The Inuit

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The Inuit

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General Introduction

Twilight in the far north doesn't go away — at least not during the winter. The moon shines and its reflection on the snow casts long shadows behind the winter dwellings. There are no sounds. The wind has died, leaving the landscape in utter silence. Someone emerges from a shelter, and the silence is cracked by the sound of loud, crunching footsteps. It must be very cold and dry, for only then does the snow crunch.

The footsteps cease; a moment's pause to enjoy the peace and profound gentleness this night offers. It is a gentleness that can be appreciated only by one who has experienced the harsher times when a blizzard transforms this peaceful setting into a landscape obscured by blowing snow.

While winter seems endless, there lingers the promise of brighter, warmer days—the short arctic summer. During the summer, sunlight replaces the apparently everlasting twilight. With this seasonal shift come the colours, scents and textures of plants that carpet the ground — a sharp contrast from the rapidly retreating winter starkness. Grass, reindeer moss, lichens, berries and wildflowers spring forth from the permafrost. This transition takes place quickly in the north, and plants have adapted to the short growing season.

The warm weather also draws all kinds of wildlife to graze on nature's wonderful plate. Muskoxen and caribou, wolves and foxes, muskrat and beaver, hares and squirrels, ptarmigan and geese, mice and lemmings are all able to sustain themselves in this "barren" land.

Meanwhile the rivers swell with fish driven to reach their spawning areas upstream. And the sea is replete with thousands of whales, walruses, seals and narwhals following their biological destinies.

And so, in this setting, generations of *Inuit* (meaning "the people") lived by making the utmost use of their natural surroundings. Animals provided virtually all that was necessary to survive. Animal meat was the Inuit's main source of food, while animal skins provided material for clothing, tents, boats, ropes and other necessities. Bones became weapons, tools or toys. Fat was rendered into oil to use for heat and light in soapstone lamps.

The environment provided the basis for other goods as well. Snow was fashioned into winter dwellings called igloos. Plants provided medicinal potions, and stones in shallow rivers were arranged into weirs, or stone dams, to trap fish.

The traditional life of the Inuit was hard and precarious, but the people shared a deep sense of belonging and lived in harmony with their surroundings. While the traditional lifestyle of the Inuit is no longer thoroughly practised by all native northerners, modern Inuit take tremendous pride in the lifestyle their ancestors originated.

Today's Inuit strive to transmit the heritage of their ancestors to their children. Their success is partially measured by the degree to which all Inuit identify with the land and its natural resources.

This booklet depicts the origin and evolution of Inuit culture for the benefit of those unfamiliar with traditional and contemporary Inuit ways.

The People of Old

Prehistory of the Inuit

During the last ice age, as more sea water froze, the sea level dropped and exposed in the Bering Strait a strip of land connecting Asia and North America. It is across this land bridge between Siberia and Alaska that the Inuit's ancestors are said to have crossed some 15 000 years ago.

These ancestors were inland hunters, but as they moved east across the north, they adapted to coastal conditions and developed techniques to hunt seals and walruses. This adaptation to marine hunting is considered the birth of the Inuit culture.

Pre-Dorset is the name given to the earliest Inuit whose existence dated from about 3000 B.C. to 500 B.C. Their culture contained items familiar to later Inuit, such as toggle harpoons, spears and lances. The Pre-Dorset were coastal seal hunters and inland caribou hunters. This group was supplanted by the *Dorset* people.

In prehistoric Canada the Dorset period lasted from about 1000 B.C. to A.D. 1100. The Dorset people, it is believed, were the original architects of the snow house. They hunted seals, walruses and caribou and possessed weapons similar to those of both the Pre-Dorset and the later *Thule* culture.

The Dorset were displaced by the Thule people. The Thule culture differed from the previous cultures in two respects. The Thule kept dogs and hunted whales. Whales in fact were the economic mainstay of these people. The Thule were the direct ancestors of the Inuit. The transition from Thule to Inuit culture took place about A.D. 1750.

Traditional Lifestyle: A Self-sufficient People

For more than 5 000 years the Inuit have lived along the coastal edge and on the islands of Canada's far north. This area, largely the Canadian arctic, is often perceived to be one of the most inhospitable regions of the world. Yet, to the Inuit, it is *nunatsiaq* — the beautiful land. And the lifestyle they developed there attests to the Inuit's resourcefulness.

The Inuit are often perceived to have been nomads, but they didn't wander aimlessly or unsystematically. They were hunters and led a seasonal existence, for the seasons dictated which animals were hunted and where. Most Inuit spent the winter in snow houses on or near the sea ice along the coast. They hunted sea mammals such as seals, walruses and whales. During the summer these people travelled to inland camps where they hunted caribou, fished, caught birds, collected eggs, and gathered berries and herbs. Skin tents provided shelter and could be moved from one location to another.

In this traditional setting the Inuit lived entirely from their surroundings. Their diet consisted largely of seal or caribou meat which was often eaten raw, whether fresh, dried or frozen. The Inuit's diet was essentially balanced.

But animals provided more than food. Caribou fur was used for parkas and pants sealskin for boots. Even bird skins were sometimes turned into garments. Animal skins provided the basic materials to make tents for summertime shelter and boats for summer travel. Bones and antlers became tools and toys. Bird bones made excellent needles, and antlers either became brakes for a dog sled or were fashioned into fish hooks. Sinew was Inuit thread. Animal fat was rendered into oil and was poured over a row of mossy, wick-like substance in a rock basin to produce a long, low flame supplying an igloo or tent with heat and light.

A few items not available throughout the north (copper, wood or ivory) were traded among the various Inuit groups.

The Hunt

But before an animal could be made use of, it had to be caught and killed. Survival depended on it. A most crucial activity, therefore, was to hunt, and to hunt well.

The Inuit's lifestyle was so intimately linked to the natural world that killing animals was viewed as part of that natural relationship. In traditional Inuit society, animals were believed to offer themselves to hunters. It was incumbent on the hunter to kill the animal and thus accept its gift. Indeed, it was considered a form of misuse if a hunter did not kill an animal in a time of need.

There were no rifles in those days. Weapons available at that time — spears, harpoons, and bows and arrows — made it necessary for the hunter to kill from very close range, within metres of the prey. Hunting, therefore, was a very complex activity and usually involved several hunters rather than one. Hunters developed a keen eye and a thorough knowledge of animal behaviour and animal physiology. Moreover, hunters had to be physically fit, agile and excellent problem solvers.

The Inuit, like members of all hunting societies, were trained from childhood to remember accurately and to absorb and retain small visual clues about the animals and the land. When tracking a polar bear, for example, the hunter had to distinguish — often at a great distance — the white lump of a polar bear from the white lump of a snow drift. By observing the animal at closer range, a hunter could determine the animal's age and sex. He could read its behaviour — behaviour that revealed whether the animal was hungry or tired, whether it would attack or run. Hunters could even predict how an animal would respond in certain weather conditions, for the weather influenced an animal's behaviour.

It was often necessary to stalk an animal for hours. This was physically demanding work, but hunters were very fit from all the subsistence activities they partook in. To be able to gradually and discreetly close in on the prey, the hunter required stamina as well as strength. Mental alertness was of ultimate importance, for day dreaming could cost the hunter his life or certainly the day's food supply.

Daily Life

Hunting was predominantly a male activity. But men did more than hunt. They made and repaired weapons, tools and toys. They built kayaks, sleds and shelters for winter and summer. Women, on the other hand, prepared skins and made them into clothing for the entire family. They sewed hides together and used them to cover the boats and tents. They fished, and they cut the catch into strips and dried it. They raised children and made family dwellings. Women collected moss for oil-burning lamps and gathered berries and seaweed to eat.

Children constantly observed their elders and mimicked the activities in play, thereby learning the tasks they would perform as adults. At an early age, the children, eager to practise their culture's sharing ethic, took on responsibilities. Perhaps a girl would sew her own mitts, or a boy would harness his father's dog team.

The Inuit had their own perception of time. For them, a day was not divided into hours, minutes and seconds. It was never considered too late or too early in the day to hunt. What determined the need to hunt was the availability of food. There were no established mealtimes — people ate when they felt hungry. Indeed, there's not much sense in having a mealtime schedule if there isn't any food. And this would happen periodically, for if the Inuit hunters failed to intercept the caribou migration, the community would go hungry and sometimes starve.

The Inuit often hunted in groups rather than individually. Not only was the hunt a shared activity, but the meat was shared among the entire group and most other work was shared as well. Survival depended on this collective sharing of tasks.

Everyone worked to ensure the survival of the group. So in times of starvation or hardship, any member who could not contribute to the well-being of the group posed a threat. Among some Inuit groups such individuals (the old, disabled or even the very young) might be killed to ensure the survival of the rest. On occasion, Inuit elders would sometimes ask to be left behind to die so as not to impose a burden on their families. Baby girls were more at risk than boys, for higher value was placed on children who would one day grow up to be hunters. A family that bore more girls than boys would either give

the girls away or possibly practise female infanticide in order to maintain a balance.

Seasonal Life

The Inuit performed all their subsistence activities according to a schedule that differed from our clock-oriented timetables. They lived according to nature's schedule, the seasons.

With the arrival of warm spring weather, the winter snow houses began to melt and the Inuit moved to their inland locations. But first they cached their out-of-season gear, for there was no point in carrying equipment that could not be used. The gear would remain untouched until they returned for it in the late fall. As the community members approached the summer sites, they separated into smaller groups to set up camp. During the summer the families, accompanied by their dog teams, might wander 800 kilometres or more looking for food.

Spring Caribou Hunt: The Sound of Thunder

The Caribou Inuit lived inland year round and, therefore, did not have access to sea mammals. As their name implies, they relied heavily on the caribou to supply most of their needs. Their second major food source was fish (trout, whitefish and ciscoe).

The caribou herds that roamed the northern tundra were so big that if you stood by a river crossing, the constant stream of caribou could last day and night for a week. Days before seeing a herd, the Inuit knew of its approach. There was a far-off constant sound of thunder — the sound of thousands of caribou moving across the land.

Caribou are migratory animals. They go north in the spring to give birth and to feed on the bounteous plants of the short arctic summer. During the spring migration the Caribou Inuit killed and cached much of their meat supply. The other major kill took place in September or October when the animals carried a prime fur coat and plenty of fat under their skins. At this time of year too, the meat would quickly freeze and was cached for winter. Caches were located above ground and covered with rocks to protect the meat from marauding animals. In the western arctic, subterranean ice houses were used to store meat.

Caribou usually followed the same migratory routes year after year. Inuit hunters would station themselves at these known crossings (usually river rapids) and wait with bow and arrow in hand.

Another common hunting tactic was to drive the caribou into lakes where they were easier to spear from kayaks. Hunters in kayaks clashed with struggling animals until enough creatures had been slain. The caribou carcasses floated in the water, buoyed by their thick furry coats, and were later hauled to shore.

A third way to kill caribou was by ambush. Hunters would wait at the end of a two converging rows of stone cairns (human-like figures called *inuksuks*) while other members, including women and children, directed the caribou along the inuksuk alley and towards the waiting group of archers. The animals were killed, butchered and their carcasses subsequently cached.

The Inuit could not live without the work of successful male hunters. Nor could they stay alive without the skills of the Inuit women, for it was the women who turned these caribou carcasses into the warm winter clothing so necessary for the Inuit's survival.

A great deal of work was involved in cleaning and skinning an animal, and a great deal more work later went into sewing garments from animal hides. Women would have to supply their entire family with a new set of clothing every year. Boots, socks, pants, parkas, diapers and mitts were made from caribou skins. A husband could go through five pairs of *kamiks* (boots) in a winter. The kamiks were all carefully chewed by the women to make the leather soft and supple.

The fur from a caribou caught in the fall was ideal for clothing. A man's winter parka consisted of four caribou skins; his winter knee-length pants used another two. Parkas and pants were worn in double thickness during the winter, the fur of the inner skin faced inward, the fur of the outer skin faced out.

For the Inuit who spent the winter on the sea ice there was a taboo against the preparation of caribou meat or skins on the ice. According to Inuit beliefs, calamity would strike if this taboo were broken. Women were therefore obliged to prepare all the winter clothing before they returned to their winter homes.

The edible meat on an average-size caribou was less than half the animal's total weight. Of the remaining carcass, most was put to use. The skin became garments, a sleeping robe, or even the covering for a tent or kayak. The tough forehead skin of caribou bulls was ideal for the soles of boots, while the delicate skin on the underbelly made nice soft socks. Antlers became tools. Sinew was used as thread. The animal's fat was rendered into oil to be burned in stone lamps.

In winter the inland-based Caribou Inuit would camp near their fall caches and live off the frozen meat. If there was plenty of meat, a large group of people would live at the cache site. Otherwise the group would break into smaller groups to hunt and camp. Any opportunity to kill a caribou was welcomed, for the fresh meat provided a change.

Fishing, which provided food for people and their sled dogs, was done year round. Techniques, however, varied with the seasons. In the warm season when fish headed upstream to spawn, a circular stone weir was constructed in the river. The trapped fish could not escape through the narrow entrance and

were then jabbed with a leister (a pronged spear). Some fish were eaten fresh, whereas others were split, dried and cached for future use. In cold weather, jigging through the ice was a common fishing method. As a fish approached the jiggling lure, the fisherman speared it with a leister.

Hunting Sea Mammals

Sea mammals were to these coastal mariners what caribou were to the Caribou Inuit. Whale meat and whale blubber provided food, heat and light. Baleen, plastic-like strips in the whale's mouth, was made into bows. Bone taken from other areas of the whale's carcass was used to make sled runners.

A more widely hunted mammal was the seal. During the winter, a seal makes many breathing holes through the ice to have access to air. A seal, which can stay submerged for up to 20 minutes, will periodically visit its breathing holes to keep them from freezing. In the past it was the sled dogs that found the holes by smelling them out.

