonen’s theory.

3.3. Historical roots of cultural breakup and social devastation

3.3.1 Whaling era: Inuit –Whalers relationships

Following early traders and explorers, whalers were the next group of *qallunaat* to enter the Eastern and Central Arctic. The Whaling era lasted about 100 years from the 1820s to early 19hundrets (Eber 1989: 3, 5). The Americans were the first to arrive as whalers in the Baffin area whereas the Scottish presence dominated the final years of the Euro-American whaling adventures in the Eastern Arctic in the early 20th century (Eber 1989: 22). By the mid 18hundrets, instead of annually commuting between their southern harbors and northern fishing grounds, some vessels began to overwinter in arctic waters. This also extended the hunting season and allowed ships to venture further north. In 1853 they overwintered in Cumberland Sound and in the 1860s the first whaling ships managed to sail to northern Baffin Island (Damas 2002: 8; Matthiasson 1992: 30).
Encounters between whalers and Inuit varied depending on the region and probably also on what the local Inuit residents had already heard about these *qallunaat*. It appears that Inuit on Baffin Island were first vary of the British and Scottish whaling crews that came into their country whereas Inuit groups along the Hudson Bay and American whalers started off with more friendly relationships (Eber 1989:23f). Americans seemed very receptive to share a lot of the goods that they had on board whereas the European whaling ships either had fewer excess goods or were more reluctant to give them out. This probably contributed to the different perceptions of whaling crews (Eber 1989: 111).

3.3.1.1 Employment and Hierarchy

Since Inuit counted on profiting by engaging in business with the whalers through trade and seasonal employment on the whaling vessels most Inuit groups that lived in the areas that whaling ships visited decided to change their traditional pattern of subsistence economy and move to certain meeting points where they would await the arriving vessels instead of heading towards particular hunting grounds to stock up their country food caches. Some Inland Inuit seemed to have been so much attracted by the potential economic advantage from contact with the whalers that they travelled to the coastal rendezvous points (Eber 1989: 23, 25;

Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 12; Matthiasson 1992: 31; Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 71). Inuit employment on board also meant that the Inuit men brought their women and children, and belongings including the dogs on board (Eber 1989: 86) During whaling season, a certain hierarchy developed on board where the Non-Inuit captain of the ship was the highest authority on board. He often hired Inuit mates through which he would communicate his orders to the Inuit portion of the crew. Inuit could occupy very important positions on the ship such as the harpooner. Oftentimes, the captain also took an Inuk woman for a spouse – at least as long as the vessel was operating in the North. Trading wives for equipment or goods happened occasionally and was often initiated by the wife's husband (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 12; Wachowich 1999: 118). Matthiasson (1992: 33) suggests that contact with whalers sometimes resulted in Inuit women being forced to sexual encounters with whalers and thus due to its involuntarily nature could be accounted for the first time that Inuit women did experience sexual assault. As I outlined in the previous chapter on social structure and authority pre-contact and early-contact Inuit camps intercourse without mutual consent was already a known phenomenon.[61] Those Inuit who held key positions on board and

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[61] The concept of offering sexual intercourse for economic advantage respectively to ensure one`s own and one`s children`s survival seems to repeatedly appear in Arctic history all the way into the present. Gordon Rennie a Hudson`s Bay Company employee in the mid and late 20th century remembers a situation during a starvation period in Arviat in the early 1950s when a young woman with a child on her back was entering his house to offer him intercourse. When he refused, she left and told bystanders outside that Mr. Rennie was not interested in her (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 211). Other data on gender relations where the husband (whose identity and status is based on his main provider role for the family) is basically given the right (although not socially appreciated) to have sexual intercourse with his wife based on his status in the family stresses the theory that there might be a direct connection between the ability to provide food and thus secure the survival of the group and the right to have sexual intercourse with those who benefit from the provisions. Taking the thought one step further Gordon Rennie's anecdote did not only relate to the provider-intercourse theory but also opens some space for the question if women were not only the "victims" of that system but also had the opportunity to use it for their own benefit (choosing a sexual partner based on his ability to provide). The question is becoming even more interesting when looking into the chapter on "Homelessness and Prostitution". Having outlined there that nowadays, especially in Iqaluit, some women within an economically unstable situation tend to offer „sexual services" to men in return for housing, food, alcohol, drugs or money one could ask if that phenomenon is exclusively a modern development rooted in western society or if it based on a historic or traditional system that had already established a direct link between sexual intercourse and the provision with food or goods for survival.

became closely associated with the captain also gained significant influence and power within the Inuit community. In many instances they were already traditional leaders or relatives of such. Other community members could also achieve a higher status through work on the ship (Eber 1989: 28, 108; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 60; Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 92).
Relationships between white whalers and Inuit were determined by close, intimate partnerships and interdependencies. When the whaling crews started to overwinter in the North, Inuit supported the southern crews a lot by providing them with fresh meat, clothing and teaching them how to survive the arctic winters. Whereas during the summer months on board of the ships Inuit stood under the command of the southern captain, during the winter months a kind of role reversal happened in which the Inuit took care of the whaling crews that were often perceived as very poor people who required Inuit support for survival (Eber 1989: xiii/ xvii, 99, 137; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 12).
The biggest difference to southerners that were coming into the Arctic in the later years was probably the one that Inuit generally did not feel that the *qallunaat* were trying to dominate or patronize them. If conflicts occurred, they were usually based on individual issues but not related to a real or felt imbalances of ethnic equality (Eber 1989: 165).

3.3.1.2 New forms of settlements

The whaling activities involved Inuit of many different camps, various ages and both genders. In many cases the Inuit whalers were dropped off on shore at places that were not necessarily part of their common hunting or wintering grounds (Eber 1989: 46). These families started to explore areas of Nunavut that had not been regularly occupied in a long time. The most prominent example is probably the resettlement of Southampton Island by Inuit who travelled with whaling crews (Eber1989: 155).
Sometimes, when the ships overwintered in the Arctic the Inuit crew and their families made camp in the close vicinity. In many cases other Inuit that were living near the anchorage moved to the ship and stayed there for most of the winter. Damas (2002: 8; 12) cites several accounts that describe winter camps of 50 to

200 Inuit nearby whaling vessels. [62] One account from the Naujaat area describes how life in these temporary "communities" where many Inuit families and *qallunaat* whaling crews were living closely together created a feeling of being a large family which disappeared when the whalers left for good (Eber 1989: 105). The close ties to the whalers and the disruption of the traditional hunting cycle also brought hardships onto many families. Since during the summer months, they were occupied with whaling instead of food and fur procurement for the winter months some families were affected by starvations because they were lacking enough food and clothing to bring them through the winter and when the whaling season finally ended the animals had already migrated to other places (Eber 1989: 164f.).

Celebrations such as Christmas games on board or in the overwintering whaling ships were common as was the circumstance that Inuit offered immediate help to those sailors whose ships were destroyed by the ice and thus stranded over winter until new whaling vessels came from the South (Eber 1989: 65f.; Matthiasson 1992: 33). As the account from Naujaat confirms these relationships were considered very positive ones (Wachowich 1999: 121). Eber (1989:98) mentions a similar description of Inuit-whaler relationships for Coral Harbor.

Although most interactions between both cultural groups were very positive some captains also had a negative impact on local Inuit culture. They introduced alcohol, made trade deals that clearly disadvantaged Inuit and allowed forms of intermingling between whalers and Inuit (women) that were not accepted in neither Western nor Inuit societies (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 12).

[62] The number of up to 200 Inuit is of particular interest since this is a very high number of people in one spot, especially in the Eastern and Central Arctic. One of the arguments in the thesis is that Inuit felt overwhelmed and distressed when they moved to the permanent settlements that contained way more residents than traditional camps. As a result of the larger communities their traditional systems of social control did not work anymore. The accounts of large functioning congregations during the whaling era make it necessary to re-evaluate the thesis: the quantity of people itself does not seem to matter as much, as other factors such as community involvement, self-determination, distribution of power and authority within the settlements, voluntarily aggregation in communities, maybe also the origin of residents and the permanent or temporary character of such large communities. These points will be more closely elaborated over the remaining course of my dissertation.

3.3.1.3 New technologies and goods

Whalers also introduced new technologies and foods to Inuit that made life in many ways a lot easier and enriched their daily menu. Technologies were for example guns and ammunition for easier and long-range hunting, metal needles and cooking pots. In terms of food they introduced biscuits, tea and tobacco, three things that are up to today essential goods in most Inuit households and at hunting parties (Eber 1989: xvii/ TD 2008-2010). Acquiring whaling boats as presents or pay for their services on the whaling ships meant to many Inuit a huge advantage for the sea mammal hunt since they traditionally relied mainly on kayaks for ocean hunting (Raising 1994: 52f).
An absolute new invention to Inuit was the seven-day calendar week schedule:

"When days of the week became important Inuit began to fashion their own calendars: slabs of wood with two rows of holes. (…) When they woke up in the morning, they'd put the peg in the next hole." (Eber 1989: 28).

Square dance music and its typical instruments (accordion, fiddle) were also introduced by the whalers (Eber 1989: 28).
The whaling era ended between the 1920s and the 1940s. The last commercial whales were caught for the HBC whereas the last hunts for larger bowhead whales were more or less done for subsistence and for selling some side products to the HBC (Eber 1989: 150, 158).
The whalers influenced Inuit economically but also to some degree socially. Their impacts were certainly long-lasting (Boas 1964: 58; Eber 1989: xvii, 27; Matthiasson 1992: 29).
Despite the first changes that effected Inuit societies through this cross-cultural contact a more severe and devastating change started in the 20th century with the Hudson Bay Company starting trapping and trading activities and finally with the establishment of the first permanent communities.

3.3.2 The first generation - Early settlement agencies and western influence on camp life

The years between 1910 and 1960 can be transcribed as a transition period where

Inuit mostly voluntarily started to adapt to a semi-transient lifestyle. With the decline of the whaling industry in the Arctic the decreasing contact of Inuit with southern whalers did not mean lesser inter-cultural encounters. Due to the long and close-knit connections with the whalers Inuit of the early 20s century had developed an economy that was closely linked to trade for goods with *qallunaat* that were necessary for survival. The captains and their crews where quickly substituted by a troika of Church, Traders, and Police. The trade for example included acquisition of canvas for tents which meant that less caribou hide was used for summer accommodations (Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 22). The advantage of the easy to sew tents could quickly turn into a disaster when tents were seriously damaged for example by weather and there was not enough canvas or hides available to repair them. Consequently, Inuit had to wait for Government relief. This is just one example of one of many other items that Inuit became dependent on. In the end the dependency on western goods encouraged the increasing need for governmental relief shipments of food and materials in times of the absence of game that was the traditional food and clothing source (Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 22f).
Since the newly arriving southern bodies Hudson Bay Company, Christian Mission and RCMP all covered different fields of operations each of them impacted other areas of Inuit culture. More importantly in contrast to the whalers who, except for some overwintering adventures, had seasonal contact with the indigenous population the next generation of southern invaders established permanent posts in the North and thus was present year-round (Freeman 1971: 35).

3.3.2.1 The Hudson Bay Company

Prior to the Canadian government`s efforts to settle Inuit in permanent communities, trading posts with their valuable goods regularly drew many Inuit families to their location. Here, they would stay for the duration of some hours to several weeks or even for most of the summer before they were heading out on the land again (Gordon Rennie 2009). The trading posts did not directly interfere with Inuit camp life and gave each family the freedom to stay and move whenever they wanted but also to keep practicing Inuit customs and socialization similar to the

winter camps that Inuit and whaling crews had formed since the 19th century. Although Inuit were exposed to *qallunaat* and their lifestyle and behavioural patters they felt no pressure to let go of their own customs and only adapted western customs when desired.

The arrival of traders differed largely between regions.

Along the Western Hudson Bay coast traders arrived already in the mid 18th century. The early trade was conducted by both, independent traders and various trading companies. Over time the Hudson Bay Company worked its way up further North until it arrived in what is nowadays southern Nunavut in 1882 (Damas 2002: 18). The first trading post on Baffin Island was opened 30 years later in Kimmirut[63] in 1911 (Eber 1989: 142). In some instances, like the one in Chesterfield Inlet (founded 1912) the HBC was immediately accompanied by missionaries who erected a church next to the trading post and started their Christian mission from there (Eber 1989: 149).

As mentioned above the trading posts became popular gathering places for Inuit groups. Depending on the quantity of available supplies at the post and access to wildlife in the post's vicinity some Inuit broke with their annual harvesting and travelling patterns and extended their stays at the HBC post until small almost semi-permanent settlements grew nearby. In other cases, the HBC actively encouraged Inuit families to relocate to new areas that the company assumed to have plenty of wildlife that could be trapped and traded. The settlement of Clyde River for example has its origins in the HBC's efforts to settle Inuit in that region for fur harvesting purposes. Coats Island near Southampton Island at the mouth of Hudson Bay is another example where Inuit were relocated by the Hudson Bay Company to explore new hunting grounds (Eber 1989: 150; Partridge/Trudel 2009: 34). In the 1930s the HBC even relocated about 52 Baffin Island Inuit to the high Arctic (Dundas Harbor on Ellesmere Island). When it became clear that the situation on Dundas Harbor was neither economically rewarding for the HBC nor that the local Inuit could provide themselves with enough game for survival they

[63] Back then it was called Lake Harbour. Kimmirut used to be a popular meeting place for whalers and Inuit, too which underlines that Inuit-Qallunaat relationships over the centuries built up on each other (Eber 1989: 142).

got removed again, this time to the Arctic Bay area, later to northern Somerset Island and then to the Boothia Peninsula (Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 111). In the end the HBC became the main driving factor for Inuit relocations in Nunavut before the Canadian government's permanent settlement policy in the mid-19th century (Damas 2002: 30).

Relocation by HBC can be seen as the first breakup of families. As outlined before, during the whaling days it was mostly entire camps even people of a larger area that were seasonally travelling on the ships and either returning to their winter hunting grounds, spending the winter with the whalers or being dropped off at a new area where they might not have been before. Most individuals of the extended family stayed either together or they would meet after some months again and thus were able to maintain the roles of authority and socialization practices between genders and age groups.

This is still very similar to the pre-whaling times when the extended family just met during certain times of the year, like whale or caribou hunting season. For the rest of the year the extended family was split in small groups and consequently was used to live and act alone without constant guidance by other family members. Since the HBC sometimes relocated only some members or core groups of the larger extended families, family members lost the opportunity of regular contact with their other relatives who stayed behind, moved to other places and eventually settled down a decade later in the newly established communities. This change of location and family relationships appears to have had a severe impact on the individual and the Inuit societies (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 49, 50).

Aside from the relocation efforts, the HBC practiced for a long time the policy of discouraging Inuit aggregations around trading posts. Thus, the spread of epidemics and dependence on western goods and foods caused by the lack of Inuit hunting activities around the trading stations should be reduced as much as possible (Damas 2002: 31). During that time discouraging Inuit from permanent aggregations around trading stations and later on police and military stations was not only the sole approach of the HBC but the overall policy of the Canadian Government. This policy, though often not very effected did not change until the 1950s (Damas 2002: 32, 37).

With the arrival of the Hudson Bay Company the first monetary exchange system for goods and services also found its way into Inuit lives. During the whaling times Inuit were "payed" in tools, food, sometimes even boats or other objects that they could use for a better survival.
The Hudson Bay Company started to pay Inuit with goods but also tokens in exchange for pelts or services like unloading a supply ship or assisting at the HBC store. Different tokens were carrying different monetary values. Inuit could use them at the HBC store to pay for the items they wanted to purchase. The store was the only place where the tokens were carrying a monetary value, but they were not used amongst Inuit for trading with each other (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 21, 22, 28).
Usually the tokens were kept at the store. When an Inuk wanted to trade the store, manager placed a certain number of tokens that represented the value of the pelts on the counter. The Inuk could than chose any goods at the store and the displayed tokens were subtracted accordingly to the value of goods that the Inuk bought. If any tokens were left the store manager applied them as credit to the next trading deal (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 137).
Although there can be no doubt that Inuit fully understood the meaning and use of the tokens it does not seem that the introduction of the tokens helped Inuit by any means to adapt to the use of regular money (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 28, 64). [64]
The actual calculation of the prize for furs however was beyond the knowledge and understanding of Inuit. Since they were not aware of the further distribution of the furs and how much their value depended from world market prices, they thought the HBC manager would determine the prices (Matthiasson 1992: 103). A fluctuation in prices was usually perceived as a personal choice and dependent on the friendliness or greediness of the respective store manager (Briggs 1971: 59).
The HBC operations ended in what is now Nunavut in 1988 when the company sold its store in Iqaluit to the Northwest Company. The Northwest Company

[64] Still today some elders are not fully used to handling money. I would even go so far and claim that many younger Inuit are still not fully accustomed to handling the abstract good of money in the same sustainable way as they were and are used of handling physical resources for example like food, fuel or bullets.

turned into North Mart who nowadays has grocery and retail stores in almost every Nunavut community (Gordon Rennie 2009).

3.3.2.2 The Christian Mission

3.3.2.2.1 Brief History of missionary activities

The Christian Mission in Nunavut has its beginnings with the arrival of Anglicans and Roman Catholics in Nunavut in the 1920s (Wachowich 1999: 270). Both denominations were competing over souls so that some communities were primarily serviced by Anglicans (mostly Baffin region), others by Roman Catholics (Kitikmeot and Kivalliq) and in some areas like North Baffin/ Igloolik both denominations tried to baptize Inuit (Freeman 1971: 35; Freuchen 1961: 180; Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 53). Like the traders, missions also became a place for regular congregations of Inuit (Damas 2002: 22). Many Inuit groups were eager to celebrate Christian holidays and attend church services so that they gathered for the big Christian holidays such as Easter and Christmas near mission stations. More and more, the Christian celebrations and associated gatherings substituted traditional community gatherings like the ones for communal hunts or at overwintering whaling ships. Since the closure of trapping season and the Easter celebrations corresponded with each other, the places where churches and trading stations where erected next to each other congregated a lot of groups from the surrounding land. These were times of plenty, feasts and family reunions (Damas 2002: 25, 31; Gordon Rennie 2009).

The success of the mission depended on several factors. In the case of Igloolik for example a first break through for the Roman Catholic mission came along with the conversion of the highly respected and influential couple of Ataguttaaluk (the Queen of Igloolik) and Ittuksaarjuat (Wachowich 1999: 270).

In some areas like Chesterfield Inlet and Pangnirtung the missionaries established the two first hospitals (Pangnirtung 1930) and Chesterfield Inlet 1929) in the eastern Arctic that encouraged Inuit congregation in these spots (Damas 2002: 4; Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 53). Many families even from farther distance moved

close by the hospitals for treatment but were often reluctant to move away and leave again access to western support and goods behind.
Since missionaries saw themselves as the wardens of the righteous life, their teachings went beyond preaching the bible and mixed all kinds of western rules (Christian rules based on the bible, Canadian civil law, western values of socialization and behavior) into one set of preaching directly referred to as the word and wish of the Lord (Damas 2002: 26; Rasing 1994: 98).
Another important task of the missions between the 1940s and 1960s was improving formal education, health care, and welfare among Inuit (Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 17). Consequently, one can assume that the success of western medicine against the imported illnesses by *qallunaat* helped missionaries to implement and spread their teachings among Inuit.
At the early years of establishing schools in Nunavut most Inuit saw a high value in schooling but also demanded a strong focus of school education on Inuit land skills such as fish net making, building and repair of small boats, use of tools, home care and proper nutrition. Nonetheless regular school attendance posed from the beginning on a large problem as Damas (2002. 124f.) describes it with the example of Kugluktuk. There, in the early 1950 only 12 out of 120 potential students showed up for class.
Consequently, most administrators saw a necessity in establishing residential schools across the Arctic (Damas 2002: 125f.).

3.3.2.2.2 Impact of Christianity on Inuit culture

The relationship between Inuit and missionaries was very ambivalent. On one side they were highly respected for their knowledge on the other hand they were feared because they fought very hard any other religious practice, first and foremost shamanism (Mancini Billson/Mancini 2007: 13, 125). Since missionaries demanded from the Inuit not to follow any longer traditional religious practices, shamans quickly lost their status in traditional Inuit society (Wachowich 1999: 115). For example, 10 years after the arrival of missionaries in Cape Dorset hardly any sign of public shamanism was to be found anymore in that area (Eber 1989: 151). Although the fast paced victory of Christianity cannot be doubted at all, some

elements and rituals of pre-Christian origin were kept alive in some places (Eber 1989: 151; Wachowich 1999: 117).[65] Rasing (1994: 69f., 100) describes for Igloolik that the Christian belief system became very dominant among Iglulingmiut, but the normative structure of traditional Iglulingmiut society was kept alive at the same time.

Another account from the 1950s refers to the community of Arviat where a drum dance was held. The performance was supposed to connect with the visible world with the spiritual world and encourage the return of the caribou that were very scarce for years at that time (Gordon Rennie 2009).

Briggs (1970: 3) confirms with her observations that many Inuit strongly incorporated Christianity into their daily lifestyle and belief system but also indicates that some shamanism was still existing. She for example describes the Utku she was living with as "devout Anglicans" and "their shames are all, in their view, either in hell or in hiding" (Briggs 1970: 3). Furthermore, not every family was associating themselves equally strong with Christian religion. Some families held morning and evening prayers whereas others rarely prayed on a regular base (Briggs 1970: 85).

Along with baptism also came the introduction of Christian names to Inuit. This often-caused confusion, dislike or fear because Inuit did not understand why they had to abandon their original names (Wachowich 1999: 85) that were carefully chosen because they usually resembled certain spiritual connections with late ancestors.

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[65] Even up to today I heard many times that there are a few communities like Baker Lake that are known to be still relatively strongly connected with pre-Christian traditions like Shamanism. During both visits, in 2004 and between 2008 and 2010 I heard multiple times about people from that community who are *"scary"* because they do *„some stuff"* from the old days. In South Baffin Island I was told that Baker Lake for example is supposed to keep more shaman like rituals and believes alive than other communities.

And of course, all over Nunavut one can find some beliefs, or norm that are in no means related to Christianity and thus probably date back to the times before Christianisation. In Kugluktuk for example some young mothers in their 20s taught me that one should follow a certain way of moving the baby into the *amautiq* depending on its gender. One gender shall be put over the head into the *amautiq* and the other one shall be put from underneath along the back into the *amautiq* pocket. If one does not follow the restrictions the gender of the baby might change, or it can get very confused regarding its gender (TD 2008-2010). Wachowich (1999: 244) confirms similar observations for North Baffin.

As a result, although Inuit were supposed to address each other with their baptism names they also kept using their traditional ones in conversations (Wachowich 1999: 131).
Overall however, the incorporation of Christian beliefs was mostly an easy step for Inuit. In some parts of the Arctic Christianization happened very fast.
Also, the bible was preached in the local Inuktut[66] dialects which made learning more attractive to Inuit. Furthermore, Inuit culture tends to a high adaptation to new situations that might prove helpful. Additional spiritual support (by including Christian beliefs) was often seen as such and Inuit cosmology and their value system had some key similarities with Christian teachings such as a common origin of all living beings, mutual support, honesty, or humble thankfulness (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 122).
Nonetheless, some communities struggled more with the new religion, in particular when both congregations, the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics were fighting over Inuit souls in the same region.
In many cases missionaries pressured people to be baptized (Wachowich 1999: 85f.). Those communities like Igloolik or Pond Inlet often displayed a division of their population by congregation. In Pond Inlet, all catholic families but one relocated to Igloolik (Matthiasson 1992: 101f.; Rasing 1994: 101). Sharing and collaboration patterns changed based on the people's association with a particular congregation so that the various camps stopped collaborating with each other (Rasing 1994: 101). Accounts from the Fox Basin area say that most if not all camps in the 1950s and '60s were clearly divided into camps with only Anglican and ones with only Roman Catholic residents (Rasing 1994: 79).
All the way into the mid 1980s, Igloolik was divided into two physically separate halves of town, one occupied by Roman Catholics and the other one by Anglicans. This rivalries between both denominations was so big that for example youths were sometimes chasing members of the other denomination back to their side of town (Wachowich 1999: 223).

[66] I am using the term Inuktut here as a general term for all Inuit dialects in the Canadian Arctic.

The division caused by Christian denomination did not even stop at families whose ties often seriously weakened when respective family members had different confessions (Rasing 1994: 186 f.)
Since each confession was very protective of their followers they demanded for a long time (way into the 1970s) that there was no contact between members of different confessions. This did not only drive a wedge into the newly forming community as a whole but also into families where some relatives were Anglican and others Catholic who were now not supposed to speak with each other anymore (Wachowich 1999: 178).
Without a doubt Christianity severely changed many aspects of Inuit society. A new set of values and behavioral guidelines got introduced that deeply altered the conduct of daily life, travelling patterns on the land and gender relationships. Since the concept of Christian marriage got introduced missionaries also promoted Christian gender dependencies such as the man being the sole provider who works and takes care of the woman who is maintaining the household (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 124). The case of the Utku illustrates how this concept influenced Inuit households. Briggs adoptive mother describes how local missionaries promoted the perception that women have "less *ihuma* (judgment or mind) than men" (Briggs 1970: 107). Although she personally disagrees with it, she stresses out that the strong obedience of women towards their men is primarily grounded in the bible (Briggs 1970: 107). Mancini Billson and Mancini (2007: 225) collected very similar statements from women in Pangnirtung.
As we have seen in the chapter on traditional division of authority between genders men were also in pre-Christian times considered strong leaders of the household who could oftentimes force their will onto other family members including their spouses. Briggs' example shows another level of cultural transition where the daily interaction may not change very much but the justification of behavior clearly changed from pre-Christian traditions to a Christianity-based concept. Furthermore, the implications of the traditional and modern concepts changed. In pre-Christian tradition women were considered equal contributors to the operations of a family whereas the Christian teachings highlighted the contributions of the man as the more important ones for the success of the family.

Since Christianity started to reach into every sphere of people's lives, more than just gender roles changed. Christian holidays began to determine the yearly cycle of subsistence activities. Many families felt uncomfortable travelling or hunting on Sundays (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 40; Wachowich 1999: 31), children were not allowed to play outside on Sundays (Wachowich 1999: 115) and holidays such as Easter or Christmas drew Inuit families to the missions to attend the mess service (Gordon Rennie 2009).
The importance that Christianity started to have within Inuit society can also be seen on the example of a shaman from Pond Inlet who kept practicing his rituals but at the same time regularly attended the local church service and
"was a devote member of the Anglican Communion."
(Matthiasson 1992: 86). Some Inuit received theological training to serve as Roman Catholic respectively Anglican ministers (Matthiasson 1992: 148f.). If no missionary was present camp leaders and not shamans would overtake the responsibility to lead through church services and felt at any time responsible for the spiritual well-being of their camp members (Matthiasson 1992: 120f.).
On a level of cultural identity in some cases like the one of the Utku the influence of Christianity also enforced the loss of traditional common memory. Briggs (1970: 4) argues that her failure to gather genealogical data of the Utku might derive from the unwillingness of her informants to talk about the past because they have heard from the missionaries that it is "bad" to talk about their history where „people were very confused". Similar statements about a negative indigenous personal and cultural self-portrait based on the teachings of missionaries can be found in Wachowich (1999: 139):

„(...)We lived in deepest, darkest sin".

Another account from Pond Inlet speaks about the unwillingness of members of the first generation that moved from the land to the settlement to speak about pre-Christian believes (Wachowich 1999: 243). Of course, one could also argue that part of the silence about pre-Christian religion might be reasoned in the Inuit attitude to only speak of what one has experienced by oneself and maybe people

also do not want to talk about it out of fear that the old powers of shamans might come back and haunt them. Since Wachowich's informant is closely related to the elders she was talking about it can be strongly assumed that she should know how to interpret her relatives' motives best. Her account on the struggles with traditional personal and cultural identities of the first generation should be taken for what she presented it: a view (infiltrated by missionaries) that the pre-Christian life was very bad and the current life as a devout Christian is all that Inuit should focus on.

One informant from Pangnirtung describes the reluctance to speak about pre-Christian traditions to Mancini Billson and Mancini (2007: 126) as follows:

"They cannot get rid of their dignity – this is the major problem for the older people. They think they can forget everything they have done before, like shamanism or drum dances. They are missing it, but they may not even realize what they are missing."

In more recent times one can recognize that youth and young adults tend to practice their religion less intensely than the older generations (Wachowich 1999: 243). I myself could observe that the younger generation still speaks a lot about god and is aware of many Christian teachings. In regard to daily activities religious imperatives like the one of not going hunting on Sundays seem to become less relevant anymore compared to some decades ago.

3.3.2.3 Early RCMP

With the traders and missionaries also came the police. In 1903 the Royal North West Mounted Police (RNWMP) followed the Hudson Bay Company to some of their northern establishments (Eber 1989: 107). In 1920 the RNWMP's successor, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) started establishing posts all over Nunavut (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 14). Their main purpose from the federal government's perspective was to represent Canada in the North and thus underline Canada's sovereignty claims over this part of the Arctic (QIA 2010: 10). Until the 1950s the RCMP was the main formal administrator in the North and the sole representative of the Canadian Government. Since Inuit still widely lived in their traditional camps and handled most camp issues internally the tasks of the RCMP were at first less typical policing matters but more administratively

oriented. They sampled statistical data on the native population, provided welfare and health services, and maintained a communication network with southern Canada (Damas 2002: 25; Freeman 1971: 35; Rasing 1994: 95).
The perception of the RCMP was two-fold among Inuit. On the one hand they appreciated their assistance with medical care and rations but on the other hand they feared the police because they could incarcerate people. Accounts like Rasing's (1994: 97f.) show that Inuit felt very estranged to the formal rules that western law is based on. Even the presence of the RCMP was a wired concept for Inuit who had always been able to handle matters in their societies among themselves. Since their social system did not know any formal police, court, judicative or equivalents and since no one properly explained to Inuit the western political and justice system they only witnessed that RCMP members sometimes decided to take Inuit away (to prison) because they thought the Inuit's behavior was wrong. Consequently, the RCMP was feared a lot. Inuit felt very helpless towards these strange qallunaat who exercised their seemingly arbitrary power over Inuit (Matthiasson 1967: 114).
Though the RCMP became an irreplaceable factor in the early Canadian Northern administration they were not omnipresent to Inuit (Patenaude 1990: 155). The infrastructural development of the RCMP happened relatively slow which means that they developed posts in or nearby some communities from where they controlled and administered a large area that usually included several camps or settlements at the same time. Whale Cove for example fell into the patrol sector of the police station of Rankin Inlet and just got its own detachment in the late 1990s (RCMP WC 2009). This left some communities with the relative freedom of managing their own affairs in ways that they were traditionally used to, which probably worked better in camps than in larger settlements. On the other side that circumstance created a situation where the same communities were also left without close guidance of how to socially deal with conflicts in settlements. The traditional system largely did not work anymore since it was designed to serve the needs of a small population that intimately knew each other and was dependent on each other. Inuit were not granted time to work out a new system because the

creation of permanent settlements progressed quickly, and western authorities wanted to implement their southern system in the North.

It is beyond my knowledge of how much the non-presence of the RCMP negatively affected the development of some Inuit communities, but it occurs to me that in cases like Whale Cove which is also a very small community. It might have meant that some pressure was taken off the communities. Less outside control served their traditional attitude of adult self-sufficiency. This in combination with other circumstances that kept western influence on community and family affairs to a minimum seemed to have helped Inuit residents to maintain cultural identity and self-esteem.

3.3.2.4 Northern administration by the federal and territorial governments

Until the 1940s the Canadian government had not many ambitions for the North. The war in Europe demanded a strong regular air supply line between North America and the Old World so that the US Army began to set up military air bases in Canada and Greenland. Especially the developments of the cold war raised concerns about a potential invasion of North America across the Arctic so that the line of Distant Early Warning (DEW) sites was established spanning across Alaska and Canada. Similarly, to the Hudson Bay posts and the churches, the military stations attracted many Inuit families since labor work (money), rations and supplies could be acquired there. Communities like Hall Beach, Qikiqtarjuaq and Iqaluit are the direct results of permanent Inuit congregations due to the establishment of military sites in the Arctic (QIA 2010: 10). The DEW line sites for example, provided some employment for Inuit until approximately 1955. After the construction phase ended the employment opportunities widely vanished again but many families remained close by the sites hoping for new employment or at least that they were still given hand outs and support in form of various goods (Damas 2002: 62f.).

Many reports from stationed military personal described poor living and health conditions in the newly formed Inuit settlements. Up until then the different Canadian agencies that were assigned with administering Inuit and First Nation matters (e.g. the Department of Indian Affairs, Northern Administration Brach with its Department of

Resources and Development and finally the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources) relied heavily on RCMP reports regarding the situation of Inuit on the land and nearby trading posts and churches. With the fast developments at the military sites and increasing reports about the unfortunate situation for Inuit families at the sites the government started to put more efforts in servicing the Arctic and its people (Clancy 1987: 192; QIA 2010: 10). Although this may be seen as a positive signal of the government to take over responsibility for its aboriginal population in the North it also meant that from now on the government became committed to implement Canadian policies and law among Inuit. As a consequence, Inuit were to give up their traditional means of social control, justice and self-reliance (Griffith, Wood, Zellerer, Saville 1995: 136; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 17).

Aside from assuming its social responsibility, the government also started to explore opportunities for mineral resource exploitation (QIA 2010: 10). This process intensified in particular after 1958. By then the area that is nowadays Nunavut was already incorporated into the Northwest Territories that were administered from their capital city Yellowknife (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 247).

Relocation respectively creation of permanent settlements after World War II was a very pragmatic approach of the government. It started in mid 1950s and was not completed until the late 1960s (Tester 2010: 133). With its commitment to take over more social and economic responsibilities in the Canadian Arctic the federal administration in Ottawa, respectively the territorial government in Yellowknife had to find ways to service an immensely large region that was inhabited by only a few thousand transient indigenous groups. Effective delivery of southern services like health care, social services, economic support and schooling was assumed to only be possible when the Inuit (and First Nations in the NWT) were centralized in a few strategically placed communities (Briggs 1970: 15; Damas 2002: 52, 99; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 95).

The actual relocation process differed from community to community. In some instances, like Iqaluit or Hall Beach many families followed the promises of paid work. In other cases, families wanted to be close to the residential schools that their children had to attend (e.g. Kugluktuk). Communities with larger health centers also drew in people that often ended up staying there (e.g. Chesterfield

Inlet). Then there were also cases were Inuit felt that the government forced or tricked them to move to a certain community (e.g. Grise Fjord, Arviat) (Damas 2002: 41; Gordon Rennie 2009; QIA 2010: 11). I will provide a more detailed examination of the creation of most Nunavut communities later in this chapter.
The growing number of governmental respectively western services also led to the rapid increase of civil servants from the South to deliver these services within the communities (Rasing 1994: 157). The fast influx of southerners posed a severe challenge for Inuit identity and society. The different lifestyle that the southerners brought along and that they also enforced on Inuit was a big and confusing change. With the increasing presence of western administration in the North the lives of Inuit became increasingly determined by rules and regulations that were not made by themselves. Western laws reached deep down into everyone's activities and strongly effected social patterns. Even Inuit who were still living on the land could no longer escape from *qallunaat* authority.
Inuit used just to deal with the HBC manager, a missionary, and occasionally with some RCMP members. Now, they were they suddenly exposed to a whole bunch of strangers living around them and managing all different aspects of Inuit daily life. In addition, they were also facing a growing number of unknown or less known Inuit who were moving to the settlement (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 110; Rasing 1994: 157).
Although many other families now surrounded the nuclear family and mostly shared a similar experience lots of them traditionally did not share strong social relationships with each other and thus considered each other strangers (TD 2008-2010). They were lacking skills to deal with social tensions within a group of several hundred people (Wood 1997: 10). In some cases, different Inuit groups started to segregate each other inside the settlements. In Coral Harbor for example the groups who were originally from the Kivalliq separated themselves from those who moved in from Northern Quebec or southern Baffin Island (Damas 2002: 82). Damas describes a similar situation in the community for Whale Cove (2002: 102). The same situation applies to Northern Baffin Island communities (Matthiasson 1992: 133).
In communities like Iqaluit or Rankin Inlet separation occurred not only between

Inuit groups but also between *qallunaat* and Inuit which created a cast like system within the community. Inuit became marginalized and *qallunaat* were favored in various areas of daily life like wages, housing, careers (Damas 2002: 97, 140). Damas (2002: 98) argues that anthropologists who conducted research in Rankin Inlet in 1958 and who described the fatal situation in town very precisely drew a picture of developments that soon came over most other settlements in the Arctic the more they became westernized.
The activity level in the settlements dropped because people stayed home, visited or went to work. The active lifestyle on the land were both genders were constantly on the go for food, food preparation and busy with other tasks was not necessary anymore (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 111).
Suddenly, heated single wooden family houses replaced igloos, tents and sod houses; southern dining rules demanded to eat with cutlery and from a table instead of gathering on the ground around the catch and cutting pieces of meat of with just a knife. Residential Schools and community schools were established so that the responsibility of education was no longer in the hands of the parents but in the hands of southern teachers with a very different teaching style who also taught a curriculum that had not much relevance for traditional Inuit culture or land skills. The loud voice of *qallunaat* and their attitude to take over control in all kinds of matters intimidated many Inuit too so that the term "qallunaaraluk" (big, bad, white man) quickly developed. Children who misbehaved were often threated that *qallunaaraluk* will come and get them if they continue to disobey their parents (IQR 2010; KE 2008; KT 2008; Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 52).
Many Inuit were under the impression that they had no right to speak up against decisions of southern authorities – As shown in previous chapters traditional conflict resolution usually did not happen openly but typically through a complex pattern of non-verbal gestures, interactions and approaching a third party that had the authority to mediate. In the case of southern administers there was no third party and it seems that non-verbal communication was mostly not recognized or understood by southerners. Consequently, Inuit felt being pushed more and more into an unbalanced dynamic with southerners in which all they could do was say

"yes" and obey whatever the administrator, nurse, nun/ priest, police officer or HBC trader asked them to do (RSQ 2010; Wachowich 1999: 194).
Apphia Awa for example tells the story of how she suddenly had to deliver her last child in a hospital hundreds of miles away, in Iqaluit whereas she gave birth to all her older children in the camp. She was not only away for almost half a year, but she also found herself in an absolutely new environment without her family members in particular her husband who had been her midwife before. Now she had to rely on English speaking nurses from southern Canada and instead of delivering in her common way of sitting/ kneeling while giving birth she now was made to lie down and deliver. In consequence she was so intimidated from all these strange things going on around her that it took her four days until the newborn was finally delivered (Wachowich 1999: 103f.).

Another aspect that contributed to the disorientation and confusion of Inuit was the different messages that administrators send to the Inuit population. On one side they seemed to have had the idea to congregate Inuit groups in a few permanent centers for administrative purposes. On the other side they also encouraged Inuit to a certain degree to maintain their traditional economic patterns such as hunting, fishing, and trapping. Of course, the local population was also expected to take over wage labor jobs, and to become citizens like the ones in the southern provinces.
Furthermore, the government wanted Inuit to take over some responsibilities for their affairs like by founding economic co-operatives, running in elections for leading position within the co-ops or town councils but the southern administration never fully let go of the main control over the communities. The case of Grise Fjord in the early 1960s for example illustrates how financial resource management was kept in *qallunaat* hands as well as medical services, welfare, housing, communication technology, and education (Freeman 1971: 41, 42; McPherson 2003: 95).
But how should a society based on extended family ties, socialization within a small group, and a semi-trans-human highly elaborated economy smoothly transform into a society with permanent residency, socialization within a (for their

measures) extraordinary large population density but with shifting focus form extended to nuclear family, and with a strange new economic system?
The government's ignorance on accommodating cultural particularities continued over the decades despite the recommendations and efforts of a few individuals who were more sensitized for Inuit culture and the idea that a successful transition for a land-based life to a settlement life would strongly depend on self-identification of the people with the new lifestyle.
The anecdote of a Community Development Officer in the Northwest Territories in 1974 nicely describes her unsuccessful struggles with the higher administration to implement a community administration system that's more culturally appropriate:
„So in 1974 I was a Community Development Officer for the Northwest Territories and Headquarters in Yellowknife and I remember writing papers trying to get the government to realize that some of the programs they were bringing in were gonna have dire ramifications for a very self-relying people. And as an example: Everybody made decisions, it was egalitarian. People were equal but the government was bringing in a system for their own convenience based on the southern Canadian municipal experience: pick 7 people and a mayor and you could be a hamlet council. (...) Here it's everybody who has a mastery of something is respected. And many people know a lot about many things and people will turn to that person on this subject, this person on this subject, this person on this subject. But now you're gonna introduce a new governance game called pick (...) 7 people and a mayor? What are you gonna do with the rest who were used to having responsibility for the wellness and health and productivity in their community." But they didn't listen. They said "Now we're gonna have that new municipal system. (...)But now only these people got power and that was another thing that elevated males and only select people." (EWS 2009)
Settlements that accommodated a variety of Inuit camps became the norm. Since in many cases residents of kin-group based camps dispersed into different communities, the traditional social structure and leadership was no longer available in the modern settlements (McPherson 2003: 20). Elderly people who lived most of their lives on the land often had a difficult time to adjust to the settlements (Matthiasson 1992: 139). The formal status of former camp leaders

changed. Instead of running a camp they now became an employee with a job and equal status as anybody else in the settlement (Matthiasson 1992: 139). Informally they often still held some advisory position over their former camp people, but the southern administrative system with a city council further undermined traditional authorities.

