



A Guidebook for Research with Nunavut Communities

Iqaluktuuttiaq (Cambridge Bay) Edition



Acknowledgments

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Polar Knowledge
Canada

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PITQUHIRNIKKUT ILIHAUTINIQ
KITIKMEOT HERITAGE SOCIETY

Introduction

Introduction

The concept of ‘research’ has a mixed history in the Canadian Arctic. Inuit have long flourished in their environment through reliance on traditional knowledge and cultural methodologies for investigating and understanding their surrounding world. With the advent of European contact, a new approach to knowledge building began to impact Inuit consciousness and lives. While not significantly different in terms of its empirical approach, this new form of research was accompanied by political overtones, power dynamics and social conventions very different from those that had previously been employed in the Arctic. The European processes for knowledge building and decision-making often failed to see the Arctic world as an interconnected whole, a realm in which environment, family, present and past are inextricably linked. The social values and accumulated wisdom of Inuit generations gradually became removed from understandings of what the Arctic was and should further be.

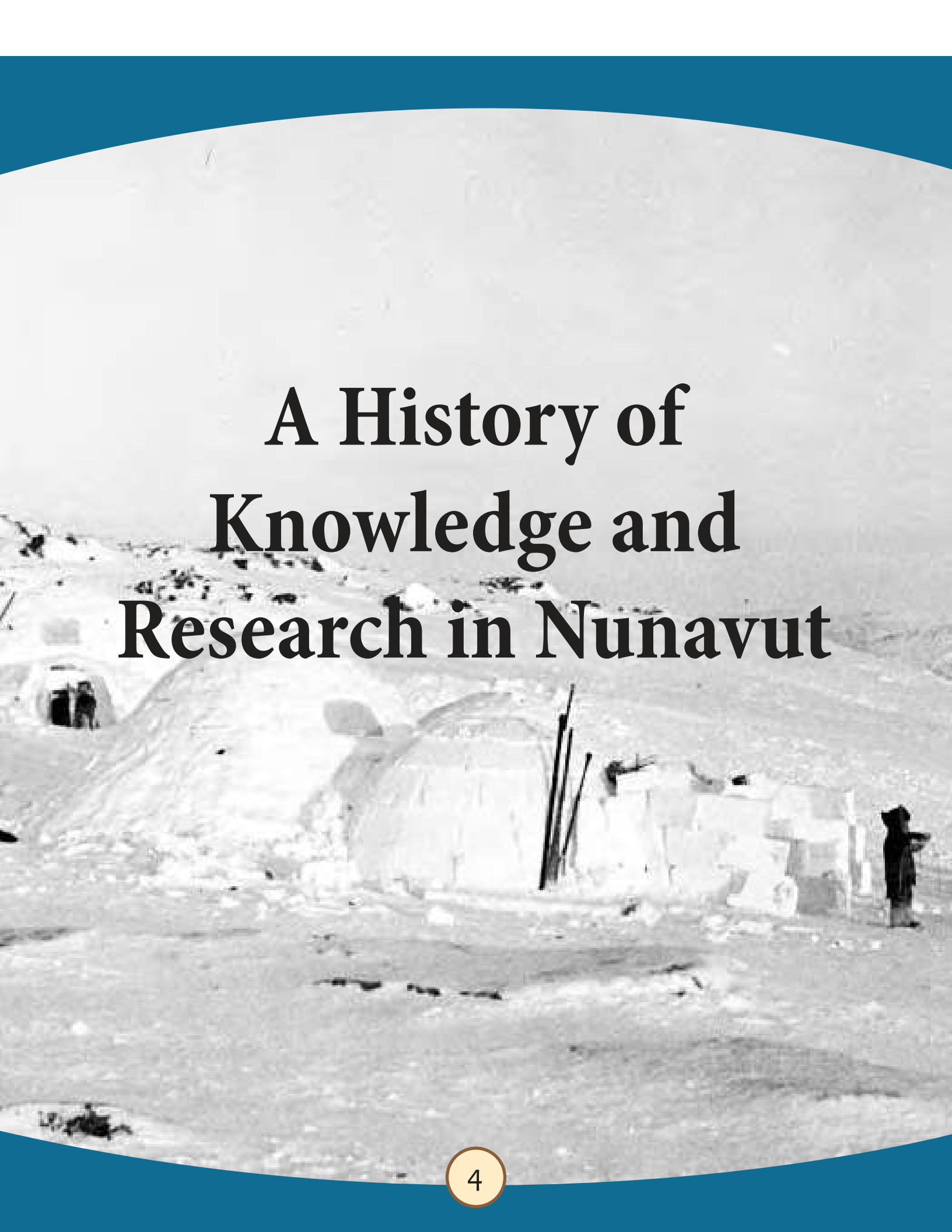
By the 1970s, Inuit had enough. Using the same political channels that originally undermined their culture and knowledge, Inuit from across the country united as a national Inuit organization to change how the Canadian Arctic was governed, used and understood by the outside world. This movement had a significant impact on northern research. By 1976, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development made its first official call for increased consultation and informed agreement between researchers and northern communities. By 1982, a set of ethical principles for conducting research in the North had been specifically designed for Arctic research (ACUNS 1982), with