Seal hunting, like whale hunting, required team work. In an area with several seal breathing holes it was impossible to know at which hole the seal would surface. The answer was to watch them all, one hunter at each breathing hole. And so the hunters waited. Perhaps they would construct a little snow wall to protect them from the wind. Next they would set a device in the seal hole to warn them of the animal's approach. This could be a float which caused the water in the hole to well up as the seal approached or, alternatively, a sensitive apparatus that quivered just before the seal surfaced. This was the hunter's signal and he would wait, his harpoon ready to plunge at a moment's notice. Sometimes the hunters waited for hours before a seal surfaced.

Later on in the spring, seals were hunted as they basked on ice near the floe edge. Still later in the season they were hunted from kayaks in the open water.

Seals had many uses. They provided a healthful source of meat. Seal liver was very high in vitamin A and considered a delicacy. The seals' waterproof skins supplied material for parkas, kamiks, tents and kayaks. The tough skin of the bearded seal made excellent rope for dog harnesses. The bones were made into various tools. Flipper bones were used in games. Each flipper bone, including the finger joints, had a name.

Winter snow houses (igloos) were often built right on the ice. Such dwellings could be constructed in less than one hour, depending on size. The igloo would be assembled on ice that was not solidly frozen, for the water under the ice provided insulation and thus kept the igloo warmer. Igloos situated on land were usually built in an area where snow drifts had covered the terrain. The base of a hill or esker was an ideal location.

The igloo was a dome-shaped structure made of blocks of hard snow. The entrance consisted of an above-ground tunnel leading to the main circular dome of the shelter. The tunnel provided extra protection against the fierce winds. A movable snow block was positioned on top of a hole cut in the dome near the centre and was used to regulate air circulation. Inside, half the igloo consisted of a semicircular snow platform covered with furs. This raised section doubled as both sitting and sleeping quarters. The other half of the igloo interior served as a cooking area.

Sometimes two or more igloos would be connected by the tunnel. The Inuit's winter existence was a little more sedentary, so there was more time for leisure activities. Winter communities usually constructed a large igloo where people gathered to sing and dance and to tell stories and play games.

Inuit Groups

The Inuit, in former times as well as now, have occupied six northern regions spreading from east to west across more than 4 000 kilometres of territory. Even though the terrain is so vast, the various Inuit groups have shared similar lifestyles and language with slight regional variations. The following descriptions depict the major groupings as they were perhaps 150 years ago.

The Mackenzie Inuit

This group lived in the far western region of the arctic near Alaska and thus developed strong links with the Alaskan Inuit. The food supply of the Mackenzie Inuit was varied and plentiful. In addition to the more traditional Inuit meat sources of caribou and muskoxen, the Mackenzie people had access to moose, muskrat and beaver. At the sea coast, whales and seals were sought after. Belugas (white whales) were herded into the mouth of the Mackenzie River by men in kayaks. Each whale could weigh up to a ton. These people also hunted birds and fished.

Because the Mackenzie Inuit had such a secure meat source, they were able to live in relatively large communities for much of the year. These people had access to a large wood supply in the southern reaches of their territory. Most cooking was done over an open wood fire, so soapstone oil lamps were not as popular as among other Inuit groups.

The Copper Inuit

The Copper Inuit inhabited an area east of the Mackenzie group. As their name implies, these people used copper found in their area, and they traded it for other goods available from the various Inuit groups. The Copper Inuit, like the Mackenzie, had access to wooded areas which gave them an advantage over other groups such as the Caribou and Netsilik.

Marine hunters during the winter and inland hunters of caribou and muskoxen during the summer, the Copper Inuit followed strict rules regarding the preparation of food from these different sources. Meat from the land could never be cooked together with meat from the sea. Similarly, fresh "sea" meat could not be stored alongside fresh "land-based" meat.

The Netsilik Inuit

East of the Copper Inuit, the Netsilik (people of the seal) lived in an area that was icebound much of the year. For this reason, they were excellent marine hunters, during both the winter and the spring. Because of a scarcity of wood, the Netsilik relied heavily on bones, antlers and other wood substitutes for making tools and utensils. The runners of their sleds were sometimes made from frozen fish wrapped in sealskin. During the summer, the Netsilik travelled inland to search for wood.

The children of the Netsilik, like Inuit children elsewhere, learned by following their elders' examples. A little girl probably "played mother" by carrying a puppy in the hood of her parka.

The group as a whole is said to have been strong and aggressive. Neigbouring groups feared the Netsilik for their use of magic.

The Caribou Inuit

The Caribou Inuit occupied the area on the west coast of Hudson Bay. Their territory bordered on land of the Chipewyan Indians to the southwest and land of the Cree along the south coast. The majority of Caribou Inuit were strictly inland hunters who never went to the sea. The remaining Caribou Inuit limited their sea hunting to the summer months.

When moving to a new camp, the Caribou people would carry the bulk of their possessions—tents, bedding and implements—loaded on their backs supported by a tumpline strung across their chests and foreheads. Dogs would carry packs and drag tent poles.

The Igloolik Inuit

The territory of the Igloolik people extended from the edge of the Caribou Inuit's area to the north of Baffin Island. They went inland during the summer to hunt caribou. Birds, particularly eiders and geese, were hunted with a bird dart. Snares provided another method of bird-catching. Birds' eggs were also much sought after.

During the winter, walrus hunting was especially important to the Igloolik group. Walrus were hunted through thin ice, at the open floe edge or in open water. For open-water hunting, the men would tie several kayaks together for greater stability.

The South Baffin Island Inuit

These people consisted of a series of interrelated groups. They hunted sea mammals during the winter. Seal hunting provided their main source of winter food. After a seal had been killed with a harpoon, its wound would be plugged with ivory pins to prevent the blood from flowing wastefully over the ice. Fall and winter fishing also provided necessary food supplies.

In the summer, caribou were hunted by South Baffin Island communities in a manner similar to that of other Inuit groups. Birds, however, provided a plentiful and welcome change in diet. One method of capturing birds was with a whale bone snare. This snare with a line of nooses would be set in the shallow part of a lake to catch diving and swimming birds.

The Sadliq Inuit

This small group lived on Southampton Island. They wore bearskin clothing instead of caribou and used flint-headed weapons more than the other groups. Little is known about the Sadliq Inuit, who were virtually devastated by foreign disease around 1902.

The Ungava and Labrador Inuit

The Ungava Inuit made use of wood which was available to the south of their region. They also travelled to offshore islands during the summer when the area was free of drifting ice. The Ungava Inuit made use of two types of kayaks: a long, 8-metre kayak for hunting and sea travel, and a smaller watercraft half that size for travel on interior rivers and lakes. Bowhead whales, often hunted from kayaks, were speared with a harpoon to which was attached a float and a round tambourine-like device that dragged behind the whale, slowing and tiring the animal.

Long grass along the coast of Hudson Bay was woven into mats that provided insulation from the cold of the ice. The people on the Belcher Islands made use of bird skins for clothing because caribou were scarce.

The Labrador Inuit lived in the area from Ungava Bay to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. This was the warmest of the Inuit-occupied regions, which meant a longer ice-free summer season. These people had access to wood, since some of them lived within a day's walk of a forest. Sea mammals and caribou were plentiful. The Labrador Inuit lived close to areas frequented by several Indian tribes, namely the Beothuk, the Naskapi, the Montagnais and occasionally the Micmac. The Labrador Inuit's winter dwellings were semi-subterranean structures made of sod or stone walls with a sod-covered roof supported on rafters of whale bones or timber. Summer dwellings were sealskin tents.

Seal by-products were many, including waterproof jackets made from the intestines of the seal. This type of jacket was worn by kayakers.

Social Organization

The Inuit lived in small communities numbering several households. During a lifetime an Inuk might encounter a few hundred people. Most of these would be relatives of one kind or another. Relatives were obliged to share with each other. So the more relatives you had, the better your chances for survival. Virtually everyone became a relative and was subject to the same bonds, expectations and obligations as blood relatives.

The basic unit of Inuit society was the family. A household might consist of a wife and husband, unmarried children, an adopted child, and maybe someone's widowed mother or a widowed sister. The oldest active male was the family spokesman.

A cluster of several households of related people formed the next unit, the hunting group. Within this group there was no single leader, and decisions were made by consensus. But different leaders would emerge with a number of specific skills, such as navigating during a storm or locating a caribou herd. The size of the hunting community depended on the resources of the area; if there were plenty of game or meat, the groups could contain six to 10 families. When food was scarce, this hunting group would break into smaller camps.

The overall regional community, consisting of various scattered hunting groups, made up the outer limits of kinship bonds. As households or individuals moved around on the land, they could rely on the help of relatives in the other hunting communities who were part of the same overall regional community.

The Family: Rules of Kinship

While kinship usually applies to people related either by blood or marriage, the Inuit extended this term to include friends, neighbours and associates. By certain rituals these individuals all became one's relatives.

A common way to unite families in Inuit or any other society is through marriage. Another rite practised in traditional Inuit society was child bethrothal; parents customarily pledged their children to a future marriage. This drew the parents of the betrothed children into a kinship alliance, even if the marriage never took place. A similar alliance was achieved through spouse exchange which allied two formerly unrelated families.

Another means by which an individual was made kin was through adoption. Inuit adoption, however, created more than a bond between the adopted child and its new family. It created a link between the new parents and the natural parents. All these new links served to establish bonds of co-operation and trust between previously unrelated people.

Even partnerships, be it wrestling partners or singing or hunting partners, created kinship bonds. The use of namesakes created yet another bond. Naming a child after a recently deceased person meant that the child belonged to two families: the original and that of the namesake.

Child Rearing

In traditional Inuit households, children were treated with patience and gentleness, and in response, children were seldom unruly. Slapping and scolding were not regarded as acceptable forms of child control. Proper behaviour, though, was achieved through other means.

The Inuit considered generosity, mildness and gentleness to be very good traits. Since their society relied on the co-operative effort of all its members, these traits became indispensable. Losing one's temper, on the other hand, was considered disgraceful. Moreover, a rash angry act could threaten the well-being of the community.

Children developed certain traits through a subtle process of social pressure. Negative qualities such as petulance were ridiculed while positive traits such as unselfishness were rewarded. One of the most severe forms of punishment was withdrawal of affection. In a society that relied heavily on members' co-operation, there was nothing more life-threatening than isolation.

A child was never denied a wish, although an adult would try to modify a child's unreasonable request. A small child would be allowed to play with a very sharp knife, but quickly someone would distract the infant with affection and offer a substitute for the knife. In other circumstances, experience was considered the best teacher. Older children, for example, quickly learned that knives were very sharp: one good nick usually taught them to be careful.

Education

Education took place within the family and the community circle. By constant exposure to their parents and other adults in the community, children learned all they needed to live successfully.

The Inuit of old did not have a written language, so skills and knowledge were passed down by word of mouth. After a successful hunt, for example, the details would be shared with the community. The children, boys in particular, listened to reports of the hunters' latest venture and learned from them. The hunters would describe in detail the location where they spotted the animal. They would give elaborate accounts of the animal's behaviour and how they responded to that behaviour.

Besides listening to the hunters' stories, the children enacted their own hunts by watching animals and observing their behaviour. They

also tried to stalk animals, which required great patience. But being patient was part of life and children learned this too. If a family was confined to the igloo because of a storm, children entertained themselves. After all, bad weather or sickness couldn't be controlled; one simply learned to live with it. Waiting was a part of life. *Ajurnamat,* the people would say; "it can't be helped."

Another important aspect of children's education was learning to orient themselves in their surroundings. Children learned from an early age to memorize the landscape.

In traditional Inuit society there were no laws as we know them today. Taboos and rituals, however, did restrict behaviour. Fear of criticism and of rejection were two strong forces that controlled people's actions.

Language

The language of the Inuit (*Inuktitut*) existed without written form until missionaries went north in the 18th and 19th centuries. But the Inuit possessed more than an oral language. They also maintained a non-verbal language that relied on body expression and other cues to display feelings. So, the Inuit learned to interpret human behaviour in the same manner they read animal behaviour.

Inuktitut today, as in the past, reflects and reinforces the Inuit's culture and value system. Strong emphasis is placed on nature and its elements. There are dozens of words to describe snow, for in the north the weather can produce a wide range of snow conditions, and the quality of snow is of great significance to the Inuit. Only certain types of snow, for example, make good igloos.

In Inuktitut there is no distinction between animate and inanimate objects. But distinction is drawn between things that are named and those that are not. The land, for example, has many names, as does man. Therefore, there is a relationship between the two.

Health

The Inuit were, by and large, a healthy people. Their diet was protein-rich and provided all the necessary nutrients. Major problems arose, however, during periodic bouts of starvation that could severely weaken a community and in some cases lead to the death of many members.

In the treatment of common ailments, however, the Inuit relied on the herbs and plants they collected during the summer. They also made use of animal by-products in their healing techniques. Lemming skins were used as bandages and acted as an antiseptic agent. Caribou, seal, or bear fat were used for the same purpose.

With the coming of non-natives to the north, the Inuit were exposed to many diseases. Having little or no immunity to these foreign illnesses,

the Inuit died by the hundreds. During the early 1900s Spanish influenza hit the Labrador Inuit and destroyed about one-third the population. In 1902 the majority of the Southampton Island population was wiped out. By 1910 the Mackenzie Inuit population had dropped drastically.

Religion

The life of the Inuit was intimately bound to the natural environment, and in traditional religion this same emphasis was apparent. Religion took the form of nature worship. The unpredictable forces of nature were thought to be controlled by powerful spirits. It was necessary to appease these spirits when they had been angered. This responsibility to protect people from spirits fell to the shamans — the Inuit medicine men or women.

The shaman was the intermediary between the human world and the spirit one. When the sea goddess showed her anger by causing storms over the ocean or by denying the Inuit the sea mammals, it was the shaman's duty to divine what had made her angry and what would appease her. This involved performing certain rituals and observing certain taboos. It was hoped that once the sea goddess was happy, the animals would become available to the hunters.