Inuit also had to deal with new Inuit neighbors and were not able any longer to follow some principles of their customary conflict resolution system. As Rasing (1994: 187) argues, the practice of moving away from camps to avoid escalating conflicts in the pre-settlement period also implied the existence of tensions certain camps, namely those who were occupied by families that formerly lived together and now separated to keep the peace. Since these families were moving to the same permanent settlement, they now had to face each other again and had to develop new de-escalation models. As a society that was paternalized by southern administrators, Inuit communities were not free to negotiate their own future in order to develop new strategies based on their own cultural potential.

It is important to consider that not all communities were shaped by the same degree of estrangement among its residents. In some small communities like Padlooping Island the estimated 13 families who were living there in the 1960s all knew each other (RSQ 2010) whereas Iqaluit at the same time started to become inhabited by families who had less ties with each other (IQR 2010). Even though the families on Padlooping Island were known to each other, they seemed to consider each other so independently that no-one interfered in what was considered the private business of the respective families, like domestic issues (RSQ 2010). This underlines again the strong focus of Inuit culture on prioritizing the extended family for close interactions but also how much individual freedom is viewed as a central value within the society.

The early situation in Resolute Bay and partially in Grise Fjord is very comparable to the one in Padlooping Island. Although just a handful of families from Northern Baffin Island and Northern Quebec were relocated to establish the two northernmost communities in Nunavut police reports show that Inuit were grouping together along the lines of their regional origin and separated from each. A lot of the separation was determined by raising conflicts and jealousies between the Inuit that originate from Pond Inlet and those from Port Harrison (Inukjuak) (Damas 2002: 56).

The examples of Padloping Island, Grise Fjord, Resolute Bay and many other communities shows that Canadian officials already failed in the early settlement period to build a strong sense of community where ideally every resident is embedded in a community wide network of assistance, social control and social safety.
Even without the involvement of the Canadian government cultural assimilation or acculturation of different cultural groups in one area seems to have been an ongoing challenge in Inuit culture. Although Baffin Island Inuit already moved into the Netsilik area in the 1930s, 20 years later, resentments between both cultural groups were still omni-present (Damas 2002: 67). Interestingly, during the whaling period Baffin Island Inuit and Inuit from the western Hudson Bay coast formed temporary winter camps and neither whalers nor other observers reported much tension between different Inuit groups. But once several families of one group permanently had to live within a close proximity to several families of another group prejudices and tensions were the result.[67]
The movement into settlements and all its difficult dynamics was also a process that was self-perpetuating. The more families moved into the settlements the higher the pressure grew on other families to follow into town. With camps being abandoned the hunters in the remaining camps had to travel further distances to visit friends or relatives (Matthiasson 1992: 142). Larger congregations for events like whale hunts or caribou herd drives that required more than just a handful of men were not realizable any more without the assistance of other camps. Consequently, the last occupied camps became increasingly separated and the formerly existing system of cross-camp trade, support, marriage and exchange of news broke down. Substitution could partially be found in the newly established communities so that the attachment to the permanent settlements grew for both, residents of outpost camps and residents of the settlements. The situation in northern Baffin Island showed that fast in-gathering also

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[67] The sense of community seems to have differed in many settlements. In Igloolik for example many families especially Anglican and catholic ones felt estranged from each other whereas firsthand accounts from Whale Cove and Iqaluit outline that people felt responsible for each other in the early years, despite differences in kinship and consanguine relation (IQR 2010; RWC 2009). The extend of that responsibility was certainly defined by Inuit cultural understanding of personal and communal space and boundaries and not by a western understanding. When comparing these early accounts with recent accounts and personal observations in the communities of Kugluktuk, Whale Cove and Iqaluit I would conclude that the value of caring for non-related community residents lost in importance and is not practiced as much as half a century ago.

happened there but that cultural, economic, social and communal stability widely continued to be stable as long as Inuit families were primarily embedded into a functioning subsistence economy, and where they were given political and social self-determination (Damas 2002: 64ff.).

3.3.2.5 Situation in the permanent settlements: Some case studies

The following shorter and larger case studies will illustrate the differences and similarities of events that Nunavut's communities share with each other in regard to the governmental relocation policy and the consequences of people's agglomeration within permanent paternalistically governed settlements. Not all Nunavut communities are represented in the case studies. The selection of the communities is based on my access to first-hand accounts from these communities (interviews with adults or elderly people that witnessed the relocation period) and information from literature that was used for the dissertation. I felt no need to put further effort in the research and analysis of the missing communities since the core goal of that chapter – to illustrate the consequences of relocation and agglomeration for Inuit of Nunavut – is sufficiently met. Since 15 of 25 Nunavut communities are described I can provide a representative number that allows comparisons between the communities, a discussion on local similarities and differences and a final conclusion based on the actual case studies. Furthermore, the case studies cover nearly all Inuit cultural entities of Nunavut as they are defined by Damas (1984: 391). Finally, the social and cultural change in most missing communities like Arctic Bay, Pangnirtung or Sanikiluaq is partially analyzed in other sections of my thesis.

3.3.2.5.1 Baker Lake

Baker Lake got primarily populated by Inland Inuit from the central Back River (Garry Lake) and by Inuit from the Lower Back River area (TD 2008-10). Records from the 1960s report that the indigenous population was relatively homogenous. Some *qallunaat* complemented the population in Baker Lake. Many of them were better integrated into the community than most single male Non-Inuit in other communities. Furthermore, only one denomination did missionary work in the region and alcohol was pretty much absent in Baker Lake. This all seemed to have

led to a very positive atmosphere in the settlement. Finally, Inuit were granted relatively strong word in the development of their own community (McPherson 2003: 19, 20).

3.3.2.5.2 Chesterfield Inlet

In the early days, Chesterfield Inlet developed in several ways to a small hub for the Kivalliq[68] region. The community used to accommodate a regional hospital and a catholic mission that also ran a residential school (Gordon Rennie 2009). This meant a lot of influx of many different Inuit groups into the community. Chesterfield and its northern neighbouring community Repulse Bay as well as Arviat to the South struggled with the integration of Inland Inuit (Caribou Inuit) into the community. The Caribou Inuit were recently removed from their traditional grounds to coastal villages because they fell victim to the absence of large caribou herds and thus had to be rescued from starvation (McPherson 2003: 13, 23ff)[69].

By 1959 most Chesterfield Inlet men were "steadily employed" (Damas 2002: 85) whereas in other communities like Iqaluit or Cambridge Bay the employment situation was less satisfying. However, it appears that Chesterfield Inlet overcame a lot of its challenges as there are not too many reports about issues like alcohol abuse, distress within families and personal and cultural identity crises as it is known for other communities with a less stable economic base. In opposite to Repulse Bay or Kugaaruk the Chesterfield population was less bound to subsistence activities than to wage earning which resulted in some food shortage during the late 1960s. Alcohol related issues also grew in Chesterfield Inlet but soon after a local peace keeping group formed itself and responded to the issues. The group consisted of the *"area administrator, the HBC manager"* (the key cultural

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[68] The Kivalliq is one of 3 political regions in Nunavut. Baffin Island, the Belcher Islands and the High Arctic islands are called Qikiqtani, the Northwest Passage area from Somerset Island to Coronation Gulf is called Kitikmeot and the lands south of Boothia Peninsula comprise the Kivalliq region.

[69] The events during the resettlement process of the Inland Inuit can be taken as an additional example of western dominance of Inuit lives. The entire process mostly happened without consultation of the starving Inuit. The highly independent and self-sufficient Inuit groups suddenly had to follow the orders of southern administrators which in the case of the Inland Inuit meant evacuation against their own will (McPherson 2003: 23ff).

brokers in town) *„and several Inuit“* (Damas 2002: 172f.). [70] This shows that the key for early successful development of Inuit communities and maybe also for recent community development plans does not exclusively have to lie in focussing on traditional activities but more on a stable or at least equally distributed economy among the total population. Furthermore, it seems that it must also incorporate political, economic, cultural and individual self-determination of the Inuit population in the communities.

3.3.2.5.3 Hall Beach and Igloolik

More and more Inuit moved to Hall Beach around 1955 with the beginning of the social unit building program (Wachowich 1999: 110f.). Employment at the local DEW line site and the establishment of a nursing station in the same year were expected to develop Hall Beach to a center of the Fox Basin area (Rasing 1994: 155).

In Igloolik the Department of Northern Affairs initiated a housing program in1959. In 1960 a nursing station was built. Whereas it was the DEW line that attracted people moving to Hall Beach it was more so the HBC store and the catholic mission that drew Inuit to Igloolik (Rasing 1994: 156).

At first, it was mostly elderly and infirm people with their families who settled in Igloolik. Access to western housing was a key attraction. Within only 15 years, between 1955 and 1970, the entire population of the Fox Basin moved from the land into both communities (Rasing 1994: 156, 163).

Especially *Iglulingmiut* had a hard time to form an overall sense of community because the Anglican church and Roman Catholic church were both aggressively operating in the area. Their aggressive teachings encouraged Inuit to segregate along religious lines. The village became separated into a Catholic and an Anglican part with a lot of resentments between residents of both sides (Wachowich 1999: 187).

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[70] I was told about the former existence of a similar peace keeping group in Whale Cove during my field visit there. This group as well as other Inuit committees that politically participated in other communities like Iqaluit during the same time, consisted of well-respected local Inuit men, mostly former camp leaders (IQR 1 2010; RWC 2009) so that I assume the Chesterfield peace group was also comprised of former Inuit leaders that adapted and transitioned their status to into the new settlement.

3.3.2.5.4 High Arctic communities Grise Fjord and Resolute

Studies of historic data and interviews with local residents that were conducted by several authors indicate that the public administration heavily failed residents of Grise Fjord and Resolute in the early years of establishing the two communities. Damas (2002:52ff.) and Kulchyski and Tester (1994: 103) explain that the government's relocation plans were motivated by both strengthening Canadian sovereignty in the high Arctic through the establishment of the two communities and providing relief for the economically distressed population in the Inukjuak area. The Inuit from Northern Quebec were relocated because of very poor caribou hunting conditions and a starvation crisis. They were thought to find better hunting grounds in the High Arctic which also meant less pressure on the scarce game around Inukjuak. Indeed, there seemed to have been some consensus among families to relocate but it is unclear if governmental administrators and relocating families fully acknowledged and agreed on the same terms of resettlement. Instead, it appears that severe miscommunication occurred between both sides. Also, the government did not fully live up to all the promises it made to the Inuit. For example, before the Inuit families from Pond Inlet and Inukjuak were relocated to Grise Fjord the Canadian government granted them the opportunity to relocate again in case after a certain amount of time they felt that they could not personally adapt to the living circumstances in the new settlement (Damas 2002: 136; Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 103, 141, 143).

An early issue in Grise Fjord typical to most other communities with an Inuit population originating from different areas was the separation instead of inclusion of different kin groups. Differing local dialects, customs such as hunting techniques and construction of dwellings were used as markers where the line of separation was drawn between the Inuit from North Baffin and the ones from Northern Quebec. Since the emigrants from Pond Inlet were more accustomed to the environmental conditions in Grise Fjord than the emigrants from Inukjuak feelings of superiority and marginalization developed between both groups. All this quickly led to the formation of two social entities defined by local origin and thus kin-relationship who also separated physically from each other (Freeman 1971: 40).

Despite the disputes the concept of sharing in times of need was practiced beyond the lines of group identity (Freeman 1971: 40) which underlines again the essential meaning of sharing for Inuit socialization.
Freeman (1971) describes in his study on early developments in the High Arctic another illustrating case for Inuit marginalization and imbalance of power. In three different cases the same male Inuk who due to his extraordinary economic success in both the traditional hunting sphere and modern wage economy sphere can be accounted to the native elite in town, is basically ignored by southern administrators whenever he addressed them with personal matters that could have meant further personal prosperity for his life and the life of his family. At first, he applied for relocation to another northern settlement of his choice where he expected a better economic situation for his family than in Grise Fjord. Four years later despite several efforts to contact the Regional Administrator in Iqaluit he still did not receive any positive response or even assistance for his relocation so that he decided to relocate with his family himself which was incomparably more difficult than for example with support from the Canadian Government.
As the request for relocation was still pending the same man wanted to obtain a licence to brew beer at home. Again, it took four years and very unsatisfactory exchange of information with government officials until the licence was finally granted. But now he had already left the settlement.
In the middle of this unsatisfying situation, upset about the struggles and eager to continue with his goals the man wanted to bring his case to the attention of an inspector during his annual visit to the community. Two years in a row he was denied talking to the inspector because there was no adequate interpreter available (Freeman 1971: 45).
This example exemplifies in my view the lack of care regarding fair treatment of people and interests of the indigenous population. Consequently, it is more than understandable that growing frustration, helplessness, the feelings of being disrespected and being marginalized became deeply ingrained into the minds of those (people of the first generation of the resettlement process) who were facing these kinds of Inuit – *qallunaat* relationships on a permanent basis.

Resolute Bay had in some ways a different experience than Grise Fjord. Both labour work and wildlife were sufficiently available in the 1960s so that Inuit could somehow balance their needs for payed work and subsistence economy.
However, social issues started to appear quickly in the settlement. Resolute Bay in opposite to Grise Fjord had a permanent military presence with public bars. This strongly fostered drinking habits among the local population and often lead to violence among the Inuit of Resolute Bay. Furthermore, like the settlements near DEW lines sites or other military posts Inuit developed a dependency on western goods and provisions instead of maintaining their subsistence hunting economy (Damas 2002: 135; Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 154).
The presence of so many non-Inuit in Resolute Bay most likely also created an environment were the majority of decisions were made by southern administrators and not by local Inuit.

3.3.2.5.5 Inland Inuit: Ennadai Lake Inuit, Henik Lake, and Garry Lake Inuit

Until the 1950s the interior of the Kivalliq was occupied by the so-called Caribou Inuit. They were divided into several groups of Inuit whose harvesting cycle entirely depended on inland animals such as caribou and lake fish. Their harvesting area reached from the western coast of the Hudson Bay inland to Ennadai Lake in the South, Dubawnt Lake in the West and near the Back River in the North. The northern groups core territory was Garry Lake and the one of the southern groups was mostly Ennadai and Henik Lake (Damas 1989: 448f.).
Due to their particular dependence on one main food source (caribou) the Inland Inuit were maybe even more prone to starvation periods than other coastal Inuit groups who had access to a larger diversity of animals. After several very difficult years where not many caribou could be harvested, and the Canadian government flew in many tons of bison meat and other supplies to feed some groups of Inland Inuit Ottawa decided to relocate the Inland Inuit to coastal communities. In 1950, Inuit nearby Ennadai Lake were first moved to Nueltin Lake with the intention that they could find more game there and if they didn’t that the government could more easily supply them with relief goods. The tragedy of that campaign however lies in the circumstance that there seems to have been no consultation or discussion with

Ennadai Inuit about their relocation. Instead a government plane suddenly touched down and officials told Inuit that they were brought to another location now (Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 212).
In a second step to further increase the availability of services to Ennadai Inuit they were resettled from Nueltin Lake to the coastal settlement of Arviat. This meant a dramatic shift of the entire economy from caribou hunting to seal hunting and coastal fishing. The government did not only ignore how much adaptability this change required from the Inuit but also lacked to support them with proper gear, mentoring and financial assistance to learn harvesting methods that work on the coast (Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 212).
The Inuit of Garry Lake and Henik Lake experienced pretty much the same fate except that they were not moved first to Nueltin Lake. Most of them were relocated to Rankin Inlet and Whale Cove where they felt completely overwhelmed, confused, and dissociated from their social and natural environment (Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 296).
The cooperation that southern administrators naively hoped would occur between the relocated Inuit groups and local Inuit did rarely happen (Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 297).

3.3.2.5.6 Iqaluit

In opposite to many other communities Iqaluit's origin in not based on a traditional Inuit camping area but on the efforts of the US military to find a suitable piece of land to build an airport that could accommodate large military planes on their way to Europe (Eber 1989: xiii; Lackenbauer/ Shackleton 2012: 5).
At first the military established a smaller post at one of the islands that separate the upper Frobisher Bay and the lower Frobisher Bay. In this area the military also established the first relationships with local Inuit families. The so-called Crystal II site was not suitable for larger planes so that the army hired three local Inuit who were familiar with the area to help them find a better spot for their airbase. Two of the Inuit guides were Joamie and Nakasuk.[71] A flat area near Sylvia Grinnell River

[71] Many Inuit in Iqaluit still carry these names as their last name which identifies them as descendants of the two. The person who told me about Nakasuk and

was finally chosen and the airbase with two airstrips and several military barracks was constructed. The military presence also included three messes, one for each group of the military ranks. The key buildings were set up in what is nowadays downtown Iqaluit in the area of the current city hall/ fire hall and the curling rink across the street. Some Inuit families moved from the islands up to Iqaluit that was called back then Frobisher Bay, hoping to find employment with the military. Since the US and Canadian governments were worried about the negative impact that intermingling of Inuit and soldiers could have on Inuit society, and economy both groups were kept separate which lead to the creation of the Inuit settlement of Apex, about 3 km south of the Frobisher Bay airport. Military guards prevented soldiers from intermingling with Inuit women and signs were put up along the road to Apex that prohibited southerners from entering into the limits of the Apex settlement (Gordon Rennie 2009; IQR 2010; Lackenbauer/ Shackleton 2012: 7). Even the Hudson Bay Company moved their trading post 80km from Ward Inlet to the outskirts of Apex[72] and the settlement itself became a small southern-like village with a 2000-gallon gas tank at the HBC store for skidoos and boat engines, a community hall for social events and a cinema (Gordon Rennie 2009; IQR 2010). Apex was not only populated by Inuit from the lower Frobisher Bay area but also from Inuit that came from many different places. After reports of a tuberculosis crises reached the federal government in the 1950s it sent a ship with doctors, the C.D. Howe, across the Arctic. The C.D. Howe stopped in every community, the physicians conducted extensive TB testing among Inuit. Those who were tested positive had to stay on board and left with the ship to southern sanatoriums.[73] Those Inuit who survived their illness and the time in a southern hospital wanted to return to the Arctic, but the government felt overwhelmed of transporting every individual back to their traditional homeland. Instead, people where boarded on a ship and unloaded at a few locations across the Arctic. Apex was one of these

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Joamie is a relative of them. She mentioned that no-one she talked to could remember the name of the third Inuk (IQR 1 2010).

[72] In the late 1950s the HBC store in Apex was the biggest Hudson Bay Company Store in the entire Arctic (Gordon Rennie 2009).

[73] I will examine the C.D. Howe's impact on Inuit in more detail at a later chapter.

locations, especially for Inuit from Baffin Island and Northern Quebec. From here on they were left without any further support. Many of them stayed in Apex and only some were able to find their way back (mostly boating or dog teaming) to reunite with their original families. Those who stayed started new families in Apex respectively Frobisher Bay (Gordon Rennie 2009; Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 62).

A third influx of families was caused by the stable economy in Frobisher Bay and a positive outlook for finding wage labour positions at first families from Kimmirut followed the jobs to Iqaluit. Many of them moved back, after they had developed alcohol problems and realized the bad influence on their life and families. Shortly after, groups from all over Nunavut including the Kivalliq and Kitikmeot followed (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 39, 251f., 257). Family relations to relatives that already moved here earlier played another important role in the rapid growth of the settlement (Damas 2002: 141). Within 3 years between 1957 and 1960 the Inuit population of Iqaluit nearly doubled from 489 to approximately 800. Additionally, there were 590 *qallunaat* living in Iqaluit. By then the community had already grown into a multi-ethnic town. (Damas 2002: 57, 60). Interestingly, problems between the different Inuit groups did not rise up very much. This may be due to a combination of the community building work of some local Inuit leaders who tried their best to create a positive atmosphere among the Inuit population, and the circumstance that many families had already a long history of relationships with other Inuit groups and southerners due to the military presence (Gordon Rennie 2008; IQR 2010) and the whalers.

The actual dominance of the military lasted about a decade. With the beginning of the 1960s the US military had left Frobisher Bay and the Canadian Forces who took over downscaled their presence. At that time the government's policy of segregation also ended and Inuit were encouraged to settle in downtown Frobisher Bay. Housing programs helped to change the former military base into a growing settlement that soon outnumbered Apex. Frobisher Bay also got a multiplex building with resident apartments, a bar, swimming pool and theatre (IQR 2010).

In the 1970s the HBC kept the Apex store and opened a second one in Frobisher Bay's high-rise building where all the other key amenities of the city were located (Gordon Rennie 2009).
The governmental housing program reflected another cultural misconception, respectively a strong cultural ignorance of southern administrators towards Inuit culture. The first wooden houses that were built for Inuit barely had any insulation. According to accounts of Inuit who lived at that time some people in decision making positions had assumed that Inuit did not need insulated houses because they were used to igloos and thus would be too warm in wooden buildings (IQR 1 2010; Partridge/ Trudel 2009:68). However, there is a huge difference between the insulating quotient of a 1ft thick snow block and plywood that is less than 1 inch thick.
Furthermore, the fast growth of the town and its multi-ethnic environment brought many additional issues with it. Many loose sled dogs were roaming the streets and sometimes caused a hazard, particularly for children. Many people were not only living in cold but also unsanitary conditions. Not many southerners learned Inuktitut so that it was left to the Inuit to try and overcome the language barrier. After the initial economic boom unemployment also became a serious issue (Damas 2002: 60f.).
A positive development in Iqaluit was that Inuit got included to a certain degree into political processes on a local level and by discussions with the federal government. The local population appointed several Inuit leaders who were expected to represent Inuit interests. Simone Michael and Simone Alainga as well as other men whose families all originated from the Frobisher Bay area formed that committee (IQR 1 2010). They were active in organizing community events like square dances, public gatherings or listening to other Inuit's concerns (Gordon Rennie 2009).
They also discussed Iqaluit's social issues. The group understood very well that the large migration of people into town meant a higher influx than Iqaluit could handle economically and socially (Damas 2002: 51).
The level of Inuit involvement must have been limited since other accounts describe situations where southern administrators made decisions for the

development of Iqaluit that were in contrary to Inuit interests, such as the construction of houses on the central lookout hill for whales and other sea mammals. Consequently, the hill could no longer be used to monitor the waters of Koojesse Inlet and the Frobisher Bay for maritime game activities and incoming boats (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 250).

Despite the modern shape of the settlement the actual cultural transition occurred noticeably slower. All the way into the 1970s most Inuit families were still strongly involved in subsistence hunting (IQR 1 2010). For quite a while there were three camps left further down the bay whose members preferred their traditional lifestyle over moving into town. They only occasionally visited the settlement to fill up their stock of certain supplies and traveled back to their outpost camp (Gordon Rennie 2009; Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 24).

This shows that, although the Canadian government was very persistent in bringing Inuit families into the communities and although Inuit tended to follow what they were told by southerners, conformity to western authorities was not always as undebatable as it may appear in the first place. Some families who felt that their attachment to the land was essential for their well-being resisted resettlement for a while and kept on living on the land, a circumstance that occurred all over the Canadian Arctic. The last family permanently moved into Iqaluit in the early 2000s (IQR 11 2018).

When the Northwest Territories built a public liquor store in Iqaluit in the 1970s incidents like all kinds of assaults on women, murders and beatings under the influence of alcohol skyrocketed. The situation got so bad that the liquor store was shut down not too long after its opening (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 259). At this time Inuit were already pushed into *qallunaat* dependency and social marginalization for about 20 years.

Back in those days, alcohol has already been identified as a vital factor that leads to physical or sexual violence and property crimes (Finkler 1976: 150).

The Baffin Crime and Justice Study revealed that in the early 1990s the close ties that defined traditional Inuit family and society were largely deteriorated (Griffith, Wood, Zellerer, Saville 1995: 148) which could be interpreted as an additional if

not one of the central factors that let Iqaluit become a socially troubled community.

3.3.2.5.7 Kimmirut

Kimmirut started out as a seasonal village. Inuit families would move there for the summer months and return to the land for the caribou fall hunt. In its early days it particularly distinguished itself through many very good local carvers and a shipyard (Gordon Rennie 2009). During late transition period the community already consisted of 320 residents which is about half the size of today. Arviat was another settlement that grew similarly fast (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 207/ 224). According to the last Hudson Bay store manager who served in both communities there seemed to have been no severe issues between Inuit in either of the two communities.
The rapid growth of the community seems to have not very much negatively impacted the two communities. For Kimmirut he also notes that he had a much harder time to become integrated into the community as at the small trading post of Tavane in the southern Kivalliq for example (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 236). Two factors are coming together here: for one the population of Kimmirut was very uniform since most people came from the same cultural area (the coastline East and West of Kimmirut). Secondly, the local population seemed to segregate themselves from outsiders which might have created a stronger sense of common identity among the fast-growing population.

3.3.2.5.8 Kugaaruk

Of all communities in the eastern Kitikmeot Kugaaruk seems to be the economically most stable community in the 1960s. Gjoa Haven and Taloyoak at that time appear to already suffer more from welfare dependency and lack of motivation among their residents to live self-sufficient lifestyle. The actual rates on welfare contributions in relation to the overall income for each of the three communities do not vary much but Damas states that residents in Kugaaruk were still more eager to provide for themselves instead of depending on other financial contributions (Damas 2002: 155, 157).

3.3.2.5.9 Nanisivik (Clyde River, Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay, Igloolik)[74]

Nanisivik was not a typical settlement but a mining site near Arctic Bay at Northern Baffin Island that was operated from1976 to 2002. The Inuit staff was primarily recruited from the surrounding communities of Arctic Bay, Igloolik, Pond Inlet, and Clyde River. Also typical for Nanisivik was the provision of family unit housing, so that Inuit workers could move with their families close to the mine. Those who did not take the service had to be flown in on a regular schedule (2 weeks work, 2 weeks off-time) from the respective communities (McPherson 2003: 89, 93, 110).

Intercultural communication issues were again a typical issue of *qallunaat* – Inuit relationships. By the mid-70s Inuit had experienced often enough that decisions made by southerners were usually not in their best interest. Consequently, they wanted to be strongly involved in consultation processes regarding the development of the mine site and all its consequences for the surrounding communities. When the mine opened it first appeared that Inuit employees were somewhat included in decision making processes. For example, they could choose for themselves whether they would want to settle nearby Strathcona Sound or to move into housing facilities of the mining camp (McPherson 2003: 93).

For all further decisions however, the southern developer did not understand the importance of such consultation, proceeded with own plans and pretty much left out the local population of any strategic planning (McPherson 2003: 89, 97).

Since the mine provided good infrastructure for the local population by connecting Arctic Bay with Nanisivik with a 30km road and offering family housing in the community the Inuit workforce was unusually stable (McPherson 2003: 111). Workers could maintain both, a strong commitment to the mining job and an equally strong if not even stronger commitment to their cultural values like close family and community ties.

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[74] The following analysis only focuses on Nanisivik but less on the situation in the surrounding communities. Of course, the events at the mine site, work schedules, interactions of Inuit with *qallunaat* colleagues directly affected social patterns in the communities, too. Except for Pond Inlet which I have been referring to a lot already in previous chapters, I will not have a closer look at the settlements themselves.

On another positive note the mine also offered lunch and supper for the Inuit employees and fresh food for their families. Maybe even more important from a cultural point of view, it also supplied them, in contrast to the Rankin Inlet Nickel mine two decades earlier, with equipment to maintain a partially land based lifestyle. They were given snowmobile gas, canvas, fuel and plywood (McPherson 2003: 93).

Over the years the mine offered skills upgrading opportunities that were appreciated by some Inuit miners. Though the low education of most indigenous employees was still an issue for the personal development of miners and most likely also for mining operations itself (McPherson 2003: 111, 113). Upgrading opportunities and the demonstrated appreciation of Inuit workers by their superiors (McPherson 2003: 113) certainly took away lots of tensions between southern and indigenous culture. In terms of intercultural relations at the mine site the feeling of being minor, second-class citizens did not seem to have grown among Inuit as much as it did at the Rankin Inlet mine for example.

McPherson (2003: 113) argues that the sincerest social issues for Inuit were caused indirectly by the men's employment at the mine especially those who could not live nearby were regularly absent from their families. This often resulted in hardships for families and the couples struggling with adapting to the absence of one partner. The lack of the male authority in the household made childrearing more difficult, too.

Another consequence was the interruption of the traditional animal harvest among those families whose male member(s) were working at the mine sit. Between 35 and 48% of the affected families seemed to have had significantly less access to country food than families whose male members lived in their home community. Since hunting is a crucial aspect of male identity, inter-generational education and bonding between (male) family members and friends its decline certainly impacted the social stability of families that were involved with mining jobs at Nanisivik (Ajunnginiq Centre 2006b: 13; Hobart 1982: 71).

3.3.2.5.10 Pond Inlet

Despite the situation in Nanisivik, it should be mentioned that the growing number of Euro-Canadian personal in the surrounding communities contributed to more inter-ethnic issues in these settlements. For Pond Inlet for example it is said, that it consisted of two divisions with more or less separate social and cultural spheres, a *qallunaat* one and an Inuit one (Matthiasson 1992: 93).
Sexual liaisons between mostly *qallunaat* (men) and Inuit (women) happened but were often kept hidden (Matthiasson 1992: 113).
The area administrator and teachers were actively trying to establish positive and open relations to the Inuit population but most of the key camp leaders of the Pond Inlet region did not much buy in. In less than a year the informal roundtable for inter-ethnic socialization and discussions on (local) politics died again. Instead, regular more formal ways of communication with the area administrator, comparable to the interactions between HBC or RCMP representatives and local Inuit continued and seemed to have become the preferred kind of inter-action model for the local Inuit. Other southern residents did from the beginning on not practice much private socialization with their indigenous colleagues or neighbors (Matthiasson 1992: 115f.). Matthiasson (1992: 116) discusses some reasons for the area administrator's failure to increase informal relationships with the local population:
Inuit were already familiar with a model of formalized social and professional interactions with *qallunaat* based on the experiences with HBC managers, police and missionaries. Now, two things seem to have happened: At first in opposite to the troika of RCMP, HBC and missionaries the area administrator with the laws, rules, and regulations whose implementation he was responsible for took influence in personal spheres of Inuit life that were widely untouched before by the other three agencies. Secondly, the attempt to overcome established interaction models might have meant an all too sudden shift away from familiar, well-functioning, and predictable patterns that made interaction with representatives of another culture relatively easy for both sites (Matthiasson 1992: 116).
In contrast to communities in other parts of Nunavut, entire extended families or camps could move to Pond Inlet without the consequence of families splitting up

by moving to different communities (Matthiasson 1992: 133). In some cases, like the one of Apphia Awa however some families in the northern Baffin Island region split up but as long as the individuals staid in North Baffin Island they were still surrounded by other close kin in the respective community they were moving to (Matthiasson 1992: 109; Wachowich 1999: 111f.).

Pond Inlet Inuit were historically less affected by marginalization since the community itself did not draw in many outsiders, neither Inuit from other cultural areas nor *qallunaat*, who could have challenged cultural and social norms. Also, employment at Nanisivik for example was less traumatic for the self-esteem of Inuit than at other Euro-Canadian employment sites in the Arctic.

Very illustrative is Matthiasson's (1992: 131f., 134) account on the changes of Pond Inlet between the 1960s and the 1970s. His observations give a very lively expression on how dramatic living circumstances changed when most families were finally moving into the community. Within a decade an air strip was built so that planes did not have to land on the plain tundra anymore, cars found their way to the settlement, so did phones, street names and house numbers, dog teams (one of the pillars for Inuit economy and male identity) were gone, and the former hunters if not unemployed became the same dependent wage laborers who they ridiculed for working in town, 10 years ago. The shift between workdays and holidays and the clock determined the daily routine instead of weather and seasonal changes in climate and hunting opportunities. Within the household, the diet still based on country food got more and more supplemented by vegetables when available or affordable. The cooking facility was now a western style kitchen instead of a *qulliq*. Alcoholic beverages, even if rare, could be found in many homes. But there is some indication that some most people drank responsibly.

Within just a couple of years people who used to live in igloos, tents, sod houses or wooden shacks on the land without running water and very few material goods had to become accustomed to the same structures and attributions of a western lifestyle including single family houses, washing machines, tables, chairs, mirrors, toilets, freezers, shaving equipment, laundry soap, all kinds of plastic objects (e.g. chair covers), porcelain dishes, tea bags (instead of lose leaves), cassette tapes, electricity,.... (Matthiasson 1992: 135f.). Taken each of the single changes by itself

one could argue that it is not a big deal to adjust for example from lose tea leaves to a tea bag. But given the fact that nearly every little thing from accommodation, over equipment to language and socialization changed within an incredible short amount of time and mostly without much consultation of the Inuit it is very understandable that Inuit across the arctic got sucked into a spiral of individual and cultural struggles and emotional confusion across all generations. But why did Inuit in Pond Inlet according to Matthiasson suffer less than people in other Nunavut communities: Still in 1963 crime was widely unknown in Pond Inlet (Matthiasson 1992: 106).

The young adults are described as having adjusted pretty well to the changes in Pond Inlet with the mixture of wage economy and land-based identity (Matthiasson 1992: 141). Since Matthiasson draws a very promising picture on Pond Inlet's youths and their future in the early 1970s one can conclude several aspects for the main theses on cultural change and social issues.

A close attachment to the land was kept alive through having access to rich hunting and fishing grounds, the local population was relatively small and most of them could get involved in income generating activities, and people could well maintain close kin-relationships. Consequently, traditional social norms like sharing of food and material culture, and socialization in an extended family might have worked out better in Pond Inlet than in communities where family patterns were shattered more severely in a very short amount of time.

Furthermore, Matthiasson (1992: 140, 158) testifies that local Inuit had quite some political influence on the development of Pond Inlet even though he must admit the Euro Canadian administrators held onto certain privileges so that the final say stayed with southerners and not local Inuit (Matthiasson 1992: 154). Finally, the relatively high absence of alcohol in the early stage of the segregation process certainly took some pressure of the community, too. In later years this might have changed (Matthiasson 1992: 160).

3.3.2.5.11 Qikiqtarjuaq and Padloping Island

Before Qikiqtarjuaq became the main community on the North side of Cumberland Peninsula another community was created first: Paloping Island. The small

community consisted of 13-15 families that all came from the larger area of northern Cumberland Sound. In 1966/ 67 the settlement got relocated to the area that is now known as Qikiqtarjuaq. The administrator organized the move and told families when it was their turn to move. The actual travel from Padloping to Qikiqtarjuaq however, was not organized at all and people had to find their own mode of transportation, mostly snowmobile or dog team. Furthermore, Inuit were encouraged to leave most of their equipment behind so that many families were struggling with maintaining their traditional hunting culture after they moved to Qikiqtarjuaq (RSQ 2010).

Qikiqtarjuaq was not only settled by families from Padloping Island. More Inuit from the Pangnirtung area moved there as well (RSQ 2010).

In this larger settlement social issues started to rise in particular alcohol abuse (RSQ 2010).

3.3.2.5.12 Rankin Inlet

In the 1950s the Kivalliq region saw a shift in centralization. During the whaling and trading days Chesterfield Inlet developed to a hub for many families along the northern Hudson Bay. The establishment of a hospital and later a residential school followed that trend.

However, in the 1950s, a nickel mine opened in its southern neighbor settlement Rankin Inlet which let Inuit from all over Nunavut move there to find employment in the new facility. The depopulation of Chesterfield Inlet was so large that hardly any residents stayed behind.

In opposite to the Nanisivik mine the mine operators did not seem to put much effort into acknowledging or accommodating Inuit culture and identity. McPherson (2003: 8, 10f.) describes Inuit staff as motivated and eager to learn but due to cross-cultural insensitivities, especially from the *qallunaat's* side many indigenous workers started to feel intimidated, afraid of their southern bosses and under great emotional pressure. Those coming from communities with a longer record of close Inuit-*Qallunaat* relationships, like Coral Harbor with its DEW-line site could adjust easier to the behavioral patterns of their southern foremen. At the same time southern workers often interpreted behavior like coming in late for

work or skipping work for hunting trips as lack of commitment to the employment at the mine. The overall impression of the Inuit workforce was that most Inuit did not identify themselves with their labour work (Damas 2002: 97).
In fact, it was not a lacking commitment to the job in the settlement but a very drastic adaptation process that Inuit had to go through. For example, following clock hours was of no relevance for life on the land and thus an unknown concept for Inuit that had to be learned first. Furthermore, people tried to juggle both a paid job and their hunting culture since this was in many aspects the key for male Inuit identity. Despite wage income and a new live that was based in a permanent settlement people of course kept valuing fur for clothing and their traditional diet whereas southern mine workers mainly relied on southern goods (McPherson: 2003: 8, 10f.).
The social cross-cultural gap widened further by a physical separation of Inuit and Non-Inuit workers. Separation also meant no participation of the *qallunaat* in community events (McPherson 2003: 11). As mentioned earlier, in places like Iqaluit the military actively encouraged separation of ethnic groups to protect the indigenous population from negative or confusing influences of the western personal, e.g. alcohol, sexual relationships or sexual exploitation because the western personal could have baited Inuit women with money, alcohol or drugs, things that were often desired among the indigenous population in the settlement but hardly available (Gordon Rennie 2009; McPherson 2003: 11). Since parallels are noticeable between the military‘s policy and the mining policy in Rankin Inlet one could assume that the mining policy was driven by similar intentions.
Although these western institutions tried to target a serious issue, the separation of both ethnicities never fully prevented the issues to arise and resulted at the same time in the establishment of two mono-cultural societies that missed out a learning process that would have fostered a greater sensitivity and understanding of the opposite culture[75].

[75] Here, we have a clear distinction between inter-cultural relationships during the mid 20th century and the whaling period in the Arctic. Although there were also cultural prejudices and misunderstandings between Inuit whaling crews and their southern co-workers and superiors, tensions were kept on a relatively low level because there was enough space for both cultures to learn about each other, build a base of mutual understanding and especially to give members of

In the 1960s banking services for Inuit employees were established in Rankin Inlet The bank account owners however were not provided with any form of financial management, so that it became the bank itself and thus the government who took over control of their clients‘ financial investments (McPherson 2003: 10, 13). This is just one more example of how Inuit were paternalized by southern administrators and service providers to the degree that individuals felt they were no longer in charge of their own destiny.
The Nickel mine closed in the early 1960s. After its closure, many workers had three opportunities: to stay in town and probably become unemployed, to move to other mining sites away from their home or to move to other communities nearby like Chesterfield Inlet or Whale Cove. All three scenarios became true: some stayed, and the others moved. Most former workers who remained in town did not want to move to other mining sites in Canada and started relying on social assistance instead (McPherson 2003: 14f.). Social issues like unemployment and poverty grew with the mine closure (Damas 2002: 113). And of course, violent incidents under the influence of alcohol also started to grow at that time (Damas 2002: 177; McPherson 2003: 14).
The economic situation only improved at the verge to the 1970s. Once the economic situation in Rankin got better again, many Inuit returned to Rankin Inlet (McPherson 2003: 14f.) and the town became such a buzzing place that Damas describes it as:
“a hive of activity of both employment and social events.“ (Damas 2002: 176).
On the downside, Inuit political participation remained very low. During and after the mining days town council meetings were held in English and *qallunaat* locals dominated political discussions and decision-making processes – a phenomenon that Damas (2002: 176f.) and McPherson (2003: 10) explain with the non-

both groups the feeling of being respected and of not being marginalized by the more powerful group due to certain cultural incompatibilities with the other. Among the whalers, Inuit assets such as the man power, the local knowledge and survival skills were acknowledged as essential contributions to the success of the whaling business whereas Inuit culture was not much considered being of any importance neither for the mining industry in Rankin Inlet nor for the development of a thriving settlement life.

confrontational nature of Inuit that contrasts the more aggressive western discussion culture.