recognition that “researchers have worked in isolated communities without regard for the people who live there. Communities have been disrupted and essential local resources used without consultation.” The momentum of this political movement culminated in the Inuit ownership and governance of three land claim settlement areas throughout the Canadian Arctic, including the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (1978), the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (1984) in the Northwest Territories, and the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (1993). With legal rights to the determination of their homeland, Inuit throughout Nunavut have significantly altered the territory’s research protocol to ensure that programs and studies have relevance and tangible benefits for local people. Rules are in place to make sure that communities are informed of research results and are consulted regarding how projects should be run.

Despite these significant advances, Nunavummiut (an Inuktitut term for the people of Nunavut) and incoming researchers alike remain largely unaware of their roles, rights and responsibilities when it comes to the research process in Nunavut communities. While northern researchers and communities aspire to positive and productive research relationships, there are certain barriers that can prevent this from happening. One is a lack of established communication networks between community members and incoming researchers. While many researchers seek to create programs that tie into and address locally relevant issues, there are very few resources or guidelines issued by communities to articulate their research priorities and desired directions for collaborative work.

Introduction

This guidebook was designed through partnership between Polar Knowledge Canada and the Kitikmeot Heritage Society—an Inuinait culture and heritage organization—to create a framework that can help incoming researchers align their research with Nunavut communities in general, and with the community of Iqaluktuuttiaq (also known as Cambridge Bay) in particular. While past projects have sought to create research guidelines that target Nunavut as a whole, this guidebook has been developed through a series of structured workshops and community based interviews that help elucidate the history, values and research needs of Iqaluktuuttiaq community members. It is our hope that the resulting guidebook will help pave the way towards responsive and responsible research by encouraging more collaboration between researchers, local interests and Inuit ways of understanding the world.



A History of Knowledge and Research in Nunavut

Knowledge and Research in Nunavut

Inuit Occupation of the Canadian Arctic

Since the deglaciation of the Canada's northernmost regions roughly 5000 years ago, various Arctic peoples have occupied and traveled through the area. Around 1250 AD, the Canadian Arctic became a home for Inuit. It was during this time that groups ancestral to the Inuit—known to archaeologists as the Thule people—migrated eastwards from their previous home in northern Alaska. There are various theories as to why these early Inuit gravitated towards this new land: the hunt for bowhead whales and much-valued metal sources; an escape from the complex, hierarchical societies and rampant warfare of Alaska; or simply the human drive to explore the unknown.

Regardless of the reason behind the population movement, the Thule people soon found themselves in a very different environment from the resource-rich coasts of Alaska where driftwood and bowhead whales abounded. The first Thule pioneers continued to live in a similar way to their Alaskan ancestors. Their houses were built from heavy driftwood frames, with adjacent open-air kitchens to accommodate cooking over wood fueled fires. As available driftwood became scarce, house size decreased and incorporated interior kitchens. Qulliit (soapstone lamps) with clean burning fat as fuel replaced the sooty smoke of wood fires. Whalebone, rather than driftwood, became the building material of preference. During winters, the Thule began to construct and live in igluit (snow houses), an ingenious architectural design possibly learned from previous Arctic occupants or inspired through observation of similarly spherical polar bear dens. Settlement sizes became smaller and less permanent than those of Alaska to better

accommodate the frequent travel required to harvest a more diverse range of animals. In many areas, the Thule had to learn to survive entirely without whales by fishing, sealing and caribou hunting.