It was believed that the shamans possessed magical powers, such as the ability to fly, turn themselves into animals or read people's minds. Good shamans were said to have healing powers and be able to cure illnesses by expelling evil spirits from the body. Evil shamans, however, were capable of murderous acts.

Another traditional Inuit religious belief was that human spirits lived on after people died. The spirit of a deceased person would eventually occupy a newborn who had received the spirit's mortal name. The child, it was believed, would acquire its namesake's soul and abilities.

Art

Closely tied to religion were the early art forms. Charms and masks were created as a vehicle for communication with the spirits. Charms carved out of stone or bone were worn as good luck pieces. Masks were worn by shamans during ceremonies to frighten away bad spirits who were causing sickness or other misfortunes.

Entertainment

The life of the Inuit was not all hard work. As long as there was plenty of food and no immediate chores to be done, or when a severe winter storm kept everyone house-bound, there was time to indulge in pastimes.

One pastime the Inuit enjoyed was games. Children spent a lot of time outside playing tag or hide and seek or pretending to hunt. But there were other games for the young and old during the long, dark

winter months when there was little else to do. During winter, families were often restricted to their small igloos. Games served to break the monotony and acted as a release for pent-up energy and emotions. Since it was considered disgraceful to show open hostility, games became a safe outlet for such feelings.

Moreover, games were geared to enhance societal values. Feats of strength such as wrestling kept men in good physical shape. Other games such as arm-pulling tested men's endurance. The high kick increased one's agility. In every aspect of the Inuit culture high value was placed on group achievement rather than self-achievement, and games were no exception. Grudges were never held against the winner, for the winner ultimately was responsible for the well-being of the loser.

A toy called an *ajagaak* was played to sharpen the senses. It consisted of a small pointed bone attached by sinew to a larger bone with a hole in the middle. Holding the bone spindle, the player would swing the larger piece and attempt to jab the spindle through the hole in the centre.

While some pastimes were tests of physical endurance, others tested the mind. One such game was cat's cradle, which encouraged innovative thinking. A round of sinew was stretched between the player's two hands. The participant's fingers were used to form a series of loops that resembled, for example, animal shapes. The person creating the most shapes which no one could duplicate was the winner.

The Inuit were also great storytellers. Some stories were accounts of the latest hunt. But the Inuit also maintained a large repertoire of legends, many of which reinforced their society's values and stimulated the imagination. Numerous stories traditionally told by the Inuit show the close relationship between nature and the people. Some stories are morality tales about truthfulness, unselfishness and other desirable traits.

Music, Singing and Dancing

The drum dance combined music, song, dance and story. It was performed by an individual or by a group, depending on the custom of the area. In the eastern arctic the drum (made of animal skin) could be a metre in diameter. It was held in one hand, with the wrist rotating the drum back and forth. As the drum was rotated, its rim was hit with a stick held in the other hand. The drum dancer (who could also be the drummer) moved rhythmically, acting out the imagery of the accompanying song, usually a personal story.

A form of singing called throat singing was practised by women in many northern communities, particularly in the eastern and central arctic. Two women facing each other

made guttural and resonant sounds through voice manipulation and breathing techniques. Often, the resulting sounds imitated the sounds of the north — the northern lights, the seashore, the wind — and evoked similar images.

Some Inuit created sounds from a goose feather similar to those produced by a Jew's harp.

The Contact Period

Explorers

Scandinavian Vikings may have come to Baffin Island and Ungava 1 000 years ago. We know from their writings that they met the Dorset people in northern Newfoundland about A.D. 1008. But the Inuit culture as a whole progressed in isolation from European contact until the middle of the 19th century.

Early explorers were looking for a northwest passage that would take them from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. John Cabot met the Inuit in 1498. Martin Frobisher visited Baffin Island in 1576, and Henry Hudson came in 1610 to the area that bears his name. These early explorers had limited contact with the Inuit, although some trading did take place. By 1650 the search for a northwest passage was abandoned.

In the early 1800s the British began another series of expeditions to find the northwest passage even though they realized such a route was too far north to be commercially practical. William Parry, John Ross and Sir John Franklin were some of the men who headed the various explorations.

Whalers

Contact between the Inuit and Europeans increased with the arrival of whaling ships during the 19th century. The whale was a valuable commodity in Europe. Whale oil was useful and the plastic-like baleen strips from the whale's mouth were used for everything from furniture to ladies' corsets.

The whale had been a useful commodity for the Inuit as well. The Inuit used baleen to make bows, combs and crossbars for their dogsleds. Whale bones became rafters for houses and sled runners. Blubber (whale fat) was rendered into oil to use as a source of heat and light. And the meat from one whale could feed a small group for a year. *Muktuk*, the skin and blubber of the whale, was especially enjoyed by the Inuit.

The whalers often spent a winter in the north to take advantage of two summer seasons. During this prolonged contact between the Inuit and the whalers, the Inuit were exposed to many non-native ways. They were also introduced to many labour-saving devices. Chief among these were metal utensils, some firearms and cloth. The Inuit obtained big wooden whale boats from the Europeans, though they continued to use their skin-covered kayaks and *umiaks* (large, open skin boats used to transport families and possessions during their migrations across the northern seas).

From the whaling captains' wives, Inuit women learned skills such as knitting and baking. American square dancing and Scottish reels became part of the Inuit's life. By 1900 the Inuit were trading for Scottish shawls, telescopes, sunglasses and violins in addition to the more basic goods such as guns and ammunition and metal products.

But the whalers also brought death and destruction in the form of disease. The Inuit lacked immunity to European diseases and were very susceptible. Consequently they fell ill and died by the hundreds.

By the late 1800s the bowhead whale was near extinction and the whalers began hunting fur-bearing animals to cover the cost of their voyages. However, by the early 1900s, the trips were no longer financially feasible and the ships stopped coming. As a result, the Inuit lost their means of obtaining the new items such as ammunition, matches and tea, all of which they had come to depend on.

Shortly after the collapse of the whaling industry, another northern commodity, white fox fur, became very popular in Europe. And so the next northern empire was born: the fur trade industry.

Arctic Fur Trade

In 1909 the Hudson's Bay Company established a trading post at Wolstenholme in northern Quebec. Other trading posts spread across the north, and by 1923 most Inuit were within travelling distance of a post. And so, once again, the Inuit traded for the imported articles that made their lives easier.

Until the time of the fur trade, the Inuit's social and economic organization had remained more or less intact. The Inuit had remained a hunting society and most equipment obtained from non-native cultures had been incorporated into their stable hunting culture.

But the advent of the arctic fur trade was to have a significant effect on the lifestyle of the Inuit. For the first time, hunting as a way of life was no longer the focal point. Trapping became just as important an activity, and pelts were used to pay for imported goods such as foodstuffs (flour, tea, sugar), tobacco, alcohol, clothing, ammunition and utensils. Moreover the fur traders introduced the Inuit to a new piece of technology designed to enhance the fur trade — animal traps.

It was during this period as well that guns became commonplace among the Inuit. The widespread use of traps and guns had far-reaching effects. The winter seal hunt was, for the most part, dropped. It was no longer a profitable activity. It competed with trapping, for the best fur pelts were obviously produced during the winter. The Inuit soon realized that they could take a much bigger seal haul during the spring when the seals basked on the ice.

Moreover, the location of the Inuit's winter community shifted away from the sea to the coastal area inhabited by the arctic fox, the main fur animal. The Inuit's winter lifestyle changed in other ways as well. Trapping involved the establishment of individual trap lines which necessitated a more decentralized way of

life. This helped to erode the age-old concept of sharing work. There was less sharing of the profits of the work as well.

As more and more animals were taken, the wildlife population dwindled. In 1938 the government banned trapping by non-natives who did not have valid permits.

The fur trade economy, however, proved to be unstable. Prices for fur pelts rose and fell according to conditions on the world market. World War I, the depression and World War II all caused sharp rises and slumps in the price of fur. Eventually, many trading posts closed as a result of the drop in the market price.

Trapping continued as a major economic force until the establishment of permanent settlements for the Inuit in the north.

Missionaries

While the trading posts burgeoned in the north, so too did the Christian religious community. These Christians were the first foreigners devoted to changing the Inuit lifestyle. Their intention was to convert the Inuit, and they succeeded. Roman Catholic priests, Anglican ministers and others converted virtually the entire population. And the new religions brought yet more changes as the Inuit were forced to give up many of their culturally-based practices, including spouse exchange, child betrothals and shamanism.

But while religion deprived the Inuit culture of some things, it was also beneficial. The most important advantage was the establishment of a written language. In fact, two writing forms emerged. In the late 18th century the Moravian missionaries introduced a writing form based on roman characters to the Labrador Inuit. A second written language system emerged a century later, incorporating symbols that represented the syllabic sounds of Inuktitut. The Anglican Church modified this writing form which had been developed by a Methodist missionary for Cree Indians. Both forms of Inuktitut writing are in use today.

The missionaries established schools and conducted classes in Inuktitut. They also provided some medical assistance. Gradually the government took over responsibility for education and health. The first government presence in the north, however, was the military.

The Military

After the 1900s, the government became increasingly interested in the north. The earliest government officers in the north were the North-West Mounted Police who watched over Inuit-whaler relations and collected customs duty from the whaling ships. The police also introduced a system of law and justice quite foreign to the Inuit. Like the missionaries, the police sought to eradicate those Inuit practices that were contrary to non-native beliefs. Other police duties included

taking the census, providing medical care, and administering food rations to the Inuit in times of famine.

Later, the police posts became a symbol of Canada's sovereignty over the north. Norway and the United States had in the 1880s disputed Canada's claim to own the Queen Elizabeth Islands.

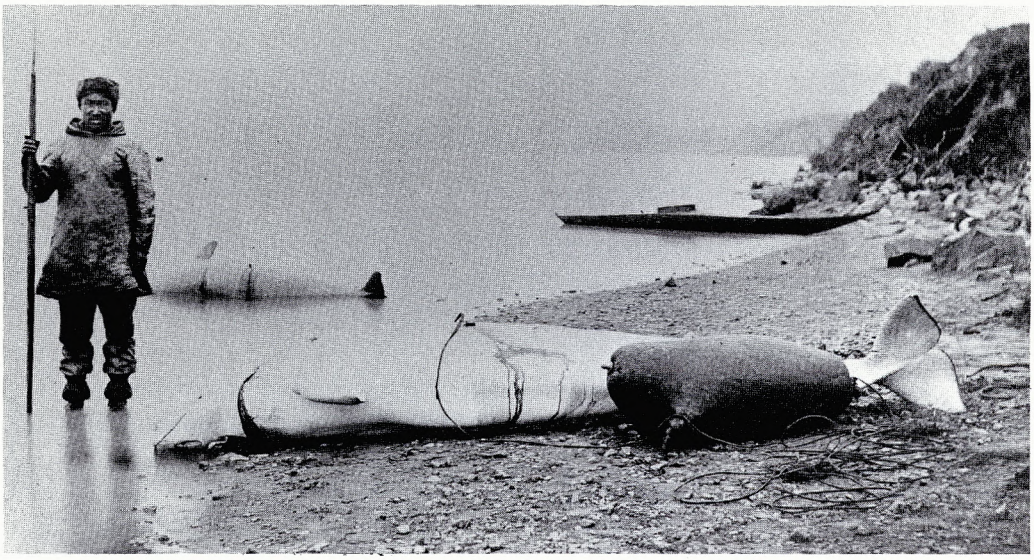
With the coming of World War II, activity in the north was heightened. Airfields and weather stations were built and later, during the early 1950s, a radar system called the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line was established. All this activity brought regular employment and high wages for the Inuit. Many Inuit moved close to these stations and came into increased contact with non-natives and modern life.

Conversely, the non-natives who came north with the influx of work became aware of the Inuit for the first time. Before long, the rest of Canada had learned about the Inuit as well. They discovered that these native northerners were, for the most part, without schooling. They also discovered that infant deaths, epidemics and starvation were commonplace and that the Inuit were not receiving the social benefits available to other Canadians.

Government Presence

By the early 1950s the federal government acted upon a 1939 Supreme Court ruling that had brought the Inuit under federal jurisdiction. The government sought to deliver the services to which the Inuit were entitled.

Thus, the military presence in the north was replaced by a more general government presence that was to touch on almost every aspect of Inuit life.



Richard Harrington/Public Archives Canada

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The traditional lifestyle of the Inuit was dictated by the seasons and by the migration habits of wildlife in Canada's north. Small bands of Inuit travelled by land and sea in pursuit of land animals like the caribou and muskox and marine mammals like the seal and beluga whale.