Among Inuit in Rankin Inlet family relationships changed dramatically. The traditional extended family lost its importance and got partially replaced by the nuclear family model. Households were increasingly putting emphasis on acquiring material goods that they were less willing to share with neighbours, other families or members of the extended family. As a consequence, family members felt more and more estranged from each other (McPherson 2003: 21). Especially the men who were formerly self-sufficient hunters, overtook an attitude of dependency, felt incapacitated and marginalized by southern authorities, rules, and by programs with western supervisors to regulate Inuit activities.

Since work at the mine demanded a strong commitment to the job many men had neglected traditional activities such as hunting or maintaining dog teams and hunting equipment. Now, people were looking for new pillars that would define their personal identity. The roles and mind set of the miners' wives on the other side stayed more in line with traditional norms because in the ethnically separated community they had less contact with *qallunaq* culture and because the fundamentals of their role as the keeper of the household did not change much (McPherson 2003: 11).

Work related absence of the Inuit miners from their families – not all men lived permanently in the settlement close by the mine – and the neglect of the traditional land-based lifestyle estranged man and wife from each other and left the male children without their adult instructor to teach them the land skills. Not only did the male children miss out on learning traditional and thus central identificatory aspects of Inuit culture, they were also lacking a real father figure and a male role model who they could have turned to for guidance and advise during their adolescence (McPherson 2003: 11).

Ethnic integration problems among different Inuit groups and between Inuit and *qallunaat* continued to prevail a long time after the caste like living conditions in town vanished (Damas 2002: 177).

In the end, the situation in Rankin Inlet lead to a social change among local Inuit and it brought up many negative developments. Negative inter-cultural attitudes

and prejudices got amplified by missing cross cultural exchange and learning opportunities. Although mining did not affect too many settlements in the in the first two decades after World War II its basic effects on community building and *Inuit-Qallunaat* relationships are an important aspect of the history of Nunavut with valuable lessons that are equally relevant for the present. Residents of many different communities moved to work in the few mines so that way more communities and families were affected by the early mining days in the arctic than just the ones who were originally living nearby the mine site. Secondly, mining experiences a boom since the late 1990s. The sector is still growing, and more communities will have to deal with positive and negative impacts of increasing mining activities in Nunavut.

The case of the Rankin Inlet nickel mine that was operating in the 1950s and 60s provides a very good picture of the complex net of processes that effected Inuit workers and their families. Within six years, from 1956 to 1962 not only the number of Inuit employees rose from 6 to 80 but also the local population grew from over 500 people (McPherson 2003: 8). Since every employee was providing his nuclear and even extended family with money earned from the mining job the direct dependency of Inuit from the Rankin Inlet area rose very quickly. Many Inuit employees were trying to navigate through the dilemma of how to fulfil their duties at the job and the traditional demands of being a good hunter. The solution was found in the formation of a rotating labor pool so that some men could get a certain time off for hunting while others were filling in the position of the hunters until it was their turn to go hunting. Despite some misconceptions of Non-Inuit personal on the Inuit's work ethic, their eagerness to learn and motivation to do a good job seemed to have been high. (McPherson 2003: 8). Nonetheless relations with *qallunaat* foremen and co-workers were tense and quickly led to cultural misunderstandings especially in terms of interpreting *qallunaat* behavior to be aggressive or not and of high stress for Inuit workers (McPherson 2003: 10).

3.3.2.5.13 Naujaat

In Naujaat, formerly known as Repulse Bay the number of outside agencies was to a minimal degree until the 1960s (Damas 2002: 82, 171). Since Naujaat is often

regarded as a village with less social issues than others the lack of overwhelming foreign administration and regulations contributed to a healthier adaptation of an agglomerated live in a at first semi-permanent and later permanent community. Furthermore, Inuit were more closely included into the administration of their community. Political meetings for example were mostly held in Inuktitut (Damas 2002: 170).

Nonetheless, the population of Naujaat was also confronted with a lot of changes. Many families had to send their children to residential school instead of raising them and teaching them Inuit skills and values. As a consequence, a whole generation of children got lost in the cracks between Inuit and southern culture. Even after they returned to their communities, they were lacking so many traditional skills that they fell into an identity crisis (RNS 2004). One my interview partners who is originally from Naujaat described her own situation:

*„I went as far as grade 8. I struggled and still did not fit into the society of a new world that we called qallunaat way. Like in both cultures it's like the things that I have as an Inuk woman is not completed in both sides. (...)I am just like floating around it's like not really know where you fit 'cause you're not in this at all and I'm not in this at all. (...), I'm still trying to find some ways to make myself an Inuk woman, a real Inuk woman. and I can't 'cause I don't have the skills (...)"(*Inf 1 2008).

3.3.2.5.14 Whale Cove

Typically for Whale Cove is a mix of –miut groups including Inuit from various coastal communities and from the inland (Ennadai and Garry Lake area) (Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 237, 273, 285).

The community has no history of traditional occupation and can consequently be described as an artificial settlement. It was created in 1958 to release some population pressure from other Kivalliq communities. The foundation of the settlement was difficult and again without direct consultation or negotiation with the first families who wanted to move there (McPherson 2003: 27f.). The decision to actually build Whale Cove was a very quick one that did not include much preparation which caused many challenges to the relocatees who, due to lack of careful planning encountered unnecessary problems like shortage of supplies and

lacking infrastructure while moving to the new community (Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 275).
The hurried move by the government was thought to be necessary to relief the life-threatening economic situation of the Inland Inuit at Garry Lake and Henik Lake who should be moved to Whale Cove. Though western administration knew by now that relocating Inuit from the inland to the coast would mean a dramatic change for the effected people who had to get used to their new environment and who had to learn new coastal economy-based subsistence hunting techniques no better alternative could be found in the view of the paternalistically thinking government. However, the government took particular consideration to easily deliver social, administrative and health services in Whale Cove (Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 276f., 279).
Other than that, western authorities did not put much effort into overseeing the early days of setting up the new village (Damas 2002: 100 ff). The neglect was probably in many ways the best thing that could happen to the small population. Since Whale Cove was comprised of non-related families moving from different places into town, the social integration happened slowly. McPherson (2003: 28) mentions that the issue of social integration must have slowed down the early development of Whale Cove. But both the economic situation and the relatively low violence rates proof that the process was in the end successful. Economically the community could maintain a strong hunting culture (Damas 2002: 100ff.; TD 2008-2010).
Another noticeable circumstance that defined Whale Cove is the unusual fact that the Northern Service Officer D.W. Grant intentionally made an effort to encourage community and identity building among the relocated Inuit who were strangers to each other (Damas 2002: 100 ff.; Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 287). Nonetheless the community building and collaboration between the different –*miut*-groups didn't seem to have progressed as smoothly as Grant had hoped (Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 296). Similarly to Grise Fjord, it took a while until the community found together. In the end, integration worked out relatively well because local Inuit were given the opportunity to negotiate by themselves their social and cultural adaptation without too much influence by non-Inuit. According to Kulchyski and Tester (1994:

304) Frank Vallee who conducted research in Whale Cove and Rankin Inlet in 1959 and 1960 came to the same findings that support my hypotheses. Vallee is quoted that the indigenous population felt able to continue an economy pattern very similar to pre-settlement times. Furthermore, the minor presence of western authorities in Whale Cove left Inuit with a sense of self-responsibility for their matters which was in contrast to many other communities in Nunavut. Interestingly most communities who seem to have done economically a bit better in their early years also show lower numbers in violence and suicide statistics. On the other side, as the history of Whale Cove and other settlements shows one cannot reduce the social success of a community to its economic prosperity. Qikiqtarjuaq had a comparatively good economy but lots of white influence and is nowadays in the first third of the violence statistics, whereas Clyde River had no strong economy and covered nearly ¼ of its early income with financial governmental assistance (Damas 2002: 147) Still appears closer to the bottom in the actual statistics on social issues. The historic and present level of self-determination appears to be a more important factor for the social situation in the communities than economic success.

3.3.2.6 Relocation- Subsistence- Labor Work

The rapid decrease in fox fur prices in the Arctic in the mid 20th century became another severe issue for the Inuit subsistence economy. In the 1940s the fur trade started to decline until a decade later the fox trapping economy literally fell apart (Clancy 1987: 192; McPherson 2003: 1; Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 98). Many families got robbed of one of the most important sources of income to obtain western goods for maintaining a modern hunting economy with guns, engine powered vehicles and other equipment. Inuit families had to find new ways of securing financial resources. During the war times some families found employment at military stations and after the war the DEW-line stations that keep employing some Inuit (McPherson 2003: 1).
Whereas at the beginning of the settlement period most Inuit families followed a mix of subsistence hunting activities and temporary seasonal employment in the

newly expending communities (Damas 2002: 37; IQR 2010; RSQ 2010) their opportunities and motivation to maintain a hunting and trapping lifestyle locally varied but changed quickly once they were bound to the settlements and engaged into wage labour jobs (Damas 2002: 165ff.).

The welcomed introduction of motorized equipment such as outboard motors and snowmobiles in the 1960s did significantly extend the travelling range for hunters. Larger distances could be covered in a shorter time compared to the travel by dog team but meant at the same time higher operational costs to keep the engines running, buy spare parts and fix the machines. Consequently, the maintenance of motorized hunting and fishing equipment demanded regular wage income (Rasing 1994: 165; Wachowich 1999: 104).). That again bound people to the communities and to the adaptation of western procedures and lifestyle because the settlements were run and developed by southern administrators and their concepts of town development.

The large congregations of people in the villages who craved for country food[76] lead almost necessarily to the overhunting of the closer vicinity of the communities.

Many communities were hit with another serious disaster: the loss of the majority of dog teams that used to be essential for hunting and a cheaper alternative to the money eating engine powered snowmobiles. [77] In some instances, like the one of Cumberland Sound a dog epidemic that got spread most likely by a hunter who travelled from Iqaluit to Pangnirtung and stopped on his way in the camps whipped out pretty much all the dogs of the area within a few months. Without dogs, people in the camps could no longer maintain their subsistence economy and had to be relocated to Pangnirtung. Planes were flown into the camps to assist

[76] Country Food is a common term in Nunavut for all kinds of eatable resources (animals and plants) that were traditionally procured by Inuit.

[77] The loss of the sled dogs, its circumstances and the trauma for Inuit families that was caused by the excessive shooting of dogs through mainly the RCMP in front of the eyes of the dog team owners could fill a book by itself. In 2010 the Qikiqtani Inuit Association with its Qikiqtani Truth Commission released an extensive report on the dog slaughter and the transition period for the Baffin Region. For the purpose of my thesis, as I will explore in a bit more detail late in this chapter it shall be enough to mention that Inuit lost most of the sled dogs within a few years, that they felt very helpless about it and that the loss of hunting opportunities significantly contributed to the identity crisis, in particular of Inuit men (QIA 2010: 20f.).

with the relocation; due to the limited space on the aircraft men had to leave their hunting equipment, sleds, harpoons, tents, and the surviving dogs behind. In many cases the change from a land-oriented life to settlement life happened for those families within literally just a few hours (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 96). The consequences for the settlement of Pangnirtung were evenly dramatic. Within just 1 year from 1961 to 1962 its population increased from 98 residents 699 residents. A few years later about 300 people moved from the community back on the land. But by then they were no longer able to re-establish a permanent independent camp life so that in the following years they resettled into Pangnirtung again. An additional incentive for the final push into Pangnirtung came with a strong commitment by the government to build new houses for residents (Damas 2002: 183; Mancini Billson/Mancini 2007: 15ff).
At the same time the government started to implement mandatory school attendance to Inuit children. This meant that every child of a certain age was expected to go to school. Most communities got their own school building that included boarding homes so that children whose families were still living on the land could move into the community stay with foster families and participate in school. The consanguine families were only left with the choice to either accept that their children are being taken away visit them whenever they are coming into the settlement to trade or to follow their children or to settle down in the community (Milloy 1999: 254; Wachowich 1999: 109).
Especially during the early settlement period Inuit men and women were mostly able to take low paid jobs such as helpers at the HBC stores or janitors at public buildings like the local school or nursing station, or water truck drivers. The military of course also offered some local employment as machinery or radio communication operators. The RCMP needed a few Inuit, some of them got a better paid job as a special constable who acted as the link between the local population and the local *qallunaat* police officers (Gordon Rennie 2009; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 206; Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 82, 98; Wachowich 1999: 109).
Though the availability of wage-employment could vary between the communities many Inuit, even those who wanted to maintain a hunting, trapping, and fishing based lifestyle quickly recognized the assets of a regular income for the well-being

of their families (Freeman 1971: 44f.; Gordon Rennie 2009). On the other side, in the early days of the settlements paid jobs often did not generate enough money to fully feed a family and to make a healthy lifestyle in town. During the beginning of the settlements, paid workers were also regarded lower in status than fulltime hunters (Rasing 1994: 192). This however shifted into the opposite direction so that two decades later full-time hunters and their families were in many communities still valued but at the same time pitied for not being able to afford the same material goods as other paid Inuit personal (IGR 2016). The unsatisfactory situation with paid work continued for decades and could still be noticed in the 1980s in the circumstance that even those Inuit who had paid jobs hardly ever got into senior positions. Instead they were usually the "assistant manager" or "assistant mechanic" (Rasing 1994: 195). [78]

In addition, the demand for jobs was higher than the actual need which increasingly led to an unemployment situation in the communities. In 1960s few Inuit had the opportunity to earn money or to learn how to handle money which prevented the majority of Inuit to adapt to a society and economy that is strongly rooted in handling the abstract monetary resources and finances (Matthiasson 1992: 87; QIA 2010: 8).

A report from the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources states that

"One of the most disturbing aspects of the Arctic today is that many employable persons have no opportunity for regular productive work (...)" (Damas 2002: 184).

The need to procure financial income to afford a certain living standard in the settlements increased over time. Access to financial relief started in the 1960s and came from the government introducing payments of family allowances, old age pensions and welfare. The extra money drew families into the settlements to ask for these hand-outs (Clancy 1987: 192; Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 98).

[78] Nowadays, more and more Inuit find employment in leading positions especially in governmental and other political organizations such as the Regional Inuit associations. Many central positions however are still dominated by *qallunaat*: doctor, nurse, teacher, social worker, store manager just to name a few (TD 2008-2010).

Over time, in many communities the traditional hunt for land and sea animals for a daily diet lost on importance although the desire to go out and hunt or fish was and is still very prevalent among many men in the communities (TD 2008-2010). By the 1970s, most full-time hunting had switched to a pattern of wage employment during the week and part time hunting in the evenings and on weekends (Matthiasson 1992: 140; Rasing 1994: 168).
Another income was found in the art market so that up to today many male and female Inuit try to support their households with the production and sale of carvings, drawings or prints (Eber 1989: xi; Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 148; TD 2008-2010).

3.3.2.6.1 New roles and responsibilities

In the new settlements two parallel societies started to emerge that were interestingly comprised of the same members. As outlined in the chapter on the southern administration system in the communities, Inuit relocatees were expected to accept and take on a new political and communal system that corresponded with town life in southern cities. Aspects of that town life were for example living in single family houses, align the day to day routine to a 24-hour clock and 7 day week, obeying southern law, establishing city councils and advisory groups, having a paid job, sending children to school, delivering children in a hospital, receiving child care, pension and social benefits, eating at a table with southern cutlery. A lot more could be added to that list of southern cultural traits that were imposed on Inuit.
At the same time the same Inuit who were adapting to that new lifestyle, especially when other Non-Inuit were around, did not fully abandon their traditional customs.
Men still tried to go hunting and Inuktitut prevailed in many households as the main language. Social ties from the times in the camps were as much as possible kept alive. Traditional leaders for example remained very influential in the communities. They may not have become elected officials like councilors or other administrative leaders, but other Inuit would regularly seek their advice and consult with them on matters that seemed important to them (Rasing 1994: 192).

Overall the adaptation process in the villages appeared to be more challenging for the men than for women. The women's core chores: attending the household, raising children and making clothing stayed the same. Being able to take on paid employment provided an additional opportunity for them without significantly neglecting or losing their traditional family role. A probably bigger change however must have been adapting to a stronger patriarchal family governance. The combination of the missionaries 'preaching of a male dominated with many Inuit men desperately trying to enhance their deteriorating self-esteem fostered machoism like behaviour. While women found their way into labour work men saw themselves overwhelmed managing the conflicting systems of providing for the family through both hunting and community- bound labour. Without labour there was not enough money to afford modern hunting equipment that was necessary to travel longer distances to the game, now that hunters were permanently settled in one location instead of travelling through the seasons to the best hunting spots. The loss of most dog teams to diseases, and the killing of dogs by the police and their helpers further increased the need for motor powered sleds. The schedule of regular jobs did not leave much time to regularly hunt, bring home country food and teach the younger generation while hunting. And those who didn't adapt fast enough to the village life, western ways and language neither had a job nor could they go hunting anymore. The balance between both genders shifted and men became largely dependant on the women's salaries that they brought home. The formerly self-sufficient man who kept the family supplied with everything necessary and who was the decisionmaker in the traditional camp now felt forced into passivity, lost, robbed of his identity and left in a stage of uncertainty about who he really is (EWS 2009; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 18, 207; RSQ 2010).

As a result, many men released their anger and tried to re-establish the imbalance of the genders by physical dominating their spouses. Since men spend more time at home doing nothing instead of being able to hunt, tensions with their spouses could not be deescalated anymore. The ongoing feeling of marginalization toward southerners and the greater independence of women let tensions aggravate until they finally broke out under the influence of alcohol. The incidents of domestic

violence and alcohol abuse started rising exponentially (EWS 2009; LaPraire 1987: 123; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 18; Raising 1994: 189).

In the chapter on the whaling days I examined that violence among Inuit was very rare despite the presence of alcohol on the ships and the fact that Inuit and Non-Inuit crew members were regularly consuming hard liquor. About two generations later during the settlement period violence starts being closely connected with the consumption of alcohol. What we are seeing in those two chapters is the confirmation, that alcohol in itself is not the cause for violent behavior. The mental balance of many Inuit however seems to have dramatically shifted to the worse due to the many overwhelming experiences that started to set in with the arrival of the Canadian administration system and the establishment of towns based on a southern Canadian lifestyle.

This conclusion is also supported by Finkler's (1976: 149f.) observations who associates violent behavior not only with the consumption of alcohol in general but links it with a poor psychological or emotional state of mind in which the perpetrators were already in, before they started to drink alcohol.

Alcohol is a catalyst that makes those who already hurt inside lose their inhibition and turn violently. Observations in the 1950s (Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 297), 1970s (Finkler 1976: 158), and in the 2000s (Nunatsiaq News 2/23/2011; RCMP KS 2008) across different communities also show that violence increased in communities whenever more alcohol was available. This circumstance lets people just too easily conclude that alcohol causes violence, but it ignores the fact that the real cause for violent outbursts is buried in the people themselves who do already carry a heavy load with them but more or less manage to keep it bottled up while being sober.

The connection between high stress, frustration, low self-esteem and violence is also being discussed by Wardell (1966: 329) and LaPrairie (1987: 132) who explain that aggressiveness is a typical psychological reaction to tension and frustration.

Starting with the First Generation, violent patterns seem to have become inherited within some families who are passing on such behavior to the next generations. Consequently, the Second Generation and their children again suffer from the

consequences of their own physical abuse and from witnessing their mothers being abused by the fathers (Finkler 1976: 158).
As the dependence of both genders on money increased the interdependence of each other decreased. Single parents could support themselves and their children easier now. Food and clothing were accessible through the local stores and families did not have to cooperate with each other for survival. Consequently, western models of marriage and relationship that were rather based on mutual affection than mutual economic interdependence or arrangement by parents become more prevalent. Separations of couples had less economic impact on both partners which increased the separation rate (Rasing 1994: 189).

3.3.2.6.2 Public social status

As mentioned earlier, being considered a hunter still was an important part to obtain and maintain a high social status in the community and in some cases also for getting elected as a community representative (Damas 2002: 182; Rasing 1994: 192).
Wage labor jobs even if they were highly paid were not associated with the same high social status as hunting and living of the land. Instead, Inuit who lived a settlement-oriented life often fell victims of ridicule or gossip from more traditionally living Inuit. Labor work was viewed as giving up personal independence which was a vital aspect of traditional Inuit identity (Matthiasson 1992: 128).
Here one can find another example of double marginalization: First marginalization by the opposite culture because full equality never happened and secondly marginalization within the own culture because some people were denied of achieving a higher social status by trying to adapt to the modern life instead of following traditions.

3.3.2.6.3 Daily routine and new work ethics

Although life in the communities became guided by the clock pre-settlement traditions like having late visiting hours, extended get togethers, and staying up late at night (especially during the summer) prevailed. As a consequence children and adults often arrived late at school or work and found themselves in the

dilemma to negotiate between Inuit traditions and western expectations like for example being inhospitable, which is a serious social non-conformity in traditional Inuit culture, and send visitors away just to be in time for the job the next morning or be a good host and come to work late (Matthiasson 1992: 145).
The same phenomenon exists still today and keep creating many tensions between southerners, especially those unfamiliar with Inuit customs (TD 2008-2010).
While comparing Matthiasson's account with my observations I found the biggest difference in the work attitude that Inuit appeared to have had in the 1970s. Making over time, working on weekends or making up for the delay in morning seemed to have been the norm in Pond Inlet of the early 1970s whereas nowadays people seemed to be more caught up in frustration over *qallunaat* complaining that they are late in the mornings. In the afternoon many employees end their workday at the regular hour despite any morning delays and do not want to deal with the unpleasant consequence of overtime or extra work due to missing some minutes or hours in the morning. The situation became very obvious to me among students of the Nunavut Arctic College where whenever there was conflict about tardiness, being late, not doing homework etc. an extraordinary large percentage rather kept blaming the teacher's cultural insensitivity than ones' own lack of fulfilling necessary duties (TD 2008-2010).

3.3.2.6.4 Kinship ties

Another aspect of the formation of the communities was that extended families and kin groups who were highly dependent on ongoing cooperation on the land split up when moving into the village. If the members of the kin group were able to stay together in one community, they became separated by the new form of dwelling – single family units - so that family members were spread over the whole village and not living door by door anymore. The orientation to wage labor encouraged focusing on the nuclear family because now people could provide easier for themselves without the support of hunting companions or other collaboration partners (IQR 2009; Rasing 1994: 188).

In other cases, family members were moving to different, mostly neighboring communities[79]. Consequently, assisting each other with daily chores such as skin preparation or child rearing became more difficult. With the increasing absence of adult family members such as uncles or aunts who were integral parts of the traditional Inuit education system children and youth also lost parts of their resources for knowledge and skill accumulation (IQR 8: 2009). The sudden and not fully voluntarily chosen reduction from the extended family to a nuclear family lead to personal and collective feelings of grieve due to the physical loss of family members, loneliness and estrangement.

Considering the fact that being a teacher and advisor for younger family members was an integral part of the social role and thus identity of certain family members like parents, uncles and aunts it can be argued that the partial loss of that role must have been one more contributing factor next to many others that led to the frustration and identity crises of the affected individuals, a thesis that got directly validated by one of my Iqaluit informants (IQR 8 2009).

Those families who were not ripped apart by family members moving away could at least for a while maintain their close relations with relatives. Especially smaller communities like Padloping Island whose economic development progressed slowly felt that close community ties still kept existing. Nonetheless, the smaller communities also went through an adaptation process. First and foremost, the population of a certain area was giving up their semi-nomadic lifestyle and gathered in one location where people moved into government build single family housing units, so called matchbox houses (RSQ 2010).

The new settlement patterns restricted respectively ritualized certain interactions like visiting each other more than it was common on the land. Sundays for example became important days for family gatherings when extended families met after

[79] Neighboring in this context may be a misleading word. A typical example of an area where families moved to neighboring communities is North Baffin were many families have relatives in both Pond Inlet and Igloolik. Both communities however are separated by several hundred kilometers, the entire northern interior of Baffin Island and the waters of Fury and Hecla Strait so that regular visits were and still are a bigger enterprise that requires days of travelling (except one takes the plane), careful preparation and high costs for gas and travel equipment. Physical contact between family members in such communities is rare. The absence of beloved and needed family members just became easier to handle with the introduction of radio, Telephone and more recently internet connection (TD 2008-2010)

attending the church sermon (IQR 1 2010).
Since visiting played and basically still plays such an important part to manifest the unity of the extended family (also see chapter on 3Ds social rules and responsibilities) many families who could not longer maintain these visiting relationships were also more prone to losing their support network that was crucial on the land to keep a healthy balance between all family members.
Mixed ethnic families often experienced another traumatic effect of the new town life that focused so much on the nuclear family. The turnover of Euro-Canadian residents was always high in the communities. Even if *qallunaat* and Inuit engaged into relationships and had children together many southerners left the North after a while again and thus their Inuit families. Without the support of the larger family and the former partner *t* those families often struggled more than other residents with estrangement and identity crises (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 96).

3.3.2.7 Alcohol and drug abuse

Since the early settlement days many communities with a southern military presence like Resolute Bay, Iqaluit or other villages with nearby DEW-line sites were strongly exposed to alcohol (Damas 2002: 74; RSQ 2010). The three story barrack building of the American military that during the time of my research was known as the "Old (Nunavut Arctic College) Residence Building" had in the 1970s a bar on each floor. Each bar was reserved for a different military rank category, like the first floor for the air men personal, the second floor for the sergeants and corporals and the third floor for the officers (Gordon Rennie 2009). Although these bars were officially not accessible for Inuit residents of Iqaluit the presence of alcohol in the community was noticeable and available. Finkler (1976: 138) notes that the military bars were accessible. I have no information if the accessibility of the army barracks bars changed after a few years or if Finkler talks about other bars in Iqaluit. Either way, the influence of alcohol in most communities was so significant that already in the late 1950s it was recognized as a serious issue (Damas 2002: 50, 74).
When the Commissioner of the NWT, Stuart Hodgson introduced new liquor laws in Nunavut (that was back than still part of the NWT) based on the Alberta

legislation, he opened up the marked for the establishment of public liquor stores. The quantity of alcohol related incidents in communities with public bars and regular liquor orders increased rapidly so that violence in public and at home became common scenes across Nunavut (Gordon Rennie 2009).
Those who had a good picture of who they were and how to cope with life seemed to be less effected by alcohol than those who were struggling to find their new self in the changing society (IQR 2010; RSQ 2010).
At that state of redefining family, community and identity drinking enabled many people to forget about their grieving and the new world that looked so fundamentally different from what is has been on the land (TD 2008-2010; QIA 2010: 16).
Very quickly, many Inuit became violent when they could not cope with the economic, cultural and social transition, boredom and loss of meaning of their lives in the communities (Finkler 1976: 138).
By the end of the early settlement period illegal drugs also started to find their way into the communities (QIA 2010: 16). Some drugs were as in the example of Pond Inlet brought in by young Inuit employees working on a fly-in fly-out schedule on oil sites (Matthiasson 1992: 140). The alcohol issue kept also increasing further and became more accessible than before (Rasing 1994: 189).

3.3.2.8 Examples of well intended (governmental) initiatives lacking cultural and social sensitivity

Interactions between Inuit and Non-Inuit in the Canadian Arctic, especially since the arrival of the Canadian administration system were and very often still are shaped by policy development, and implementation of initiatives or programs that southern government workers deemed to be necessary for the future development and well-being of the Arctic with its indigenous people. However, these programs very often lacked in both proper consultation with the groups that the programs target and an in-depth understanding of the particularities of Inuit culture and their importance for the physical and mental health of the arctic population. Although many initiatives were very well-intended by the southern government personal, their implementation caused a lot of harm to Inuit society. Furthermore,

the terms under which the initiatives got implemented created among many Inuit the impression of being ignored, marginalized and patronized.
The following chapter shall describe a few cases of governmental actions that were based on very good intentions but pretty much backfired at the government and contributed to the failure of a positive cultural transition process for Inuit.

3.3.2.8.1 Hunting and trapping regulations

In 1924 the Northwest Territories Council passed a resolution regarding natural preservation areas that states "no persons other than Indians, Eskimos, or half - breeds" should be allowed to "travel, trade, or traffic in game preserves", and "no trading post should be established or maintained without the permission of the Commissioner" (Damas 2002: 32/ 33).
The intend of the resolution was to support indigenous groups in their traditional lifestyles by limiting the competition with non-indigenous trappers about furs and game.
Reducing competition might have been favourable for indigenous trappers. However the stricter rules on the establishment and maintenance of trading posts also decreased the number of active posts.[80] Since the non-indigenous trappers who used to work inside the natural reserves had to abandon their trap lines and there were not enough new indigenous trappers who would have taken over their trap line the remaining trappers had to go through significantly more hardship to run their business without the backup of the former neighbours. The extra challenges for a trapping enterprise did in many cases outweigh the presumed advantage for indigenous trappers by reducing their competition, especially in more remote areas where trading posts were scarce already.
A policy that was developed for the benefit of the indigenous population in the NWT backfired due to the lack of understanding the realities that Inuit, First

[80] Many people who are not familiar with the history of trapping in the North assume that trappers were operating completely independent just travelling back to the trading post to cash their furs and buying new items that they needed. The reality however, as I learned from Alaskan trappers and dog teamers is, that trappers maintained close networks among each other. Being able to reach the cabin of the neighbouring trapper was essential for the survival in emergency situations as well as for undertaking longer trips to the next trading post. A network of cabins meant safety, shelter and quick rely of messages to and from the outside world.

Nations and Metis hunters were facing in the north (Damas 2002: 32/ 33).

3.3.2.8.2 Relocation and Communities

As we have seen in the chapter before, the government felt it had good reasons to encourage the congregation of Inuit in centralized locations, such as preventing starvation periods on the land by regular food supplies, providing housing, medical and health services for Inuit, job training and schooling for the younger generations.

Many bureaucrats were fully aware of the stress that cultural change can have on indigenous societies. The Canadian history of the 19th century provided enough examples of the disruption of First Nation cultures by forcing them into an adaptation process to southern Canadian culture (Milloy 1999).

Although administrators knew of the dangers of such processes, the Inuit population did not get spared from a cultural and social transition process that came along with the break up and dislocation of extended families, traumatic experiences of many children when they got send to residential schools or similarly painful times for the whole family when one or more relatives were send to tuberculosis treatment to a southern hospital without any opportunity to keep in touch with each other (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 6).

"Almost all movements of people during the fifties (…) were those of migration. (…) After an initial expansion of work during construction phases, a large unemployed population remained, and problems of housing, education, and sanitation developed. (…). The problems contingent upon relations between elements of two diverse ethnic populations in close contact with one another."

(Damas 2002: 79).

On top of inter-ethnic issues and a crisis of cultural identity the population in the communities exploded. Within thirty years the population on Baffin Island agglomerated from formerly roughly 100 camps into 13 permanent settlements and the population quadrupled (QIA 2010: 11). In particular the increase of governmental welfare hand-outs, new housing, health-care services and compulsory education drew people from the land into the communities (Damas

2002: 181, 194).
Damas (2002: 194) agrees with Matthiasson, who did research in Pond Inlet, that in-gathering in the Baffin region and Kitikmeot mostly happened voluntary, but this does not mean that the families who were moving into the settlements fully understood und thus agreed with the all consequences that the new settlement life would have ready for them.
Assuming both scholars are right, this might explain why many Inuit in retrospect describe the movement to the settlements as a very forceful process that did not happen with their consent (RSQ 2010).
Relocation especially in the Kivalliq however, was shaped by removal, deconstruction and resemblance of Inuit groups with the result of breaking up the traditional social concept close kin-relationships respectively kin-dependencies, psychological disorientation, economic disorientation through dislocation, and social conflicts (Kulchyski/Tester 1994: 206).

3.3.2.8.3 Inuit political participation
In 1952 the Eskimo Affairs Committee was founded with the task to find solutions for pending problems among the arctic population such as settlement policy, medical, educational and welfare matters. Aside from infrastructural challenges the Canadian administration felt for several years that Inuit were not sophisticated enough to participate equally in discussions on these affaires (Damas 2002: 46). In 1953 already, shortly after the committee got implemented it identified that governmental health care, education, and social assistance policy encouraged Inuit to become dependent on governmental support and thus disabled them from staying self-sufficient, independent Canadian citizens. Most of the discussions – of course without direct Inuit input- centered around efforts to further educate Inuit in western lifestyle (Damas 2002: 47).
During the end of that decade the government's perspective started to shift towards the inclusion of representatives from various Inuit communities across the NWT into the Eskimo Affairs Committee. In 1959, at it's tenth meeting finally a group of four Inuit representatives from Rankin Inlet, Fort Chimo and Aklavik were invited. None of the Inuit had a strong hunting background. Instead they all

were strongly adapted to southern culture (PAC 22/335b; 22/253d).
Since the majority of the meeting discussions centred around the McKenzie District but the indigenous delegation was comprised of Inuit from across the Canadian Arctic the McKenzie Region was certainly underrepresented. From a governmental perspective the Canadian state had done its diligence by granting Inuit a voice on the discussion table. The input of the Inuit delegation however turned out to be small since a unrepresentative group was chosen to speak up on matters that a) according to traditional laws Inuit felt they had no right to decide on (Inuit from other regions usually would not decide on matters concerning an area that is not their own) and b) the chosen Inuit were not necessarily traditional leaders who were sanctioned by their communities to speak on their behalf (Clancy 1987: 193f.).
On a local level, administrators also tried to create local Inuit advisory committees who were supposed to work with the hamlet councils towards improving the quality of life for Inuit in the communities. Depending on the respective settlement the committee's success could differ a lot.
In Iqaluit for example a group of well-respected men and former camp leaders, like Nakasuk had some influence at city council meetings (IQR 2010). Rankin Inlet and Igloolik on the other hand seemed to be more strictly governed by western administrators who formally involved Inuit in discussions but mostly decided in their own sense (McPherson 2003: 11; Rasing 1994: 196).
All the way into the 1960s, the level of political participation and self-sufficiency of Inuit, plaid a strong factor for the success of strengthening the social health of the newly formed villages (Damas 2002: 130).
The Canadian administration's goal of allowing increasing political participation of Inuit was to foster the transition of Inuit society towards a westernized system. In many cases Inuit who were encouraged to take matters into their own hands where still monitored and guided by non-Inuit "experts" who made sure that Inuit self-determination would proceed into the expected direction (Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 306). This form of guidance once again was like a trap for the positive development of the communities. Allowing political participation was a very positive initiative that really contributed to a healthy development of some

communities, as long as Inuit leaders were given the freedom to make their own decisions. Once southern officials overruled or redirected indigenous decision-making efforts the "old" dynamic of marginalized Inuit who felt forced to follow the *qallunaat's* word was re-established right away again. With other words, the western administration system did not allow Inuit enough self-representation neither on a local nor on a regional level (Clancy 87: 192).
In most cases southern administrators were culturally too ignorant and too ethnocentric to understand how insufficient and devastating their endeavors of increasing indigenous political participation were for the self-perception of Inuit (Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 206).
Another aspect that shaped political participation was the fact that those Inuit who adapted well into the western system were more likely to successfully participate in local politics than the traditionalists. Consequently, even if Inuit were granted active political involvement their mind-sets and goals often corresponded more with the ones of western society than with the ones of their own ethnic group (McPherson 2003: 18f.).[81]
The history of Pond Inlet proves again that development processes are not always the same everywhere. In this case the complete opposite happened. The last permanent outpost camps of the area were abandoned in the 1970s. Until then, the most political influence of Inuit came from those who were living in town for quite a while and who were showing a strong affinity to southern Canadian lifestyle. When the leaders of the last camps moved into Pond Inlet the more traditional families quickly gained influence and substituted soon the previous indigenous elite in town (Matthiasson 1992: 154). Upon the in-gathering by people of the last outpost camps the group of the more traditional oriented locals grew big enough that they became the strongest social and political force in town which allowed them to make some decisions under consideration of the traditional Inuit normative system.

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[81] Interviewees at my 2004 study in Iqaluit on political processes in Nunavut expressed the same arguments and complained that many Inuit political leaders were too estranged from their own culture since they got into politics so that they can hardly represent the interests of their indigenous voters.

Matthiasson (1992: 154) further elaborates that political participation of local Inuit was strong in the 1970s but the federal and territorial government kept holding onto certain exclusive rights to influence local decision-making processes.

3.3.2.8.4 Fighting tuberculosis epidemic

Along with the *qallunaat* also came a variety of illnesses that Inuit had no resistance or immunity to. Tuberculosis (TB) is one of them. In the 1950s the illness had a very significant impact on the Inuit personally and on their social system (Rasing 1994: 154).

In 1943 Nunavut had only two sanatoriums: one in Pangnirtung (18 beds) and one is Chesterfield Inlet (30 beds). Not even a decade later the poor coverage with hospitals across the Arctic was still the same. By then 20 percent of the population was identified sick with Tuberculosis (McPherson 2003: 2). During the peak of the TB epidemic one out of every seven Inuit had to be treated, most of them in southern hospitals or sanatoria. The average length of a hospital stay in the south for Inuit was about 2.5 years (Rasing 1994: 154f; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 106).

The entire hospitalization experience must have felt very intimidating to Inuit. People were typically assessed by doctors who travelled the Arctic on the ship C.D. Howe. While it was anchoring nearby a community Inuit were invited to board the ship and got tested for TB. Often, when someone's tests came back positive, they were not allowed to leave the boat anymore. Families had to quickly say goodbye to each other before they parted not knowing where the partner, parent or child that was kept on board was going to or when they would come back (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 134).

Due to the extent of the epidemic, Inuit patients were distributed across different hospitals which meant that only one or two Inuit from the same area would be in the same hospital. Southern hospitals were not prepared to treat patients with poor or no English or French language skills that also depended on a very different diet and had very different customs. The patients themselves were very often suffering from loneliness, estrangement, and homesickness. They missed their usual nutrition (country food); even heated rooms and single person beds with

mattresses on top where so unfamiliar to the Inuit that it added up to their foreign and intimidating hospital experience (Gordon Rennie 2009; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 107, 110).
Their families who could not follow to the South were left behind struggling to survive because they were lacking their male provider or female caregiver. Remaining families who could not rely on a lot of support from other family members often turned to the Canadian welfare system to get some relief for their economically instable situation (Damas 2002: 41). The food and housing crises might have been relieved through the programs but therefore the children of the families were missing out on an integral part of traditional socialization since their main teacher had to stay behind on the ship.
In the later years. politicians and administrators discussed a lot if sending Inuit to southern hospitals for treatment was a good move. The longer people, especially children, stayed in the south the more likely they lost connection to their own traditions and took over more and more Euro-Canadian attributes (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 107). On the other side the North was not equipped for a large epidemic and long-term treatment of that many patients.
A big failure from the government's side was certainly the minimalistic communication with the affected families. On board of the C.D. Howe interpreters were often rare or not sufficiently trained (Gordon Rennie 2009). Patients were not given proper time to organize their family matters before leaving the North and the remaining families were left in limbo which caused an incredible amount of stress and added to the imbalance of power between Inuit and Non-Inuit in the North (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 108).
Basically, the removal of single family members to hospitals brought lots of social disruptions for the families including a huge reverse culture shock for those who got released from the sanatorium and brought back North after two or more years of being hospitalized. Furthermore, as we just saw the split up of families created new challenges for the welfare system (Kulchyski/ Tester1994: 48; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 108; McPherson 2003: 2).
Tuberculosis and starvation seem to be two of the most common health reasons why Inuit resettled into the communities. Other illnesses such as measles had very

similar effects on the population. One account from the Igloolik area in 1961 describes for example that many families from the surrounding camps were brought into Igloolik for measles treatment. Although the patients did not travel further south, it also took them a while to adjust to the new environment with the permanent presence of *qallunaat* with their language and laws and also to many unknown Inuit families surrounding them. The account does not mention any negative economic impact by leaving an unattended camp including the dogs behind –most equipment could be carried to Igloolik. Even if there was no serious economic disadvantage for the sick families a social insecurity caused by the settlement experience was certainly present for them (Wachowich 1999: 102).