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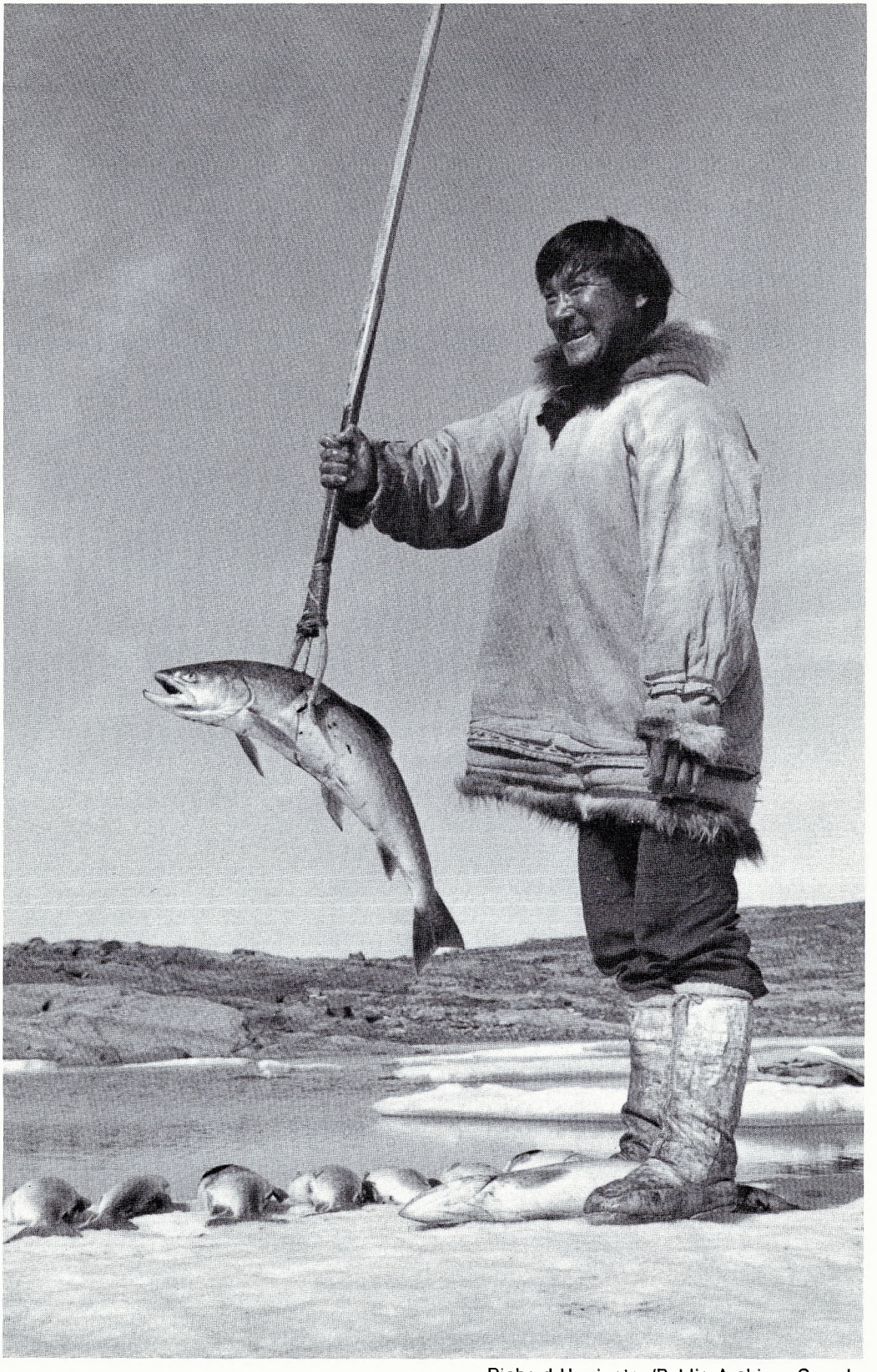
Survival depended upon the success of the hunt. Hunters in both inland and coastal Inuit communities continually sought to secure enough meat to feed their families. Fishing too provided a regular source of food. Skins from animals such as the caribou and the seal were tanned and fashioned into garments by community women. With the advent of traders and trading posts in the north, the Inuit hunter assumed a new role — that of trapper. White fox pelts were, for a time, in great demand.

Richard Harrington/Public Archives Canada



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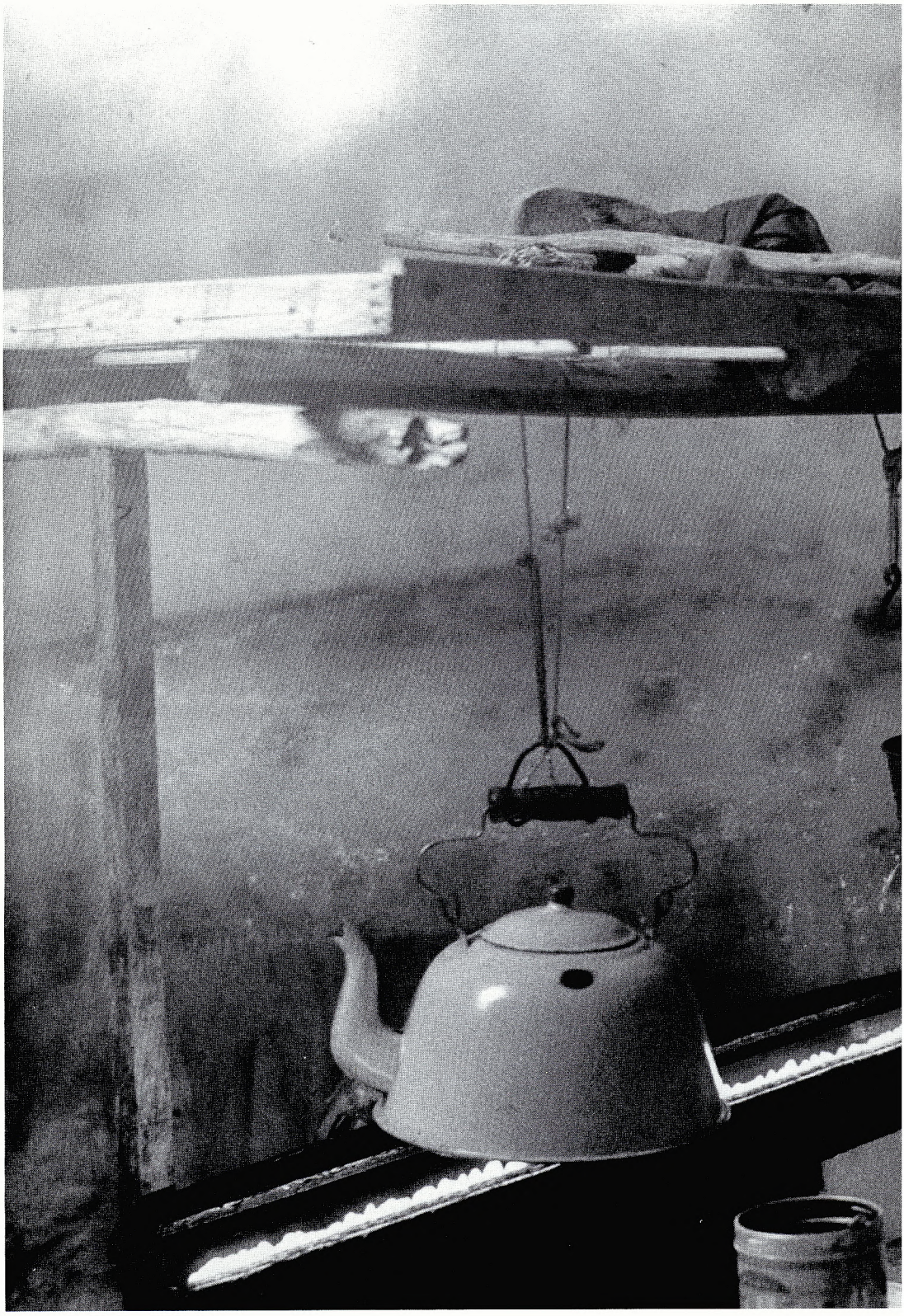

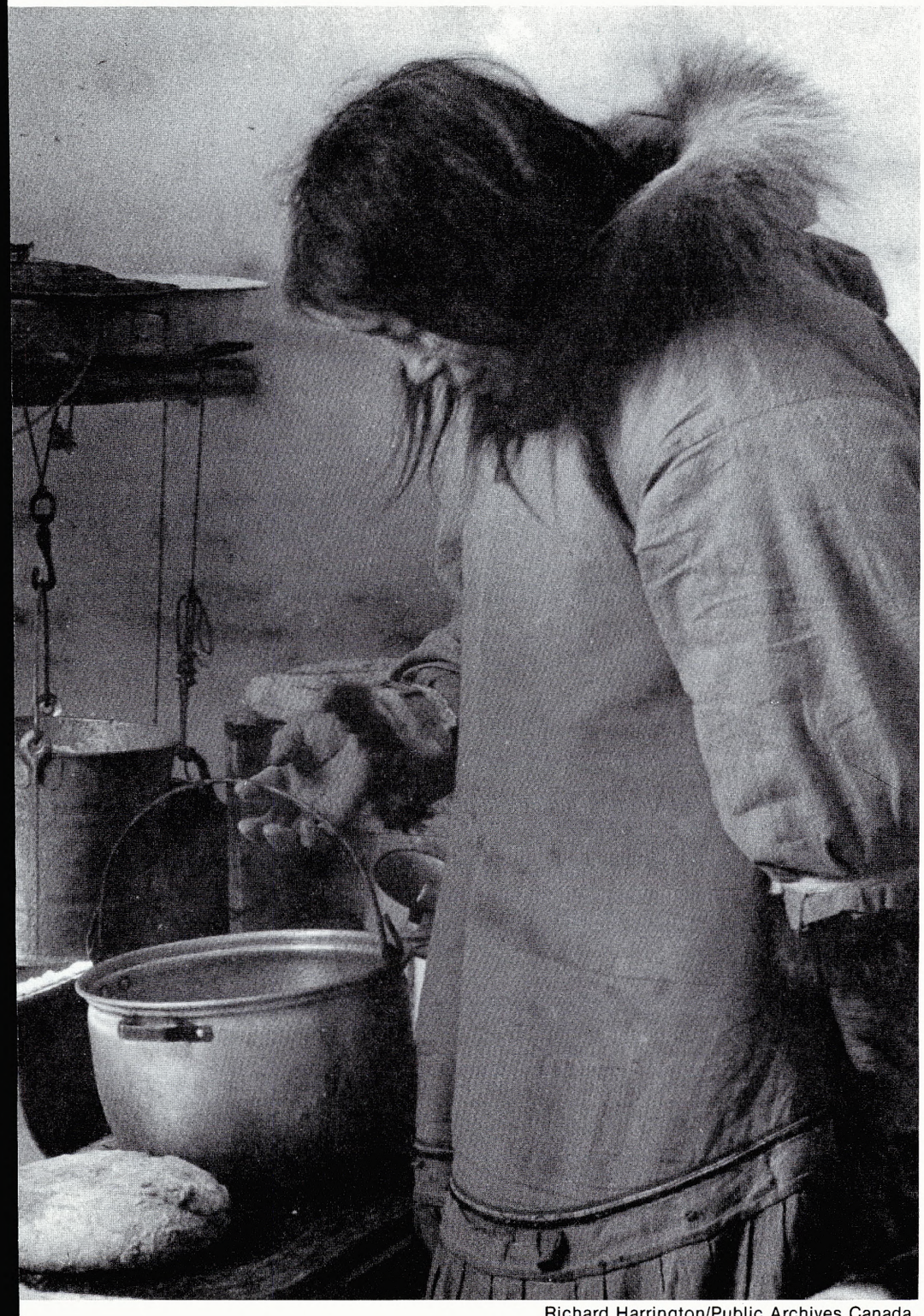

Richard Harrington/Public Archives Canada

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As in every society, youth looks to experience for education and amusement alike. Community elders steeped in the traditions of their people passed on cultural customs and survival know-how to younger generations.

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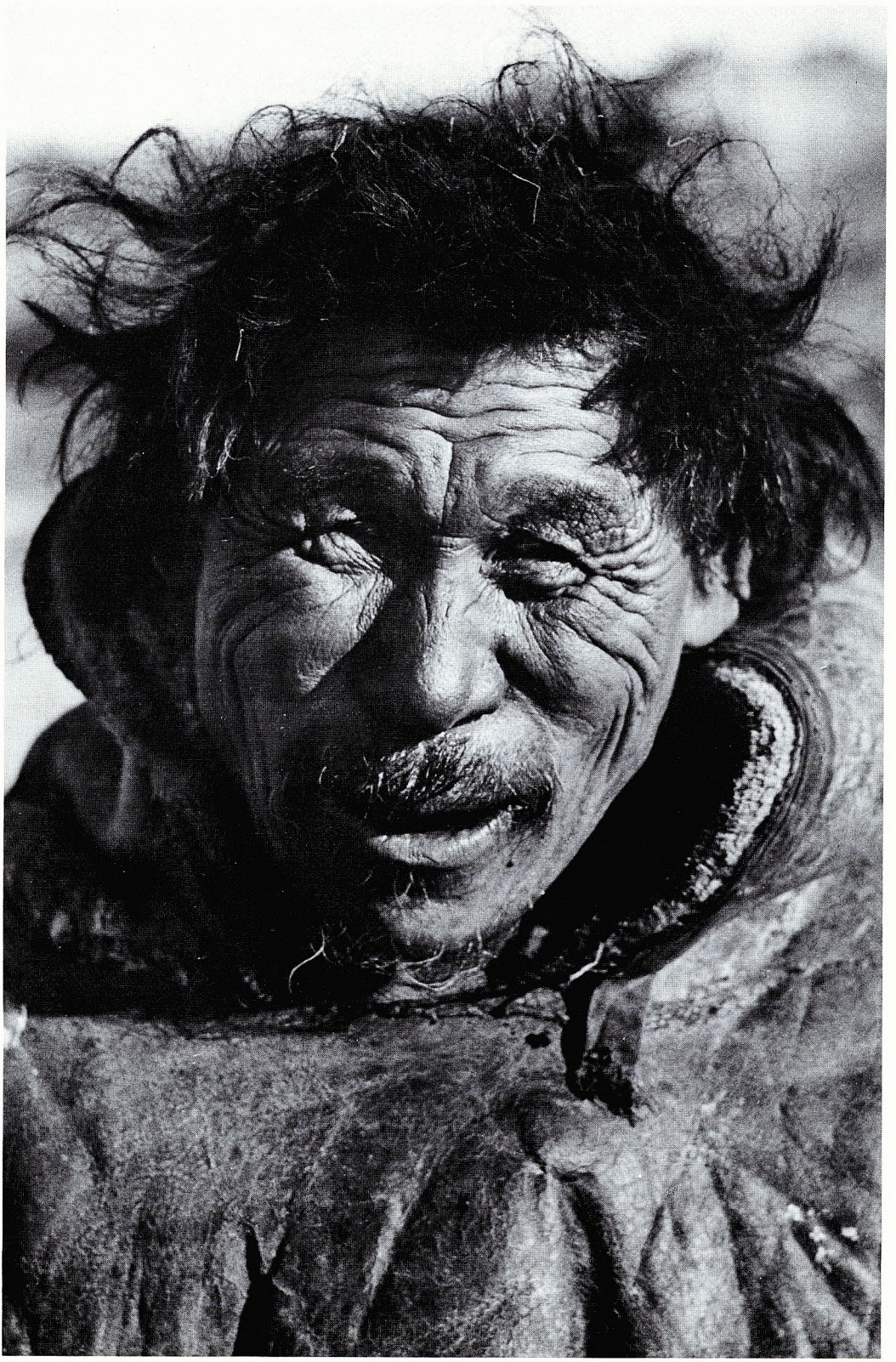
Pots, teakettle and a traditional soapstone lamp exemplify the blend of old and new apparent in most northern communities as recently as the 1950s.



DIAND Photo

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Where communities once occupied hunting and fishing camps and lived in animal skin tents and in igloos, during the past three decades the Inuit have congregrated in various settlements and now live in houses made with lumber imported from the south.

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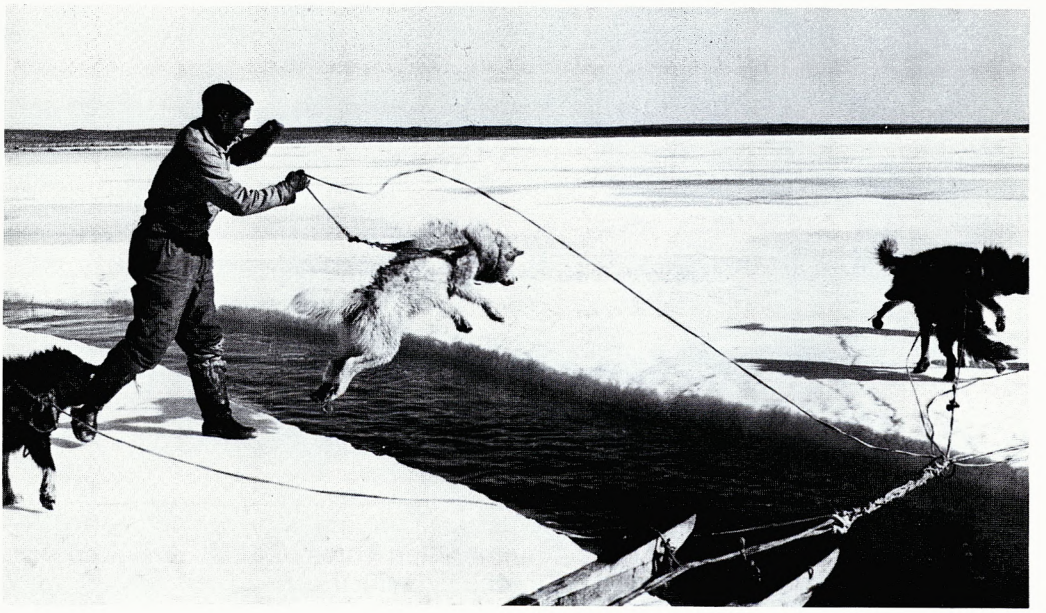

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Travel by dogteam in Canada's north has virtually been replaced by snowmobiles, three-wheel all-terrain vehicles and, of course, the airplane. Where the hunter used to rely on his dogteam to transport him from place to place, he now owns one, if not two, snowmobiles for hunting, trapping and inland travel.

DIAND Photo

Many settlements now enjoy regular radio, television and telephone services. The launching of the Anik B satellite resulted in a wave of enthusiastic participation by Inuit in the production of shows to be broadcast throughout the north. The majority of northern settlements have local radio stations managed by residents. Program content ranges from Inuit elders reading traditional legends to musicians strumming and singing popular tunes.

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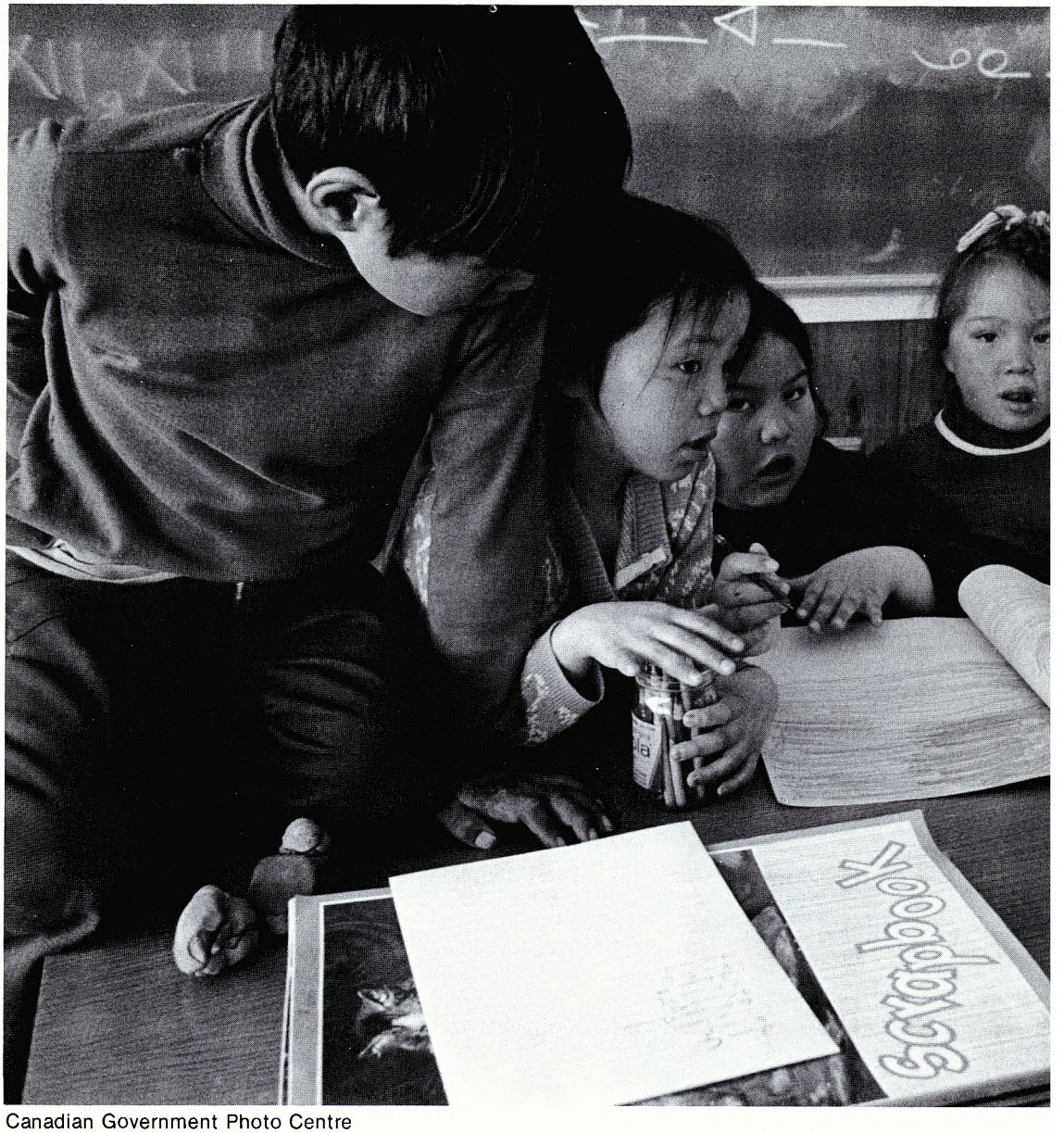

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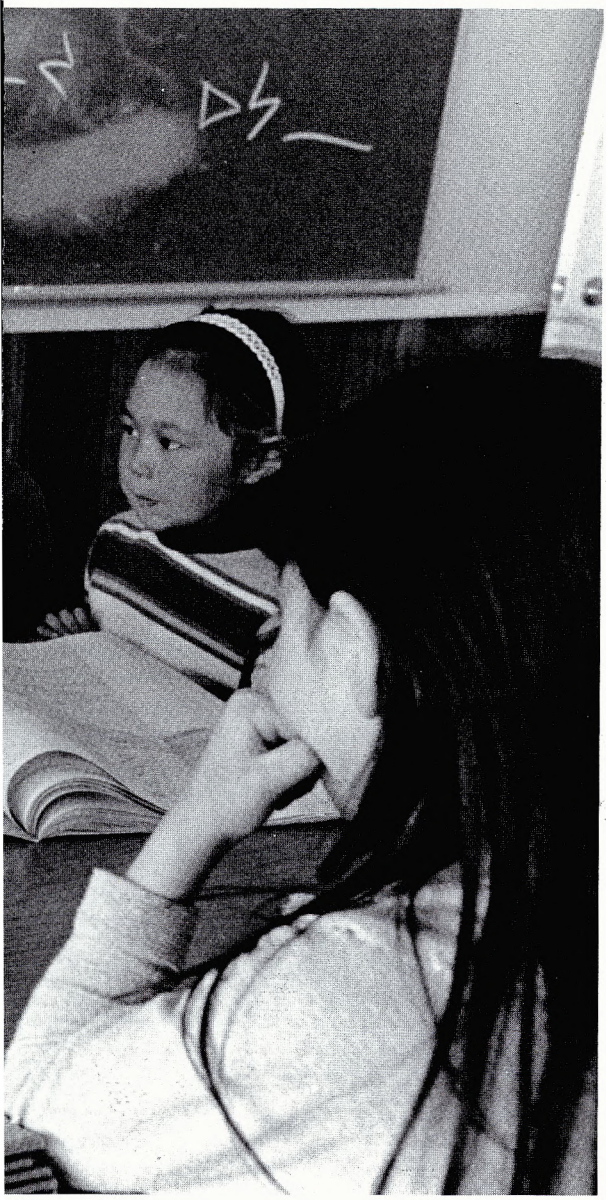
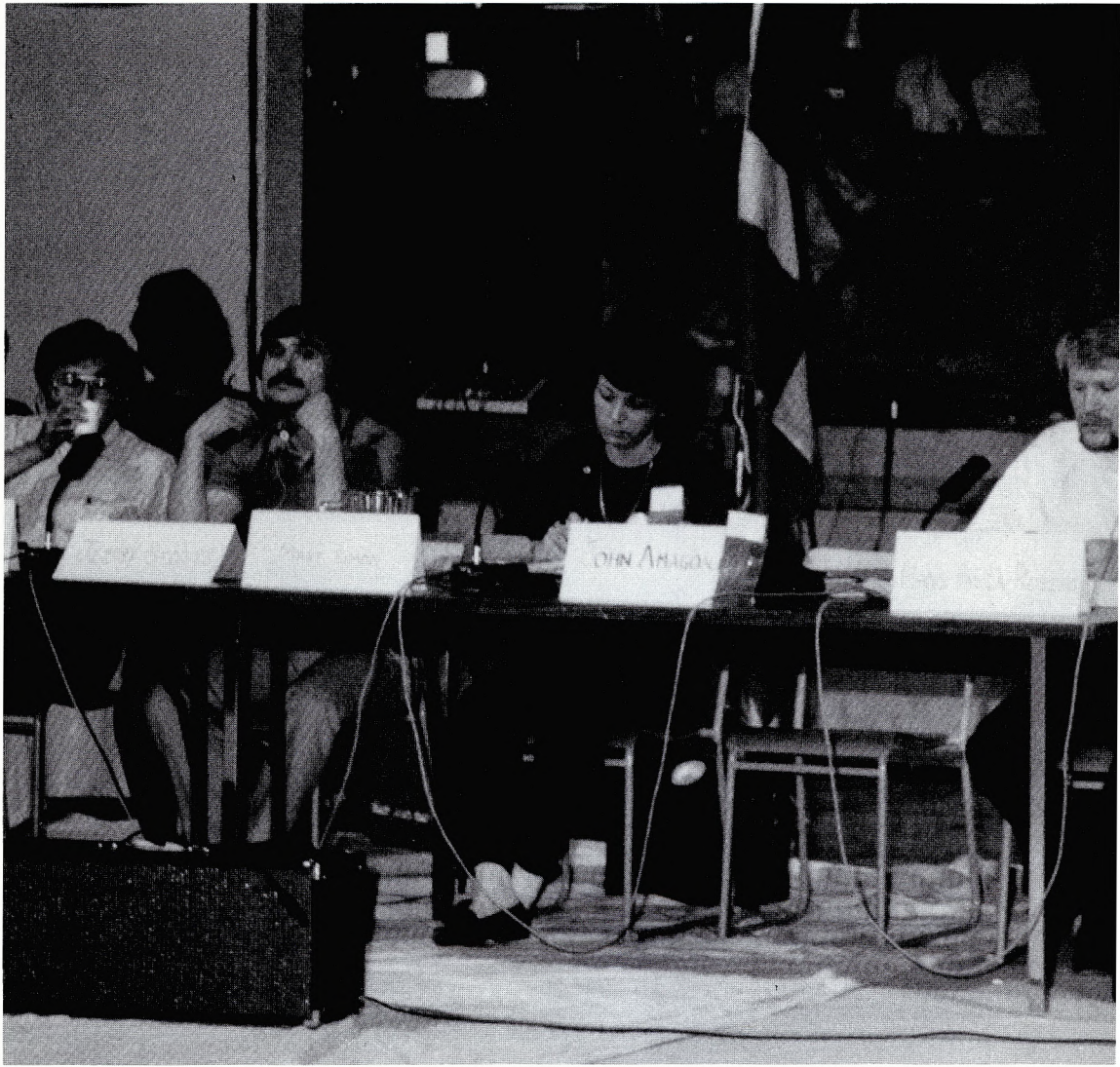


In recent years, education in northern schools has shifted from southern-oriented curricula to instruction that is more appropriate for Inuit youth. Emphasis is now placed not only on academics such as mathematics and science, but also on land survival skills and language. Inuktitut, the language of the Inuit, is now taught and thus reinforced in classrooms across the north.