3.3.2.8.5 Dog slaughter

The massive loss of sled dogs during the early settlement days is for Inuit a very emotional, highly debated one. Even though the disappearance of dogs happened relatively recently, a lot of unconfirmed stories rank around it and make it very difficult to draw a clear and final picture of what happened, who made what kind of deliberate decisions, what was miscommunication and misunderstanding and how much injustice was involved in the pain that many Inuit felt and still feel with remembering the „dog slaughter".

The undebatable facts are:

Until the mid 20th century sled dogs were a key component for successful hunting and travelling. Dogs assisted the hunter in finding seal holes on the ice, in wintertime they pulled sleds on hunting and trading trips or when the camp was moved and in summertime, they carried dog packs with gear when the family was travelling.

The presence of sled dogs was so large in Inuit culture that the animals were incorporated into mythological (creation) stories (Tester 2010: 132).

Another fact is that within the decade of the 1960s most of sled dogs in the Eastern Canadian Arctic had disappeared which caused a tremendous trauma to Inuit. Despite the upcoming of snow machines people still felt that the loss of their dog teams posed an immediate threat to their ability to depend on country food and to

carry forward an important aspect of their traditional culture (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 97f; Tester 2010: 132).
Furthermore, there is a lot of evidence that suggests that there was more than one reason for the disappearance of dogs and that in many cases several factors plaid a role. There is no doubt that dogs were shot by western enforcement authorities. Additionally, there are instances like the outpost camps around Cumberland Sound were most dogs died because of a disease that spread from camp to camp (Tester 2010: 139).
The disappearance of dogs cannot be denied but the causes for their disappearance are the point were stories start differing a lot, depending on who is being interviewed.
When Inuit started congregating in the communities they brought whenever possible their most valued goods with them. Of course, they also moved their dog teams into town. With so many families settling in one location many communities rapidly became the home of hundreds of dogs. Western administrators were concerned about potential health risks that the dogs might pose to humans and other dogs and dog teams. Out in the camps dogs were mostly kept lose. With so many dogs running loose in the settlements, dog packs could get into goods that were stored nearby houses. Or they could assault other dogs or humans, in particular children (Gordon Rennie 2009, Gjerstad/ Sanguya 2010). Sick dogs could also easily spread infections to other dog teams (Tester 2010: 139).
As a consequence the government of the Northwest Territories ratified the so called “Dog Ordinance“ that from now on regulated all dog matters in the communities.
Key policies became that all sled dogs needed to be chained up in town and dog teams that were driving or parked in or nearby town needed to be supervised by someone who was at least 16 years or older (Gjerstad/ Sanguya 2010; Tester 2010: 136).
The Inuit side of the dog experience was shaped from a very different viewpoint. First of all, the general language barrier often made it difficult to explain western policies to Inuit who moved into town or who just stopped at the trading post before heading back into their outpost camp. Not every administrator was

sophisticated enough in Inuktitut to understandably explain the law (Tester 2010: 134). Inuit on the other side also struggled a lot to properly explain their concerns to the administrators without the main points being lost in translation of poor interpreters. The cultural paradigm to avoid direct confrontation by not directly addressing a problem added to the complications of Inuit-Non-Inuit communication.

Secondly, most Inuit who already felt confronted with a lot of strange customs in town that they somehow had to cope with now experienced another very personal slap in the face when western authorities demanded from them to change their ways of handling dogs. It is here of particular importance to understand some Inuit customs of social curtesy and respectful interaction with each other. As pointed out in the earlier personal freedom of the individual is a very high good in Inuit culture. No other adult is generally allowed to interfere with personal matters such as how to train, maintain or keep one's dog team. Neither can a father be told when he deems his children old and thus responsible enough to take over crucial household chores, as for example attending a dog team (IQR 8 2009). The dog ordinance as well as many other western policies regarding different aspects of society did undermine exactly this kind of Inuit social convention on adulthood. Furthermore, if communication kept failing the Inuk who already felt insufficiently heard and misinterpreted finally helplessly witnessed that their means of transportation and hunting was often shot by the RCMP or special constables. Even if communication was successful to the point that Inuit understood that they were expected to tether up their dogs the fact remains that the way of communicating and enforcing that policy was very disrespectful regarding Inuit customs of adult interaction. Also the new laws relate to new concepts of *"space and responsibility"* that were unknown to Inuit till then (Tester 2010: 136), like particular responsibilities of tenants or home owners over the entire house lot, responsibilities of the municipality over the physical area of municipal lands etc. In addition, chaining up the dogs does require access to the proper hardware (chains, links, bolts etc.). All this costs money and requires proper space to keep the dog team nearby someone's home. Town plans were not designed to accommodate dog teams near the owner's home and money was scarce among most Inuit anyways.

The city's administrative system also usually did not provide any support for Inuit who were moving into town. Consequently, it was nearly impossible for a hunter to comply with all the new policies which often resulted in the loss of his team, either by letting the dogs lose, the RCMP or special constable shooting the dogs, or the owner respectively another family member disposing of the animals (Gjerstad/ Sanguya 2010; QIA 2010:25).
The most compressive document on the dog slaughter in the Eastern Arctic is the report of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission, published in 2014. The report also acknowledges the trauma that Inuit experienced through the loss of the dogs and the cultural injustice caused by the actions of the town administrators and their staff. It also clarifies that there is no evidence that the Canadian government deliberately commissioned the killing of the dogs to keep Inuit in the settlements so that they would abandon their traditional lifestyle (QIA 2010: 25; QIA 2014: 61f.)
There are more aspects to the matter of conflicting interests and miscommunication regarding the dog issues in the 1950s and 1960s that led to the killing of many sled dogs by RCMP or other designated authorities. The section here should be sufficient to support the central scope of my work that the whole story of Inuit – Qallunaat relationships is shaped by a very complex situation of severe communication issues, lack of understanding of both partys' realities and needs and differing perceptions of the same situation.

3.3.2.8.6 Old Age Pensions, Social Welfare and Family Allowance

The social welfare politics of the Canadian government during the 1960s played a major role in the increase of social issues in the northern settlements. Not everyone who was willing to give up their traditional hunting economy found a permanent job in the new westernized system. Consequently, the amount of unemployed Inuit grew with the increase of permanent Inuit residents in the communities and allowances became one of the main sources of income for Inuit (Damas 2002: 51; Rasing 1994: 152).
Although Inuit where entitled to receive Old Age Pension payments since 1927 it was not until the 1950s that regular governmental payments were handed out to

them (McPherson 2003: 4). With the Introduction of the Family Allowance Act in 1944 (Damas 2002: 39) Inuit started to receive both forms of social support on a regular base (Damas 2002: 39f.; McPherson 2003: 1, 2). These payments led to some confusion among Inuit: why getting paid for children or for having reached a certain age?

Oftentimes financial relief, family allowance, and money for traded furs was handed out by the same institutions and people when Inuit were visiting a settlement or when a camp was being visited by western personnel. Since Inuit were not familiar with the western institutionalized concept of the state taking over certain responsibilities for its residents, they must have felt that money was just freely given to them by *qallunaat*. When considering the two very separate social and legal systems of western and Inuit society it seems very likely that oftentimes Inuit just saw money coming in but could not fully differentiate between the different types of financial assistance which again could easily lead to misconceptions on Inuit – *qallunaat* "sharing practices" and confusion why though in need of more money Inuit were in some cases not given extra money whereas in other cases, maybe even without a direct necessity to obtain western support, they were given *qallunaat* money or goods (Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 257).

Gordon Rennie, one of the last HBC traders in Iqaluit describes for example a typical scene from the time when Inuit had their first encounters with the idea of currency:

" For some time, it was only issued by the RCMP using a voucher system, with the voucher being taken by the recipient to the Hudson's Bay Company for trade. When the RCMP would make visits around the camps they would have to tell people how much money they had accumulated." (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 161)

The Hudson's Bay Company typically worked with different tokens that were associated with a certain money value. The tokens were not given to the Inuit trappers but stayed on the counter and were handled by the HBC clerk. That way the trader respectively the HBC kept in control the cash flow to Inuit, assisted them in understanding the value of their furs and goods and also prevented that cash would be lost on the land or in the camps (Gordon Rennie 2009).

Jacopie Adamie from Iqaluit describes how the HBC trader handed out to him a large lump sum of money to his 16th birthday. The money was the Family Allowance that western administrators had calculated he had accumulated up until then (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 65).
There are many more of these stories for example from Pond Inlet (Wachowich 1999:77) that all have in common that Inuit who visited the HBC post for trade received (from their perspective) out of nowhere an unusually large amount of money for some random circumstance, like the number of children that the family had or the certain age of a person.
The introduction of Family Allowance money which was paid in real cash marked for many Inuit the first time that they received currency that does not have much of a physical but a lot of theoretical value (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 102f.).
The extra flow of money certainly provided families with more opportunities to purchase western goods that they may not have been able to afford otherwise (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 102). The idea of saving money for later or accumulating it was not very widespread (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 140).
Early on, administrators were concerned that too many financial allocations could jeopardize the self-sufficient lifestyle that Inuit mostly maintained while hunting and trapping (Clancy 1987: 194). Already in 1946 administrators discussed that the payments might

*"impair the industry of the natives and develop a class of people who would spend their time in the vicinity of the trading post waiting for government aid." (*Damas 2002: 108).

Consequently, the Arctic Council set up several rules that were supposed to regulate what goods the Inuit could spend their allocations on (Clancy 1987: 194).
I would even go so far and claim that the majority of Inuit is still not fully accustomed to
It was not only due to the Family Allowance payments but over time more and more financial support reached Inuit such as crises relief payments or goods at times of subsistence crises, Old Age Allowances, cheap housing and various credits

such as the Eskimo Loan Fund to start up a life in the settlement. But most of these credits were never paid back and their pay back was not enforced (Damas 2002: 111 f., 115, 121).

Although the Canadian government tried to bring positive change and financial relief to Inuit by introducing all the various financial benefits that every other Canadian citizen can access, too, the extra money drove many families even further into a state of dependency on western support (Damas 2002: 72, 109f.).

As accounts from those Inuit who experienced the introduction of family allowance cheques show, families quickly relied on the extra handouts when they did their calculations for basic survival purchases such as ammunition, tools, goods like flour or tea and clothing (Matthiasson 1992: 142; Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 141).

The Canadian government also used certain payments to influence Inuit decisions. For example, if Inuit did not send their children to school, the parents were cut off family allowance until they reversed their decision. Consequently, traditional camping and moving patterns had to be given up because most families did not want to leave their children behind in the permanent communities (McPherson 2003: 3; Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 72; Wachowich 1999: 108).

Apphia Awa describes a third aspect of the social support system in the settlements. She mentions how she and her husband were not able to receive some financial assistance as long as they were not formally married. She names this economic disadvantage as the main reason why her husband and she agreed to Christian marriage (Wachowich 1999: 112).

Another important aspect of social welfare program was certainly the construction of social housing units for Inuit families. The improved housing conditions, in comparison to life in tents, *qammait* or igloos were in some regions very strong driving factors for families to move into the settlements (Damas 2002: 156).

3.3.3 Summary

To understand the present issues in the communities one has to look at both, present contributing factors that keep negatively affecting young and old and at contributing factors that hit the first generation of Inuit that had regular and

intense contact with *qallunaat*. Both, nowadays Inuit and the first generation were respectively are confronted with many similar challenges that question their personal and cultural identity when interacting with *qallunaat.* Even more important might be the fact that many Inuit of the "first generation" who could not find healthy solutions to cope with the rapid change of lifestyle and culture were developing serious issues such as alcohol abuse, domestic violence, suicidal behavior that their children were to experience as normal behavior (RSQ 2010). These children also unintentionally passed their issues on to the next generation until today where we have the third or fourth generation of Inuit who experience various kinds of abuse, repeated struggles with the justice system, estrangement from the educational system and lacking support and guidance from the family. When examining the early days of Inuit-qallunaat relationships one notices a big shift in the dynamics between both cultures after the whaling crews left and when western administrators became the main representatives of Non-Inuit culture in the North. The structural similarities and differences that determined contact between Inuit and each of these two groups provide a helpful base to analyse under which circumstances cross-cultural contact does work out and where it disrupts a culture to the extend that its society There is more people together at one place for an extended amount of time than Inuit were used to experience.
The structural similarities of both time periods are:

- In the overwintering camps of the whalers many Inuit families who were not all related but oftentimes strange to each other[82] suddenly found themselves living together,
- People of both cultures: Inuit and *qallunaat* were living together
- Many new rules that governed the daily life in the winter camps and on board of the ships during the summer months were introduced by the southern whaling crews.
- The highest authority for the time of collaboration was a non-indigenous leader. The vessel captain had the final authority over all people on board.

[82] Like in the case of Inuit from the Kimmirut area who were overwintering with Inuit from the Naujaat area and with *qallunaat* whalers in the Kivalliq region (Eber 1989:87f.).

- Alcohol was readily available and regularly consumed by Non-Inuit and Inuit alike.

Based on these circumstances one would assume that the winter camps of the whalers must have experienced similar social challenges like the permanent settlements, in particular jealousy about Inuit wives between Inuit and white whaling crew members; Inuit feeling overwhelmed by the many other people around them, confusion regarding traditional and actual authorities, difficulties to adapt to new rules that differ from traditional Inuit social values and rules. Interestingly, as Eber's (1989) summary about the whaling era shows, none of that seemed to have had a devastating affected on the temporary settlements.

First, of all Inuit made the free choice to work with the whaling crews under authority of the captain. They learned very quickly the terms of what it meant to work for and on a whaling ship and were willing to adapt to the introduced changes.

If an Inuit family did not want to work for the whalers, they could continue their previous life without having to worry about any sanctions from other Inuit or the *qallunaat*, which stands in contrast to the compulsory policy of adaptation in the permanent settlements.

Although the captain was the head authority over his indigenous and non-indigenous crew his say was limited to work related matters and did not directly interfere with Inuit socialization, family values, religion, nutrition, or language preservation. In addition, mutual respect by both cultures and cultural exchange in particular music, clothing, nutrition and even to a certain extend religion was prevalent on the ships. This does not mean that Inuit and *qallunaat* always understood each other, but they mostly accepted each other.

The permanent settlements instead were and partially are determined by a one-way street where white culture is imposed on Inuit culture.

Furthermore, Inuit did not become marginalized in these multi-cultural whaling communities. It was mostly the camp leaders and/ or *angakkuit* who often became shipmates and thus held relatively high ranks within the entire ship crew. Aside from the formal intermingling of native and non-native authorities Inuit where hired due to their extraordinary expertise in guiding, hunting, survival and

because they were hard workers who afterwards got (in their own eyes) fairly compensated for their service. Of course, Inuit new about their crucial role for the whaling business. Consequently, they were fairly included in the economy of the whaling business.
Inuit were also in an economically stable situation whereas moving to the later permanent settlements usually meant huge economic insecurity. While they were on the ships they were fed by their employers and if time allowed, they could also hunt for themselves. During the winter months it was mostly the Inuit with their hunting skills who made it possible for the whalers to anchor in the ice and survive till next spring.
Although alcohol was often present on the whaling vessels it did not have the same destructive effect on so many Inuit individuals as it did in the permanent settlements. Inuit were still in the state of social and economic health which included a high level of occupation of everybody during the days in contrast to the "nothing to do" feeling in the permanent communities.
Considering the size of the temporary settlements it is obvious that they were much smaller than the permanent settlements. This makes it difficult to predict how much the growth of communities matters for the successful transition respectively adaptation of Inuit society other factors like cultural equality, acknowledgement and self-determination are in place.
There was also no foreign law governing all aspects of community life. Instead, Inuit (extended) families could keep on practicing their own socialization without much regard to their other Inuit neighbors' or the white whalers.

3.3.4 "Second Generation": "They treated us like we belonged to them, not to our parents"[83]

3.3.4.1 Western education and schooling

Until the introduction of residential schools, the eagerness of Inuit to participate in western education was larger than after. Most of the Canadian Inuit adult population in the 1960s was literate already before official schools were build and before Inuit children were forced to attend school (Briggs 1970: 19)

[83] (Wachowich 1995: 195)

Inuit who wanted to maintain a live in the outpost camps had to leave their children who were in schooling age behind in the settlements (Wachowich 1999: 106). They were forced to attend federal day schools (Wachowich 1999: 152). Like in the case of Igloolik the local school only included the first 6 grades. For further education, children were sent to residential schools like the one in Churchill. There the entire social environment became even stranger than in the northern settlements. Now there were more children from other parts of the North, including First Nation children. Those children who were not used to adapting to strangers and large crowds became very homesick and afraid of their new environment (Wachowich 1999: 106).

3.3.4.1.1 The school system and congregation of families in the settlements

Basically, there were two types of schools in the North that were at first mostly operated by Christian congregations: day schools and residential schools. The earliest schools of both types were built before World War II but after the war the residential school system moved more and more into the focus of southern administrators (Milloy 1999: 240). Depending on the kind of residential school, its location and student capacity some students lived in school residences and hostels whereas other students where boarded with local families who acted kind of as foster family (Pauktuutit n.y.: 8).

Driven by the thought that irregular attendance and the children's daily or seasonal involvement in economic activities at their parents' camps on the land made consistent schooling in the settlements very difficult, the church intended to pull children out of their family responsibilities and cluster them in the settlements. In opposite to many southern residential institutions for First Nations and Métis the northern ones were also open for non-indigenous children, especially orphans and children of southern personal working in the North (Milloy 1999: 240, 253; Rasing 1994: 153). Another argument that was made at the time in preference of residential institutions over other types of schooling or no schooling was the improvement of the sanitary conditions for children that came along with their removal from the camps to cleaner and healthier accommodations in town (Milloy 1999: 247).

Since the Canadian Government, one of the main funders for northern schools, still followed it's policy of dispersal which included the idea of Inuit maintaining a hunting and trapping lifestyle away from permanent settlements, politicians were caught in between the policy of dispersal and the enforcement of schooling for indigenous children. Consequently, as in the example of the Turquatil Hall in Chesterfield Inlet they came up with a compromise for the schooling system to assure close contact with children and their families and their involvement into the families traditional economy: Those children coming from the land should be schooled in town for 6 months of the year whereas they could stay with their parents for the other half of the year (Milloy 1999: 241).
Therefore, day schools were established in most Nunavut communities. Furthermore, a web of several residential schools was spread across the North, from the Yukon Territory to the Hudson Bay including Chesterfield Inlet in 1953 and later another residential institution in Iqaluit, 1965[84] (Milloy 1999: 240). Inuvik hosted a similar institution like Chesterfield Inlet. Although I cannot speak about the 1950s 10 to 20 years later children from the Netsilik and Back River area were sent to the school in Inuvik during the fall and winter season and were then brought back to their families in spring (Briggs 1970: 19).
Since the Iqaluit school was established relatively late, prior to that children from the Baffin region were send out to the vocational school in Churchill (Milloy 1999: 245).
In addition, 11 small residences hosting between 11 and 25 children were created in the Arctic also mostly serving the Kivalliq and Qikiqtani. They were run by local indigenous or non-indigenous housekeepers, mostly female. Because they were located in northern communities the Government was hoping to bring some relief to the children and their parents by leaving the students relatively close by the outpost camps (Matthiasson 1992: 112; Milloy 1999: 246).
Most of Apphia Awa's children were attending schools in the nearest permanent settlement. But her account on the family's schooling experience illustrates very

[84] Plans for the construction of a residential school in Iqaluit were already made in the mid 1950s but it took another 10 years until all financial and administrative questions were resolved and the school could finally become realized (Milloy 1999: 245).

vividly that many adults and children still felt heart broken when the parents and children got separated. Although the children staid in the North their parents were too busy operating their hunting/ trapping camps so that visits in the settlements occurred maybe twice or three times a year (Wachowich 1999: 106ff.).
Milloy (1999: 247) describes a similar situation for Iqaluit and Frobisher Bay and points out that the resistance of camp families to let their children permanently attend school could only be reduced when they knew that the local hostels where either run by a regionally well-respected Inuk or that the children could stay with relatives who had already moved to the settlement.
By 1964, 75% of the 6 to15 year old Inuit were registered in the schools (Pauktuutit n.y.: 8f.). Over time, more and more families wanted to be permanently reunited with their children and followed them into the settlements (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 99).
Damas (2002: 182) argues that "*schools brought a certain degree of contraction around the villages but less often actual concentration*" whereas Matthiasson (1992: 141) confirms for Pond Inlet that the establishment of local schools and the introduction of compulsory schooling was one of several main factors for a fast segregation of families.
The example of Gjoa Haven in the central Arctic also shows that people mainly started moving close by or even into the settlement once their children had to attend school (Briggs 1971: 63).
Schooling however was not the only draw for families into the communities. As I have pointed out in the previous chapter various government incentives like the home building program or access to improved health care were big attractions, too (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 99; Matthiasson 1992: 141).
The new wave of families who wanted to be with their children and benefit from other government services started the last phase of the Inuit centralization process in the Canadian North. Ironically enough, those students who did well in school ran a high chance to be apart from their parents again after they finished local schooling. Local schools could only offer a basic level of education. Higher education including high school could only be achieved in a few selected communities like Yellowknife, Churchill or later Iqaluit which meant that the

successful children had to leave their homes and families again for school (Damas 2002: 127; IQR 9 2007; Rasing 1994: 153).

3.3.4.1.2 (Residential) Schools and their impact on Inuit society

As we have seen in the chapters on the first generation of Inuit men and women joining the western workforce, they were commonly described by their southern co-workers and superiors alike as hardworking, honest and quick learners. Teachers in the 1950s very often also testified these traits to Inuit school children as for example in the case of Arctic Bay (Douglas 2009: 42)
Academic standards all the way to the beginning of the early 1980s also seemed to have been higher than compared to nowadays situation (Douglas 2009: 44; RSQ 2010).
In one of the first chapters of this thesis on the present-day educational system it became obvious that modern schools across Nunavut accommodate a clientele whose majority seems to struggle in school way more than Inuit students 50-80 years ago.

What has happened and what might have changed inside a society as a whole and inside the majority of its indigenous individuals that success and performance in the academic system rather decreased that increased?
As in the many other areas of daily life that I have already described before, the school system, too neglected to create an environment that acknowledges Inuit cultural and social particularities, supports consensus decision-making (with a strong consideration of parents' input) and further contributed to an increasing dissociation of the different Inuit generations from each other and of Inuit from their own culture. Furthermore, a full inclusion into western culture was also never provided by the system (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 99; Wachowich 1999: 195).
At first education was left in the hands of missionaries both during the first decades of the residential schools and later on in day schools because it was difficult to attract trained teachers for jobs in the north (Rasing 1994: 152f.).

Students were forbidden to speak Inuktitut and they had to speak English right away no matter if you already knew the language or not (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 132; Wachowich 1999: 106).
Residential schools were very independent in creating their curriculum. It was based on southern Canadian curriculars, but no standards were set for northern schools. Oftentimes the content of the curriculum was a mix of academic classes and a lot of handicraft respectively household skills. The Churchill Vocational Centre for example taught to its children sewing, cooking, wood working and provided work experiences at facilities like a hospital, an office or any other company in Churchill that was willing to take on a few indigenous trainees (RSQ 2010).
There was also not much supervision, guidance, or inspection by an independent authority (Milloy 1999: 248; Wachowich 1999: 271). The main goal was to introduce a western lifestyle model to Inuit children which they mostly felt very estranged to (QIA 2010: 19).
The vulnerability of the students, lack of governmental supervision, paired up with the low qualification of many teachers provided a good base for the emergence of physical and emotional abuse and neglect that many residential students experienced (Milloy 1999: 257, 262ff.)
Over the last decade, the effects of the residential school experience on indigenous children have been broadly discussed and often times acknowledged by politicians and media alike in Canada, in particular after the publication of the findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC). Since the TRC is mandated to cover entire Canada it has formed an Inuit Sub-Commission that concluded its work in 2013 (TRC 2017).
I will limit myself to point out some key elements of the Inuit residential school experience, in particular those that are relevant for the intent of my work.
In principle, a lot of Inuit parents saw the benefits that western education could have for their children, in particular in the settlements where the traditional economy changed very quickly. Since most children were separated from their parents to attend residential schools, parents often weren't aware of the regularity and extend of the abuse that their children went through (Pauktuutit n.y.: 9).

Bringing so many children from across the arctic together in a school was very often the first exposure of these children to larger groups of people and to so many different other Inuit and First Nations alike. Aside from being afraid of all the changes and strangers, over time many children also made good friends with peers from other parts of the Arctic. The common residential school experienced implemented in these children and youths a common history and a common identity which means that the schools may have unwillingly contributed to some degree to the growth of a pan-Inuit network and identity that later on became very important for Inuit rights and land claims movements (RSN 2004; RSQ 2010). The exposure to higher education also laid the foundation for a new intellectual indigenous elite who once could pursue an economically successful path in the new western based economy or advocated stronger than before for the rights of their own people (RSN 2004; RSQ 2010;).
One residential school survivor also mentioned to me that she doesn't recall being forbitten to speak Inuktitut in school (RSQ 2010) which also illustrates that the level of abuse must have depended on the individual teacher, the particular school and the decade.
Although Inuit who attended residential schools obtained some very helpful skills to integrate in a changing multi-ethnic society in the North such as qualifications for higher education, well paid employment and the formation of an indigenous political elite that could operate and negotiate on the same level than their Euro-Canadian counterparts the prize for receiving that education was very high (KR2 2008; RSN 2004; RSQ 2010).

3.3.4.1.3 The breakup of extended families

Many children of the residential school generation quickly lost the connection to their culture and families. Children usually had very different lives than the ones of their parents (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 6; QIA 2010: 20). Apphia Awa describes the deep disruption of family bonds between the residential school children and the rest of the community:
"After they went off to school, they never came home." (Wachowich 1999: 107).
The fact that the children were suddenly taken away from their parents by

strangers coming in by plane and brought hundreds or thousands of miles away to the school was already the first traumatic experience for many of these children and for the relatives who stayed behind on the land (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 101; Pauktuutit n.y.: 11; RSQ 2010).

Life in the residential schools was so different from camp life so that this was the next huge change the children somehow had to cope with. New rules and the above-mentioned separation from family had confusing and intimidating effects (Wachowich 1999: 166)

The paternalistic attitude towards students in residential schools, exposure to children of other communities and ethnicities instead of to peers of their own settlement lead to feelings of estrangement, isolation, and loneliness, being apart from their siblings and relatives, without any comforting adult, being surrounded by many other children who also did not know anybody around them and being exposed to an educational system that followed a military like approach of order and obedience created for most students in a very stressful environment without anything familiar that could give them a feeling of safety or guidance of how to deal with the new situation (Matthiasson 1992: 147; RSQ 2010).

In the schools, boys and girls were separated from each other. From now on contact between both genders was very limited because both the sleeping areas and the classrooms, including the content of the curriculum very divided by gender (RSQ 2010).

Whereas life in the camps was determined by tasks that adults had to accomplish, and the older children were expected to help with while the younger ones could pretty much play carefree, residential schools insisted on a tightly organized schedule. The day started at 6am with personal hygiene, breakfast and cleaning the sleeping quarters. The bed had to be folded in a certain way, the shoes were expected to be cleaned very well and lined up properly, socks needed proper folding. There were many more rules that from now on governed the children's lives who never had to do any similar tasks before. After that the children changed into their school uniforms and went to school (RSQ 2010).

Children were sent home for two to three months in summer to visit family. At the residential school the children were fed 3 times a day with western food. In their

parents' households, country food was always available but never formerly served. Both, the intimate upbringing by their own family and culture and the strict rules of the residential school anchored itself deep down in the children so that no matter where the children went, to school or home, they always felt the weight of two conflicting systems on themselves that they had to adjust to (RSQ 2010).
Violence ranging from physical penalty by the teacher to sexual abuse through older students or residential school employees also contributed to a large matrix of traumatic experiences that most of the students were experiencing (RSN 2004; RSQ 2010; SWIQ 2008-2010; Wachowich 1999: 106).
The result was more than one generation of Inuit children whose majority developed mental health issues, first and foremost post-traumatic-stress-disorder (PTSD)[85] that would haunt them for the rest of their lives and also strongly impact their families, loved ones, children and grand-children (Pauktuutit n.y.: 11).
Abuse and mistreatment of Inuit children did not only occur in typical residential schools but also later on in some schools located in the communities. Very often the perpetrators were priests like in the case of Father Eric DeJaeger who over the period of a couple decades abused children in Igloolik, Baker Lake and in the southern city of Edmonton (National Post 2015).
Sometimes it was teachers who were not associated with the church, like Ed Horne who brought significant trauma to the communities. Mr. Horne taught and sexually abused children in pretty much all of the following communities: Whale Cove, Sanikiluaq, Kimmirut, Cape Dorset and Iqaluit (CWC 2009).
Most of the victims of these and other abusers held their pain inside and were never seeking help or healing. Instead they tried to ignore their trauma but on a reoccurring base the unbearable pain breaks out in different forms, mostly depression, self-harm, excessive drug or alcohol abuse, anger issues and physical violence towards others (CWC 2009; EWS 2009; Pauktuutit 2003:7).

3.3.4.1.4 Erosion of language and culture

[85] PTSD is a mental condition based on one or several traumatic experiences in someone's life that *"can cause everything from sleep problems to physical ailments, constant anxiety, depression, uncontrollable anger and other negative feelings. .... Constant fear and uncertainty at school can cause trauma."* (Pauktuutit n.y.: 11)

A certainly huge challenge for educators and children in the residential schools and in community-based schools must have been the language barrier, since many newly incoming children only spoke their indigenous mother tongue (Milloy 1999: 249). Consequently, the learning curve of mono-lingual students was very slow until they understood enough English to follow the teachings in the classroom. English became the only language of instruction and children had to learn that language quickly. Since Inuktitut was banned by most teachers the generation of school children suffered a significant loss of their indigenous language (Pauktuutit n.y.: 10; Rasing 1994: 153; RSQ: 2010).
Furthermore, multi-year long separation from the consanguine family and integration in a social system where a conglomeration of children from across the North and southern educators became the substitution for a real family disabled the maturing students to gain important life skills such as parenting skills, conflict resolution coping skills (KR 2 2008; Milloy 1999: 248; Wachowich 1999: 198f.). Even if the children were taught s social skills their only role models where from the Euro-Canadian society which follows in many aspects very different rules and procedures than Inuit society.
Rhoda Katsak's note on her anger (about *qallunaat*) due to what she was unable to learn by being caught in a western educational and social system could be taken as a good illustration of the anger that so many other people of her generation feel and often try to deafen with alcohol or drugs:

"I get angry not at the specific individuals but at the people who decided to do that to us back then. (…) I think about all these incidents in my life (…) and how I am trying so hard to learn things from the old culture (…) that I really should have learned as a child.(…) When I look at all that (…) I start to question whether it was a good thing to be totally immersed into Qallunaat culture. (…) … what is so bad about my own culture, what is so wrong with Inuit culture that it has to be removed? Why did I spend almost all my life trying to get away from it? It's like…they spend all those years trying to change me into a Qallunaat, and they couldn't. Was my life wasted?" (Wachowich 1999: 200).

Once the residential school children who had become older youths returned to their families in the North hardly any soft skill they learned in school was valid anymore so that they and their families very often had to realize how estranged both parties had become from each other - not to forget that most children lost their sufficiency in their native language because they were not allowed to speak it in the residential school. As a consequence, the bond between close relative like parents and children or between siblings started to rip apart so that traditional ways of intergenerational teaching, learning, socializing and social control did not work anymore. (IQR 8: 2009; Milloy 1999: 254; RSQ 2010; SWIQ 2008-2010). Dysfunctions within the social system of the family are for example that the traditional way of authority among the siblings lost in importance. For example, in the event that the oldest sister was the only of her siblings who attended residential school, spending her entire youth there and returning home again it was not uncommon that the sister was not fully aware of the exact duties and boundaries of her role as advisor for the younger siblings. Vice versa the younger siblings might not have respected her anymore in her advisory role because they also had to manage the past years without the oldest sister and in some cases the youngest siblings might not even fully remember the oldest sister.
While the homecoming girls mostly struggled with family relationship and household issues the boys had to find back into their hunter and provider role. In the case of being the oldest brother they were carrying the same responsibilities as their female counterparts. In terms of hunting they quickly had to improve their hunting and survival skills to regain social acceptance. In some areas like the central Arctic (Nettilik Region) or South Baffin (Uqqurmiut) complex rules of the distribution of game were traditionally known (Briggs 1971: 68; Damas 2002**:** 424; IQR 8: 2009) that had to be relearned as well. If the young hunter did not remember the meat sharing practices correctly, he could have caused lots of confusion among his kin group and the community. People might have felt insulted by receiving the wrong part of the catch which also would have brought shame over the young hunter's family and he would have had a hard time to establish a good status in his home community (IQR 8: 2009). Since there was not just one or two kids who were returning home but pretty much an entire generation of Inuit

who was bringing that kind of cultural confusing into their homes the communities themselves that were also struggling to maintain Inuit traditions in the permanent settlement were also overwhelmed with the situation and could neither solve the problem nor assist the returning kids by reintegrating them into their own culture and relearning all the values that existed in traditional Inuit society (Pauktuutit n.y.: 10).

Without appropriate social skills and extended cultural knowledge or cultural and personal identity these soon to be adults started their own families and had to overtake all the responsibilities of child-raring, practicing healthy relationships, and finding their own place in a society that had become as strange as the Euro-Canadian culture had appeared to them when they first attended residential school. This created a generation of young parents who lack the proper skills to raise children on their own or know how to cope with conflicts in the family (Pauktuutit 2005: 7).

Even till today one can find different conflicting social value systems in which individuals who are exposed to both Inuit and Euro-Canadian culture need to somehow compromise with each other. Gender specific division of work within private households is still present in most Inuit homes. The man is mostly still expected to be the provider of goods and basic materials where the woman is responsible for the management of the household, cooking and especially sewing for the man and the children. On the other side modern lifestyle also means giving women access to paid work, public leadership and expending their role into other spheres whereas men are often faced with more difficulties than ever before to fulfill their provider role. The competition for work is high and the natural resources such as game keep declining. Consequently, both genders got to rearrange their social and cultural identities and need to find ways to accept the new roles of the opposite sex which is a very challenging process (SWIQ 2008-2010).

The sudden increase in numbers of alcohol related incidences, family violence and suicide that correspond with the return of the residential school generation and their reintegration attempts into Northern communities cannot be a simple coincident. Instead, I am arguing that the increase in social issues must but

certainly not exclusively be the result of the hopelessness that many residential school survivors felt after starting their new life in the North again.
Raising (1994:169f.) describes this development in more detail for Igloolik of the 1970s and 1980s where he points out the hopeless situation of what he cynically called *"semi-educated bums"* who loiter in the streets and are stuck in a state of dis-orientation and frustration.
The effects of the residential school experience are often carried forward into nowadays school system where the parents and grand-parents of the current generation of students is stuck in their own horrific schooling trauma so that teachers and principals often sense a lot of resentments or discomfort of the parents towards school or dealing with their children's school matters (PNS 2009).

3.3.4.1.5 The consequences of the (residential) school experience at a glance

Although we have seen earlier in that chapter that governmental representatives were theoretically open to consider indigenous cultural differences such as the maintenance of a land-based economy theory and reality diverged drastically. Instead of a sensitively preserving of cultural particularities of Inuit students, *"assimilation"* into *qallunaat* values and society became the standard (Milloy 1999: 251).
Part of that assimilation reality was certainly the influence of *qallunaat* adults who were working in northern communities and had their children attend the same classroom as their Inuit peers. The schooling demands of the white parents for their children were certainly more western oriented than the ones of the Inuit (Milloy 1999: 253). Also, since the southern families were used to the actual schooling system, as well as to *qallunaat* communication and discussion culture, and because they were holding the most influential positions in town, they were able to assert their interests over the ones of the Inuit population.
The residential school experience might be one of the most obvious traumatic situations that the transitioning Inuit culture had to deal with on a societal and individual level. Pauktuutit (n.y.: 13) charted in bullet points the key effects of the residential schools for Inuit which is a wonderful summary of my discussion of the topic:

"For Inuit, residential schooling has been linked those multi-generational effects:

- *Alcohol and drug abuse;*
- *Sexual abuse (past and ongoing);*
- *Physical abuse (past and ongoing; especially, but not exclusively, of women and children);*
- *Psychological/emotional abuse;*
- *Low self-esteem;*
- *Dysfunctional families and interpersonal relationships;*
- *Parenting issues such as emotional coldness, rigidity, neglect, poor communications and abandonment;*
- *Suicide (and the threat of suicide);*
- *Teen pregnancy;*
- *Chronic, widespread depression;*
- *Chronic, widespread rage and anger;*
- *Eating and sleeping disorders;*
- *Chronic physical illness related to spiritual and emotional states;*
- *Layer upon layer of unresolved grief and loss;*
- *Unconscious 'learning' and use of residential school behaviours such as false politeness, not speaking out, obedience without thought, etc.;*
- *In the community, patterns of misuse of power to control others;*
- *Lack of trust, common ground, shared purpose and direction;*
- *Disunity and conflict between individuals, families and sub-groups within the community;*
- *Flashbacks (vivid, sudden, uncontrollable memories of fearful situations) anxiety attacks and physical symptoms or fear;*
- *Educational blocks – aversion to formal learning programs that seem "too much like school";*
- *Spiritual and religious confusion;*
- *Feeling inferior to non-Inuit;*

- *'Toxic' communication – backbiting, gossip, criticism, put downs, personal attacks, sarcasm, secrets, etc.;*
- *Becoming abusive and controlling toward others as a result of what was done to one in residential schools;*
- *Disconnection from the natural world because of the long absences from the land during the formative years;*
- *Feeling you don't have a voice and that speaking out is dangerous;*
- *Feeling powerless to change your own future or the future of Inuit in general."*
-

3.3.4.2 Being Youths in the 60s and 70s: "A subculture of gangsters"[86]

3.3.4.2.1 Caught in a tug of war between two cultures

Only a few families seemed to have been able to prepare themselves for the drastic changes that happened quickly since the creation of the new permanent settlements. For many other families adapting to settlement life felt like a severe culture shock (IQR 2010).

Despite all the erosion of culture that happened both in the residential schools and to some degree in the settlements many patterns of Inuit culture were kept alive, especially in the individual households. Many aspects of traditional child-raring were still applied in the communities. Small children for example were granted a large degree of independence to roam around without parental supervision and older siblings were expected to look out for their younger siblings (IQR 2010; Matthiasson 1992: 145).

The freedom to roam around also had its limitations as Thomas Nutarariaq's account from Igloolik exemplifies. He remembered that children back then did not buy goods at the store by themselves as it is often practiced nowadays. Instead it was the parents who did all purchases (Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 110). I do not

[86] SSP 2008

have enough data to determine where parents drew the line for their children's independence. Was it maybe the interaction with non-family members respectively the western representations in town? Was it that buying goods was considered adult business and parents defined children's and adult spheres that were not to be crossed over by the children? Or was it more random and not based on a certain pattern?

Another example is that the respect for adults, despite their relationship status to the child was very high and it rarely happened that children spoke back when an adult approached them, asked for a chore, scolded a child or interfered in a conflict (IQR 2010).

Formal western education introduced new values and norms that differed from the Inuit traditional value system and youth and children often absorbed them quickly. Consequently, children and adults drifted further apart from each other. A growing number of youths who attended local schools and no residential schools also who found themselves caught between two worlds and not fitting properly in any of it emerged in many arctic communities (Rasing 1994: 191).