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In the early 1970s, the Inuit began to establish organizations out of a growing concern about the fast-paced changes taking place in the north and affecting their lives. Organizations such as Inuit Tapirisat of Canada have done much to ensure that the people they represent will enjoy renewed control over their own affairs.

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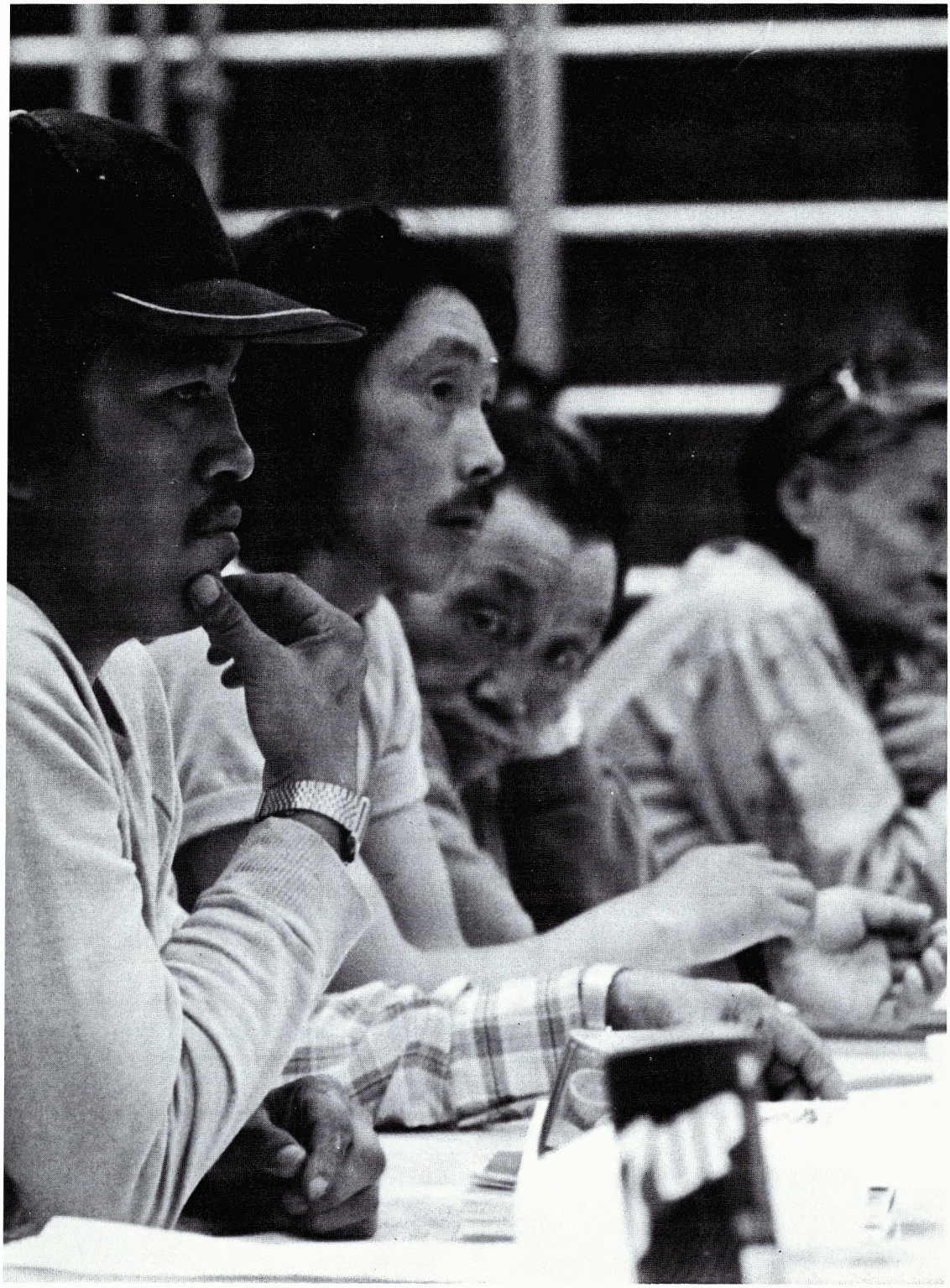


The Transition Era

The North in the 1950s

Until the 1950s there had been no particular government office responsible for the welfare of the Inuit. However, a 1939 Supreme Court decision clearly accorded the Inuit the same health, education and social assistance benefits that Canadian Indians were entitled to. The Constitution Act of 1867 gave the Parliament of Canada jurisdiction over "Indians, and land reserved for Indians". The 1939 decision ruled that the term "Indians" as used in the act included Inuit.

In 1953, the Inuit started receiving their benefits through the auspices of the federal department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. But delivery of such services to the widespread Inuit families was impractical. The government, wanting to form centralized administrative centres to which the Inuit would relocate, began establishing social and health services and schools at many existing trading posts in the north.

During this same period many Inuit were facing increasingly difficult circumstances. Tuberculosis was claiming many victims, while many people weakened by epidemics were in no shape to hunt and supply food. Added to this was a decline in game and a shift in animal migration patterns which made for poor hunting conditions and widespread starvation. Low fur prices further deteriorated their standard of living. Meanwhile, the Inuit's ever-strengthening reliance on outside goods and on the missionaries, coupled with their desire to be close to their children attending the newly built government schools, drew the Inuit towards the expanding permanent settlements.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, more people congregated at the various northern sites until the 700 or so groups of Inuit scattered across the north had relocated into about 40 permanent settlements. The nature of these new communities implied a more sedentary existence — a lifestyle that brought a corresponding change in the economic base.

The hunting and trapping economy gave way to a mixed economy — a hunting and trapping base mixed with a welfare and wage element. In essence, this meant the government supplied food, clothing, housing, money, and education. Inherent in this change was the Inuit's loss of control over most of their day-to-day affairs. The Inuit were unaccustomed to the new system introduced by the government and, because they didn't understand the nature of the new institutions, they couldn't actively participate. The language barrier between Inuktitut-speaking Inuit and the English- and French-speaking newcomers added to the confusion. Consequently, decision-making became the realm of the non-Inuit.

There is no doubt that the government's intentions were honourable. The government succeeded in

stabilizing the feast-and-famine cycles. The incidence of tuberculosis was reduced. Mortality rates dropped. But most of the changes that affected the Inuit were made without consulting them.

Communities Today

While past decisions cannot be undone, and although there is no turning back, today's Inuit have managed to regain much of the control that in the 1950s fell to the government. Inuit are now actively involved in decision-making at all levels of government, from running their own communities to electing Inuit at the federal level. In other areas hardly considered in the 1950s — areas such as land claims, environmental issues and resource development — the Inuit are very much in the forefront. The Inuit today, as in the past, are carefully weighing and selecting elements in the non-Inuit culture that can work for the betterment of the land and its people.

The majority of Canada's Inuit continue to live within the areas once occupied by their ancestors, that is, north of the tree line along the coastal edge of Canada's far north.

Inuit Communities

According to 1985 population projections by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, there are about 28 000 Inuit throughout Canada. Most Inuit live in the Northwest Territories, according to the 1981 Census of Canada which pegged the total Inuit population at 25 390. Northern Quebec is home to about 20 per cent of Inuit while close to eight per cent live on the Labrador coast of Newfoundland. Altogether there are 66 Inuit communities throughout the north.

The size of most Inuit communities varies from 100 to 1 000, but an average population of 500 is big by northern standards. Pond Inlet on Baffin Island is a typical present-day community and its history highlights many of the past events in Inuit and non-Inuit relations.

The area around Pond Inlet is rich in Thule culture archaeological sites. By the 1820s, whalers (both American and Scottish) frequented the area. In 1820 the arctic explorer W.E. Parry is said to have visited there. Pond Inlet was named by another arctic explorer in 1888, John Ross, in honour of John Pond, astronomer royal. Many years later, in 1921, the site became home to an RCMP detachment. By 1922 a Roman Catholic and an Anglican mission were located there. Later, in 1960, the government built a school in Pond Inlet and during that same period iron ore exploration in the area provided work for some Inuit.

The Inuktitut name for Pond Inlet is *Mittimatalik*, possibly named after Mittima, the Inuk who ran the Sabellum Company trading post and Singiyok in the 1930s.

Today the population of Pond Inlet exceeds 700. A nursing station, a school (kindergarten to grade 9), several churches, a police detachment, a community hall and an adult education centre have all been built there. Telephone, radio and television service is available. Local businesses include a hotel, two general retail stores (one of which is a co-operative), a vehicle repair shop, a construction company and heavy equipment rentals. A landing strip provides for regular air service.

Like Pond Inlet, most Inuit communities are located in remote parts of the country where roads are almost non-existent. Airplanes, therefore, provide the principal means of long-distance travel, whereas snowmobiles (the Inuit equivalent to cars in the south) and three-wheel all-terrain vehicles are the main means of local transportation. Motorized boats offer another mode of travel during the warm seasons.

Traditional and Contemporary

Newcomers to Inuit communities are often struck by the combination of traditional and modern elements there. Sometimes these forces converge and sometimes they collide.

Snowmobile boots and commercially made parkas are everywhere, but many women with small children still prefer to carry youngsters in the traditional woman's *amautik*, a parka with a large hood that acts as a built-in baby pouch. Older women wear their "visiting" parka, a heavy duffel parka under a brightly coloured cotton overcoat.

This mix of traditional and contemporary is evident throughout a community. Next to a modern, prefabricated house, one is likely to see a polar bear skin pegged on a clothesline and flapping in the wind or a traditional sled hooked up to a modern snowmobile. Inside the house a batch of bannock may be frying on an oil-burning stove while a woman cuts pieces of seal meat with her *ulu*, a semi-circular knife that Inuit women have used for centuries.

Nearby, young children watch an episode of a popular American television drama while their grandmother chews a caribou skin to make it soft. Perhaps a bored teenager complains about the lack of liquor because the community, having experienced too many violent alcohol-related incidents, has banned its sale.

While many modern facilities are available in these small Inuit communities, many inconveniences remain. In the area of medicine, there are few full-time doctors living in the communities. Most doctors, along with dentists and specialists, visit on a regular basis. Few of the nurses, most of whom are non-Inuit, speak Inuktitut.

In the area of housing, overcrowding is a common problem in the north. According to the 1981 Census of Canada, 42 per cent of Inuit households are crowded (with more than one person per room). More than 26 per cent of homes lack central heating and more than 14 per cent lack a bathroom. In many communities "honey buckets" (pails with removable plastic liners) serve as toilets. Honey bucket bags are deposited by residents in nearby drums. A local sanitation service routinely collects the drum contents for delivery to the settlement dump.

The southern-style houses are not built for the cold northern winters and quickly deteriorate. More than 17 per cent of Inuit households are in need of major repairs. Moreover, it is expensive to heat these homes. With a finite supply of fuel oil, there can be that nagging doubt whether the supply will last the season. The fuel supply (both for homes and for the diesel generators that provide many communities with electricity) is shipped by oil tanker during the summer on a once-a-year basis and stored in large reserve depots on the settlement perimeter.

The Sealift

A second sea shipment also makes its way north annually. This one causes quite a sensation when it arrives, for it transports the bulk of a community's dry cargo needs. A year's supply of soft drinks, tape decks, non-perishable foodstuffs, heavy building supplies, snowmobiles and canoes fill the cargo ship.

The non-native component of each settlement — teachers and government workers in particular — relies heavily on the sealift to provide as many big city accoutrements as possible. The only practical way to transport heavy shipments of dry cargo is by sea — at a fraction of the cost of air freight. And the only feasible time to send the cargo ship is during the short ice-free summer season. Sometimes cargo ships never reach the communities because of ice conditions. When this occurs, air shipments are a must to supply communities with the basic goods they need.

During the sealift, which covers the eastern arctic and the Arctic Islands, ice-breakers precede the cargo ship. In the western arctic, barges pushed by tug boats provide service along the Mackenzie River. The Keewatin area along Hudson Bay is supplied by barges from Churchill, Manitoba.

All the cargo arrives, it is hoped, with little damage. The only way to find out is by unloading. The first items off the ship are likely a tug boat or a barge. These items are not for the community. They are the vessel's portable facilities that get the cargo to shore, for few coastal communities have docking facilities to accommodate the ship. While the ship carries enough machinery to handle the unloading operation, it does not supply a full staff. So people from each community flock to the shore not only to watch but also to make some money by helping out.

Making a Living

Although the cargo ship drifts into a community only once a year, it provides an important source of income and part-time work for the people. Most of the communities are too remote to allow the Inuit reasonable access to major labour markets, and most of the communities (more or less artificially created in the 1950s) have no economic base of their own. Jobs, therefore, are scarce. Income tends to come from several sources, usually a combination of traditional pursuits such as hunting and trapping, part-time wage earnings, and social assistance.

Until recently, money earned from selling sealskins provided valuable monetary support for many Inuit families. But adverse publicity from groups involved in the 20-year-old international anti-sealing campaign has destroyed virtually the entire seal fur market and brought hardship to many Inuit families. Similarly, the more recent anti-trapping crusades have severely limited the ability of Inuit and Indians to rely on trapping as a source of income.

Hunting and fishing still provide many Inuit with a supply of healthful fresh protein, although it is no longer a cheap food supply. Hunting and trapping are becoming increasingly expensive activities. Furthermore, domestic meat and other perishable foodstuffs shipped in from the south are increasingly expensive because of growing transportation costs.

Money earned from traditional pursuits often went back in to finance the hunt, for the continued importance of hunting and trapping stems from a desire among the Inuit to keep their many traditions alive. These activities, after all, represent a strong link to the Inuit's past.

The Inuit of today — even the young who never lived a thoroughly traditional life—all identify strongly with the land, its animals and other elements of their culture that differentiate their world from that of the non-Inuit.

So, while the economic advantages of hunting, fishing and trapping continually grow slimmer, their cultural significance remains strong. However, the reduced hunting and trapping income, coupled with the accelerating costs of snowmobiles, guns, ammunition and gasoline, makes it financially more difficult for people to hunt.