Parental control became more difficult. By following trends of western society with its clothing styles, music and spare time activities such as roaming through the community without having a particular goal, teen dances or consuming narcotics youth realities were drifting dramatically apart from realities of the parental generation (Finkler 1976: 62; Rasing 1994: 191).

The relationship to religion also changed. Matthiasson (1992: 147) for example describes for Pond Inlet that Christianity played a major role for older and adult Inuit. A growing number of youths however did not practice religion as strongly anymore.

Especially in the larger communities a youth sub-culture started to develop that found its expression in gang-like behavior, hanging up, and drinking. The gang-attitude also featured criminal behavior, as well as gaining respect and authority through physical strength. In the case of female youths and young adults they mostly got in conflict with the law through alcohol and sexual related issues (Finkler 1976: 64f; Rasing 1994: 212f.).

As Finkler (1976: 64) points out several other authors trace back the development of that youth sub-culture that imitated behavior of gangs in southern major cities, to the western society refusing Inuit, even those young ones who were eager to adapt, access to fully participate and benefit from even that society that was taught to them as their new role model.
Role models of Inuit youths in the `60s and `70s were indeed exclusively western ones. The entire system degraded Inuit culture and presented western culture as the new way to go for indigenous youth (Wachowich 1999: 196). Spare time activities that communities offered reflected more and more western concepts of leisure time. In Iqaluit for example children and youth could visit a drop-in centre that offered board games or hosted dances on some weekends. The movie theatre was the other main attraction in town (IQR 2010). Igloolik had a similar drop-in centre that drew in a lot of children and youth (Wachowich 1999: 229).
As unfortunate as it was that there were not many opportunities for children and youth to engage into culturally specific activities the situation for the younger generation worsened when most of these places closed at the end of the `70s and early `80s. Now even those children who tried to stay away from the youth gang culture by attending western recreation facilities felt left alone with nothing to do in their communities (IQR 2010; Wachowich 1999: 229f.).
Due to the strong influence that western authorities asserted over Inuit children and the loss of Inuit parents' participation in their children's development, this second generation of young town Inuit became one who felt forgotten by both cultures that at were competing with each other for the children's personal and cultural identity (Wachowich 1999: 254).
Another emerging aspect of the realities of youth and young adults, in particular of female Inuit in the 1970s was the sexual exploitation by non-Inuit residents and visitors. This added a dimension of degradation to many Inuit's personal cultural transition experience that barely existed before. Both the sexual exploitation of young Inuit females in the 1970s and nowadays shows many parallels. It became typical for the group of low status Inuit youths who lack orientation in their lives, self-esteem and who hardly ever experience success. Consequently, many of them turned to consuming intoxicants and meaningless sexual encounters that both

come with the false appearance to relax, bring joy and regarding to sex highlight their esteem as a desired individual for the moment but do not satisfy the deeper longing for personal respect, high social status, and healthy personal identity (Finkler 1976: 167; TD 2008-10).
Sexual exploitation usually occurred and occurs very informal. Finkler's (1976: 168) interviews with white local males in their late teens provides an illustrative account on sexual exploitation and social marginalization of Inuit females by the dominant social class of southerners in northern communities. For the young white males, sexual intercourse or "going out" with an Inuk peer was regarded less socially binding than "going out" with a *qallunaat* girl. This included fewer social sanctions when an Inuk girl got pregnant as if a Euro-Canadian girl would have become pregnant.
Finkler's (1976: 169) conclusion that the danger of such experiences for young Inuit females lies particularly in the repeating experience of degradation and the culminating effect of that fully coheres with my own observations and statements that I was given by social and mental health workers. Perceptions of marriage, female-male relationships, sexuality, the involvement of alcohol and domestic violence do shift more easily for these young women into a direction that teaches them that their early disgraceful experiences with relationship and sexuality are absolutely normal and will be similar in all present and future romantic relationships.

3.3.4.2.2 Alcohol and drug abuse

As we've seen in earlier chapters, abuse of any kind of narcotics among Inuit can often be interpreted as a coping mechanism that however will only provide a very short-term relief but has severe long-term consequences for the social, mental and physical health. This conclusion of mine is also being backed up by northern health professionals (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 190).
During the 1960s the amount of offences under the influence of alcohol rose immensely in many Inuit communities. Petty theft break and entering, assault, indecent assault, and rape mostly committed by intoxicated persons increased. During that time period, physical violence started to appear more often within the

family (Finkler 1976: 63).
With the beginning of the 1970s drug abuse was already known as a serious issue in the bigger communities of the Northwest Territories (NWT) which includes nowadays area of Nunavut (Finkler 1976: 63).
In Igloolik for example the main source of alcohol was the bar at the DEW line site (Rasing 1994: 214).
Rasing (1994: 21) was told by three boys, that they got familiar with drinking alcohol while attending the residential school in Churchill and that they were not the only kids with that experience there. One of my informants who also attended the school in Fort Smith and Churchill told me a very similar story that extended into her early adult life back in a Nunavut community:

“And ah and then when I got married, I slowed down and I started to get into drugs. I was pretty much into more drugs than alcohol. And in 1995 that's when I decided I wanna quit drinking. I have to change my life. So, I went to treatment center in Yellowknife where they help you there with drugs or alcohol. ... because I came to a point where it was just like a dark life. (...) I didn't care about my language, I didn't care about my culture, I didn't care about anything, anymore, not even my friends, (...) that's when I went to treatment, center and it's been 16 years since I've been sober. But yeah, alcohol did damage, especially here in the community. (...) they used to have not only but here a liquor store. Right when I was going to Churchill in my teenage years there was a lot of alcohol like in town, in the family and it broke up family. Not so much in where I'm from in not, not, I hardly saw it.“ (RSQ 2010)

People who moved to Iqaluit to attend the newly build high school reported similar experiences (Rasing 1994: 231).
One could argue that a secondary effect of the residential school period was the introduction of alcohol to a particular generation of Inuit who during their late adolescence fell into a severe identity crisis when they realized that they were fitting neither into the western world nor into the world of their parents and siblings who stayed back in the communities. In addition to alcohol, in the 1970s people were increasingly introduced to drugs and started to abuse them in similar

patterns as alcohol (Rasing 1994: 231).
Consequently, the assumption becomes very obvious that the exposure to alcohol during their school years encouraged abusive behaviour of narcotics in the later life, especially under the situation of a serious personal and cultural identity crises.
Once the second generation had grown up and had children of their own these children were even more exposed to their parents' anger and alcohol issues than the generation before just because this second generation was the first one who was fully hit by all the social and cultural changes within their own northern environment. They may still be born on the land but from childhood on they were caught in a tug of war between both cultures. Many of them already drifted to far apart from the traditional life of their forefathers so that turning towards the old life on the land did not help them anymore. But they were also too much disconnected from western culture in order to find a new fulfilling identity within the new settlements. As a consequence, many of them passed on their anger and the coping mechanisms alcohol and (domestic) violence to their children who quickly inherited this unhealthy pattern (EWS 2009).
The devastating effects of alcohol were quickly recognized, and some communities tried to come up with solutions to better control alcohol. In Iqaluit respectively Apex for example, liquor free Bingo nights were conducted at the Abe Okpik Hall. Another initiative was the introduction of a 48-hour waiting period for alcohol orders.[87] The waiting period however had no large effect since those people who wanted to drink ordered every day and thus maintained a steady flow of alcohol into their homes. Also, a new liquor control act for the entire NWT was suggested and a committee was implemented that travelled across the entire territory for consultations with the communities (Gordon Rennie 2009).
The example of Igloolik also showed that although the formation of Alcohol Education Committees helped to keep alcohol consumption and its negative effects on a tolerable level in the 1970s it could not prevent a significant increase of alcohol abuse and crime committed under the influence of alcohol, in the 1980s (Rasing 1994: 215).

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[87] After someone put their order in, they had to wait for 2 days until they would actually receive the alcohol order (Gordon Rennie 2009).

3.4 Summary

The RCMP Inspector Henry Larson already identified in 1951 in his report to the Commissioner of the NWT activities of the church, HBC and the increasing governmental administration system as main driving factors that steer Inuit into a state of losing self-reliance and towards an increasing dependence on outside assistance (McPherson 2003: 4f.).
The extent of western paternalism toward Inuit matters is being illustrated in detail by Kulchyski and Tester (1994) with the case of the Inuit relocation to Resolute Bay. Though Inuit were being consulted and promises were made that their concerns would be considered prior to their relocation governmental administrators decided on behalf of Inuit where the new high Arctic settlement was supposed to be erected. They controlled who was relocating across the Arctic and when, influenced how the Inuit communities spent their communally saved money, and in many cases tried to block Inuit initiatives to change their personal and communal situation whenever they felt that Inuit started to move with their actions into a direction that differed from the government's vision. Inuit daily live from settlement management to individual choices over property, economic outcome, or locality was determined by a highly paternalistically operating Euro-Canadian administration system (Kulchyski/ Tester 1994: 183, 190ff.).
„(Inuit elders) in their lifetime ... have experienced outsiders taking control of almost every aspect of their lives – including their children's education, their economy, lands, rivers, and the way they can hunt, trap, and use animals." (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 99 -quoting Kulchyski and Tester 1994).

The list of paternalistic control over Inuit matters could be extended significantly further but for the purpose of our context here it is more important to realize with the help of the given the few examples how deep the influence of outsiders reached into Inuit society and that there was no way for Inuit to maintain their traditional way of life and avoid the rules, regulations and even changes in their social life that were imposed by southern authorities.
All levels of government demanded from Inuit to follow the Canadian law and adapt to the western normative system (QIA 2010: 17f.).

Many of the well-intended social initiatives that the government implemented pushed Inuit even further into a dependency from western money and services which contributed a lot to the loss of their self-sufficiency (AIP 2008; JP 2008; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 100).
The implementation of an Euro-centrist model to manage settlement affairs brought a huge cultural change where more and more of the traditional cultural knowledge became lost without the consent of the indigenous population (KR2 2008).
Despite the creation of the territory of Nunavut in 1999, paternalistic government patterns that foster Inuit dependence from the state can still be recognized. Inuit still feel that the system they depend on does not represent their own cultural norms and socialization patterns which results very often in a feeling of social marginalization and all to often leads on a personal level into feelings of helplessness which again encourages self-destructive behaviour like substance abuse, self-aggression or violence towards others (AIP 2008; EWS 2009; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 295; QIA 2010: 17f.).
The need for younger generations to receive guidance by elders or other family members increased in the new towns because of the extra stress that they were exposed to such as rapidly changing lifestyle and value systems or loss of culture and loss cultural identity through the schooling experience. Due to the new settlement patters with single family housing and the fact that extended families often ended up in different communities the actual provision of guidance could not be given anymore when it was needed most.
The consequences of relocation, resettlement, repeated marginalization with all its side effects of residential school, abuse, dog slaughter or break up of families which could be seen as the core tragedy of arctic colonialism as well as the repetitive character of it cannot be stressed out enough as historic root causes for the intergenerational trauma, violence and other social issues that prevail into the present (Kulchyski 2006: 167; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 294; Pauktuutit n.y.: 11).
On an individual level (in contrast to the cultural level) it becomes obvious that starting with the second generation many Inuit adults and youths seem to act with

"less isuma" as the older generation might express it or in my words seems to act immature and pampered, equipped with only a few coping skills, a low frustration level, and huge disorientation in regards to their personal life. Somehow it seems that a large part of the second generation did not make a full transition to self-determined adulthood which is grounded in the following causes:

- the maturing process of children in the 1960s and '70s might have not happened in a healthy manner since the children suddenly had to leave their homes for residential schooling and thus got ripped out of the traditional child rearing system in which traditionally Inuit parents together with their children would have mastered the single stages of the children's adolescence.
- Since the children of the second generation experienced the concept of *naklik* during their early childhood as something very positive but missed out the transition from being *naklik* to being loved in a more mature way their parents might have continued to *naklik* them after they returned from residential school. Since the parents failed to stop *naklik*-ing their children while physically growing up the children could not develop their own independent, self –relying identity.
- As emotional warmth was largely absent in residential school the former students and now parents of own children started to compensate their own lack of being *naklik*-ed in school toward their children so that them too missed their chance to have their children advance to emotionally strong and independent adults.

Despite stressing out all the negative, often traumatizing effects of historic western influence on Inuit society it shall also be pointed out that Inuit should not only be regarded as helpless victims. They were also aware of niches where they could make their own choices to preserve cultural or personal identity or exclude non-Inuit superiors from community life in the settlement and thus marginalize in their own way the key players respectively settlement authorities within their own community. For example, although the churches who were operating in the Arctic intended to introduce a whole set of Christian co-notated values Inuit chose the degree to which they wanted to incorporate these values (Freeman 1971: 35)

According to Freeman (1971: 54) the cultural coping mechanism of mocking was also often used to keep some indigenous dignity and to partially level out the imbalance of powers between Inuit and *qallunaat* in the respective communities. Thus regarding, the proficiency in *Inuktitut* was essential to understand the mocking implications of words describing southerners. Since the *qallunaat* often spoke just a simple version of Inuktitut they did not become aware of themselves falling victim to communal ridicule (mockery) which again gave the indigenous population some superiority over their formal superiors.

4 The Third Generation and the roots of recent social issues: "For the last 30 years we are lost"[88]

The "third generation" is the one growing up during the transitional period. It means that they are the first children born in the community and thus were exclusively exposed to life in the permanent settlements; most of them went on occasional camping or hunting trips and had a huge exposure to *qallunaat* habits whose presence, lifestyle and values they learned to accept as being "normal" for arctic life (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 6).

The second generation were children that were also exposed to a high degree of *qallunaat* influence but in opposite to the third generation they were in their early childhood years socialized in traditional Inuit values and interaction patterns and of course were also very familiar with life on the land. While the second and third generation experienced a huge and quick change of lifestyle in their communities, general socialization within the family was widely the same as in the pre-settlement and early settlement period (Rasing 1994: 210).

Many members of both generations have faced significant disruptions in their biographies such as loss of significant others and displacement (residential school jail, suicide) as well as traumatizing events like sexual, physical or emotional abuse which triggered identity crises. People who in their childhood or adolescence go

[88] (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 146).

through changes in their identities are more prone to mental health issues (Reese et al: 2010: 39).
The older generations noticed the influence of western lifestyle on their children and grandchildren, in particular the members of the third generation. They felt a disconnection between them and their own upbringing. The youngsters were very often described as spoiled, disrespectful, troublemakers who do not follow the guidance of their elders anymore. This disobedience is very often interpreted by the elders as a key reason why young families have more spousal issues than the generations before them (Rasing 1994: 211). Several older interview partners of mine shared that viewpoint with the older generations who Rasing talked to in Igloolik (KE 2008; IQR 8 2009).
The following chapter will discuss some of the major issues that the third generation is experiencing in the communities. A lot of it will sound familiar because it correlates with the experiences of the second generation. I also touched on it in the chapter "Recent Inuit Ethnography". The following chapter will examine the topic from the respective perspective of the third generation. Furthermore, I will provide interpretations of how the symptoms evolved and why they keep persisting.

4.1 Settlements and Society in the 1970s and '80s

Even though social change differed by community most if not all settlements experienced similar structural changes such as an estrangement of the different generations due to the younger ones being attracted to western culture who was in terms of economic and politics the more powerful one whereas the older generations tried to maintain a closer connection to Inuit traditions and pre-settlement customs; extended families broke apart, crime rates rose, suicide became a common occurrence in the settlements, gender roles shifted.
Igloolik for example displayed a "horizontal segmentation" (Damas 2002: 199) which means that cuts started to go through the community and divided it into three groups: the older generation who as much as possible kept holding onto Inuit traditional lifestyle, a group of adults in the 40s and 50s who tried to compromise with western culture and who occupied the majority of the

community's workforce, in particular political positions; and as a third group the youths who were educated in residential schools, disconnected from their parents and grandparents, strongly influenced by western culture, but due to their age and lack of Innumarik[89] cultural knowledge were struggling a lot with finding a place in society (Damas 2002: 199; Rasing 1994: 169f.). They didn't fit anymore into Inuit society, but they also could not fully transition into western society. Their education for example was much better than the one of most older Inuit but significantly lower than the one of *qallunaat* which prevented them from gaining good jobs in Igloolik. They were neither hunters nor working-class men or administrators which left them without any real perspective and nothing more to do than staying in town at their homes or hanging around on the streets (Raising 1994; 169).

The disruption of their families further contributed to them feeling lost and disoriented.

In 1960/ 61 78 out of 103 households in the Igloolik were still extended family households whereas in the early 1980s only 13 extended family households were left compared to 111 nuclear households (Damas 2002: 198).

Across the territory I heard similar stories from other communities and how many young adults of the third generation were exposed to intense drinking behavior and spousal abuse among their parents, so that both their childhood experiences and their reality during their late adolescence created the perfect ground to foster more substance abuse and violence (IQR 2010; VOI 2008-2010[90]).

In addition, western influences kept growing in the established settlements. In opposite to the early settlement period where there was some western structure but still lots of personal freedom to live according to Inuit traditions and world views, the Euro-Canadian system forced itself more and more into the daily

[89] The knowledge of old Inuit cultural values, traditions and laws

[90] VOI (Victim-Offender-Interviews) is a category that I created in which I supplement firsthand statements acquired through interviews between 2008 and 2010 with offenders of violence, victims of violence and people that have or had substance abuse or suicidal issues. Due to the sensitivity of those data I choose a neutral term that describes the methodology of data acquiring and the informant's relation to the topic they are talking about. To secure the anonymity of those informants no hints of the community, the informants' status within their respective community or other personal data that might identify the informants will be given within the context of that publication.

business of the local Inuit population. Inuit could actually feel the pressure by this foreign culture and felt helpless and overpowered (IQR 2010).
The problem of loitering children and youth did not go unnoticed by town officials, of course. Initially communities like Igloolik or Iqaluit were putting efforts into creating places in town where those kids could go during the days, occupy themselves with different activities and socialize. For various reasons most of the locations did not stay open for more than a few years and by the late 1980s the young generation lost most of their safe spaces again (IQR 2008; IYA 1 2010; IYA 2 2010; Wachowich 1999: 229ff.).
Up to today communities struggle with taking action and providing safe spaces for youth. In 2008 Kugluktuk for example just lost its "Grizzly Dan" (a youth run space that was also supported by the high school) due to lack of funding. The local youth center that was busy every day from after school till it closed in the evening – some older youths even stayed there after hours till the middle of the night - closed a few years later. In all three cases, upon the closure of the respective institutions many local youths felt significantly more bored and marginalized. In the cases of Iqaluit and Kugluktuk the community recognized an increase in public incidents where youth were the trouble-makers (CKW 2008, 2010; IYA 1 2010, PHK 2008).

4.2 Gender roles

Even though Inuit society was and still is undergoing increasing changes the understanding of social roles and identities of both genders is still widely connected to traditional gender roles (MHK 2008).
In many families the level of engagement between peers of the opposite sex, especially among in-laws is often limited to avoid any jealousies between sisters or brothers. Once a young couple is married or engages in a serious relationship with each other both partners often expect from each other that they do not socialize closely with people of the opposite gender, even with colleagues or friends. If more extensive communication for example between two in-laws of the opposite gender is necessary a middle-(wo-)man, often the actual partner is conveying messages to her sisters or his brothers and back to the partner again (TD 2008-2010).

Nowadays, it is becoming more common among the younger generation that one's same sex friends and one's partner can spend time together. It is certainly preferred that the partner is present in those situations. Nonetheless, there is an obvious tendency to primarily spend time with people of the same gender (TD 2008-2010). At the beginning of my research, my time in a group of males and females was shaped by an additional problem –the one of me being a stranger. Since pretty much all Inuit I got in contact with seemed to be shy at first having a conversation with woman consequently meant overcoming two hurdles: at first winning their trust and reducing their shyness and secondly talking to the opposite gender without creating an assumption among my communication partner of the opposite sex that I might be sexually interested in her. Other *qallunaat* who I met and spoke with described very similar hurdles that they had to go through before they were finally integrated in the community or fully integrated in the Inuit family they married into (TD 2008-2010).
When walking through the community, shopping for groceries, like in my case conducting interviews with representatives of various organizations and institutions or being a regular employee and having Inuit workmates one will experience obvious differences in talking to Inuit of the opposite gender but similar age group.
Interaction with people of the same gender or with people who by age difference are not potential sexual partners tends to be less complex. Especially direct eye contact seems to be interpreted as an intimate interaction.
As outlined in the chapter about early Christianity the new religion played in important role in defining gender tasks and imbalances. Especially woman past their mid-40s tend to accept male authority within the family whereas younger women lean towards envisioning a more equal relationship (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 221).
Women are also the ones who are widely expected to hold the family together. In the event of a spousal crises there is more pressure on the woman to 'fix' the situation, be patient or forgiving with her husband, and not to dwell over her husband having been unfaithful or violent in the relationship. If she is filing for divorce most times she is being blamed for the disruption of the family (Mancini

Billson/ Mancini 2007: 281; TD 2008-2010). It is both the husband's and the wife's family who put pressure on her (KSH 2008).

The women themselves very often feel in their marriage that the man does not contribute enough to the well-being of the family. Instead, a lot of men are caught up I a mix of identity crises, anger, abuse of alcohol or narcotics, and gambling which leads to family violence for him to confirm his strength and dominance within the family (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 164, 207).

Many men have a very hard time to adapt to city life and new ways of providing for their families. Hunting is still a highly valued skill. In simplified terms: those who are good hunters usually did not spend much time in school and thus lack the city skills to acquire a job and earn enough money to obtain proper hunting gear. Those who are qualified enough to work lack the hunting experience and cannot bring home country food. Even if someone manages to be good at both, get a paid job and buy hunting gear their job duties are limiting the hunting times to a few hours in the evening or to the weekends and holidays which is insufficient time to supply an extended family with food (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 208). Some larger families try to get around the dilemma by assigning specific careers to certain family members. If there are for example 3 sons in a family it may happen that the parents decide that one of them takes on a hunting career, another one goes into trades and the third one in the higher academic stream. All sons are expected to contribute to the economic success of the extended family with their respective skills and help each other out with whatever skill set they acquire over time (money, country food, equipment, repairing skills etc.) (IQR 8 2009).

As long as all brothers succeed in their careers and stay dedicated to their family the clan as a whole benefits from this diversification of skills. The brothers however might or might not find their fulfillment in this arrangement. Those who have not become hunters still need to find a way to be proud of their achievements in the western world and not define themselves through traditional values. And the hunter needs to accept that he is only successful because he is heavily depending on his brothers. Furthermore, in a changing society where hunting skills are valued but where an increasing group of Inuit also favors western lifestyle over hunting traditions hunters are also surrounded by many voices that

question their life choice as desirable. And of course, no support of the extended family brings the hunter economically in difficulties whereas the one with the full-time job could also make a living focused on town life on his own. This means that a full-time hunter's family will always belong to the financially underprivileged in town unless his wife has found an extraordinarily well-paying employment.
Though hunters are still valued and respected in most communities they often lack the same access to communal decision-making processes because many of them are less educated and financially weak (Ford 2008).
This all puts a lot of social pressure on the hunter, his wife and children.
Women on the other side seem to have less of a challenge to adapt to settlement-life and combining their traditional and modern identities with each other. Their traditional role as a mother, seamstress and head of the household has not changed much. In addition to that they gain the opportunities to foster their education and apply for wage employment that they can do without giving up their traditional role. Consequently, the opportunities in the settlement rather increase the women's self-esteem than diminish it (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 208f., 219).
The success of the women in opposite to many men's felt "failure" to adapt to modern life seems to let the men give up on their future (KR 2 2008). Therefore, many men keep their partners from improving their education because they feel threatened by the educational and thus potential economic empowerment of "their" women (CKW 2008; KN 2008; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 291).
The strong dynamics of tradition and modernity which male and female Inuit alike need to navigate through create a society in which endless variations of families exist: some very traditional, some very progressive and all focused on western lifestyle, and many who to different degrees adopt a bit of both worlds. In order to create a strong, healthy family it is less important to define in general how much culture and how much modernity is needed in the society. Instead the level of personal identity is key. If both partners are content with their life choices, respect each other and maintain a positive attitude towards themselves and towards each other the couple has a good chance to create a strong healthy bond (KR 2 2008).

Families however, where severe interpersonal and individual issues are prevalent, struggle more with gender roles (KR 2 2008). There the tradition can easily be abused by men to exceed power over the female partner. Hereby both man and woman do not realize that they do not longer act accordingly to traditional culture that always highlighted the integrity of the individual. Instead they feel lost, confused and consequently try to find some hold within tradition or what they (mostly him) interpret as tradition not realizing that they are over-exaggerating the practice of tradition for example by enforcing the wife's obedience through physical sanctioning.

4.3 Crime and Violence

4.3.1 Increasing crime rates

During his stay in Igloolik in 1960-61, David Damas only reported one violent incident that he became aware off. Raising however, who did research in the same town 26 years later refers to a lot of violent crimes (Damas 2002: 199). Damas (2002: 200) describes similar dramatic changes regarding substance abuse that rose from 0% effected residents in the early1960s to 40-80% effected residents in the mid 1980s.

Furthermore, Rasing's (1994: 216f.) tables on crimes in Igloolik reveal that offences significantly increased over the first half of the 1980s and that in particular crimes against persons just started to occur or at least were publicly recognized since 1983.

In Iqaluit crime rates also seemed to have noticeably increased in the 1970s (IQR 2010).

These numbers provide a very strong base for the argument that the break down of Inuit civil society must have occurred in the 1970s and 1980s, at a time where the residential school generation returned to their communities, unemployment grew, subsistence economy dropped which also meant that the economic base and main identity factor for the role as the male provider got lost; and traditional Inuit culture was given less and less space within a communities that were based on a western administrative model (Damas 2002: 197ff.).

Even though Rasing (1994: 219) identify that only a small number of about 11 young male Inuit committed most of the crimes in Igloolik, he is also pointing out that most of the young boy's peers share the same desperate social background with each other.

I would also argue that those boys' biographies are very similar to the ones of present day youths who struggle with society.

A sketch of one of the offenders that Raising (1994: 2019) met reveals the following contributing factors that often apply to current day troublemakers, too:

- no parental stability: at first vertically adopted child (by his grandparents) and then neglected by the old couple; after death of grandparents, moving in with biological parents; later living with other family members like uncles, and with older brother, and again with biological parents
- experience of reoccurring physical violence by adoptive parents during childhood
- overwhelmed parents without any proper support outside the nuclear family
- alcohol issues of the father
- no development of cultural identity through family-based education in land skills
- early school drop out (at grade 9) due to peer pressure (his friends were not in school)
- soon after, starting to commit offences
- exposure to alcohol and marihuana through friends
- no permanent economic stability (being fired because he came in too late for work)
- no opportunities for distraction in town
- stealing and break and entering as opportunities for distraction and to obtain desired goods

4.3.2 Spousal conflicts

The quantity of my data is insufficient to determine if most of modern-day Inuit follow a patri-, matri-, or uxorilocal moving pattern upon marriage. It appears

however that women are faced with a particularly heavy burden when they move to the husband's family. Those women often face tremendous pressures whenever they try to turn against their husbands which also means turning against the husband's family. In case of spousal assault for example, when the wife decides to report the assault to the police, in the eyes of the husband's family she is putting a lot of pressure of her husband's entire extended family. Once word about the family violence becomes public the entire family is looking bad and if the perpetrator gets incarcerated one of the male providers is being taken away which means less country food for the family (CWS 2009).

The most likely way to escape the immediate violent situation for many women is to seek protected shelter by a friend, relative or in-law. In all cases this shelter is very temporary and due to the remoteness of the communities, overcrowding in many households, limited alternatives and pressure from in-laws and relatives sooner than later she must return to her husband. The only alternative is going to a women's shelter which is most likely located in another community. By leaving the home community the woman gives up all her social support, potentially even a job, and most of her own belongings (EWS 2009).

Many women feel trapped in a cycle of violence that usually escalates when their partner is under the influence of alcohol; especially since divorce is generally not well accepted in Inuit society (CWS 2009; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 260, 278). Adult women, who are mostly mothers, in opposite to their male counterparts, are expected to keep caring for their children, no matter how bad the personal situation in the household is for them. While living with a partner and having children many men in unhealthy relationships are not pressured as much to care for their children as the women are. And if a breakup happens it is mostly up to the woman to keep caring for the children whereas the man quite often leaves without maintaining any further contact or supporting the former partner and the common children (TD 2008-2010).

The abundance of abuse, violence, and drug issues and the lack of safe ways to escape an abusive marriage encourage many Inuit women to rather stay single than commit to a marriage (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 260).

Jealousy is often the number one cause or at least the number one trigger for

verbal and physical aggression among couples (Rasing 1994: 225). A lot of the women I spoke had a rather negative perception of the men in their communities. The majority saw local men as "being violent and cheaters" (TD 2008-2010).
This again leads to two consequences in many modern relationships: first, women already expect physical and emotional violence from their male partners when they are entering a relationship and try to accept that this is part of their life. They victimize themselves and do not even try to establish a safe and healthy environment for themselves, their relationship or their new family. Secondly, they enter a relationship with a strong jealous attitude[91] towards their new partners and often prevent their new relationship from developing into a healthy one with two open and honest partners who respectfully solve their issues with each other (EWS 2009; TD 2008-2010).
Economic insecurity on both sides often encourages a struggling couple to stay together despite reoccurring unhealthy patterns between each other (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 260).
Domestic violence mostly targets the partners but less the children in the family (KR 2 2008; SWIQ 2008 - 2010). Nonetheless, some of my informants reported that the number of children who are getting beaten, molested and abused in many other ways by their own intoxicated family members is way higher than officially estimated (RSQ 2010; SWIQ 2008 - 2010). Unfortunately, no-one was able to share statistics with me, but the basic tenor was very clear: Although children are tremendously valued and loved in Inuit families a lot of intoxicated people appear to not be able and follow any Inuit social values under the influence but leash out at whoever is in their reach (TD 2008-2010).
When children are not the immediate victims of family violence there is a very high chance that they are present in the house when their parents or other close family members are escalating. As I already lined out in the chapter "children and domestic violence", they do regularly witness all the arguing, fighting, beating and attacks among the adults which does in many cases not only teach them a distorted picture of social interaction and problem solving between partners but also

[91] Jealousy among men is equally common in relationships.

prevents them from developing a healthy identity and self-esteem since those people who are usually the main providers of physical and emotional stability and safety do provide instability and emotional turmoil instead (SWIQ 2008-2010) The impact on the children can be so huge that they might develop severe mental health issues such as personality disorders.

Since so many other families in the community are dealing with the same issues it appears too many children that this is pretty much the only way of having a relationship and of how to communicate with each other. As a result, lack of exposure to other forms of social interaction and persistent witnessing of violence as a communication tool forms the base for children to take over the same patterns of interaction when growing up and starting their own family.

Domestic conflicts tend to follow a general pattern that also reveals a lot about the personal issues that the Inuit of the third generation are carrying with them.

- People involve other family members (the traditional authorities) such as parents, older siblings etc.; sometimes for productive consultation; sometimes to form an alliance against the person who one is in conflict with.
- Comfort from allies in more important than finding an actual solution for the conflict.
- Instead, one is looking for assurance that the own perspective is the right one and the other person is wrong.
- Both, the conflict and the time after the conflict once emotions have calmed down again are not solution oriented.
- Instead of discussing issues that the conflict was based on the parties in conflict just agree that ‚it won't happen again'.
- Therefore, both parties quickly switch from ‚fight' to focussing on random positive aspects in the relationships no matter if they are related to the matter or not.
- Since the actual root causes for previous conflicts have never been worked out, the same or very similar conflicts keep reoccurring.

- Whenever possible a scape goat is being identified, ideally someone outside of the family or another person who is somehow involved in the periphery of the conflict.
  One interview partner described a situation in which his wife desperately needed a babysitter for their two children, but the booked babysitter was drunk, and another sitter needed to be found. The husband had to work and thus could not take over either. Not being able to find a new sitter stressed out the mother so much that she and her sister got into an argument about something random. During the mediation process between both sisters the wife's sister approached her brother in-law, yelled at him and blamed him for the misery of his wife/ her sister. The drunk babysitter got not mentioned any further since he or she was not present at the situation whereas the husband was physically present which made him to an immediate target and he somehow contributed to his wife's situation in his own way – his loyalty to his employer (IQR 3).

As one can see the parties in conflict seem to be overwhelmed in many ways with themselves and with the actual situation that might have led up to the conflict. They are looking for self-confirmation through others, for alliances; they cannot activate their analytical skills but try to force themselves and the other party in conflict to move on by pushing aside any negative feelings instead of identifying and dealing with the actual root causes (VOI 2008-2010).

4.3.3 Roots of domestic violence

The fact that the social group that I am discussing in this chapter belongs to the third generation is of particular importance because this generation is more than any Inuit before them on the receiving end of multi-generational trauma. Those present-day young adults and parents already grew up in a largely mal-functional social system that is shaped by a cultural crisis that dates back to the early and mid-20th century. Although some contributing factors to the social crises of the second generation like for example the residential school system do not exists anymore their negative impact is being carried on from the first respectively

second generation to their descendants and thus strongly influences the third generation. The degree of influence varies of course a lot among families and individuals and depends on many different factors like personal coping strategies among the members of the first generation, support to overcome these often trauma-like experiences and the degree of which other potential contributing factors add to the social situation of a particular individual and his or her family. But there is no doubt that a lot of the existing issues can at least be partially traced back to historic events.

A severe increase of violence in the communities after the 1950s has been confirmed by some of my informants (FIR 2010; KE 2008; RSQ 2010). Consequently, analyses of current violent behavior must include studies on the social situation of the multiple generations in a single household. When doing so, one will notice that most troubled people are coming from an already severely troubled home. Personal trauma of violence, neglect, lack of developing self-esteem, lack of healthy role models and many more issues that most children in struggling households are experiencing on a regular basis is shaping their identity of marginalized indigenous people with no chance of success and well-being.

This does neither justify nor excuse the behavior or even imply that offenders from a troubled home would have no other choice than repeating all the mistakes they have witnessed or learned in their families. Nevertheless, it does add another dimension to the existing problem.

In the case of for example domestic violence many offenders witnessed from early childhood on various forms of violence (beating, yelling, threatening, breaking objects, taking revenge) as the common form of “discussing” differing opinions in the household (SSP 2008). Furthermore, one must consider that on a psychological base abuse is closely linked to personal insecurities such as mistrust, and fear that easily generate anger, in particular when a person is not connected with their own feelings (Pauktuutit 2006: 3).

After 3 generations of cultural suppression during which most Inuit felt they were robbed of any control over their own lives many adults and children show a lot of symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Levan 2003: 17;

Tukisigiarvik[92] Centre 2008: 1).

"*These symptoms include identity confusion, memory dysfunction, dissociation, mental disorientation, a wide range of emotional and psychological problems, relationship disruptions, sexuality dysfunction, a wide variety of physical symptoms, and a general loss of faith in life* "(Levan 2003: 17).

The long period of over 80 years in which Inuit of several generations have had very similar negative experiences, enforces the affects of intergenerational trauma. It is not only the older generation who will pass on some of their traumas to the younger ones but the younger generation is getting reaffirmed by their ancestors' trauma because they are experiencing a very similar situation. Intergenerational trauma results in a number of negative behaviours including: alcohol and drug addiction, family and interpersonal violence, poor mental health, low educational achievement, despondency, and suicidal tendencies (Tukisigiarvik Centre 2008: 3). Similarly, to elders-abuse, female violence toward male victims seems to be rooted in the perpetrator having been victimized multiple times before. He or she finally decides to pay back by becoming violent to either their harasser or towards the same gender or age group who her/ his previous harasser belongs to (CKW 2008). I got the impression that the anger does not necessarily has to focus on a particular male abuser, but it becomes generalized to literally all males who are being perceived as potential abusers, cheaters and people who in the past have already been abusive to other women. Consequently, they deserve to receive the same treatment now that they gave to other women before (TD 2008-2010).
Hamilton (2006) is summarizing the root causes for violence against women in a list of 13 points. This does not only provide a good overview about the key aspects of the topic but can also be used as a very valuable source to discuss and develop programs that could help the territory to overcome this serious problem:

[92] The Tukisigiarvik Centre in Iqaluit „...*provides counseling, wellness and healing programs; practical support and advocacy for the people of needy Iqaluit, particularly those who are homeless, disadvantaged, and marginalized for any reason*" (Tukisigiarvik Centre 2008: 1).

1. *Power and control of women and children: Some people (both men and women) believe men have the right to be in charge of the women they are in a relationship with, which can lead to the use of force to impose control.*
2. *Inequality: When women are not considered equal to men, they are vulnerable to*

   Men who seek to control them. Communities need to teach boys and girls that men and women are equals.
3. *Poor self-management and communication skills: Some people are not able to communicate their feelings and their thoughts. When people are unable to communicate effectively, their behaviour can be violent and abusive. Children who grow up with violence and abuse have difficulty managing their own behaviour and will not solve problems well.*
4. *Strong emotions: Some people can not control strong feelings such as jealousy, anger fear and shame. These feelings build up until they explode in violence and abusive behaviour.*
5. *Unhealthy relationships: Some couples argue and fight and do not resolve their problems. They often behave in ways that hurt their partner and these strong emotions can lead to violence.*
6. *Past abuse/ the cycle of violence continues: Boys growing up in a violent home are more likely to learn controlling and violent behaviour. Girls who see and experience violence often think they are worthless and accept controlling behaviour from their partners*
7. *Lack of healing from the effects of abuse and trauma: When people are not treated for the effects of abuse, they find it difficult to manage strong emotions. Their behaviour can become violent and abusive to women and children.*
8. *Children victimized by abuse and neglect: Children act out in negative ways when they experience abuse and neglect. Without healing and support, the anger quickly turns to criminal activity and violent behaviour. As adults, their anger turns to women and others whom they feel they can control.*
9. *Low self-esteem and confidence: Young men suffer from a lack of education,*

hunting skills and equipment, and of positive roles for them to fill. There is a crisis in self-esteem among young men leading to substance abuse and violence.

10. *Dysfunctional family dynamics: Lack of parenting skills and positive role modeling among young parents often leads to abuse and violence in the home. At times, issues within the family are not properly dealt with through counseling and support and problems fester until violence erupts.*
11. *Social problems including a high rate of substance abuse addictions, overcrowded housing and housing shortages, youth pregnancy, unemployment and the loss of Inuit cultural values.*
12. *Mental Health Problems: Some of the most serious violence has been caused by those who people are mentally ill and have not been given help.*
13. *Government control: Community-based groups require more control over intervention in abuse and, in particular, need more authority to intervene when the potential of violence occurs.*

When looking at chart 1 on violence distribution in Nunavut in 2006 in the first chapter of my thesis one will recognize the extraordinarily high number of incidents in Kugluktuk that despite its size of roughly 1300 residents leads the list of violent crimes in the Territory. This is standing in sharp contrast to the much smaller number of violence in Repulse Bay (Naujaat) at the very bottom of the list. Chesterfield Inlet or Kugaaruk have similarly low numbers of violence.
Why do some communities seem to produce such low numbers while others explode?
Unfortunately, limited financial resources did not allow me to visit any of the settlements with low numbers of violence. Nonetheless I met several people, both Inuit and *qallunaat* who either resided for many years in Chesterfield Inlet and Repulse Bay or who worked in one of the communities for an extended period. The results of our conversations, in particular those with RCMP members and social workers, led to the conclusions that just looking at the official numbers can be misleading and nonetheless they are not totally wrong either. My informants widely confirmed my first impression that there are fewer incidents in those

communities. At the same time, they pointed towards the huge number of incidents that goes unreported and consequently does not appear in the official statistics (TD 2008-2010). Other communities most likely also have a higher number of unreported cases of violence. However smaller communities appear to have an additional contributing factor for the prevention of reporting crimes that is less relevant for larger communities in Nunavut.

Typical for the smaller communities is the tight social network among residents. There are only a limited number of extended families that live in the settlement and on top of it even most of the non-related community members know each other very well anyways. This tight knitted community life can put a lot of pressure on the individual and entire families. When an incident occurs, for example a case of domestic violence in which the husband assaults his wife, the man's family tends to back up their male family member whereas the woman's family does often not offer the same support to her, a circumstance that has been explained in few pages before.

The close family ties and living in a small isolated community also means that there is no way for the victim to avoid her offender. Instead, she is forced to either randomly or regularly face him in town or due to the overcrowded situation in the settlement even to go back and live with him in his house after the end the trial or at the latest after the end of his jail sentence. If victims continue living in the community, they have no chance to avoid the offender or his family, the own family will most likely feel disgraced that one of their female members got assaulted and publicly announced that assault by accusing the offender. And finally, if the victim decides to move to another community the decision implies to leave family bonds and support (shelter, food, money, child rearing, social bonds, close empathy).

Victims in other communities basically face the same problems but these consequences might have a little less effect on them because larger communities provide more space for the victim, more social bonds outside the family and as cruel as it may sound families where many members of the extended family are already scattered over other settlements do on one side often have fewer strong ties with each other but on the other side it is likely that two distant relatives can connect with each other in another community which means a lose but reliable

first point of contact for the person who is moving to another community.
The small size of the community as well as the strong family ties that as just explained can be a significant roadblock for a woman to escape an abusive relationship can sometimes also be an n important factor to prevent domestic violence in the first place.
The presence of extended families in one community increases the chances that traditional authorities can be involved more effectively when there are disagreements or other problems between the partners. The overall social control in such a small community also means that one's actions are observed almost all the time and residents are aware that they cannot hide much what is going on within their family. Most importantly however some of the smaller communities, like Naujaat and Chesterfield Inlet still have a very strong hunting culture and a relatively large economic equality within their community. The close connection to hunting based activities provides a level of cultural identity that is being lost by many other Inuit in the larger communities and in those ones with a stronger influence by western society (EWS 2009). The later aspect is also very important because the low impact of southern Canadian culture allows residents more self-governance based on traditional cultural values. The formal system, for example of having an elected city council or government administration is based on a non-Inuit role model but the way how people work within the system, for example the amount of Inuktitut being used at the work place or ways of problem solving is less determined by outsiders who temporarily move into town but lies much more in the hands of the local indigenous population.
Domestic violence is unfortunately only one of many other issues that rattle the present-day communities in Nunavut. Based on my discussion up to this point it should have become obvious that cultural adaptation and identity are two core issues that Inuit are negotiating on both an individual and cultural level.
Since the structural change in the Arctic happened so quickly some social and cultural values from the pre-settlement period have been widely eradicated whereas others are still being practiced. Especially the older generations who were spending their first decades of their life on the land in a very traditional way tend

to see the modern world through the eyes of an estranged person because life before settlement times has initially determined their own identity.
In opposite, the younger generations who were already born in the communities are growing up with a mix of Inuit and western culture. They are faced with many new and very different challenges from what their grandparents experienced. They must find their place in a Euro-Canadian shaped public sphere including school and the workplace whereas in their homes or at least in their parents' grand-parents' homes they are usually confronted with rules and values deriving from traditional Inuit culture. Moving back and forth between the world of their ancestors and the realities of the settlement puts many Inuit in a situation that they experience as game of tug of war between traditional simplicity versus modern complexity (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 35).

4.4 Alcohol and drug abuse

Most crimes, both within and outside of the household are committed under the influence of alcohol. As I have described in the chapter "The Market is here", excessive drinking and substance abuse is very common (RCMP IQ 2008; RSQ 2010).
Inuit have been around alcohol for over 150 years. The whalers and explorers already shared their alcohol rations with Inuit whaling crews.
The flow of drugs noticeably increased in Nunavut since the 1980s. Marihuana was the main substance that quickly spread across the territory. Harder drugs like crack and crystal meth followed mainly in the1990s and early 2000s (GHS 2008; Gordon Rennie 2009; Raising 1994: 215).
Rasing (1994: 215) and a school principal who I interviewed (PIS 2009) argued that rising numbers of alcohol and drug consumption since the 1980s are largely related to unemployment and boredom of youths who increasingly drop out of school. They do not know how to fill their spare time in town, they have no sufficient parental supervision, often do not follow any other adult guidance either and they have no future goals.
Several mental health specialists identified the lack of grieving skills as another severe issue that should not be underestimated (EWS 2009; SSP 2008).

Certain movie genres were and are another source that shape youth' perceptions of substance abuse and violence. In particular US American ghetto movies glorify substance abuse and depict a lifestyle that is economically desirable for Inuit youth (DHS 2008; Rasing 1994: 215). During my field research I was stunned by some behavioral similarities between some Inuit youths and the way how young adult fictional characters where portrait in movies. In one incidence two young men were about to fight each other in public. They were literally imitating southern ghetto gangster stereotypes by pulling of their jacket, throwing them to the side of the "fighting arena", demonstratively pulling over their black leather gloves with cut off finger tips, getting in position, swearing at each other and encouraging the opponent to make the first punch.
Rasing's (1994: 225) citation of *Iglulingmiut* youths in which alcohol is described as sometimes being "used to settle grudges or get even with someone'" is in so far of particular interest because the statement could be interpreted that violent outbursts under the influence of alcohol are not completely unintentionally as offenders often claim. Instead, one could argue that it is supporting my interpretation that alcohol consumption is sometimes used for an excuse to let out frustration and anger without worrying too much about potential social sanctions. Rasing confirms the thesis by citing several informants who considered drinking as a way to release feelings and anger as a common practice (Rasing 1994: 264).
The major consequences of alcohol abuse are less physical but more so social. Alcohol abuse creates many dysfunctions within the family such as neglect of children, bad role modeling for children, domestic violence and food shortage because money is rather spent on alcohol than on food (QGH 2009).
The territory does have hardly any resources available for those who want to overcome alcohol addiction. With some luck general mental health counseling and maybe local AA meetings do exist (AIP 2008).
In order to gain some control about the devastating influence of alcohol abuse in the communities some hamlets either limited or banned alcohol in their jurisdictions. The example of Kugluktuk where a liquor control committee was introduced after a serious of heavy suicides in 2007 illustrates why the presence of such a committee cannot be the final answer to stop alcohol abuse and violence in

the communities. After the introduction of the committee in Kugluktuk the crime and violence rates dropped significantly. Even though the committee staid in place three years later the crime rates started to climb up again (Nunatsiaq News 8/17/2010; RCMP K3 2010). There are several possible theories for the increase in violence:

1. people turned to home brew, sniffing glue or other chemicals like in Pangnirtung (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 360) or the rate of illegal alcohol trafficking increased
2. people started becoming violent without getting drunk. When assuming that alcohol simply supports the outbreak of anger and frustration that has already built up in so many persons one could conclude that the absence of alcohol still lets people feel the same negative emotions than with alcohol. Since drunkenness cannot be used anymore as an outlet for anger, people might not wait until they are drunk to release their anger and burst out sooner or later anyway.

Also, any committee or policy is only as good as the means to actually implement respectively enforce it. For example, the major traffic of any kind of goods into Iqaluit is by airplane. The only controls at the airports are done for flights from southern cities to the North. There are no controls across the northern provinces and since Whitehorse and Yellowknife are connected with each other by the road system and have alcohol and illegal substances available in their cities it is relatively easy to ship drugs or alcohol into Nunavut's hubs Cambridge Bay, Rankin Inlet and Iqaluit. From here, distribution by plane, small watercraft or snowmobile are common (GHS 2008; TD 2008-2010).

Although the increase of drug and alcohol controls at southern or northern airports would be very helpful it would be difficult if not impossible to set up regular effective control mechanisms. The cost of personal, extra training, the use of dogs for example or other highly specialised equipment would simply overwhelm the human resources and even more so the financial capacities of the government. In addition, all controls of course always need to be conform with the law and require the protection of civil respectively the individual's rights so that a

huge effort of investigation has to be conducted first before a traveller can be accused of being as a potential drug dealer or bootlegger and his luggage or mail be searched (RCMP K3 2010).

4.5 Education

The growing importance of wage-earning jobs also means a growing demand for higher education (CKW 2008; IR 2008; Nunatsiaq News 5/27/2010). The Conference Board of Canada for example pointed out clear evidence that high school graduation is directly linked to better future opportunities. But with the low level of high school graduates in Nunavut it will be difficult for individuals and the society as the whole to progress in a western style economy (MHK 2008; Nunatsiaq News 8/27/2010).

The chapter on present day issues in the educational system already describes the major issues that the education system in Nunavut is facing.

How did these issues come up, why is it so difficult to overcome them and how is this related to (neo-) colonialism, and cultural change?

One aspect is a high turnover of teachers. Every year many teachers leave the schools in the north to work in a southern school and the Nunavut schools struggle with filling the open positions. The turnover prevents a school to develop close teacher – student relationships where teachers can become trusted role models that provide long-term continuity and accountability, basically two key aspects of traditional Inuit social interactions[93]. That situation can be frustrating for teachers and students alike. Both need to get used to each other personally and culturally repeatedly (DKH 2008; TD 2008-2010).

Several teachers in Iqaluit and Kugluktuk pointed out that the Alberta curriculum and particular learning materials do not fit very well to the needs of Nunavut students.[94]

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[93] Also see Chapter on 3Ds as reference.

[94] Adjusting the curriculum is a step that has been discussed during the time of my research. Now, 9 years later I can see in Nunavut that it is still a hot topic that is making noticeable progress, but the transition is not completed, yet.

Many books or topics within the curriculum display southern lifestyle and topics but do hardly cover realities of the land and activities in Nunavut so that teachers often experience children who cannot relate to these abstract things they are reading, writing and learning about.
Being estranged from their learning content and difficulties to keep up with the curriculum frustrate children so much that many resign from certain classes or quit school (DKH 2008; Inf. 1 2008).
Many teachers see the dropout rates of their students as the result of expectations that are too high in school and lower their learning standards.
Consequently, standards in Nunavut are below standards in other Canadian Provinces or Territories, which gives students a very hard time to keep up with expectations in education facilities outside of Nunavut. At a high school level especially in smaller communities the curriculum seems to be very hard for many students because their elementary education is not enough to keep up with the high school curriculum (DHK 2008; PNS 2009; TNS 2010). Inuktitut classes are being criticized for being more like cultural learning classes than language learning classes (IYA 3 2010).
The low expectations have two major effects on those students who finish high school:

1st, in their home communities they belonged to the best in class but when they want to attend a southern college, they often realize that they suddenly belong to the weaker half of the classroom. Their motivation to keep on learning and go for higher education is plummeting. Also, their self-esteem is starting to suffer: for example, "Why should I stay in a class when I passed grade 12 at home and now am being told that I have to repeat it again at college in order to continue my education?" At home those students would get a well-paid job since they were the strongest ones in their peers' group and Nunavut has a priority hiring policy for Inuit (DHK 2008; PNS 2009; TNS 2010).
2nd, the high expectations and the pressure in school down south create a new situation for the students who are usually not used to perform in such a steady and high-level manner. Now being without family support, moral support and hardly

any other people from the same ethnicity loneliness, frustration, and feeling overwhelmed by all the expectations and helplessness often lets students quit and move back to their communities. Even moving from one of the smaller communities to Iqaluit or Rankin Inlet for education poses a huge challenge for many students who feel alone and unhappy without their close circle of relatives around them (Inf.1 2008; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 101, 129; TD 2008-2010).

Many of the students who quit school either in high school or at college follow their peers who have already dropped out and start wasting their days with doing nothing, strolling through town and very often substance abuse (DKH 2008). Those youth who are more driven still have a chance to get a relatively well-paying job without a completed post-secondary education. These circumstances make it easy for many older teenagers to quit school (IQR 2010).

My personal experiences, and interview partners confirmed Douglas' (2009: 44) observation that many parents are not much involved in their children's school life.
Parents often have so many issues themselves with drugs, alcohol, gambling, and economic struggles that they lack the strength to inspire their children as good role models, to make sure their kids are regularly attending school, to push them in certain directions and to motivate them to work hard for certain goals instead of giving up like many of their peers (DKH 2008).
Since a lot of the parents or grand-parents who have supervision over today's students belong to the "second generation" many of them lack parenting skills so that they simply feel overwhelmed with guiding their (grand-) children into a successful live[95]. Other community members are barely available to help the struggling children on a volunteer base. As explained in earlier chapters the traditional authority structures of the extended family is often in a state of erosion and most Nunavut communities did not make it yet to transform traditional

[95] Compare to lack of parenting and social skills in chapter second generation.

authority structures of the extended family into a authority system that includes non-family members and applies to the entire settlement. With other words: community building and extension of close social networks regarding parenting and social control did not work out, yet (DKH 2008, TD 2008-2010).
Many parents had made negative (residential) school experiences during their childhood so that school is negatively co-notated for them. Consequently, they put not much effort in motivating their children to attend school. Some parents may even feel that not going to school prevents their children from having similar or same experiences as they had some decades ago (DKH 2008; Douglas 2009: 44; PNS 2009).
Finally, the children do not have to face any serious consequences, neither from their homes nor from the school authorities so that there is no real motivation for them to keep on pushing themselves through school (DKH 2008). Dropping out is still widely socially accepted, although especially the generation of young adult women stresses out more than before the importance of being well-educated and having an equally well-educated partner with a good job[96]. The parents' support for formal schooling is fluctuating a lot, and there are resources missing to enforce school attendance and to sensitize the population for the importance of modern schooling (DKH 2008; Inf. 1 2008; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 220). Many young men on the other side have not found the inner strength to push for a formal education and appear to rather quit and wander from one low-income job to the next than push through the difficulties of a higher education and become economically successful (Inf. 1 2008).

"(…) because the Residential school generation is now in charge of school policy making many of the authorities are caught in their own sometimes very traumatic experiences with school and wish to prevent present pupils from experiencing similar hardships in school. Consequently, they tend to follow a smoother, less restrictive

[96] For a more detailed discussion on family, modern economy and education see chapter on New Middle Class.

direction of teaching and learning guidelines and guidelines of how to deal with less motivated children or even trouble makers" (Douglas 2009: 44)

Although Douglas' argument correlates with observations I made regarding parent – children relationships there are some more facets regarding disciplinary issues in school than just this.

In my studies, noticeably more Euro-Canadian teachers than Inuit teachers complained about discipline issues in their classrooms. My site visits at different school classes in Iqaluit in the elementary school and the high school left me with the impression that Euro-Canadian teachers tend to struggle more with local kids than Inuit teachers. My observation is additionally supported with statements of an Inuk teacher and residential school survivor who explained that according to her interpretation *qallunaat* teachers seem to demand less discipline than Inuit teachers and that is why students when taught by an Inuk are quieter and more focused on learning (RSQ 2010). In my personal observations Inuit teachers whose classes I could attend reacted more authoritarian to disturbances of their classroom whereas *qallunaat* teachers preferred a more indulgent style of handling their class that takes more efforts to bring students back to their core task than the authority style.

According to a school counselor (SCN 2009) some of the children's behavior also correlates with certain times of the year. Spring for example tends to be a time of more behavioral issues with students than other times of the year. As other teachers pointed out, too, children feel drawn outside to play late into the extended sun light hours and especially many male children's minds are occupied with hunting and fishing instead of formal learning in the school building. Additionally, the extended outside playing hours in combination with the early morning start of school, often mean children get less sleep than in wintertime and consequently are overtired when attending class. A third reason is that children might witness more domestic issues including violence since they stay up longer and are more exposed to late night drinking, gambling, or even fighting of their parents and the parents' friends.

Furthermore, there are two clashing systems of child rearing in schools: on the one hand the complex Inuit system of clearly defined boundaries based on strong respect and obedience towards adults/ teachers that is very often enforced among Inuit teachers. Aside from the obedience it also includes the idea of guiding the child to develop *isuma* by sanctioning it either by ignoring his actions, by positive role modeling or again by telling them about right and wrong (Douglas 2009: 45f.; TD 2008-2010).

On the other side there is the western concept, not less complex, but basically offering a larger space to testing out social boundaries within the classroom. Once the boundaries are repeatedly crossed the teacher often changes the mood drastically and uses various sanctioning mechanisms to control the "trouble-makers" again (TD 2008-2010). –The situation that someone, in particular an authority figure is changing their mood is not common in the Inuit system and the boundaries are also more clearly pre-defined so that Inuit children often have more trouble to adjust to the western system which in the few cases I was fortunate enough to observe resulted in noisier classrooms and more minutes spent for sanctioning the students than in classes with Inuit teachers (TD 2008-2010). In Douglas' (2009: 45) study sometimes the sanctioning system of non-Inuit teachers resulted in confusion of the sanctioned child since the teacher's behavior differed significantly from what the child is used to in the culture of its own ethnic group. When the student tells the parents about its experiences, they often feel reassured in their prejudices against the school and start arguments with him or her (Douglas 2009: 45).

Since most of the teachers are *qallunaat* their limited understanding of Inuit culture easily creates ethnocentric roadblocks for a school system that should incorporate Inuit cultural principles. Especially non-Inuit teachers who are new to Nunavut apply a western understanding of school and school structure like for example 'school starts in early morning at a particular time and children have to there on time. If they are late, they do it on purpose and need to be sanctioned. Furthermore, parents do not parent properly because they do not push their kids enough to be in time, do homework etc.' Inuit perceptions of time, independence,

learning through experience etc. are widely getting ignored by those teachers (Berger 2009: 61, 66).
The low high school graduation rates and the much higher expectations in college are two of the reasons for the lack of Inuit teachers in the schools. Furthermore, in the smaller communities, local teachers often face a lot of social pressure. Not seldom do the parents of struggling kids make them to the scape goats of any issues their children have in school. That pressure sometimes extends to a point that parents are calling the teacher at night to complain or argue with him or her about school issues. Those Inuit who have the skills to successfully complete teacher education also have the skills to study something else and get another, less stressful job in the same salary range with the Government of Nunavut in their home community. There are not many incentives to choose the job of a teacher (IR 2008).

4.6 Housing

Most housing units in Nunavut are being built by private or governmental housing corporations. Only very few individuals are owning a dwelling. The territory is experiencing a permanent housing shortage that goes along with expensive rental and construction rates and a low quality of many units. Fresh and grey water lines are breaking easily due to the very cold temperatures in the winter months so that it is not surprising when older homes are infested with mold. The fast-growing population, housing shortage and the huge amount of government run social housing is financially overwhelming for the government of Nunavut that does not nearly have the money that it would need to build and maintain enough housing for everyone (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 162; Nunatsiaq News 29/10/2010; Qulliit 2007: 5; TD 2008-2010).
Quite often up to 10 people live together in a 2-3-bedroom apartment or house. For most of the day many occupants are staying inside the unit. Especially in the cases of socially and economically disadvantaged families most children do attend school irregularly and their adult relatives do not work at all or work irregularly. Consequently, the main motivational factors to leave the house are either to visit friends, buy groceries or to walk around town. It is the task of the women and

older girls to run the household and care for the children and grand-parents. The male members of the household have hardly any equipment, nor money to go on the land hunting. As a result, they spend most of their days in boredom, lacking both physical and mental activities. Although children are still spending time outside playing in the streets or wondering through town, they are also a lot inside the house playing with electronic devices or watching TV. Hardly any of their activities is directed towards personal learning or contributing to the family. Instead, there is a daily competition about limited resources like food, privacy, a place to sleep, but also electronic media to pass the time with like computer, TV or PlayStation. Since family members are cramped together for most of the day with no meaningful activities to occupy themselves with, the individuals of an overcrowded household tend to experience high stress levels. If they cannot find any relieve to their boredom and stress the next typical symptoms that they start showing are frustration and anger which easily leads to violent outburst against other family members (CKW 2008; KR3 2008; Pauktuutit 2006a: 6; Rasing 1994: 189; TD 2008-2010; SW IQ 2008-2010**).**

In the event of an escalating situation within the household, residents usually do not have a safe place to retreat to. Other rooms in the housing unit are already occupied, households of befriended families are most likely in a similar overcrowded situation and over 70 per cent of the communities do not have women's shelters or other governmentally run places that could catch those in need for a safe place (Nunatsiaq News 6/18/2011; Pauktuutit 2006b: 7).

Especially children suffer under the situation. They have no routine in their lives, having to worry on a daily base where or how to sleep, what to eat, when the next fight in the family erupts again and how to physically and emotionally protect themselves against any harm from loved ones. If they go to school they tend to be overtired, cannot concentrate and have trouble finding a quiet place where they could do their homework (Qulliit 2007: 6).

The high stress situation in those households prevents the development respectively the maintenance of a positive self-esteem among children and adults alike because the individuals are facing struggles, boredom, hopelessness and lack of future perspective on a daily base.

Overcrowding affects in particular low-income families and those without any income. Since most non-Inuit families are moving to Nunavut upon having secured a good job, overcrowding is almost entirely a phenomenon of families with at least one Inuk as a spouse. People are fully aware of this ethnic imbalance so that the current housing situation does not only negatively affect the identity of the person but also the cultural identity (GHS 2008).

4.7 Challenges of Government Services

Nunavut is a territory that appears to be underfunded in many different sectors. Its challenges are manifold and a lot of them seem equally important so that it is difficult to create a fair priority list. In order to receive support, it is certainly helpful for departments to be able to clearly identify gaps, quantify lacking resources or major issues (GHS 2008).

4.7.1 Social Services

In the mental health and social services field this quantitative record is widely missing. Social Services does not have statistics or other databases for entire Nunavut that cover issues like domestic violence, violence, suicide, or sexual abuse (SWIQ 2008 – 2010). Consequently, the Department has difficulties to develop an action plan and make a strong case for more funding.

The front-line staff is fully aware that Nunavut compared to the rest of Canada has a much higher rate of social issues but due to their limited financial and human resources they cannot address the problems properly (DHS 2008).

Even if money is contributed to a program or project it is usually allocated on a temporary base. Such short-term funding prevents a new program from an extended trial run over and from growing beyond its initial starting point. This also means that many initiatives, privately run or governmentally run grow and fall with the individuals who administer them. Once the project lead is leaving their position the project is prone to falling apart as well (EDQ 2008; GHS 2008).

The severity of the shortage of funds can be illustrated by the fade of the addictions centre that used to exist in Iqaluit. 5 years into its existence funds got cancelled and the centre had to close (GHS 2008). Since then entire Nunavut has no such facility despite its severe crises with alcohol and drugs. Nine years after my

research a private brewery opened in Iqaluit, marihuana got legalized Canada-wide, the alcohol and drug related incidents are still the same but politicians in Nunavut keep discussing if there is a need for a treatment centre and where it would rank in the priority list for Nunavut's infrastructure.

The men's homeless shelter in Iqaluit is regularly facing similar challenges of staying open due to lack of government funding (Nunatsiaq News 6/19/2009).

The closure of both the youth centre and women's shelter in Kugluktuk are additional examples that stopped successful community programs. About two years after the opening of the women's shelter in 2010 both, the shelter and the youth centre were closed due to financial shortages and I learned that the community experiences a significant increase in vandalism, related crimes and in domestic violence (CKW 2011).

Another challenge for social services is to fill their positions with professional staff (DHS 2008; SSK 2008). Even though the population in Nunavut is growing rapidly social services had no staff increase in over 20 years. And the kind of services that can be provided is mostly basic counselling with counsellors having very different levels of experience (GHS 2008).

Even the Auditor General of Canada (2009: 1-22) pointed out in their report that the Department of Social Services does neither have enough capacity to properly meet its mandate nor does it have a good financial management. They also identified a lack of long –term planning towards health and social services.

A lot of the staff of both governmental and not-for profit organizations who work in the social field only stay in Nunavut for a limited time which creates regular staff turnover. Clients quite often need to adapt to new counsellors which makes it very difficult to develop a relationship of trust between client and professional.

Interagency collaboration is equally challenging because it is difficult to keep track of who in the other organization is taking over and the newcomers do not have any corporate knowledge (RCMP IQ 2008).

The staff shortage can be felt in all agencies that are working in the social field. Men's and women's shelters for example are so understaffed and underfunded that they sometimes run out of basic items like hygiene products, or food (FWCDL 2007: 120).

Not-for profit organizations that specialize in victim services also suffer from under-qualified personal. Many volunteers lack experience in dealing with traumatized clients (Levan 2003: vii).
The Family Abuse Intervention Act and its associated programs were dealing with the same situation. In the first couple years following its implementation in 2008 the program was lacking qualified personal (Nunatsiaq News 3/17/2011).
An area particularly difficult to fill in with local personal is the one that requires high criminal record clearance, which covers jobs like women shelter personal or youth center workers. Since a fair amount of the indigenous population got in conflict with the Canadian law at some point in their life (mostly substance abuse, or violent incidents) it seems a big challenge to find local personal that fulfils all requirements of the respective institutions to provide a secure and trustworthy environment for their traumatized or troubled clients (CKW 2008).
The low qualification of staff, which is very common poses extra challenges for institutions to access territorial or federal funding. Staff who is lacking proposal writing or general literacy skills are quickly overwhelmed with the funding application progress and all the associated paperwork. With no additional help within their own organization proponents quite often give up or submit weak applications which prevents their organization from receiving needed funds (EDQ 2008).
As a result, because services are inadequate in the North many Nunavummiut with addictions or mental health issues are being send to southern institutions. This has multiple negative implications for the client. For one, the clients go through a very similar experience as their parents or grand-parents who were send far away to residential school or to southern hospitals for TB treatment.
From a cultural perspective the feeling of displacement and estrangement that their ancestors went through after being sent south for treatment is not much different for present day Inuit who travel to southern Canada for long-term treatment. People are away from family and nearly everything in the big city is very different from life in a small community in Nunavut, including the way how people interact with each other. The first challenge is to adapt to the new southern environment. If that adaptation process is successful, the next challenge is to adapt

back to northern life upon the client's return to his or her home community. Next, people who undergo treatment learn all kinds of coping skills and other tools to deal with their condition, but those skills were developed for a Euro-Canadian society in a southern environment. Returnees who are reuniting with family and friends now need to avoid falling back into their old habits while also figuring out how to adapt the tools that they learned to their home environments. And finally, there is a high chance that the client was not the only community member who went south for treatment. Regarding mental health and addictions treatment Social Services pays particular attention not to send people from the same northern community to the same southern institution. If they end up at the same facility people would most likely participate in the same treatment sessions and thus learn very intimately about each other's personal problems. Most clients who know each other from back home would feel very uncomfortable exposing their inner-self in front of each other, knowing how tight-knit and gossipy the social network in the home community is (GHS 2008; SWIQ 2008-2010).

Alternatively, to sending people south the government is hoping to deliver more culturally appropriate counselling and healing services by encouraging elders to work with referrals from Social Services (GHS 2008).
The idea is following recommendations by many Inuit leaders and advocates (Inf 1 2008; VOI 2008-2010). As so often before, the decision makers and program leaders are mostly non-Inuit of whom most have not too much intimate knowledge of traditional Inuit culture, roles of elders or intergenerational relationships. It is my understanding that the recruited elders do not receive much training or direction in how the administration system works, how policies, procedures, regulations within the social and mental health organizations work. It is also left up to the individual elder to adapt his or her traditional knowledge that was based on camp life into the modern-day community life. Depending on the elder it can be a successful undertaking or a failure but either way there is no general direction in such programs. It is also very important to remember again that community building is by far not finished in Nunavut and that many locals take their prime identity from associating themselves with their extended family. Consequently,

one needs to ask how much does intervention by random' elders actually help, if community building might not have progressed far enough that people of any age group think and identify themselves with a community setting instead of the setting within the extended family.

Other attempts to deliver culturally relevant programming need to be looked at with an equally critically eye. Most of these programs focus on supporting cultural attributes such as a sewing program, proving country food or reconnecting clients with other cultural denominators that mostly fit into the categories of the 3Ds. The programs are not designed to address clients through the lens of Inuit specific mind sets, world views, attitudes or ways of thinking (Inf 1 2008). During the time of my research the ignorance of Inuit culture was so large that for example one of the mid level administrators at the Department of Social Services referred to the language of the Inuit as "Inuit" instead of "Inuktitut" (now officially Inuktut) (TD 2008-2010).

The example is just the peak of the iceberg of cultural misconceptions by western professionals towards Inuit: I had social services professionals assure me that traditional Inuit culture was accepting of violence against women and that women in Inuit culture are perceived less valuable than men. They argued that current programs cannot be successful as long as people are hanging on to these traditional values and elders promoting them (TD 2008-2010).

As I have extensively outlined in the previous chapters on Inuit Historic Ethnography and Early Contact the interpretations of Inuit culture by said government employees bare any historic prove and are a failure to understand pre-settlement Inuit culture.

One side of many current problems is the shortcomings by front-line workers and their superiors. The other side is the limited effort and helplessness to tackle social issues higher up in the governmental departments all the way to the MLAs[97]. The situation in the past years seems to change in the sense that discussions about an addiction center took on more momentum again but overall there is little effort to put discussions on substance abuse and domestic matters into the center of the

[97] MLA (Member of the Legislative Assembly)

social discourse or to do a significant push to overcome those problems. Some groups like men receive hardly any programs that could help them regaining a strong identity (GHS 2008)

Other departments such as the one for education were and are very quiet on those matters too (DHS 2008; EWS 2009).

The constant shoveling of ministers (about 2-4 within one election period of 4-5 years) within the Government of Nunavut contributes to the inability of many departments to strongly move forward with any of their mandates (TD 2015).

4.7.2 Justice and legal services

A study conducted about 30 years ago already questioned if services are being delivered appropriately to inmates at the Baffin Correctional Centre. It pointed out some interesting and helpful initiatives to reintegrate offenders into northern society respectively to keep them connected to their families and culture. For example, the Land Program enables offenders to contribute to the well-being of the community (e.g. community clean ups etc.) or to support their families with country food from hunts conducted by BCC staff and inmates. Inmates with mental health issues do not receive sufficient services (Griffith, Wood, Zellerer, Saville 1995: 141). Due to the lack of such programming, their time in jail rather increases their emotional anger (VOI 2008- 2010). A source from the RCMP in Iqaluit (RCMP IQ 2008) added to this matter that most offenders they are dealing with are repeated offenders who spend years going back and forth between jail time and freedom without receiving any noticeable support to overcome their issues neither while serving time in prison nor once they are released.

Victims of crime feel equally left alone by the system. Many victims struggle to understand the justice system and how they fit in there with their particular case (Levan 2003: 35f.). Since the justice system is structurally a confrontational one where both victim and offender are put on the spot and Inuit culture is highly non-confrontational many Inuit try to avoid for example having to appear at the court where all eyes are resting on them. In a court situation, in discussions with their defense lawyers, the crown or victim services workers, people usually easily feel a lot of pressure. Having to deal with all these officials who are perceived as western

authority figures often has an intimidating effect on them so that many Inuit in court rather want to get the situation over with than actually work through a lengthy process and fight for their best interest at court (CWC 2009; Patterson 2002: 30, 37)

Despite the many infrastructural problems that correctional services in Nunavut face, as described in the chapter about "justice and correction services" their contribution to an improvement of the social situation of Nunavut is very limited. No matter how good the rehabilitation programs at correction facilities or healing centers are, their success can only prevail when inmates who are being released will have a real chance to apply their newly required skills in the communities. Therefore, a social environment is needed that offers a wide range of perspectives to successfully live an untroubled life. Since many if not most inmates are returning to the same environment, social, and economic structures as before, they are very likely to fall back into old habits and get incarcerated again (LAN 2004: 3f.)

It appears that the most successful justice programs in the northern communities are restorative justice initiatives. Community based justice programs are a second initiative that goes into the same direction (Griffith, Wood, Zellerer, Saville 1995: 142; Ineak Ipeelie 2008). The main challenges for the effective delivery of such programs lie again in adequate and ongoing funding, well trained personal, and legal boundaries since all programs need to align with the Canadian legal justice system.

Griffith, et all (1995: 142ff.) argue that programs "*(...) developed within the communities or initiated by the communities (...)*" tend to be the best received ones with the highest success rates in the communities.

This is another example that supports my hypothesis that indigenous self-determination based on an inner-ethnic discourse on the future of culture and society increases the likelihood of positive change in Nunavut.

4.8 The new middle class: "Although our survival is not dependent on money, we seem to feel that it is."[98]

The middle class is a fairly new phenomenon that in my opinion started out about 20, with the creation of Nunavut and the growing opportunities for Inuit to get into high paid, mostly administrative, positions in the settlements. Rasing (1994: 195) observed for Igloolik in the 1980s for example that the community was economically relatively egalitarian.

While doing research in Whale Cove and Kugluktuk I also had the impression that the majority of the local Inuit population had a relatively comparable economic standard, with some variations of course. But when looking at Iqaluit, Nunavut's center, a strong economic diversion is becoming obvious starting with different housing standards, different equipment such as pick-up trucks, snowmobiles, and boats, but also with unemployment, homelessness, and a noticeable number of people who are in severe need for food, clothing and housing (IQR 2010; TD 2008-2010).

The new middle class describes that part of the Inuit population who has at least high school education or higher, has a regular income, is due to its education and employment duties closely bound to in-town activities and falls into the age group of approximately 20 to 50. A lot of these Inuit cherish education, well-paid jobs in education, the territorial government and with hamlets (EWS 2009; IYA 1 2010; IYA 3 2010). The driving force in this group is in particular young women who are seeking independence and self-esteem through meaningful full-time employment (CKW 2008). They are putting more emphasis on formal education than many of their peers and ancestors. The value of a good education does not only apply to themselves but also to their children. Of course, these are not exclusive traits of those who are economically better of; there are also many low-income families who encourage their children to attend school and pursue a high school or college graduation (GHS 2008). Nonetheless, it is my impression that many middle-class families see formal education as a very important aspect in their children's lives and rather see them succeed in their post-secondary studies than asking them to

[98] Partridge/ Trudel 2009: 63

quit their education and stay home to take care of their siblings, parents or grand-parents.
Many information in this chapter also applies to or are based on people who cannot be counted to the new middle class. Their inclusion in the chapter is necessary because close social interactions, family bonds and various forms of interdependencies between middle class members and members of another social class are typical for Nunavut's society. Even a nuclear family or a couple can consist for example of a well educated, employed woman in her late 20s who loves going to the bars, singing Karaoke or watching Canadian Idol and who has an unemployed same age husband who quit school at grate 9. He might love to ride his snow machine on the land or sea ice just outside Iqaluit for fun but hardly goes out hunting (TD 2008-2010). On the other side one will also find a couple in their 40s both with college diplomas and well-paid jobs where he is going hunting with one or two male friends on as many weekends as possible and she is sewing parkas and kamiks for their nuclear family (TD 2008-2010). The new middle class evolved from the third generation and is comprised of individuals who could economically set themselves apart from the common conditions that the third generation is usually facing. Trauma, mental health, and other social issues are also very prevalent among the new middle class.

4.8.1 Family

Since the new middle class can be categorized as a subgroup of the third generation social and family problems are closely comparable: The ideal of a nuclear family is certainly that the partners engage in a life-long relationship that is based on love, honesty and collaboration. The reality however is that unrelated to economic status many families are affected by jealousy, unfaithfulness and co-dependency.
Based on modern settlement patterns of pretty much all Nunavut communities barely all members of an extended family are just living in one community today. Instead cousins, uncles, aunties, grandparents, sometimes even parents and sibling are spread across different communities and only some relatives, mostly the ones of the nuclear family life in the same community. Visits between relatives of

different communities can and do occur but the frequency can differ very much and is determined by many factors such as statutory holidays, employer approved vacation days, expensive air fares between the communities, weather conditions and distance to the relative's community. For instance, in the Kivalliq area it is relatively easy for some families to visit relatives who live in the neighbor community because villages like Arviat, Whale, Cove, Rankin Inlet or Chesterfield Inlet are between 80 and a couple hundred kilometers apart and can be reached within a few days or less by skidoo (in winter) or boat (in summer). Iqaluit and Kimmirut on Baffin Island do share a similar situation. Since a mountain range is dividing both communities, skidoo travel is much more challenging than sea ice travel in the Kivalliq. Travelling from Resolute to Pond Inlet or getting someplace else from Coral Harbor that is the only community on Southampton Island is obviously a far more challenging and dangerous enterprise.
Therefore, often times the traditional old models and authorities, the ones who are needed for teaching social skills, guidance, advice or conflict resolution or any other form of skills, e.g. handicrafts or hunting are not readily available anymore. Talking nowadays to the uncle on the phone or seeing the oldest brother once a year for a couple of days cannot compensate for a historical period of four weeks of fall caribou hunting or 2- or 3-months winter camping where there was plenty of time to teach, learn and personally grow through the guidance of the relatives. Besides all the challenges for the modern extended families one shall not underestimate the emphasis that is still put on maintaining the family network. Those family members with well paid jobs have the financial means to travel and visit relatives. They are also the ones who other family members rely on for economic support or additional "manpower" when needed. Another researcher analyzed for the early 2000s that about 60% of the cash that is being circulated throughout Nunavut by Inuit residents is being generated by less than 10% of the full-time employees (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 223). Those numbers reflect two major facts: for one, most full-time employees do not share their money with others and the small group who does contributes significantly to the cash economy in Nunavut. Since I already made a point throughout my thesis that most Inuit do not have well paid employment and the majority of higher jobs is being occupied

by Non-Inuit of whom many of them are highly transient with no further family ties to Nunavut it is a valid assumption that the majority of the remaining 90% of employees who do not share their earnings are most likely Non-Inuit whereas the majority of the 10% who share are middle class Inuit who support their less-fortunate family members. Extended family members who are struggling more in society can count on some relieve through the support of their relatives (Ford 2008; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 262).

The pressure is very high to provide for family members on the Inuit minority who works full time. The money goes to all kinds of investments ranging from store bought food over cigarettes, marihuana, to hunting equipment such as boats, ATVs, skidoos or rifles. Often family members feel entitled to freely access products that the richer ones in the family bought for themselves. If someone needs a power tool or a snowmobile, they borrow it for example from their brother. One can already notice tendencies that those who actually earn the money feel less comfortable of sharing their property with other family members. The exemption is food, especially country food that appears to still be freely given away to family members. Outside of the family, a strong cash market for country food has established itself. The changing paradigms of sharing within and outside of the family will definitely have an impact on group identities on the kin-level and the community level (EWS 2009; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 224; TD 2008-2010).

In particular the larger hubs in Nunavut like Iqaluit, Rankin Inlet and Cambridge Bay show signs of this middle class who re-negotiates paradigms of family and identity. In the smaller communities on the other side, many people are reluctant to go for the well-paid jobs. If they would succeed, they would be standing out of the crowd, which could easily lead to social stress. Economically they would not be much better off than now because of the expectation to share with the rest of the family (EWS 2009; TD 2008-2010).

The emergence of the middle class also comes with another new risk: the risk of failure. Most well-paid jobs are in the three hubs of Nunavut which means that residents from smaller communities who want to get those employments need to move to the larger centers. But what happens if someone loses his or her job? Being unemployed means that the extended family lost one of their key providers

and since he or she is living in another city now there is no strong family network on site to catch him or her. The person might lose housing, distant relatives who might live in the larger city, too either struggle themselves or might be reluctant to provide support over an extended period of time and all there is left is returning to their nuclear family's community as someone who failed (JP 2008).
Even if someone does not lose their job, the larger family network is less readily available. Moving to one of the hubs often also means moving to another Inuit cultural area. The Inuktitut dialect might differ a lot and the local residents are often not very accepting of Inuit who are coming in from another cultural area. The rejection of Inuit from other regions can be felt in both private interactions, and the workplace. When moving between the three major regions in Nunavut an Inuk can sometimes feel almost as estranged as if he or she would move to a southern city (Inf. 1 2008; PNS 2009).
Women who move to the bigger center experience even more pressure. They are often single mothers, which means that on top of all the other challenges they must also juggle their dedication to their full-time job and their responsibility for their child or children without neglecting either one (Inf 1 2008; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 180, 185).