Since their introduction to the north in the 1960s, snowmobiles and motorized boats have made it possible for hunters to travel greater distances to locate quarry. This has taken pressure off animals in the immediate vicinity of the communities and has enabled the Inuit to maintain the traditional hunting grounds they used before the relocation project which began in the 1950s.

Wage-earning jobs in the community tend to centre in community services. Positions on the hamlet council, teaching and teaching assistant positions, maintenance jobs such as sewage collection and water delivery, housing construction and road maintenance are typical employment opportunities in Canada's northern settlements. There are a few clerical positions with retail stores or jobs with the government such as wildlife officer positions. But some of these are seasonal occupations, and other jobs are only part-time. While part-time work does provide some cash and allows the freedom to pursue other activities, such work is not abundant. Government assistance is heavily depended upon.

At the moment a large portion of the Inuit population is too young to work (children under 15 make up the largest percentage). As the population ages, however, these youths will be looking for a place in this tight northern job market.

Co-operatives

One of the overall success stories in terms of Inuit economic self-sufficiency has been the development of Inuit-owned-and-operated co-operatives that exist in almost every Inuit community. Originally, the co-operatives were a way for the Inuit to use their traditional skills and experience in money-making ventures that would lead to greater independence and a higher standard of living.

The best known and most lucrative co-operatives are in major carving and printmaking communities such as Cape Dorset. They have brought not only economic stability for their

artists but also international recognition in the world of art. In addition, the sculptures and prints, which often depict traditional Inuit subsistence activities, have provided a valuable visual record of that lifestyle.

Most co-operatives, however, are multi-purpose. They offer goods and services that range from art and handicraft production to commercial fisheries, retail stores, construction and municipal services. Members of these community-based businesses not only share the profits from these operations but also set their own policies and management practices. The co-operatives are also a learning ground for Inuit, enabling them to gain experience in business administration, retailing, accounting and marketing.

Since 1959, communities have been drawn to the co-operative movement by the co-op philosophy which parallels the traditional sharing ethic of pooling labour, skills and rewards for the betterment of the whole.

The co-operatives led to greater contact among the Inuit communities, and soon the co-ops were banding together to form federations. The Canadian Arctic Producers (CAP) was established in 1965 as a central marketing agency for Inuit arts and crafts. The Quebec-based la Fédération des Coopératives du Nouveau-Québec was incorporated in 1967. In the Northwest Territories, the Canadian Arctic Co-Operative Federation Limited was established in 1972. In 1982 the N.W.T. federation and CAP were amalgamated into the Arctic Co-operatives Limited. While co-operatives have been the largest single employer of native labour in the arctic, business in the last few years has gone into a slump which is cause for concern among the Inuit.

Social and Family Life

The transition from traditional life to a modern one has had enormous consequences for the Inuit. A society that experiences as drastic and sudden a lifestyle change as the Inuit 30 years ago does so at certain costs. For one thing, the people found that their way of life that had worked for generations was no longer appropriate. The traditional hunter in 1960 no doubt felt his status diminished when he moved his family into the new, permanent community. In the hunting world, his ability to hunt earned him prestige among his peers. Removing the man from that way of life did not remove his way of thinking.

Another stressful element came simply from the size of the new communities. Traditionally, Inuit lived in small groups, usually two to 10 families of related people, but in the new communities they lived among large numbers of strangers. The unity of the traditional hunting group was gone.

Unity was further weakened with the introduction of pensions, family allowances and welfare payments. These services created financial disparities among families and undermined the sharing ethic.

Gone too were the common forms of social control. In the traditional setting where all members relied on each other socially and economically for survival, the threat of ostracism was a powerful tool. In the new large communities, however, it was impossible to cut off the social and economic support of an offending member. Ostracism became an empty threat.

As with so many other aspects of traditional Inuit society, family life has also undergone a number of changes. Youth in particular is caught between the pull of two traditions. Often there are pressures on them to be successful in both worlds, the traditional and the modern industrial one as well. The lack of opportunity in northern communities causes adolescents to doubt whether there are secure and satisfying alternatives. The result is depression and frustration which may lead to alcohol abuse, violence, crime and suicide.

But many traditional elements remain the same. The Inuit continue to maintain an extended family, although smaller nuclear families are becoming more common. Adoption remains an important social function. The birth rate among the Inuit is higher than in non-Inuit society and it is high among young, unmarried Inuit women who often have their children adopted.

Among other traditional values is the age-old concept of decision-making by consensus, which remains strong as does the people's special relationship with the land and its environment.

A resurging interest in traditional games has resulted in the creation of an athletic event known as the Northern Games. The event came about as a response to competitive games in the south. Northern Games or smaller regional counterparts are another way for the Inuit to reinforce their heritage as well as to display that heritage to the world at large. Games such as the hand reach stress traditional values and lifeskills. The hand reach is actually a balancing feat. The player balances his body on one hand, keeping himself parallel to the floor while the free hand reaches out and strikes an overhanging target. The competitor's body must remain in balance and without touching the floor while the target is hit.

Religion

Shamanism, the traditional religion of the Inuit, was actively discouraged by the early missionaries, but perhaps all they did was drive it underground. A distinguished Inuit artist, Helen Kalvak, is known to have been a shaman. In any case, the Inuit in general have embraced the early missions' beliefs. Most Inuit are active church-goers and

devoted to the Roman Catholic and Anglican faiths. In recent years more evangelical religions have gained popularity in the north.

Education

The earliest school systems in the north were run by the religious orders operating there at that time. For the most part only a fraction of the Inuit children attended these schools. When the government took control, formal education became available to more people. Although the current education trend is better geared to meet the Inuit's needs, this wasn't always so.

When Inuit children were placed in government-run schools in the late 1940s, this marked the first time in Inuit history that children had been segregated from the rest of their society. Learning was taken out of the realm of the family and placed in an isolated setting. Since most families still lived in scattered camps across the north, the children were airlifted to the schools at the administrative centres where they usually spent the winter. Schooling no longer consisted of teaching children how to survive in a hunting society. The courses for study were similar to those offered in southern Canada. Curriculum was based on an urban industrialized lifestyle that was entirely foreign to Inuit children. Moreover, instruction took place in English under the guidance of non-Inuit teachers.

On a more subtle level, the children were learning the value system of a non-Inuit culture which alienated them from their parents. Teachers expected their pupils to be competitive, but this behaviour contradicted the traditional Inuit lifestyle which relied on co-operation for survival. Children were encouraged to be more outspoken, but Inuit parents considered this as aggressive behaviour and a sign of weakness because it bespoke a lack of self-control. Children, therefore, received conflicting messages from home and from school.

Students became alienated from their parents and their past not only because they were learning different cultural values, but also because they were learning a different language. English was quickly becoming the language of the young, a language the elders did not understand.

Moreover, parents did not understand the requirements of education, so they could not offer the support or the discipline most non-Inuit teachers expected. Attendance and drop-out problems were difficult to overcome, for Inuit parents would not discipline their children, a concept foreign to the Inuit lifestyle. If children stayed up late at night, they might miss school. Parents, however, had never given children curfews and couldn't adjust to this non-Inuit obsession with discipline.

Responsibility for the education of the Inuit is now a matter of territorial and provincial control. While the education system prepares the young for the standard high school

level, there has been a great attempt to furnish the Inuit with an education system geared to their particular needs.

In the Northwest Territories, Inuit children are able to attend school up to the grade nine level in their communities. Local education authorities determine the language of instruction for the first two grades. In the eastern arctic where most of the N.W.T. Inuit live, that language is Inuktitut. From grade three onwards, English instruction increases, although Inuktitut is offered daily provided that qualified language instructors are available. In addition, lifeskills courses taught by community elders ensure that young Inuit learn more about their own culture. Students gain practical experience in such traditional skills as hunting, butchering and skinning of slain animals and preparation of native food.

Most eastern arctic Inuit who wish to continue their education attend the high school in Frobisher Bay. This school offers Inuit cultural inclusion courses as well as Inuktitut instruction. At the same time, it provides standard high school education. The lack of high school education facilities in their own settlements is seen as a special problem by the parents of these Inuit pupils.

One group of Inuit parents have decided to take direct control of their children's education. These people are called the Inummarit, the true Inuit (in the sense that they still ascribe to traditional values and lifestyle practices). They feel that the cultural inclusion program is too short to be of any use, so they have gone back to living a traditional lifestyle. Their children no longer attend school but learn the traditional system, following the examples of their elders as children did in the old days.

Meanwhile in northern Quebec, as an outcome of the James Bay and Northern Quebec comprehensive land claim in 1975, responsibility for education of the Inuit is now in the hands of the Kativik School Board. Education from the kindergarten level to the end of grade two takes place in Inuktitut. In grade three the children's main language of instruction becomes either English or French, based on the parents' decision. But Inuktitut and Inuit cultural instruction remain in the curriculum and are taught an average of three to five periods a week throughout grade school and secondary school.

The Labrador Inuit's education needs are met locally, with grades one through 12 provided in the community setting. The Inuit receive the same education as other Newfoundlanders, with the addition of some Inuktitut from grades one to nine and some traditional lifeskills training in high school.

Adult education is provided in many northern centres, and vocational training is also available. The north's newly named Arctic College provides over 82 extension courses across the Northwest Territories,

including academic upgrading, English as a second language, word processing and occupational training. The Thebacha Campus of Arctic College is in Fort Smith, N.W.T. The first steps to establish a regional campus at Frobisher Bay have been taken.

For advanced education opportunities, the Inuit must rely on the education systems available in Canada's larger urban centres. Many of the students have a hard time adjusting to these new surroundings — the fast-paced traffic and lights, the language and the hot climate. Many are struck with the overwhelming size of buildings, the crowds of people and the lack of smiling faces. Above all, it is difficult to leave family and friends behind.

At present, the formal education level of the Inuit is lower than that of the average Canadian. This is not surprising, however, considering the short period of time education has been available to them. As the education system gears gradually towards Inuit concepts and ways of learning, more students will pursue its rewards. But their future choices are difficult ones. Even non-Inuit youth who are products of the urban industrial culture are having a hard time to find jobs and to fit into modern industrial society.

Language

One of the main features that distinguishes Inuit society from non-native societies has been hunting. A second equally distinctive feature of the Inuit culture is its language. The Inuit language is called *Inuktitut*, meaning "in the manner of the Inuit." Indeed, language offers the key to understanding how people operate, for a language, to a certain extent, shapes its users' point of view. Preservation of Inuktitut is, therefore, basic to the survival of the Inuit identity, heritage and cultural growth.

Inuktitut exists in two written forms developed by early missionaries in Canada. The Moravians introduced the Labrador Inuit to the roman character orthography, an example of which follows.

The most noticeable characteristic of Inuktitut is the manner in which words grow by the addition of suffixes. For example, the sentence "we really wish to build a big house" begins with the root word iglu (house). A series of suffixes — *alu* (large), *liu* (make), *ruma* (want), *tsiaq* (really), *tu gut* (we) — join the root word to form *iglualuliurumatsiaqtugut*.

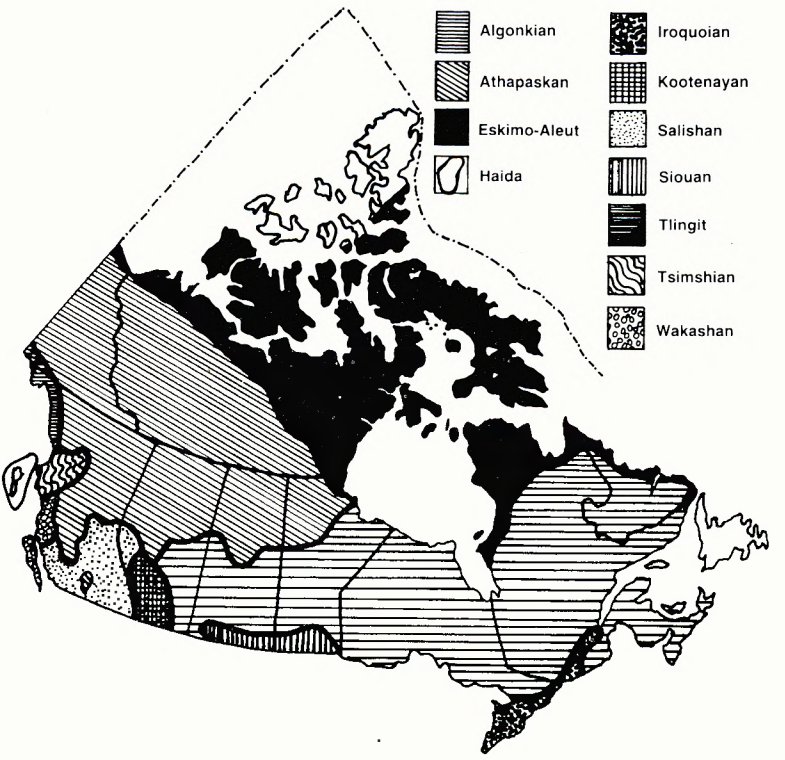
The other writing system is based on syllabics and has been used for a hundred years by the Inuit of the eastern arctic, Hudson Bay and northern Quebec, that is, 70 per cent of the Canadian Inuit population.

iglu	*alu*	*liu*	*ruma*	*tsiaq*	*tu gut*
ᐃᒡᓗ	ᐊᓗ	ᓕᐅ	ᕈᒪ	ᑦᓯᐊᖅ	ᑐᒍᑦ

There are over 20 dialects of Inuktitut across the six major linguistic regions. All the dialects are accommodated in the dual orthography system developed by the Inuit Language Commission which reformed the roman and syllabics systems so they could be used interchangeably.