"So they were not struggling for survival. So they were just living for the day and taking advantage for what is coming. And it's different. My upbringing as to being an Inuk and my grandchild, it's so different. I'm still in this stage... sometimes it's hard for me to see that I'm still trying to live in a surviving world and yet I'm not doing anything to survive, because I'm working now and I can not really make that transition because I'm still trying to learn the white society, too. And it's it's like you're trying to struggle with two things. But you don't really fit in both of them. And it's hard. I can not teach my granddaughter the Inuit way because I don't have the skills. I don't have the things that I need to teach her. I don't have the time because I'm working. I live in a house where it's always warm so that skin is gonna dry up too fast. It has to be in a cool area. I don't have the time to sit in a shed, because it's kind of cold, I don't wanna be cold and it's like: we don't have that time, we've lost the

time. That time is just, where you just do what you need to do to survive and we can't do that anymore. It is very complicated." (Inf 1 2008)

The children grow up in a very westernized setting, especially if their grandparents who could have exposed them to traditional Inuit culture are living in another community. The children of the middle class tend to be the ones that succeed more in school, develop more academic interests which also means a tendency to be more disconnected from land skills and hunting activities. Especially language skills are a huge factor that many youth and young adults of the middle class are struggling with. Their English is commonly very good but the lack of immersion in traditional Inuit culture often prevents them from becoming sufficient in Inuktitut (IYA 3 2010). Most regions in Nunavut are still strong in their language and the government has a mandate to increase the importance of Inuktitut as one of the official languages in Nunavut. But the reality is that many young, educated Inuit feel embarrassed that they struggle so much with their mother tongue. Young women also often lack skills such as sewing which used to be a defining skill of female identity in traditional Inuit society. Up to today in most families, women are sewing the parkas for their children and hunters; they make *amautiit*[99] to carry their babies around or sew other clothing (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 242). Sewing is regarded as a similarly high trait for women as hunting is for men.

Men are even more torn between both worlds. Until recently hunting was and somehow still is an important part of male identity and self-respect (Rasing 1994: 171f.; TD 2008-2010). Over the course of my several visits to Nunavut between 2004 and 2010 I believe to have witnessed a change in its importance for gender identity. During my first stay in Nunavut, I still found many young adult men from across the territory at the old residence of the Arctic College who stressed out hunting as an integral part of their lifestyle. Even more importantly, many women of the same age group expressed how important they regarded a successful hunter who regularly provides country food to his family. During my last stay between

[99] Kind of parka or jacket with a extra big hood in which a small child can be carried.

2008 and 2010 there were still many young men who confirmed that they are regularly going out hunting in their home communities. But the ladies' attitude seemed to have changed. They still respected hunters but when it comes to choosing a partner, they prefer Inuit men with well paid jobs in town. Their hunting abilities were secondary.

Since hunting does not generate cash income it is disregarded by a growing group of Inuit as old school as less important as wage earning jobs. In order to be a good hunter one needs to have good mentors from childhood on and be on the land a lot. Western sports such as ice hockey or basketball, pop culture like rap music and video games are more appealing than spending many hours if not days after days on the harsh tundra (Damas 2002: 197). Even if there is an interest of learning land skills, often the own male relatives who are the designated teachers have lost many of their hunting skills so that they cannot teach the next generation anymore (Mancini Billson/Mancini 2007: 340).

Overall both genders, in particular the teenagers who are going through a natural state of defining their personal identities, easily feel overwhelmed with their cultural identity (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 82).

The study of Mancini Billson and Mancini (2007:251f.) sheds a slightly more positive light on the situation. They conducted interviews in the 1980s and early 2000s and noticed that the fear of losing culture was bigger among women during their earlier interviews than during their later ones. According to them the new generation of young women is increasingly interested in re-learning the skills of their ancestors (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 237).

I noticed in my observations that many young Inuit seem to start developing a stronger interest in their traditional culture with their late teenage or early adulthood years. Quite often the increasing interest goes along with them becoming parents.

As a result, they engage in or develop formal and informal revitalization initiatives such as traditional tattooing, drum dancing, kayak building or oral history workshops and visits to their ancestors' original campgrounds. Nunavut's scene of young artists is very creative in that regards, experimenting with crossovers of western and traditional music, theatre, adapting traditional two-dimensional arts

on new mediums such as mugs or leggings, or designing very fashionable clothing with traditional materials like seal skin.

4.8.2 Gender roles

Although gender quality is formally implemented at the workplace, harassment is a topic that regularly makes its ways into the media (CBC 10/10/2018; Nunatsiaq News 25/10/2018; Pauktuutit 8/12/2016). Especially many older colleagues believe in traditional gender roles and apply that system to their workplace.
Even many younger Inuit of both genders are holding on to some aspects of traditional gender roles. Typical patterns of gender roles in the private household are for example that the woman is still the main coordinator and maintainer of the house that includes cooking, cleaning, child-raring and sewing clothing for the family. As a recent development, men are becoming more involved in household chores but especially sewing is a strong female domain where men that sew are very often looked at with a mixture of admiration and disbelieve. Having a paid employment means for women meeting double duties, the ones at the household and the ones at the work side. On top of it, in many cases the husband who might not be as economically successful and thus feels underprivileged within his own nuclear family also needs special catering (EWS 2009; TD 2008-2010).
Although many women also have some basic land skills like operating a skidoo or ATV or shooting a rifle one will hardly see a couple where the woman is taking over the lead for example by steering the vehicle (in town or on the land), deciding on travel times and general camping spots. In town when both partners have a job and drive with one car to their work place it is usually the man who brings his partner to work, then continues to his own job and picks the wife or common-law partner up at lunch break respectively by the end of the work day (EWS 2009; Inf. 1 2008; TD 2008-2010).
The increasing adaptability and dominance of Inuit women over men when trying to adapt to the highly westernized communities becomes very obvious among the new middle class. Woman are finding more easily their ways into wage employment; their involvement with local and territorial politics increases significantly and they often become the main providers for the family (KR 2 2008;

Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 210; SSP 2008). Men on the other side cannot follow their traditional role as well as the women can and have difficulties to define new spheres of identity for themselves. Women seem to have become more outspoken and extroverted in public which can be noticed by them agreeing more likely than their mothers' and grandmothers' generation to ask social workers or mental health workers for family or personal support or to go to the RCMP to lay charges against their abusive spouse (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 223).
In partnerships where the male spouse is feeling comfortable with such a strong, successful woman on his side the formerly separate gender roles are starting to mix a bit more. Both partners might share more responsibilities in the household with each other, both might take turns in cooking and serving guests whereas before this was solely the task of the female partner (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 206f.).
Those men who are not that grounded in themselves feel very intimidated by what they interpret as a role reversal. They resent being more active in the household and compensate their frustration about their personal failure to adapt or about their personal loss of status by becoming increasingly violent towards their partners (EWS 2008; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 211; SSP 2008).
Furthermore, young men and boys are widely lacking the male role models who could encourage and lead by example how to successfully navigate through the westernized world and redefine a positive male Inuit identity. Most Inuit who are successful and become nurses, or doctors, teachers, renowned performing artists etc. are women which rather attracts the next generation of females than their male peers (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 322f.).

4.8.3 Traditional and modern economy

The dichotomy with which the higher income class of Inuit in Nunavut is looking at the hunting economy does not exclusively lead to its neglect. As much as people become disconnected from the hunting tradition, as much they try to reconnect with them, respectively incorporate them in their new lifestyles. Hunting is a very labour and money intensive enterprise and the development of new hunting technologies seems to be able to offset some of the labour intensiveness. In

particular faster boats, more durable snowmobiles, high quality navigation devices (e.g. GPS) and communication devices like satellite phone as well as high quality rifles with scopes allow hunters who can afford those tools to cover larger distances in a shorter amount of time, explore more easily areas that they are not too familiar with and to be more independent while hunting. Having a hunting partner is generally an important means for the hunter's safety. The advanced and highly reliable equipment allows hunters to venture out on their own. Sometimes it actually gives hunters too much confidence to be safe without a partner. In recent years, most deadly hunting incidents in Nunavut that I became aware of happened when a hunter (even a very experienced one) went out alone.

The key of the new hunting culture which is evolving is that in particular those with high paid jobs are privileged enough to afford better hunting equipment which then allows them to re-engage into Inuit hunting traditions (Ajunngininiq Centre 2006b: 8; IQR 2010; Mancini Billson/Mancini 2007: 341). Even though it is not easy to find the time to do both hunting and full-time work there are many positive examples of families who live simultaneously in both economic spheres (CKW 2008; TD 2008-2010).

An alternative model that somewhat combines the male role as the provider with country food with the modern economy is the creation of a country food economy. In a few places across Nunavut commercial fisheries have opened and there are at least two businesses in the territory, one in Iqaluit and one in Rankin Inlet, that sell other country foods like seal, muskox and caribou meat. The commercial fisheries are the most viable ones of the country food industry: They allow quite a few men to make a living by being on the land and fishing for their community (Mancini Billson/Mancini 2007: 206, 341).

I was able to also observe a very concerning recent development in Kugluktuk. Aside from work in the territorial and hamlet administration many well paid jobs can be found outside of town for example in the growing fishing industry or at mines. Employees usually leave town to work for two weeks and return to town for the off time again for the duration of another two weeks. Many families seem to start suffering from the social consequences of these work schedules. The absence of one partner puts a heavy burden on the one who stays back in town since the

key family member for child rearing, intergenerational teachings and family-based collaboration in particular regarding procuring of country food and skins is missing for a significant time. Furthermore, it often sparks rumors that one of the two partners was having a sexual affair while the two were apart which leads to a lot of distrust, arguing and fighting. Police in Kugluktuk observed an increase in domestic violence for 2010 and explains it with the tensions arising through rumors that hit especially those couples with a “2on, 2off” work schedule (Nunatsiaq News 8/17/2010)[100]. People from other communities with strong mining activities like Rankin Inlet or Pond Inlet reported to me that similar tendencies can be noticed in their communities (TD 2015).[101]

Nonetheless, especially those families who work in jobs that are available within the community and who have successfully integrated in western wage-earning positions are able to create more opportunities for themselves to practice certain aspects of their indigenous culture. They have better access to material resources that are needed for those activities.
Since many higher paying employments can be found within the Government of Nunavut and Inuit Land Claims Organizations, economic success, political participation and social leadership are closely connected with each other. The particular lifestyle of the new middle class allows them to maintain or revitalize and practice certain aspects of traditional Inuit culture, like for example hunting or various artistic expressions. The question should be allowed here how much of the

[100] Also see chapter on challenges for government services. The closure of the women’s shelter and youth centre in Kugluktuk at the same year certainly contributed an extra piece of tension to the entire situation.
[101] Aside from the link between the “2on, 2 off” work schedule of many male employees from Kugluktuk and domestic violence, the circumstance that alcohol is less involved in these cases of spousal assault leads to the question how much longer alcohol should be treated as a “cause” for violence. Though the history of Kugluktuk with an alcohol plebiscite in 2007 and significantly decreasing numbers in violence shows a close link between alcohol consumption and violence the newest trend of increasing domestic violence without an intoxicated offender and/ or victim in the same community is additional prove that alcohol is just a catalyst but not the cause for violence. For the future it would be very interesting to follow up on increasing or decreasing patterns of non-alcohol related crime in Nunavut, not to diminish the importance of alcohol restriction or anti-alcohol campaigns but to embrace the importance of additional programs targeting social issues beyond alcohol consumption.

revitalized traditional culture actually touches on defining elements of identity that a social group usually practices l like culturally specific values of family social interaction, communication patterns, or religion. And how much does the revitalization of culture just reflect t a celebration of Inuit “folklore” that falls within the group of the 3Ds?
Tangible expressions of culture are much easier to define, discuss and celebrate as intangible ones. Since Nunavut’s society is currently in the middle of this negotiation process of how Inuit culture in a westernized territory should look like it will be a very interesting task to observe the dynamics of how Inuit culture will define itself over time.

4.8.4 Being Youth nowadays

About 39% of Nunavut's population are children between 0 and 14 years of age. Out of all children in Nunavut 15.3% are in out of home care which is a bit less than double the national average of 9.2% (NAHO 2011: 8). The numbers reveal how significant the situation of Nunavut’s children is for the fate of the territory. Over one third of the entire population is underage and consequently needs guidance to grow into healthy adults. Without that guidance there will be no outlook that the physical and mental health situation of Nunavut’s population will improve over the next decades. The kids of today will be the next generation of leaders of tomorrow and if they are not well equipped with the tools and skills to make wise decisions Nunavut’s prosperity is in jeopardy. The fact that nearly double as many children in Nunavut are in a special care situation gives reason for serious concern about the current state of the most vulnerable group in society. What are the most pressing issues that Nunavut’s youth are currently facing? And what are their realities in the communities?

4.8.5 Family relations

Nowadays youth struggle more than any generation before them with traditional family patters. The many outside influences by new media, school, and westernized communities promote the importance of individualism over the importance of the collective (kin group or community). Todays youths and young adults increasingly seem to disobey their elders and put their own interests first

before they try to meet the elders' needs. This often leads to confusion among elders who were used to a stricter obedience towards their own elders and expect now that their children keep following the old social patterns (KE 2008; Wachowich 1999: 136).

The youths on the other side often feel that their elders are too much stuck in the past and that they are sometimes missing out to recognize that traditional ways cannot always be applied to life in the settlements (KR 2 2008; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 165).

Also, some elders feel intimidated by their own descendants, especially when drugs and alcohol are part of the younger generations' lives. Elders sometimes chose not to fill out their traditional role of advisor and mediator because they are worried to be targeted by the younger generation that might turn their anger directly towards them (Wachowich 1999: 136).

As discussed in previous chapters, in most cases the family is no longer a safe place for children to be sheltered from all the social dysfunctions like violence, suicide, substance abuse. Two to three generations of cultural suppression and marginalization have left deep scars in both the individuals and the culture that are being passed on to the children and youths of today. The lack of cultural knowledge lets many young people become insecure about doing anything related to traditional culture such as sewing or hunting with experienced older women and men or speaking Inuktitut.

Therefore, there is a deep cut between many youths and their traditional leaders in the families like older siblings, parents and elders. Either the traditional authorities are feared of, so that some youths rather avoid them than seeking guidance and teachings from them or they are being less respected because many older people have struggled similarly with violence, substance abuse, and other social issues (KR 2 2008). In some instances, the children and youths have become victims of their own parents, uncles or grandparents who in some cases have beaten or raped them. Even if the violence that many minors experience may not have happened within the family many parents are too overwhelmed to provide needed support to their victimized children (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 165).

As a result, age, proficiency in a particular traditional cultural field and

relationship status within the family do not necessarily suffice for the younger generation to accepted someone as a trustworthy leader (Inf 1 2008; IYA 1 2010 Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 182; Rasing 1994: 263; SSP 2008). The worst-case consequence of that discrepancy between youths and elders is the abuse of elders by estranged or even maltreated kids who for example are just angry or in need of cash.

To prevent that worst-case scenario some communities like Kugluktuk offer programs that bring elders and youths together. By teaching the younger generation some skills the elders gain the youths' respect and the youths on the other side gain the elders' respect by proving through their program participation that they are interested in learning traditional skills (CKW 2008).

Another factor that contributes to the breakup of cultural traditions in households comes from the parents' side. As many parents or grand-parents are residential school survivors they could never develop strong parenting skills because they could not observe and learn from their own parents, uncles, aunts etc. or practice child raring with younger siblings or relatives. Furthermore, the negative experiences that they had to go through at residential school made many of the survivors weary of any kind of authority. They do not want their own children to experience a similar oppression so that many of them struggle a lot with enforcing rules towards their children. The children then grow up very spoiled, lacking coping skills and limited in their self-sufficiency (EWS 2009; IQR 3 2009; KWE 2008; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 183, 238 Matthiasson 1992: 145f; Pauktuutit 2005: 7)

When comparing the amount of attention that is given especially to male youths and young men by their immediate family to the amount of attention that the same age group received in pre-settlement times the impression comes up that in many cases young males are treated in a way as it was exclusively reserved to toddlers and young children. I had already explained that concept for the third generation and the residential school survivors.

I conclude from this that the vacuum of lacking guidance in the family is a significant contributing factor to the feeling of being lost, drug and alcohol issues, committing crimes and not listening to adults that many present-day youths are

going through.
Since the actual generation of children and youths is struggling to learn healthy parenting skills many of them will also be disabled from becoming good parents (KR 2 2008). It is usually not the lack of motivation of the parents to care their children in the best way possible but way to often it is the lack of positive role modeling and experience of the young parents that hinders them to properly raise their offspring.

4.8.6 Informal and formal education

Whereas in pre-settlement and early settlement times all learning experiences of the children happened within the extended family and by playing and imitating adult life with their peers modern learning is mostly split between the institutionalized school that teaches knowledge and skills to succeed in a western economic setting and social learning in the nuclear family and maybe with the help of some uncles and aunts (IYA 1 2010; IYA 3 2010).
Especially those parents who still have a close connection to life on the land would like to see their children to learn more land skills in addition to the academic courses in school. Since most schools do neither include much northern content nor offer firsthand on the land learning programming, formal schooling and learning about culture and traditions are often felt to compete with each other (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 134, 233).[102]
The demand for integrating traditional knowledge and land skills into the regular school curriculum derives primarily from two reasons. For one, less parents have the skill set, equipment and time to take their children on the land for longer periods. Secondly, since regular schooling is taking up so much time of the children's daily schedule there is not enough spare time left to give them a proper education on outdoor skills within the family (IR 2008; Mancini Billson/ Mancini

[102] One positive exemption is the recently opened outdoor learning program at Nanook elementary school in Apex. The program launched in 2018 and takes students for several hours per day out of the classroom and into the outdoors. One of the founders of the program explained to me in 2018 that the mix of Inuit teachers and a non-Inuit outdoor education specialist create a learning space for children where they apply academic concepts to their outdoor surroundings but also learn traditional knowledge for example how to stay warm, eatable plants or how to build an emergency shelter.

2007: 146).

In western society going to school, followed by leisure time activities without parental presence and spending many hours away from the direct contact with parents, siblings or extended family is more or less a normal situation. Institutions like schools, sports clubs, or summer camps are appreciated as contributors to the socialization process of children. For Inuit however, it is still the family who is supposed to take over the main portion of transferring knowledge to children for example about land skills, music, sewing, local history and overall socialization. Consequently, the more traditional elements of society in Nunavut still struggle with the concept that a governmental institution and not relatives is taking on the task of teaching essential skills and knowledge to the children.

4.8.7 Teen pregnancies

It is a very common phenomenon in Nunavut that mothers give birth to their first child while they are still in their teenager years. One of my interview partners for example was 15 when she got pregnant for the first time (IYA 1 2010). There is generally not much regard neither for birth control nor for abortion, partially due to the high value that children have in Inuit society and the importance of motherhood for the identity as a woman. This in combination with improved health care services that ensure low death rates among children lead to a very young population in Nunavut (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 157). The high rate of young pregnancies is no indicator for the success rate of romantic relationships in the territory. Both young men and women alike keep breaking up and engaging in new relationships or just changing sexual partners regardless of their responsibility towards a child (IYA 1 2010; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 263). The circumstance that young women are having children is no new development in Inuit culture. Both Rasing (1994: 243) and Wachowich (1999: 184f.) describe the practice among Inuit teenagers in the 1980s and 1970s, too. When looking back at marriage practices during the early contact and contact period where Inuit women could be married after their first period it becomes obvious that teen pregnancies were already known in traditional Inuit culture. The main differences between historic and modern teen pregnancies are however:

1. Not everybody got married in their mid-teens in traditional Inuit society so that many women might have had their first pregnancy in their late teens or early twenties.
2. In traditional society there was usually a husband to support the family, whereas nowadays the biological parents have often separated from each other[103]. The father often does not resume any responsibility to take care of mother or child.
3. Due to physically harder living circumstances and a less elaborated health care system more children must have died at early age so that the overall number of children was lower than today.
4. Inuit teenagers are embedded in a lifestyle that is centered in the settlement and orients itself on western culture that defines child- and adulthood and developmental stages of adolescence differently than traditional Inuit culture. Consequently, teenagers are facing other expectations and realities such as school attendance till a later age and going through a longer adolescence process and thus assuming less responsibilities for themselves than in traditional times. That again leaves pregnant teenagers nowadays with less skills and abilities to lead a self-sufficient lifestyle and infrastructural security so that they struggle more with their role as a mother or father than Inuit teenagers 70 years ago.

4.8.8 Culture and Identity

Modern day youth are often experiencing similar struggles as the young residential school returnees who had to renegotiate their role in their northern home communities. If they try to life a more traditional lifestyle, they often lack sufficient assistance of friends and family because the background of the extended family is missing who would provide the teachers, advisors and hunting companions. Money also plays a tremendous part in hunting. As mentioned before those families who are financially well situated often lack the time to maintain an outdoor oriented lifestyle because the adults have to go to their in-town jobs.

[103] Based on my observations I would like to point out that the pregnancy it not necessarily the reason for a breakup of the couple. One-night stands, on and off relationships and break ups of younger couples are very common and often related to jealousy issues.

Those families who would have the time in town mostly lack the money to afford a land-based life because they don't have wage-employment. Also, since the nuclear family becomes more and more the center of kin-identity the developing children also got to rely primarily on activities with their parents. Other family members do not feel obligated as much anymore to work with or mentor their distance relatives. As a consequence, the children and youth are very limited in opportunities to learn about living and surviving on the land. In case they finally get a chance to go out with an experienced hunter reality reveals that they lack so much knowledge that they cannot live up to their teachers' expectations or that many misunderstandings occur between them and their teachers because they are not aware of basic traditions that should be followed on the land like for example principles of how to share a catch, where to camp and not to camp, what snow should be melted for water or simply the proficiency in Inuktitut (IQR 8 2009; SSP 2208).

Additionally, expectations from their peers and potential partners are as hard to meet as expectations of family or elders. Among the youths' and young adults' peer group traditional skills play a less important part than among older Inuit. This does not mean that they do not play any role at all. Depending on the community and alternative opportunities to make a living in the village the youngsters' life and value system is obviously directed towards many aspects of western culture like music, stylish clothing, paid employment, finding a partner based on love and not on arrangement. From what I have witnessed and was told typical ways of showing off to the other gender are for example by riding a "cool machine" (snowmobile), being able to demonstrate some tricks like water skipping or being good at ice hockey. Bringing a good catch of seal meat or caribou home is slowly becoming outdated but at the same still very appreciated by the young women between 20 and 30 (EWS 2009; TD 2008-2010). As I outlined multiple times before, men are expected to fill in both roles: the one as the provider with country food and the provider with money and western goods. Also, western ideas of family life like

doing household chores, child rearing and regular presence at home[104] are further demands that men are increasingly asked to fulfill (TD 2008-2010).
Youths and young adults are the group with the lowest proficiency level of Inuktitut, in Nunavut. Those who still speak the language usually have a different vocabulary than then older generation whose language is more sophisticated and also covers a lot of terminology, for example for sewing, hunting, travelling and weather that the younger generation is not as familiar with anymore. For one, this contributes to the increasing estrangement between the older and the younger generation and a low cultural and personal identity among the youths (IYA 3 2010; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 134; Wachowich 1999: 247, 255). In addition, English is the primary language in the public, in the economy and in politics. It is the language of power and thus very appealing to young people who are in the middle of a personal developmental process in which they are figuring out their status as adults in society (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 135; TD 2008-2010).
In the chapter about the new middle class I already mentioned how in particular the young arts scene in Nunavut is engaging in cultural revitalization and cultural cross-over initiatives.
The average youths and young adults increasingly are looking for their own ways to reconnect with traditional Inuit culture, too. Sewing programs for parkas, *kamiks*[105], or mittens are becoming very popular. Primarily not-for profit organizations, Inuit land claims organizations or local schools are offering such programs (IQR 2010; IYA 3 2010). At the same time the younger generation is challenging the old traditions by breaking with certain aspects of them. For example, *kamiks* traditionally have certain patters that are reserved for men and others that are reserved for women. Nowadays one can find an increasing amount

[104] To meet their hunter and provider role within the family Inuit men were absent from their homes on a regular basis in pre-settlement times. While the family stayed in the camp men were alone or in a group out hunting, fishing, trading and very often came back after several days or even weeks, just to rest, recover, do some repairs on their equipment and leave again. An interview partner who remembered the time when she was a child and her father was still an active hunter who lived with his family on the land described that she was sometimes wondering if her father was sleeping at all. He came home after she fell asleep and he was already awake getting ready to go hunting when she woke up in the morning (RSQ: 2010). Since hunting plays a less crucial role in the lives of many young Inuit families the couple often expects from each other that they spend the time in town together.
[105] Skin and Fur boots

of people who wear *kamiks* with patterns that are traditionally associated with the opposite gender. Or more men publicly carry their newborns in an *amautik* that is traditionally a piece of clothing for women (IQR 2010; TD 2008-2010).

4.8.9 New media

The previously discussed tendency in youth subculture to imitate stereotypical behavior of southern ghetto kids emerged about 40 years ago (Finkler 1976: 64). Since the mid 1970s private households in Nunavut have access to television. The majority of the tv program are national and international channels with shows from around the world that feel very far from Inuit realities but at the same time also fascinating (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 131).
The power of the exotic images that TV ins bringing into Inuit homes in very strong also because many northern families, in particular those who do not belong to the new middle class, have limited means of leaving the North or even more so Canada. TV becomes the gate to the world and shapes perspectives of how the rest of the world is living and functioning. Especially young people who are just in the process of developing critical thinking are the most vulnerable group of absorbing messages on TV as true. From here it is only a small step to adopt some of the things seen on TV in order to separate themselves from the previous generations and to come closer to the Euro-Canadian mainstream culture that for many people appears to be more powerful and thus desirable than Inuit culture (SSP 2008; TD 2008-2010). Today TV has developed to a medium that is running permanently in many households. Even if no one is watching a particular show it is still running in the background of whatever other activities are being done inside the home (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 206; TD 2008-2010).
With the ongoing progress of new media, the internet has become an equally important medium as TV. As to my knowledge, most if not all communities in Nunavut offer public access to computers mostly through school libraries or public libraries. Those households that can afford private internet use it nearly 24/7 (IYA 3 2010). In my experience Facebook has become the platform in the North to connect people with each other. The advantage of Facebook over TV is not only that it is interactive but also that participants can create individual content that

reflects local and cultural needs or interests. A lot of open and closed groups have been created where people sell or trade personal belongings and food, or post news about their latest hunting trips. Hamlets and other political organizations can connect with those who they represent more quickly than with other media and they receive immediate feedback on their actions like weather related school closures, infrastructural changes in the community, public service announcements on health or safety hazards or any other messages that need to be shared.

4.8.10 Alcohol and Drugs

The problem with substance abuse in Nunavut already starts with youths. In previous chapters I discussed how many people of the First and Second Generation fell into an ongoing cycle of substance abuse because they felt lost in fitting their identities as Inuit adults in a rapidly changing world.

Nowadays, many youths do already have to negotiate between different cultural identities before they were able to take on the one or the other. And everything that they see feels very depressing, helpless, and with no future prospect for a change to the better. Their instable life without any real perspective and lacking opportunities to fill the day with meaningful activities leads them to a life where they live just in the here and now trying to generate activities that distract them from their worries and pain and create some excitement such as water skipping with snowmobiles, speeding in town and outside of town with ATVs and snowmobiles or consuming narcotics. A promiscuous sexuality, prostitution or robbery to secure cash for more alcohol or drugs and bullying are part of this circle as well (IQR 2 2009; Nunatsiaq News 3/28/2012; TD 2008-2010). For example, some of the youngest children I personally saw regularly smoking cigarettes were 10-12 years old.

Interestingly I could observe in two out of three communities that I was visiting for my research that younger people were becoming more sensitized about the negative effects of cigarettes than alcohol. I was told that a couple years before I started my research Nunavut had launched anti-cigarette campaigns and their positive effects were starting to show. Youth and young adults would consume slightly less cigarettes but there was no change in the consumption of marihuana

that was not targeted by the campaigns. In my personal observations there were quite some situations where marihuana was used inside the house[106], next to toddlers or babies, or by pregnant women. Cigarettes on the other side, were often smoked outside the house, in a distance from children and very often with the statement „I wish I wouldn't have to smoke. It's bad." (TD 2008-2010). Consequently, it might not be the youths' general sensitivity for health effects of smoking but the public opinion and personal attitude –certainly the personal motivation, too – toward substance abuse.

4.9 Inuit- Qallunaat Relationships: "Qallunaralu is coming to get you and take you away."[107]

4.9.1 Decades of Segregation

Nunavut's social and political realities cannot be fully understood without looking at interethnic relationships within the territory. As we've seen in some statistics at the beginning of the thesis about 50-60% of Iqaluit's population is comprised of non-Inuit. The overall portion of non-Inuit in the territory is significantly smaller but because most non-Inuit are either well-educated first-generation Nunavut residents who moved up here to work or their children who usually succeed similarly well in the northern educational and economic system their influence on and impact in the territory is very strong.

Of course, one could also create several sub-categories of non-Inuit living in Nunavut based on age group, economic success, education, length of residency, ethnic background etc. The following chapter is meant to touch on most prevalent attributes, opinions, clashes, even clichés between Inuit and Non-Inuit, primarily middle- and upper-class southerners. The relevance of this chapter lies in its illustrating character of the tensions in Inuit-Non-Inuit relationships that form the nourishing grounds for real and felt cultural imbalances and biases among both sides.

[106] Another reason for smoking marihuana inside instead of outside the house is certainly its illegal status (until 2018, though consumption is only permitted on private property but not in public).
[107] IQR 1 2010

In both one on one conversations and personal experiences at schools, governmental departments or hamlets I found a lot of bias between Inuit and Qallunnaat that can complicate working relationships because neither side has a good understanding of the actual mindset or situation the other side is in. Some very common perceptions centre around imbalances of health and economic situation between both groups.

Non-Inuit are commonly thought to be wealthy because so many of them fill in the high paid government jobs. And discussions about crime, physical and mental health usually place Inuit in the centre of attention (GHS 2008).

Another assumption that is very often made about Non-Inuit is that they would have a lesser attachment to Nunavut. Most people who moved from southern Canada to Nunavut who I spoke to are spending their holidays in their home provinces visiting friends and relatives. Not many Non-Inuit, except when being married to an Inuk or after living for many years in Nunavut go regularly camping on the land or are spending their holidays in other Nunavut communities.

Inuit – Qallunaat relationships during the whaling period were more or less balanced and shaped by mutual respect. From the whaling days all the way into the early settlement period the limitations of non-Inuit in self-sufficient survival on the land were fully acknowledged which lead to locals often adopting a newcomer into their own family, caring for him or her and teaching them all necessary skills that an adult would need to live off the land (IQR 2010).

From the beginning on, *qallunaat* in most cases appear to be respected as authority figures (IQR 2010; McPherson 2003: 19). Studying historic accounts leads to the assumption that *qallunaat* authority was not only based on superior material culture such as weapons, tools or medication but also by their attitude, the way how they present themselves and communicate which was very often perceived as hostile (see chapter on the First Generation: Briggs 1970: 44; Douglas 2009: 48; McPherson 2003: 19; Wachowich 1999: 93f.). Consequently, *qallunaat* were generally perceived as people one should please in order to avoid conflicts (RSQ 2010).

The white dominance felt by Inuit was also often expressed in their quick agreement to what they felt were orders but what was often intended by a

qallunaat as suggestions. Soon, governmental administrators started to make decisions for Inuit instead of with Inuit (Damas 2002: 92). Another example is that of Apphia Awa who recounts one incident where she followed the local missionaries demand to address her children by their baptized names. But once the missionary died and thus no *qallunaat* supervision was around anymore she started calling her children by their Inuktitut names again (Wachowich 1999: 131). The history of Inuit - Non-Inuit relationships is of particular importance because one can see a clear shift from Non-Inuit successfully integrating themselves into Inuit society prior to the establishment of the permanent communities to a growing competitive nature between both cultures with the establishment of permanent settlements. Before, local Inuit groups were only dealing with a very limited number of foreign individuals who in the case of whalers were only visiting temporarily or in the case of traders and missionaries stayed permanently but usually physically outside of the community. They had their permanent mission or trading post and Inuit moved on their own will to those places or away from them again.

With the establishment of permanent settlements Inuit and Non-Inuit started to live door on door with each other and the influx of Non-Inuit workers into the new communities quickly rose. As a consequence, Inuit society became overwhelmed with negotiating the proper place of each newcomer within its social system and on top of that the new communities came with a new westernized administration that did not have much regard for the traditional Inuit social system. Both the immigration of Non-Inuit into Nunavut's communities and the competition between a northern society based on Euro-Canadian principles versus one based on an Inuit normative system has rather accelerated over the past 70 years than slowed down. Studies from indigenous communities on the Northwest Coast of Canada showed how such a severe change in community dynamics can weaken or even break up cultural and social norms within a society. The results are increasing issues with alcoholism, suicide, mental health, homicide and domestic violence (Ajunnginiq Centre 2006b: 16).

Other reasons for the growing conflicts arose from the fact that most Inuit tended to act in a more existentialist fashion whereas Non-Inuit were strongly future

oriented and long-term goal directed (McPherson 2003: 18; TD 2008-2010). A capitalistic society does not provide much opportunity for someone with existentialistic worldview to "succeed" or be a productive and reliable employee in western terms.

Consequently, relationships in the mid 20th century were already widely shaped by ethnic segregation within the communities (McPherson 2003: 17) which made it difficult for both sides to develop a common ground, good understanding and acceptance of differing cultural attitudes.

Another characteristic of the many changes that I have described is the poor communication between Inuit and Qallunaat about the role of the incoming western administrators and their visions for a new arctic reality.

In that regards McPherson (2003: 96) cites the British anthropologist Hugh Brody who found in the 1970s that there was a

"...failure (to) effective communication between Inuit and Whites even within a single community."

Brody continues*:*

"Eskimos of the Eastern Arctic will be able to live in ways that reflect their own preferences only if the dominant society's intrusion can be minimized."

Still today many Inuit feel dominated by South-Canadian culture and consequently insecure or even minor about themselves**.** During my research I found myself in many situations where the insecurity of my Inuit interview partners in having to deal with a *qallunaat* became very obvious: No matter if in a formal setting for example during an interview with a governmental representative or being in a non-formal situation like having some small talk and personal chats my dialogue partners tended to be apologetic for their "bad English" which to me did not appear to be bad at all. The body language of many of them also spoke for itself. In none of the interviews with Non-Inuit in Nunavut did I ever feel so much insecurity as in many interviews with Inuit. Over the course of my research I learned that being put on the spot, in particular being in a Euro-Canadian setting like a formal interview or even talking to an academic raises various levels of insecurity ranging from personal to cultural ones including the general fear of the dominant western culture and its representatives.

As illustrated in the previous chapters Brody's words are still today not being heard and western culture continues to throw itself largely unregulated onto Inuit culture whereas the establishment of strong mechanisms to strengthen Inuit culture beyond the 3Ds in order to properly counter balance the weight of western culture has failed so far.
The reason for that does not only lay in the historical paternalism by Non-Inuit but also by the current ignorance about Inuit cultural particularities among many non-Inuit decision makers and average residents. Consequently, Inuit feel that they have lost control over their own lives which then creates personal and cultural trauma (Pauktuutit 2006b: 4).
On a semantic base many Euro-Canadians and Inuit alike who I met seem to follow a pattern of differentiating between "them and us". In both Kugluktuk and Iqaluit most Euro-Canadians that I got to know tent to maintain more and closer relationships to their ethnic group than to Inuit even after living in the communities for decades. When being asked why they prefer to stay within their own cultural group people pointed out that close, ongoing interethnic relationships often fail due to the lack of understanding important patterns of the other culture. One interview partner who works in education confirmed my observations with a quote he heard very often from Inuit who felt that:
"Qallunaat, they don't get it!", "They don't get where they're living!" (PNS 2009)
Therefore, most interethnic relations are limited to the workplace where a formal structure of interaction and communication applies to everyone alike.
As I pointed out before, those are tendencies among both groups and there are many cases where Inuit and Non-Inuit maintain close, well-functioning relationships with each other. Mancini Billson and Mancini (2007: 113) explained for example that Non-Inuit who showed an open mind set and some humor were able to develop very good relationships with Inuit. The aspect of humor is more relevant as it may seem; for one, due to the Inuit cultural concept of mocking each other (see chapter on conflict resolution) but also because cultural misunderstandings will happen, and humor is a helpful tool to overcome those.

4.9.3 The Desirable White Spouse

In all three communities that I visited I learned from local residents and anecdotally experienced myself a very aggressive approach of young locals to engage in sexual intercourse or establish romantic relationships with Non-Inuit who have just arrived as new residents. Most of my informants to this topic are Euro-Canadian males, a few Euro-Canadian females, and exclusively Inuit females. In consequence my information mostly relates to white male – Inuit female constellations. But the few non-indigenous females also confirmed that there is a noticeable amount of Inuit males who are very adamant in „checking them out“. In particular RCMP personal who switches quite regularly in the communities reported incidents were some locals walked up to the RCMP staff housing and very openly asked the new staff about for example their marital status, if they could imagine going out with a local woman or man or if they want to go on a date together (CKI 2008; RCMP K2; RCMP K3). The other group prone to such approaches is nurses who also often come and go within a relatively short period of time and do not have much time to establish themselves in the social structure of the community (TD 2008-2010).

As to my knowledge the overtures of the indigenous residents are mostly turned down by the southern newcomers; recent exploitation of local (female) residents by RCMP and hospital personal was not found at all.

Those RCMP officers who I spoke to also confirmed similar experiences in Inuit communities where they were placed prior to their current assignment so that I am assuming it is a Nunavut-wide phenomenon. The common explanations that I got from my informants concerted mostly around the argument that Inuit ladies may hope to escape violent and economically poor conditions by establishing an intimate relationship with Euro-Canadians who are despite cultural differences seen as economically stronger and more respectful towards their spouses (TD 2008-2010).

In two different communities, after having established some trustful relations to locals I heard several times Inuit ladies of different age groups stating: „There should be more men in town like you who think about the future and respect women. “

This, lines up with the explanations that other non-Inuit gave me and it illustrates well the dilemma that many ladies find themselves in: being in a violent or at least emotionally exhausting relationship versus their desire to have on a healthy partnership.
The whole complex of especially white male – Inuit female relations often increases tensions because many of the female Inuit who are interested in non-Inuit men have jealous ex-partners and current partners in the same community which accelerates the spiral of domestic violence among Inuit men and women. Inuit men who often already feel marginalized in all kinds of ways now are also confronted with the challenge to compete about their partners with Euro-Canadian strangers who do already meet some crucial ideals of the new changing society whereas the local males are still in the transition process from a land-based identity to an urban-based

5 Resume: Internal discussion in Nunavut on handling the existing problems "*We never thought we would but now we are living the same way as qallunaat*" [108]

The different chapters of my thesis gave an overview of the many contributing factors to the main social issues in Nunavut. The severity of the influence of every one of these challenges upon each generation vary and also effect individuals differently.
The first generation of Inuit who had to relocate into permanent homes has passed on some of their trauma like for example economic insecurity and other fears of loss to their descendants so that they do not only struggle with their own contemporary challenges but also carry a psychological burden from their ancestors that might in some areas unconsciously limit them to actively and successfully deal with other issues.
When the majority of Inuit in Nunavut moved to permanent settlements 60 years ago, people were suddenly facing changes that were both drastic and happened incredibly fast. All areas of their daily business were impacted by those changes

[108] Partridge/Trudel 2009: 69

that were often intentionally, often unintentionally enforced by non-Inuit community residents who formed right from the beginning on the dominant elite within the settlements.
While Inuit women were basically able to fulfil the same or at least similar roles in the settlement as they had been tasked with in the previous camps such as child rearing, meal preparation, sewing and other household chores it was primarily the men whose spheres of interaction, their economy, identity, sharing of knowledge got turned upside down.
Also, a completely new socio-political system was introduced as the new base for community life that substituted the former camp life like a public democracy with a mayor and a community council that were democratically elected by all adult community members.
The large magnitude of changes did not stop but continued with the next generations of Inuit who tried to arrange themselves with the new town life. The residential school experienced created a generation of young Inuit who lost much of their culture, language, identity and who never learned social skills that are necessary to form a healthy family.
Those who did not attend residential schools were struggling in their own way with their changing lives and with the returning residential school survivors. Increasingly an imbalance grew between Euro-Canadian and Inuit culture in which Inuit felt displaced, marginalized and confused about who they were and how to respond to the western dominance.
The *"widespread cultural shock and a disruption at both the community and the individual levels"* (Wood 1997: 57) resulted in increasing social issues, especially mental health issues, substance abuse, suicides and domestic violence.
Since many Euro-Canadians both in Nunavut and on the federal level are still lacking to acknowledge that individual and cultural healing can only succeed when a society is being granted to negotiate their cultural and social identity from within the culture Nunavut continues to be a place where colonial-like structures foster the continuation of the social and cultural tragedy that is hitting Inuit for the last 70 years.