Lately, a number of Inuktitut dictionaries have been compiled that deal with the dialects of specific regions such as the western arctic or eastern arctic. These dictionaries focus in part on the preservation of the old language. They list terms that were common while Inuit lived off the land but that now are growing obsolete in modern society. The dictionaries contain the latest Inuktitut terms to describe newly introduced concepts in legal, medical, technical, scientific and financial lexicons. These concepts naturally didn't exist in the traditional language. It has been the role of Inuit interpreters and translators to discuss and coin new Inuktitut terms to meet this growing demand for new words.

Native Linguistic Families



Gaining Control

Radio

Just as the Inuit have taken command of the development of their written language, they have taken charge in a number of other directions.

One area where Inuit have taken advantage of modern technological society has been in the field of electronic media: radio and television. Radio and television, after all, make use of two age-old devices among the Inuit:creative use of the spoken word, the oral tradition, and a strong visual tradition. But more significantly, Inuit access to these media has meant that they have some control over the ideas and images that flood the north.

While the Inuit quickly launched Inuit-oriented newsletters and newspapers, access to air waves was a much slower operation. For one thing, any kind of communication was unreliable until satellites were developed to provide stable radio and television signals. Before 1972 and the launching of satellite Anik A, radio and telephone service was achieved through mobile and shortwave radio — expensive and unreliable.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) Northern Services has operated since 1958. It provides radio and television broadcasts in several languages, including a few dialects of Inuktitut. But there are a variety of Inuktitut dialects, and it is difficult to accommodate them all.

CBC Northern Services helps individual communities set up local radio stations and provides basic equipment and training. Community radio societies have access to CBC's air waves and can switch off CBC programming during certain hours to transmit their own shows. Local societies broadcast in Inuktitut on any number of issues, from local messages to current affairs. In times of emergency, the community can control the air waves indefinitely. These services are generally provided for communities with a population of 500 or more.

The Northwest Territories government provides radio and television satellite equipment to communities of less than 500 if they have a commercial power supply. These communities have local access to radio and television transmitters.

In northern Quebec many communities own and operate radio stations under the auspices of Taqramiut Nipingat Inc. (TNI). In Labrador, Inuktitut radio programming is available to several communities.

Television

Outside Influence

While the community radio stations have held to portraying Inuit culture, the northern communities have been bombarded by a multitude of foreign cultural influences. Since the 1970s, one of the most pervasive of these has been television.

Television made its way north in the 1970s with the proliferation of transmission signals. Now, most northern households have a television, and the majority of shows reaching the Inuit consist of distorted pictures of non-native culture. As with the early government-sponsored education system, television often portrays a lifestyle and set of values that are very different from those of both traditional and contemporary Inuit society.

Inuit Television

With the launching of a second satellite (Anik B) in 1978, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (the national Inuit association) and TNI both set up television training programs (called *Inuksuk* and *Naalakvik* with money from government departments. The trainees produced and broadcast Inuit-based education programs, folktales and public affairs shows. In 1981 a non-profit network, the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC), was born. IBC has a board of directors composed of representatives from native associations across the north.

The network's aim is to produce informative and entertaining programs in both Inuktitut and English, based on northern images and Inuit social values. IBC provides news information on northern issues and documents traditional Inuit culture. Meanwhile, the quantity of predominantly American-oriented television steadily increases in the north. In the western arctic, the appearance of Anik D has brought eight new television channels into northern homes: four American and four Canadian channels.

IBC's biggest problem to date has been to secure an adequate distribution system for its programs. IBC programming currently reaches about two-thirds of all Inuit communities. Air time amounts to five and one-half hours per week, using the CBC feed and sharing time not only with regular CBC programming but with CBC Northern Services as well.

In the western arctic, the Inuvialuit Communications Society has been gearing up to start television services to six Inuit communities.

Political Activity

The Inuit's quest to regain control extends beyond areas such as television. Their involvement has focused on political activity.

Twenty-five years ago most Inuit could not vote federally (they gained that opportunity in 1962). Today, they have gained control at all political levels. At the local level in the Northwest Territories most Inuit communities are incorporated hamlets; each hamlet is governed by an elected council. In northern Quebec, the Inuit administer their own education, municipal government, health and social services.

At the territorial level there are a number of Inuit elected to the 24-member N.W.T. Legislative Assembly, some of whom hold ministerial positions. The first Inuk

from the eastern arctic elected to the territorial council was Simonie Michael of Frobisher Bay.

At the federal level, Peter Ittinuar became the first Inuit member of Parliament in 1979, and two Inuit, Charlie Watt and Willy Adams, have been made senators.

Inuit Organizations

Another form of political activity to develop has been the formation of native organizations. In the early 1970s, Inuit began to organize out of a growing concern for the fast-paced changes taking place in the north and affecting their lives. Initially, they had little control over these changes which beset them.

The discovery of oil at Prudhoe Bay, Alaska, in 1968 marked the beginning of a surge of oil, gas and mineral exploration throughout the north. As exploration increased, there was mounting anxiety among the Inuit who were concerned about possible social, environmental and economic repercussions. The Inuit wanted a say in how the land they lived on was being used. They feared that their cultural well-being, so strongly tied to the land, was at risk. They started to organize.

The first organization formed was the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE) in the western arctic in 1969. COPE is now an affiliate of the national organization, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC). ITC was born in 1971 out of a growing desire among Inuit to conduct and govern their own affairs.

ITC acts as a united voice of the Inuit on issues of economic, environmental, educational and political concern. The organization is dedicated to preserving the Inuit culture, identity and way of life and is committed to helping Inuit find their role in a changing society. ITC's mandate is a national one, whereas six affiliates deal with regional concerns: COPE in the western arctic, the Baffin Region Inuit Association, the Kitikmeot Inuit Association in the central arctic, the Keewatin Inuit Association, Makivik Corporation for the northern Quebec Inuit, and the Labrador Inuit Association.

ITC activities include publishing newsletters and newspapers and conducting research and investigations into game laws, education and industrial projects. It intervenes at public hearings set up to assess the impact of development projects in the north and makes presentations to parliamentary committees.

As issues became more complex, specialized organizations, many under the ITC umbrella, were formed. Among them is the Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI) at Eskimo Point, N.W.T. Its function is to develop, maintain, and encourage interest and growth in Inuit culture and language. Its projects include gathering and recording stories and legends and encouraging Inuit authors to publish works on Inuit culture and traditions. ICI's Inuit Language Commission was responsible for standardizing the two Inuit writing styles (roman orthography and syllabics) and making them

compatible. More recently, similar organizations have been established elsewhere. The Avataq Cultural Institute has been set up in northern Quebec and the Labrador Cultural Institute in Labrador.

The Inuit Committee on National Issues was established in 1979 to push for the entrenchment of the right to aboriginal self-government in Canada's constitution. An Inuit Women's Association has been created to encourage Inuit women to participate in and contribute to all areas of their society. The general areas of concern for the association are health, education, socio-economics and culture.

In 1975 the Inuit Non-Profit Housing Corporation was set up to deal with housing shortages. The lobby group also looks at the quality, availability and affordability of existing houses in the north.

Land Claims

One of the Inuit associations' main preoccupations has been land claims proposals. Comprehensive land claims relate to the traditional use and occupancy of the land and the special relationships that native people have had with the land since time immemorial.

The demands for resource development have sometimes pressed the Inuit to present land claims to the government. But development is not the only reason for settling claims. Development, rather, has served to make the settlement of some claims more urgent. Native land claims deal with more than money and land. They deal with the loss of a traditional way of life.

By negotiating comprehensive land claims settlements with native people, the government intends that all aspects of aboriginal land rights are addressed on a local and regional basis. These aspects run the gamut of hunting, fishing and trapping (which are as much cultural as economic activities) to those more personal and communal ways of expression such as language, customs, arts, crafts and music. They also include provisions for meaningful participation in contemporary society and in economic development on native lands.

Native people see claims settlements as the means to make some of the kinds of economic and social changes they desire. Settlements can help them direct their own futures and protect their language and culture.

The government's intention in settling land claims has been to help protect and promote the Inuit people's sense of identity. The settlement of land claims basically involves the exchange of undefined aboriginal land rights for concrete rights and benefits defined by law. There are several major benefits that the Inuit may gain as a result of a settlement: land with access to certain resources, protection of hunting, trapping and fishing rights, monetary compensation, and direct

participation in decision-making processes on environmental matters and land use planning.

The first native land claims settlement in Canada was the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, signed in 1975. By that agreement the Inuit (together with the Cree) relinquished any further claim to 981 610 square kilometres of land constituting the major part of James Bay and northern Quebec in return for certain benefits. These benefits included exclusive hunting and fishing rights over much of northern Quebec; outright ownership of some 8 500 square kilometres of land; political rights including a regional government; education and language rights in Inuktitut; and a cash settlement and royalties amounting (for the Inuit) to $90 million.

The land to which the Inuit and Cree relinquished claim was used to create a large-scale hydroelectric project that dammed the rivers in northern Quebec, flooding traditional hunting and trapping areas.

The compensation money obtained by the Inuit is administered by the Makivik Corporation. The money is used to set up regional business ventures such as general stores, hotels, restaurants, air transportation and repair shops. Makivik Corporation also represents the Inuit of northern Quebec on matters of the environment, resource issues and constitutional problems.

A second land claim agreement, involving the Inuvialuit of the western arctic, was signed in 1984. The terms of this agreement provide for a wide range of rights and benefits, including land, cash compensation, wildlife harvesting and management, economic measures and Inuvialuit participation on advisory boards dealing with land use planning and environmental management.

Three other land claims proposals have yet to be decided. In one claim, the Labrador Inuit Association is seeking certain rights in the land and offshore areas in northern Labrador.

In another claim, the Inuit and Indian participants of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement are seeking rights to islands and areas in the Northwest Territories (along the north and west shores of Quebec).

The third claim, pursued by the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut, is a proposal for land (plus extensive offshore areas) in the area north of the tree line in the eastern arctic. Negotiations have centred on rights, benefits, a management role with respect to wildlife harvesting and a role in environmental protection. Land rights, social benefits and compensation will also be discussed.

Originally this claim included a call for the creation of a new territory called *Nunavut*. But the government maintained that this was a separate process and would have to be pursued accordingly. The Inuit (and other natives) of the N.W.T. have

done so by calling for its division into two new separate territories. The proposed new territories would work towards political and economic sovereignty similar to that of the Canadian provinces. The area would be divided roughly along the tree line, the natural border that traditionally separated native people along climatic and cultural lines. The Inuit portion of this new territory would be called *Nunavut*. The Indians and Metis are proposing to call their territory *Denendeh*.

In April 1982 the Northwest Territories government conducted a plebiscite on the division of the territories. Fifty-six per cent of residents favoured a division. That fall, the federal government announced it was favourable toward a split of the Northwest Territories, subject to certain conditions including settlement of land claims and consensus among residents on the political boundaries.

Constitutional Alliance

To ensure a politically accountable system for each new region, a set of principles must be developed outlining how the regions will operate. The N.W.T. government, in conjunction with native organizations, has formed two groups to examine the issue. The Nunavut Constitutional Forum is the group preparing documentation for the new eastern arctic, while the Western Constitutional Alliance provides similar information for the western arctic.

The Future

The Inuit population has undergone a multitude of changes over the last 30 years. In recent years, one of the most significant changes has been the increased control the Inuit have gained in governing of their own affairs. This trend is expected to accelerate with the proposed creation of Nunavut and the settling of the remaining land claims. Indeed, the Inuit's call for a greater share of the political power has been heard and is being acknowledged.

Directory of Inuit and Related Organizations

Inuit Tapirisat of Canada
176 Gloucester St., 3rd Floor
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0A6
(613) 238-8181
or
P.O. Box 417
Iqaluit, NWT X0A 0H0
(819) 979-6211

Makivik Corporation
Kuujjuaq, Quebec J0M 1C0
(819) 964-2925
or
4898 de Maisonneuve West
Westmount, Quebec H3Z 1M7
1 800 361-7052

Committee for Original
People's Entitlement
P.O. Box 2000
Inuvik, NWT X0E 0T0
(403) 979-3510

Inuit Tungavingat Nunamini
Povungnituk, Quebec J0M 1P0
(819) 988-2963

Kativik Regional Government
P.O. Box 9
Kuujjuaq, Quebec J0M 1C0
(819) 964-2960

Kativik School Board
185 Dorval Avenue
Dorval, Quebec H9S 3G6
(819) 636-8720

Labrador Inuit Association
P.O. Box 70
Nain, Labrador A0P 1L0
(709) 922-2996

Labrador Cultural Institute
Nain, Labrador A0P 1L0
(709) 922-2941

Inuit Cultural Institute
Eskimo Point, NWT X0C 0E0
(819) 857-2803

Keewatin Inuit Association
Rankin Inlet, NWT X0C 0G0
(819) 645-2800

Keewatin Wildlife Federation
Rankin Inlet, NWT X0C 0G0
(819) 645-2553

Baffin Regional Inuit Association
P.O. Box 219
Iqaluit, NWT X0A 0H0
(819) 979-5301

Kitikmeot Inuit Association
Cambridge Bay, NWT X0E 0C0
(403) 983-2458

The Canadian Arctic Co-operative
Federation
Box 2039
Yellowknife, NWT X1A 2P5
(403) 873-3481

Inuit Committee on National Issues
176 Gloucester St., 3rd Floor
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0A6
(613) 234-8532

Tungavik Federation of Nunavut
176 Gloucester St., 2nd Floor
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0A6
(613) 238-8181

Nunavut Constitutional Forum
63 Sparks St., Room 300
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5A6
(613) 594-0158

Inuit Women's Association
176 Gloucester St., 4th Floor
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0A6
(613) 234-8532

Inuit Non-Profit Housing Corp.
176 Gloucester St., 4th Floor
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0A6
(613) 238-1549

Nunasi
280 Albert St., Suite 902
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G8
(613) 238-4981

Inuit Broadcasting Corporation
251 Laurier Ave. W., Suite 703
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5J6
(613) 235-1892

Inuit Circumpolar Conference
(Canadian Office)
176 Gloucester St., 3rd Floor
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0A6
(613) 238-8181

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