Due to its disruptive nature, violence in particular in the form of suicide and domestic violence appear to be towering over Nunavut like the peak of an iceberg that is held up by so many other social issues, unhealthy social dynamics and dysfunctions within the administration system.
As we have seen, many of the issues are not new to the territory. Even before the region that is now known as Nunavut split from Northwest Territories (NWT) which is now 20 years ago the Government of the NWT identified in the „Evans Report" that the factors like high alcohol and drug use, unemployment, *„poor unemployment",* and the many broken families formed an ideal base for violence to flourish (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 163). LaPrairie (1987: 125) is coming in her study in the mid-1980s to the same conclusion.
Nearly 20 years later Pauktuutit identified in its "Nuluaq Project"(2004: 3, 4) pretty much the same causes for social issues and violence. In their report, most front-line workers in Nunavut pointed out following key factors for abuse and other social issues in Nunavut:

- Trauma and abuse (usually suffered as children)
- The continuing cycle of abuse
- Parenting and family problems
- Lack of community based intervention
- Lack of healing and community counselling services in the communities[109]
- Lack of recruitment and training of Inuit for front-line work
- Substance abuse
- Cultural dissonance
- And lack of Inuit culture and values

(Pauktuutit 2004: 3, 4)

In my own research about six years after the Nuluaq project social workers identified the same factors for social issues in the territory (SWIQ 2008 – 2010)

[109] It is essential that not any kind of healing or counselling service is needed but culturally appropriate services, most likely with innovative concepts that differ from western teachings regarding counselling and mental well-being of (western) people.

The Final Report of the Inuuqatigiitsiarniq Symposium by the Government of Nunavut (GNDHSS 2006: 6f.) identifies very similar root causes for violence against women:

- power and control of women and children: both genders believe men have to
- right to control family
- gender inequality
- poor self-management and communication skills (not being able to
- communicate feelings and thoughts properly, this inability can lead to
- frustration and violence, children who witness violence overtake violence as
- social mechanism into their own life).
- past abuse and cycle of violence
- victimized children by witnessing abuse and violence
- low self-esteem and confidence especially among young Inuit men
- dysfunctional family dynamics like lacking parenting skills
- untreated mental issues which leaves mentally ill people left behind and lost. And
- family and communities overwhelmed with how to properly care for them.
- lack of Inuit self determination (personally and on community level)
- social problems like housing, substance abuse, unemployment etc.

Iqaluit's Chief Coroner described to me that social dysfunctions encourage suicidal behavior. The main stress factors that he pointed out are:

- dysfunctions in the family
- no effective communication between parents and children and neglect of children/ youths
- immense overcrowding
- low education and career opportunities
- lacking support by extended family and friends
- inter-generational tensions regarding lifestyle and normative system

The Baffin Crime and Justice study from the early 1990s lists the following points as major social challenges for Nunavut:

- victimization of women of all age groups
- housing issues
- role of extended family for Inuit
- increasing alcohol consumption
- increasing violence
- lack of identification of the indigenous population with the Canadian justice system represented by RCMP and (circuit) courts (Griffith, Wood, Zellerer, Saville
  1995: 148 - 150).

Although most contributing factors for the devastating social situation in Nunavut are very well known for years if not decades it is alarming to acknowledge that my research proved that the situation has not much changed over time and most issues remain insufficiently addressed.
In my many formal and informal interviews with professionals and private individuals in Nunavut it became obvious that many organizations feel overwhelmed with their assigned tasks. At the same time, I also met a lot of people with their own opinions, suggestions and innovative ideas on how the difficult situation in Nunavut might be tackled. On the following pages I would like to give some of these people and organizations a voice by presenting and discussing their suggestions. That way my thesis will finish with the provision of a base layer for solution-oriented discussions among scholars, politicians and front-line workers alike.
A wide range of national and regional Inuit organizations published various analysis of the severe social situation in Nunavut and also came up with recommendations on how to target the problems.

Pauktuutit (n.y.: 18f) for example stresses the importance of Inuit-led healing programs, awareness campaigns, and more efforts to preserve and promote traditional knowledge.
The Ajunnginiq Centre (2006b: 24-29) has similar recommendations that in addition demand more political action on a national and international level. Strengthening Inuit self-determination as a tool to implement successful programs was also one of their points.
The National Aboriginal Health Organization (NAHO 2011: 13 - 16) identifies very similar action points in regard to childcare issues. Inuit self-determination and programming with community input is also key for NAHO. This goes hand in hand with the expansion of local capacities, culturally specific and *"culturally appropriate services"* and strengthening the support for affected families
The 2003 "Review of Victim Services in Nunavut, Northwest and Yukon Territories" as well as a publication by the Tukisigiarvik Centre (2008: 3f.) come up with the same recommendations (Levan 2003: viii; 57 - 69).
Specifically, regarding violence against women, a Government of Nunavut (GNDHSS 2006: 8 - 11) report outlines recommendations that largely correlate with the demands of the previously mentioned organizations. Their main points are culturally specific programming, community involvement, more family support (e.g. parenting training opportunities), more local emergency response services but also increasing community policing initiatives, building more capacity for victim and child counselling, and establishing long-term programs targeted towards ongoing support for victims and offenders alike.
In the following I would like to examine a few of these action items a bit closer.

5.1 Looking underneath the surface

Since Nunavut is facing so many issues at the same time many of its administrative bodies and not for profit organizations are rather in an reactive than proactive mode. Limited finances, high program costs, limited human capacities and the initial desire to a quick fix in order to move on to the next problem all too easily lead to programs that target the symptoms but not the underlaying causes of the issues (EWS 2009).

The effects of such programs are very limited and often not lasting so that a change must happen here. For example, several mental health specialists identified the lack of grieving skills as a severe contributing factor to mental health issues in Nunavut. Consequently, their suggestion is the conduction of long-term workshops that deal with grieving, counseling, teaching grieving skills, anger management and addiction issues. One concept suggested to deliver such a workshop on the land for 1 month straight, where participants would be leaving their families and any other duty behind so that they can work intensely on their personal issues guided by a mental health specialist in that field (EWS 2009; MHI 2009).
Furthermore, a lot of the staff who is making decisions on programming and services as well as front- line workers are non-Inuit who might lack the in depth understanding of Inuit culture. Those employees would benefit from cultural awareness trainings to raise more awareness for particularities of Inuit culture that could than be given more consideration in the development process of programs and services and the delivery of such (CWC 2009).
Community involvement in the program development and implementation is another suggestion that would ensure cultural relevance and acceptance and thus buy in from community members in the program (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 168).

5.2 Public campaigning

Physical domestic abuse is so prevalent in the communities that several sources confirmed this should be one of the first areas to significantly campaign for the personal integrity of women and children (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 166; Pauktuutit 2004: 8). Men in particular, need to be addressed. For too long, large parts of the society in Nunavut have quietly accepted or at least succumbed to violence against women. Oftentimes, the female spouse is being told that if she speaks up, she is putting the entire family and her partner in danger because he is so lost already that he might commit suicide if his partner will "turn on him" (EWS 2009). Two persons who are working for decades in the field of social and mental health suggested that the departments of Culture and Heritage, Social Services and Education need to launch a strong campaign to offer support and alternative life

choices to men and sensitize the entire population that violence is inacceptable. Such campaigns would need to address the families, improve their parenting skills and encourage them to stop *nakliking* boys and young men who have outgrown their early childhood years (EWS 2009; Inf 1 2008).
By encouraging women to seek help, escape their suppressed situation and speak up about their drama mental health specialists see a real change for the victims to emancipate themselves, reconnect with their feelings and overcome the low self-esteem, fear and often depression that goes along with being stuck in abusive relationships (CWS 2009; SCI 2009).

5.3 Political support

Before any issue can be handled appropriately there must be the public recognition that such a problem does exist at all. Several interview partners pointed out that there is a sense in Nunavut that politicians would often downplay matters, in particular issues like violence and sexual abuse (CWC 2009; EDQ 2008; EWS 2009). Once major issues have been acknowledged as such a fruitful dialogue on problem solving can happen.
The major points of criticism from professionals who deliver various services were lack of funding and immediate action from the government to implement culturally appropriate programs (CWC 2009: de Jong 2003: 11; GHS 2009; Mental Health Symposium 2008: 11; Nunatsiaq News 6/18/2011; Patterson 2002: xiv, 88f,; 90; SSP 2008).
In order to achieve more political action people suggested more advocacy from not-for profit organizations towards the Government. The additional advocacy would allow the government to acknowledge the high importance of certain topics because the activities of those groups could be interpreted as prove that there is a serious problem that is not being addressed appropriately by the Government of Nunavut, yet (GHS 2008).
Secondly collaborations between government and such advocacy groups would ensure that support is targeted correctly and that actually speaks to those who are in need (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 167).

The final report of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission (2010: 48f.) summarizes the key demands for more political action as follows:

1. The Government of Canada should formally acknowledge that the levels of suicide, addiction, incarceration and social dysfunction found in the Qikiqtani region are in part symptoms of intergenerational trauma caused by historical wrongs.

2. The governments of Canada and Nunavut should ensure that sufficient Inuit social, mental health and addiction workers and programs are available to meet the needs of all Nunavut communities.

3. The governments of Canada and Nunavut should ensure that government health, social and education programs and services are available to the people of Nunavut 91 Peter Bates, "Inuit and Scientific Philosophies About Planning, Prediction and Uncertainty," (Arctic Anthropology 44, 2, (2007), p. 90.) on a basis equivalent to those taken for granted by Canadians in the South.

4. The Governments of Canada and Nunavut should address Inuit housing needs through provision of short-, medium- and long-term funding to ensure adequate and safe homes for all.

Pauktuutit (2004: 4-6) formulates very similar demands and added more action items to its list of recommendations:

- Develop Inuit healing resources and training;
- Recruit and train Inuit front-line workers in all areas of abuse prevention;
- Develop and improve training programs for Inuit front-line workers in all fields of abuse prevention including health care, justice and social services; to allow counsellors and healers to work in a professional and supportive environment; and
- Increase funding for paid Inuit front-line counsellors/healers;
- Recognize Inuit healing as a legitimate practice;
- Develop multi-purpose healing facilities in communities for all ages and needs;
- Increase intervention programs for children and families;
- Develop public awareness campaigns specific to Inuit communities;
- Develop aftercare and long-term emotional support for victims of abuse as

well as offenders;

- Develop alternatives to corrections and increase community-based justice initiatives; and integrate Inuit language and culture and the use of elders and Inuit values in service delivery.
- Develop crisis intervention shelters in all Inuit communities, including shelters for children, teens and those at risk of suicide;
- Integrate victim-workers as part of the police services;

5.4 Justice

One step to adapt justice services more closely to the needs of northern communities with a high indigenous population is for example the introduction of restorative justice initiatives like FAIA that are expected to better represent traditional patterns of Inuit conflict resolution. Community based justice programs are a second initiative that goes into the same direction (Griffith, Wood, Zellerer, Saville 1995: 142; Ineak Ipeelie 2008).

Some of the existing court services seem to be stretched to its max. During the time of my research for example the legal aid sector with its circuit courts seemed to be chronically understaffed which put a lot of pressure on the existing staff who were travelling sometimes two out of four weeks per month. In order to deliver appropriate court services to the communities more investments would be needed in this area, too (CWC 2009, KR 2 208).

The main challenges for the effective delivery of programs lays again in adequate and ongoing funding, well trained personal, and legal boundaries since all programs need to comprise with the Canadian legal justice system. Most importantly to note here is the tendency that especially those programs that were created through direct community input seem to be the most successful ones (Griffith, Wood, Zellerer, Saville 1995: 142ff.; TD 2008-2010).

5.5 Alcohol and Drugs

The most common regulatory measure for alcohol issues is the establishment of liquor control committees who are regulating the availability of alcohol to community residents. The thought behind it is that most violence breaks out under the influence of alcohol so that no or limited availability of alcohol will reduce the

amount of violence in a community (KYI 2008; SSP 2008). There are indicators however who question the long-term benefits of such regulations. A police officer in Kugluktuk shared some personal observations with me that a few years after the alcohol ban got introduced to Kugluktuk the amount of violence was on the rise again and this time many offenders were not intoxicated (RCMP K4). Another example is the creation of the highly controversial beer and wine store in Iqaluit in 2017. Many residents were concerned that the level of intoxicated incidents would significantly increase. Based on informal conversations with justice and law enforcement personal there might have been an initial pike that dropped down shortly after again. The long-term effects of the beer and wine store for the community are still unknown.

In addition to any efforts of controlling the influx of alcohol into the communities, addiction treatment is another hot topic in Nunavut. Since the territory does not have any addiction treatment facility but many addiction issues the demand for such a facility is high (GHS 2008; Pauktuutit 2003: 7). About 14 years ago ITK had already voiced its recommendations regarding addictions treatment and mental health issues. The Inuit organization demanded:

- culturally appropriate programs based in communities, so that individuals do not have to leave home and familiar environments in order to receive help;
- services be created that provide both harm reduction and abstinence strategies, so that community members have access to a range of services for the variety of alcohol abuse issues
- more alcohol counsellors be employed in communities, as part of an integrated health human resources strategy;
- adequate training for alcohol counsellors;
- use of brief intervention strategies by frontline health providers and wellness counsellors, to give helpful information for those in the earlier stages of problem drinking;
- community based aftercare for those with serious problems returning from (a southern) treatment centres;

- implementation of population health measures such as alcohol education, public and policy attitudes emphasizing nonacceptance of problem drinking
- early intervention and harm reduction as preventive measures, programs that develop healthy families and healthy relationships, and so on;
- residential treatment centres in all Inuit regions so that treatment remains culturally appropriate and as close to home as possible;
- valid evaluation of programs in order to develop and maintain effective services.
- (Korhonen 2005: 3).

5.6 Housing

The demand for more and affordable housing may seem a bit far fetched when discussing strategies to solve issues such as substance addiction, domestic violence, suicide or (intergenerational) trauma. However, housing and overcrowding were identified for Nunavut as factors that add a lot of stress on families and individuals and consequently increase the likelihood of violence in families (EDQ 2008; Pauktuutit 2004: 9). The reduction of overcrowding would lower the stress that most people who live in such tight spaces experience and allows them to free up more capacities to deal with other personal issues (EDQ 2008).

On top of it the existing houses are based on Euro-Canadian housing models and do not consider particular cultural needs. For example, the importance of country food and its consumption in a group setting in many Inuit households means that animals are being butchered and eaten usually on the kitchen or living room floor. Consequently, houses would be more suitable for such activities if they had larger preparation areas for animal carcasses that are easy to clean, outdoor storage areas to keep fresh meat in larger quantities cool or frozen and larger common areas that allow the family and potential guests to gather and enjoy their feast (Pauktuutit 2006b: 6).

Since the territorial government does not have the financial resources to meat the huge demand for additional housing by itself the federal government also needs to step up and contribute more funds towards affordable housing programs (Qulliit

2007: 7)

The "Study of women's homelessness North of 60" (FWCDL 2007: 145 – 156; Qulliit 2007: 8 - 10) addresses housing and homelessness issues plus the tail of resulting problems that most homeless people especially women in Nunavut face. It provides a list with 16 recommendations:

- Create national housing strategy that takes into account special circumstances and needs of vulnerable women
- Increase the supply of decent, safe low-income housing
- Increase supportive housing option
- Increase the number of emergency shelters
- Increase second-stage housing options
- Implement housing authority policies that remove barriers for women living in violence and those who are homeless or are at risk of becoming homeless
- Address landlord and tenant issues
- Implement poverty reduction strategies
- Provide services that address the full range of determinants of women's homelessness
- Reduce barriers to accessing services for homeless women
- Ensure appropriate funding for a range of front-line services
- Enhance access to education and training programs
- Ensure access to childcare
- Develop mechanisms for collaborative and creative solution building
- Collect, manage and share information
- Enhance public awareness and facilitate attitude change

5.7 Changes in education

The educational system could benefit from targeting three particular areas: creating more culturally relevant content, finding more ways to positively encourage students to attend school and connecting with parents to overcome historically rooted resentments towards formal education.

Schooling in the residential schools and first local schools differed a lot from schooling nowadays, for example in student-teacher relationships, means of

disciplining, pedagogy and content. Many parents are not very familiar with the modern school system and consequently are intimidated by the school and teachers and are unsure what to expect from school and how to help their own children to succeed in school. Since the main language of education and communication is English, Inuit with low English skills often avoid connecting the teachers or their children in order to avoid embarrassment in front of the well educated southern teacher (Douglas 2009: 44).That is why schools need to be pro-active in reaching out to parents, proving an environment where parents feel safe and understood (PNS 2009).

Many schools nowadays have either some Inuit teachers or at least Inuit school counsellors which I think reduces the communication issues. The aspect of verbal communication is relatively well covered but could of course be further improved. What is not being solved yet is the issue of cultural communication and understanding. Both Inuit and Non-Inuit staff as well as Non-Inuit staff and Inuit parents and children still encounter many misunderstandings based on different cultural, social, and language concepts. Consequently, teacher development among staff is very important. Both staff who grew up in the North and those who grew up in southern Canada need to continuously adapt their skills and knowledge to the current challenges in their school, no matter if it is cultural communication issues with parents, lack of Inuktitut skills, new pedagogy tricks or something else. In particular southern teachers need to gain a better grasp of the particularities of Inuit culture and also acknowledge the importance of maintaining and supporting local culture which would help to reduce the sheer dominance of Euro-Canadian culture in Nunavut's public sector (PIS 2009).

Between my first visit to Inuksuk High School in Iqaluit in 2004 and my second visit in 2009 the principal pointed out to me that school attendance had noticeable increased (PIS 2009).

Inuksuk High School is an example of how successful certain programs regarding a higher attendance of students in school can be.

The principle kept explaining that sometimes very simple measures can have a large impact, for example actively encouraging network building among students. The school is putting efforts into integrating every student into a social group of

peers and creating a place of *"belonging".* A strong emphasis is also being put on creating a safe environment, free of judgement, bullying, violence plus trying to offer every student an opportunity for success by providing a creative learning environment and many extra-curricular activities (PIS 2009)

Other methods not only at Inuksuk High but also other schools are that the schools could invite people who the students can relate to as role models and have them do motivational speeches about the importance of learning, commitment, staying in school, etc. (PIS 2009; TD 2008-2010).

Addressing issues in discussions with students, particularly those issues that are most relevant for the students, like sexuality, prostitution and violence, is also part of a strategy that Inuksuk High School has implemented (SCI 2009). Since neither the families nor the government educate largely about those topics some schools try to fill those gaps within their own system.

Since children often lack the experience that their efforts pay of quickly, programs like the Grizzly Project in Kugluktuk help rewarding them with exactly this experience. The program gives those students with regular attendance and a commitment to learning, the benefit of attending various after school sports programs. According to Kugluktuk's high school director the program helps especially junior high school students whereas the older ones are harder to attract with the system of sports in rewards to school attendance (DKH 2008). The director sees a crucial aspect of the success of the project in the close involvement of the kids in every aspect of the program. It's not just about playing sports but also about organizing and managing the resources and infrastructure that enables them to do their sports. Therefore, the kids are volunteering a lot, take over certain responsibilities but are normally never pushed so much that they feel left alone and overwhelmed. Every participant shall give their best but is not required to go beyond their abilities that they feel comfortable with (DKH 2008).

Turning schools into places that students can relate to starts with a higher employment rate of local staff. Of course, it is also necessary to create formal northern content but equally if not even more important is having Inuit teachers and counsellors in the schools. If teachers are employed who have spend all their lives in the North, who have shared the same personal and inter-generational

cultural and historical memory than the students, Inuit culture on a deeper level than the 3Ds will be automatically brought to the schools. All the subconscious dynamics that are specific to people of the same cultural group can start happening between students, teachers and parents again which will most likely contribute to a larger identification with school (DHS 2008; TD 2008-2010).
In Kugluktuk the junior high school curriculum is already very well adapted to northern realities with a noticeable positive impact on the student's success rate in school (DKH 2008).

5.8 Community building

The establishment of permanent settlements has created new social entities, Whereas the extended family was traditionally in the centre of Inuit social interaction, larger communities with many families, foreigners and also many Inuit whose families live in other settlements are deemed to fail as a social entity as long as locals insist of choosing a identity based on kin over an identity based on the larger community.
Pauktuutit (2005: 8) recognizes the strength that lies in a successful community building process. In their opinion a healthy community where all kinds of agencies and individuals are working together to the greater good of the whole community in opposite to a collaboration based on traditional clan structures, allows the creation of strong networks that can catch those individuals and families who are struggling. If the weakest in the community are being catered for, the settlement will become stronger and run less risk of repeatedly experiencing serious dramas and traumas such as youth suicide or high substance abuse issues (AIP 2008; GHS 2008; KE 2008; Pauktuutit 2006: 10).
Any community engagement can only work with strong leadership, self-determination and commitment of each individual to the community they live in. In that regards local support groups seem to be helpful.
One interview partner who struggled a lot with substance abuse stressed the importance of a local support group in her life. Attending regular meetings of that group allows her to establish social relationships outside of the consanguine family with people who are eager to live a healthier life. This makes it easier for her to

break the cycle of drinking whenever she feels helpless or frustrated. She has found role models and at the same time feels like a role model and has found a save place to share her personal story with others who will neither judge nor put any other pressure on her (RSQ 2010).
A couple other informants expressed the same approach in particular to help youths. In their suggestion youths should be able to meet among each other to discuss their issues and support each other in their struggles in order to not fall back into old habits and associate entirely with those friends and family who continue their unhealthy lifestyle (DHS 2008; KE 2008). One person also added that elders or older people with more life experience could regularly join those sessions to add an extra level of guidance (KE 2008).
Support groups were also suggested as one medium among others to tackle domestic issues. If both genders would have same sex peers they can talk about their personal problems and the ones in their families; they would have a safe channel to release their negative, bottled up feelings and would not have to escalate within their own families (Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 166).

5.9 Involvement of elders

As has been discussed before both young and old are aware that elders are very often not given the same respect anymore. Several people I talked to also blamed the Canadian justice system for weakening the Inuit traditional authority system. Through the shift from traditional law to Canadian law the culturally implemented authorities lost on status and meaning in the communities whereas the outside authorities took over the role of controlling social behavior. Furthermore, the dominant Euro-Canadian system introduced new social norms that the younger Inuit generations started to take over instead of following their own cultural ones (TD 2008-2010). Consequently, especially traditional oriented Inuit would like to see a bigger involvement of Elders in key decision-making processes, advisory committees and in positions where the "old order" of elders guiding younger generations would be somehow restored again.
A lot of government employees seem to be open to the idea of incorporating elders' guidance into community based programming (GHS 2008; Mancini Billson/

Mancini 2007: 240; PNS 2009; SSP 2008) so that it is mostly up to the higher politics to create the proper strategies, collaborations, approve the funding and give the ok to the front line workers to actually implement such programming.
On the other side, not all knowledge holders are equally excited to share their knowledge with children or adults who are not part of their own extended family. Secondly most elders or experienced people nowadays expect payment for teaching at a classroom or workshop. Given the financial stress that many Inuit including elders have, payment is a legit expectation. However, there are not enough financial resources available to ensure many long-term elder-children programs that could serve most of the communities (TD 2008-2010).
Some communities however can already present programs that successfully bring elders and youths together. Brighter Futures in Kugluktuk for example offers activities like crafting or drum dancing where elders pass on their knowledge to visiting children and youths. The groups are usually small which allows a very personal and thus more intimate experience (CKW 2008). As I also learned the Nattilik Centre in Gjoa Haven for example offers story telling workshops in which youths learn about the meaning and associated stories of objects that are being exhibited at the local museum.

5.10 Raising pride in Inuit culture

As mentioned throughout several previous chapters many Inuit see a chance of regaining a more emotionally balanced state by reconnecting with the land, going hunting, fishing, camping or boating in the summer months. Many Inuit told me how much being on the land reenergizes them, connects them with their true inner self and gives them a sense of identity. Levan (2003: 17) describes in his research the same connection between Inuit and the land and is adding on that many Inuit feel that some time on the land even though it may not solve their problems gives them the strength to endure and push through the hardships that are waiting for them in town again.
That is why many Nunavummiut feel that victim and offender services should incorporate more on the land opportunities in their healing programs. In addition to spending as much time as possible on the land, engaging in traditional and

contemporary crafts and cultural expressions such as drum dancing, individuals opening their homes to victimized individuals, staying with relatives during violent episodes in one's own home, becoming involved in community sports, and focusing on a religious and/or spiritual approach to life are other suggestions that were made (Levan, 2003: viii).

Less Nunavummiut than ever before have the time, money, equipment and skills to spend longer periods of time on the land. As a consequence, in-town cultural programming either in schools, other public places or very private learning experiences are another way to reconnect with Inuit culture and recharge one's batteries (PIS 2009; PNS 2009; RSQ 2010; SCI 2009)

That is why Pauktuutit (2004: 8) for example suggests a mandatory Inuit cultural component in all elementary and secondary schools.

In public areas other than school, e.g. at prison, but also sometimes in a private setting, traditional healers play an important role to help people reconnect with the culture. In that regards two Inuit developed and are promoting their guidebook for individual healing journeys called "The Iceberg Healing Manual" that addresses family violence (Arnakaq 2010).

5.11 Anger management

Since violence in the families is closely linked to both women and men bottling up a lot of their frustration and anger until they cannot hold it back any longer and finally escalate, communication programs, anger management and conflict resolution programs were suggested to help people developing better coping strategies with their negative feelings (KE 2008; KR 2 2008; Mancini Billson/ Mancini 2007: 164).

Informants who are professionally enrolled in various social and communal employments like schools, social services or community wellness facilities pointed out the importance of educating and campaigning. All age groups need to be repeatedly reminded that there are non-violent ways of interaction, that everybody can obtain the skills to control their anger and stop releasing it uncontrolled towards loved ones or other community members (TD 2008-2010).

5.12 Self-responsibility

Residents from across Nunavut who are either working in the social field or who are personally affected by social issues pointed out that children need to be taught self-determination and taking over responsibility for their actions (JP 2008; KR 2008, Nicholson 1994: 280).

A lot of hope is resting on the current children. They are seen as the generation that might have the highest chance of change as long as they do not have to go through the same crises that their parents and grandparents went through and as long as they can learn the skills that are needed to reinstall a healthy society. If children grow up in a setting of domestic violence with no one who teaches them that this kind of social interaction is unacceptable and that there are alternative behavioral models, they will most likely fall into the same patterns as their parents. That is where in particular the school can deliver important messages (DHS 2008). A lot of emphasis needs to be put on the development of a healthy self-esteem and the learning of coping skills that allow children to deal with peer pressure, bullying, family crises and any feeling of hopelessness (SCI 2009; SSP 2008).

Child empowerment can have many faces such as linking personal identity closer to cultural identity by increasing land programs. Another potentially successful step to personal growth was identified in the form of organized recreational activities such as regular activities in sports teams (DKH 2008; Nicholson 1994: 280f.).

Some interviewees favored empowerment of the (extended) family and community over the increase of public services that, in their understanding keeps Inuit in a childlike state of dependence from the paternalistic laws and regulations instead of assisting families and individuals to responsibly take matters into their own hands to solve issues in a culturally appropriate way (Inf. 1 2008; KR 2008, IR 2008).[110]

[110] Cultural shall not mean traditional in that context but shall describe an ethnically self-determined approach whose output regarding a social normative system comes from Inuit themselves instead from Euro-Canadian institutions that act in the traditions of their own western philosophy.

Self-determination can also be understood as the necessity for Inuit to develop solutions for social issues that follow culturally based models and are less influenced by Euro-Canadian approaches and philosophy. Concrete examples can be found among some publications by Pauktuutit like the stronger incorporation of Inuit traditional knowledge and traditional healing services in violence and abuse trauma therapy (Pauktuutit 2005: 11ff.).
In addition, some interview partners mentioned that people need to learn to take over more responsibility for their own actions. No matter how hard their past was, or their present is, it is their own personal decision how to respond to their crises. Change must come from the people themselves, not just through initiatives by governments or other agencies (RCMP IQ 2008).
On an individual base, women need to be motivated and taught to develop more self-esteem and speak up against maltreatment and abuse. Males on the other side need to be taught to respect the integrity of their female partners again (KR 2 2008).
Some voices said that people themselves need to find back to themselves before they can change their lives (VOI 2008-2010).

5.13 Suicide

Suicide, even though it is an extremely important aspect in the discussion about social issues in Nunavut is a topic that I widely avoided in my work. At the time of my research the Government of Nunavut was in the process of doing an extensive suicide prevention study with a private consultant (Jack Hicks: 2010) who had lived many years in Nunavut and had done similar research in Greenland already. It would have felt inappropriate to approach various agencies and individual with suicide related questions when most of them would already participate in Mr. Hicks' more in-depth suicide study. Furthermore, I felt that my thesis and the GN suicide study could be seen as complimentary documents that each have their own focus but when brought together round up picture of the situation in Nunavut. Consequently, in my thesis I am limiting myself to the listing of the key findings of an earlier suicide study that will already prove that my interpretation of the dynamics for roots causes of social issues can also be applied to suicide. More

details on the particular issues of suicide can be found in Hicks' work (2010; 2015) and other studies (WGSPSN 2009).

The following list provides a summary of contributing factors to suicidal behavior in Nunavut:

- *Anger issues*
- *Bullying at school, by a family member, when out in the community*
- *Childhood trauma: abuse (emotional, physical, sexual), coming to terms with things that have happened in the past*
- *Criminal activity: becoming involved in drug trafficking, history of conviction for criminal offences*
- *Dropping out of school early on (limited job prospects later on)*
- *Engagement with the justice system: being charged with an offence, having to testify against a friend or loved one, return to home community after incarceration*
- *Exposure to suicide: family history of suicide, suicide by a family member or friend*
- *Financial problems: money management issues, own, partner's or parents' spending on alcohol and drugs, or gambling, unemployment*
- *Inability to discuss problems with others*
- *Mental disorder: depression, emotional problems or personality disorders, hearing voices urging person to kill him/herself, mental illness such as borderline personality, psychosis, schizophrenia, return to community after treatment for mental disorder*
- *Parenting issues: having experienced neglectful or over-indulgent parenting, having witnessed excessive fighting and/or violence between parents, substance abuse by parents, unhappiness with adoptive parents or family members providing care*
- *Prior suicidal ideation or suicide attempt*
- *Relationship problems: infidelity and resulting guilt, or accusations of infidelity: infidelity (or rumors of infidelity) by partner, on again/off again relationship, relationship break-up, relationship forbidden because of age differences, family ties, violence by partner, coming to terms with long-ago sexual abuse, assault or rape, recent sexual abuse, assault or rape*
- *Sexual orientation: discrimination/intimidation/threats because of sexual orientation, stress as a result of questioning one's sexual orientation*
- *Substance abuse – alcohol, drugs and/or solvents: being drunk, stoned or high on*

solvents at a time of personal crisis, fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder, escalating use of substances
- Traumatic brain injury
- Unresolved grief and loss
(WGSPSN 2009: appendix 3, pgs. 1, 2).

Those risk factors basically derive from the following historical and social circumstances:

- Nunavut likely has roughly the same 'base rate' of suicidal behaviour as a result of biological factors that all human societies appear to have.
The implication for prevention is that we need to offer Nunavummiut mental health services, broadly defined, of the same range and quality as those available to Canadians living in the south.
- The rapid increase in suicidal behaviour in recent decades is likely the result of a change in the intensity of social determinants – among them the intergenerational transmission of historical trauma, and its results (increased rates of emotional, physical and sexual abuse, violence, substance abuse, etc.).
The implication for prevention is that we need to identify and address the social determinants of suicidal behaviour in our society.
- Since difficult life experiences can trigger the onset of mental disorders (especially if we include substance abuse in the definition of mental disorder), it is reasonable to assume that we actually have somewhat elevated rates of mental disorders in our society.
This makes the need to strengthen the full range of counseling and mental health services in Nunavut that much more critical.
(WGSPSN 2009: 6)

As the Working Group identified the listed risk factors correlate with the risk factors for suicidal behaviour everywhere else in Canada (WGSPSN 2009: appendix3, pg.2).
The circumstance that there is so many more suicides and social issues in Nunavut

compared to the rest of Canada leads to the conclusion that a large percentage of Nunavut's society is affected by it. The more people are affected the less healthy people are left who could assist the others to change their situation and heal. It is not my intention to portray Nunavummiut as helpless people who are stuck in their misery but I would like to present the hypothesis that the high percentage of Nunavummiut currently effected by the territory's social issues creates a collective trauma (similarly to the historical trauma that got passed on intergenerationally by the first and second generation.

Of course, there rests a lot of potential in Nunavut's population to overcome their social problems. The many recommendations from agencies and individuals in Nunavut on how to tackle the existing problems reveal that.

"Abusive behavior takes many forms: verbal, mental, physical, and while causes may appear to stem from current stresses and problems; it is more likely that the root causes reside in the past. The abuser may have experienced similar treatment in childhood, probably by an abuser who was, in turn, abused earlier. For this reason, the fears, threats, hopelessness that are felt today will require an understanding of cultural history and behavioral patterns in order to be healed. Only when an individual recognizes his own roots will he/she be able to begin the healing process. Without an understanding of how his/her attitudes and ways of dealing with problems evolved, he/she cannot begin to break the cycle, often both victim and perpetrator. (...)The lives of many people in the Northern communities are adversely affected by unresolved root problems, and these people are, therefore, living with anger and rage." (Pauktuutit 2005: 4).

6 Appendix

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6.2 Informants

ADQ (Acting Director Qimaavik Women Shelter Iqaluit) (2008)

AIP (Anonymous informant in Iqaluit professionally involved in social issues matters) (2008)

CN (Coroner of Nunavut) (2004)

CKI (Caucasian Kugluktuk Informant, female) (2008)

CKW (Coordinator Kugluktuk Wellness Center) (2008)

CKW (online correspondence with Coordinator Kugluktuk Wellness Center) (2011)

CIR (Chesterfield Inlet Resident) (2008)

CIR2 (Chesterfield Inlet Resident 2) (2008)

CW (Court Worker in Kugluktuk) (2008)

CWC (Crown Witness Coordinator Iqaluit) (2009)

CWS (Client Women Shelter Iqaluit) (2009)

DHS (Director Health and Social Service Programs Iqaluit) (2008)

DKH 2008 (Director High School in Kugluktuk)

DNS (Dentist Nakasuk School 2009)

EDQ (Executive Director Qulliit) (2008)

EWS (Employee Women Shelter Iqaluit) (2009)

Ford, James (2008)

GHS (Government employee of the Department of Health and Social Services) (2008)

GHS (2009)

Gordon Rennie (former Hudson Bay Company store manager in Iqaluit, Kimmirut and other Arctic and Subarctic native communities) (2009)

IGR 2016 (Igloolik Resident 2016)

IHG (Inuksuk High School Iqaluit Graduate from 2006) (2008)

Ineak Ipeelie (coordinator F.A.I.A. in 2008) (2008)

Inf 1 (anonymous interviewee (2008)

IQR 1 (Iqaluit Resident) (2010)

IQR 3 (Iqaluit Resident) (2009)

IQR 4 (Iqaluit Resident) (2009)

IQR 5 (Iqaluit Resident) (2014)

IQR 6(Iqaluit Resident) (2009)

IQR 7 (Iqaluit Resident) (2008)

IQR 8 (Iqaluit Resident) (2009)

IQR 9 (Iqaluit Resident) (2007)

IQR 10 (Iqaluit Resident) (2018)

IQR 11 (Iqaluit Resident) (2018)

IR (Igloolik Resident) (2008)

IYA 1 (Iqaluit Young Adult 1)(2010)

IYA 2 (Iqaluit Young Adult 2) (2010)

IYA 3 (Iqaluit Young Adult 3) (2010)

JP (one of the Justices of Peace in Kugluktuk) (2008)

KE (Kugluktuk Elder) (2008)

KN (Nurse Kugluktuk Nursing Station) (2008)

KHSC (Kugluktuk High School Counsellor) (2008)

KI (Kugluktuk Interpreter) (2008)

KR (Kugluktuk Resident, male Inuk, late 40s) (2008)

KR2 (Kugluktuk Resident/ Supervisor Social Services Kugluktuk) (2008)

KR3 (Kugluktuk Resident, male Inuk in his 30s) (2008)

KT (Teacher at Kugluktuk High School) (2008)

KWE (Kugluktuk Wellness Center Employee) (2008)

KYI (Kugluktuk Youth Informant) (2008)

KYI 2 (Kugluktuk Youth Informant) (2008)

MHI (Mental Health Worker Iqaluit) (2009)

MHK (Mental Health Worker Kugluktuk) (2008)

PHCD (Principal High School Cape Dorset) (2014)

PHK (Principal High School Kugluktuk) (2008)

PIS (Principal Inuksuk High School Iqaluit) (2009)

PNS (Principal Nakasuk Elementary School Iqaluit) (2009)

QGH (Nurses from Qikiqtani General Hospital Iqaluit) (2008)

QGH (another Nurse from Qikiqtani General Hospital Iqaluit) (2009)

RB (Repulse Bay/ Naujaat Informant) (2008)

RCMP IQ (1 member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachment in Iqaluit) (2008)
RCMP K1 (1member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachment in Kugluktuk) (2008)
RCMP K2 (second member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachment in Kugluktuk) (2008)
RCMP K3 (email conversation with a third member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachment in Kugluktuk) (2010)
RCMP K4 (fourth member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachment in Kugluktuk) (2008)
RCMP WC (2 members of the local Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachment in Whale Cove plus their internship candidate) (2009)
RSN (Residential School Survivor from Naujaat (Repulse Bay) (2004)
RSQ (Residential School Survivor and Teacher from Qikiqtarjuaq) (2010)
RWC (Resident Whale Cove) (2009)
SCI (School Counselor Inuksuk High School Iqaluit) (2009)
SCN (School Counselor Nakasuk Elementary School, Iqaluit) (2009)
SSK (Social Services Kugluktuk) (2008)
SSP (Supervisor Social Programs Iqaluit) (2008)
SWIQ (formal interviews and informal conversations with 3 social workers in Iqaluit) (2008-2010)
TD 2008-2010 –apprevation for personal observations by the author in Nunavut between 2008 and 2010 and data that were collected during that time span through informal conversations so that their content cannot always be traced back to the information a particular person was sharing with the author
TD 2015 (personal observations after end of research phase)
TNS (Teacher Nakasuk Elementary School) (2010)
VOI (Victim-Offender-Interviews) (2008-2010)

6.3 List of Inuktitut words

akka - *inuktitut* word for "no"

amautik - type of clothing to carry babies and toddlers

anggakkuq/ anggakkuit - shaman (sing.)/ (pl.)

ataniq - camp leader

iglu - snow house

iglulingmiut - residents of Igloolik

ii - *inuktitut* word for "yes"

ilira- - obey

inuinnait - term for Copper Inuit

inukhuk - term for individual from NW Greenland (Polar Inuit)

inuktitut - language of Inuit of Baffin Island, the High Arctic the western Hudson Bay and Eastern Central Arctic

inuktut - term describes all Canadian Inuit languages

isuma - mind, thinking, knowledge

isumataq - (camp) leader

kamik (pl. kamiit) - boot(s)

kangngu - shy

kappia-	- being afraid of something
naklik-	- to care for someone
*nunavummiu*t	- population of Nunavut including both, Inuit and Non-Inuit
qallunaq (pl. qallunaat)	- *inuktitut* term for "white people"
qammaq/ qammaat	- sod house
sivummut	- moving forward
utku	- short for *Utkuhikhalirmiut*