A reliance on more ephemeral housing and wider patterns of resource exploitation forced the Thule to abandon past Alaskan traditions, but allowed them to expand into more diverse and marginal areas of the Canadian Arctic. Variations in tools, housing and culture began to appear as Thule adapted to specific regional environments and the different animal populations that lived there. This change, which occurred during what is referred to as the Little Ice Age (AD 1400-1600), generally signals the beginning of regional differentiation among Inuit in areas such as clothing, tool making styles, and land-use patterns. It is also around this same period that the Thule are recognized to have fully transitioned into an Inuit lifestyle.

By the 18th and 19th centuries, most Inuit groups had abandoned the cultural traits of their early Thule ancestors. Even the technology used by Inuit bore little resemblance to that of their Thule ancestors, their tools being almost entirely undecorated (early Thule tools were often ornate) and having far less variety. Over the course of four hundred years occupation, Inuit drastically changed the ways in which they interacted with the Arctic world. None of these changes happened by chance or by impulsive choice. Rather, each occurred as a result of careful experimentation to see which ways of life worked best, and which were no longer so useful.

Knowledge and Research in Nunavut

Adaptation and the Development of Traditional Knowledge

The careful and cumulative development of adaptation skills to Arctic landscape is the foundation for the concept of Inuit traditional knowledge. Traditional knowledge, often referred to as TK, is a body of culturally specific learning that has been refined over centuries. As defined by the Traditional Knowledge Working Group of the Northwest Territories (Legat 1991: 1), traditional knowledge:

Knowledge that derives from, or is rooted in the traditional way of life of Aboriginal people. Traditional knowledge is the accumulated knowledge and understanding of the human place in relation to the universe. This encompasses spiritual relationships, relationships with the natural environment and the use of natural resources, relationships between people; and, is reflected in language, social organization, values, institutions, and laws.

“A researcher has to create and maintain a distance from the object of study... each element must first be known separately, in isolation; it has to be studied in and of itself, isolated from its context(s)... But for the Inuit, an objective knowledge of the land is inconceivable because everything is connected, and what each element is, depends on, and is inextricably bound up with, those connections... humans are part of the land, constantly interacting with it; they cannot be distant observers.”

-Beatrice Collignon (2006:166)



The remains of finely made stone floor in a Thule Inuit house (Friesen).

Knowledge and Research in Nunavut

Though rooted in the past, traditional knowledge is both dynamic and evolving. Rather than being an assemblage of learned information, the concept of traditional knowledge is less about knowledge content as such, but rather more about the processes used to gather and apply knowledge in the contemporary world. As Eleanor Bonny points out (2007:16), traditional knowledge “emerges not as an assemblage of skills and information, but rather as a process of using, learning, adapting and perpetuating traditional ways of knowing.”

For Inuit, the development of traditional knowledge has been informed by adaptation to physical and social environments. Traditional knowledge is therefore a system that is ever-changing to accommodate a transitioning Arctic. While Inuit often rely on knowledge from the past, they recognize that it may no longer apply to modern circumstances. This is especially true concerning environmental phenomena, with many Inuit strategies for navigating ice and terrestrial landscapes, hunting animals, and predicting weather becoming unreliable due to shifting patterns brought about by climate change.

It is also important to recognize that not all non-scientific knowledge holders in Nunavut are Inuit. While often used interchangeably with the concept of traditional knowledge, ‘local knowledge’ is a way of knowing the world through immersed experience in a specific geographic location. This term is used primarily to distinguish a form of non-scientific knowledge that is not necessarily held by only indigenous people. As a concept, local knowledge implies a form of understanding gained by any group (whether on the land, in communities, or cities) from living and functioning in a certain environment. Many researchers and communities prefer using this term instead of

‘traditional knowledge,’ as the latter often implies a way of understanding that is static, or stuck in the past, and does not evolve. The collection of local knowledge is a good way to form more widely inclusive projects and to gain valuable perspectives that exist outside Inuit populations.

New People and New Ideas: Post-European Contact and the Introduction of Scientific Research

Sir Martin Frobisher, a British seaman, is generally recorded as being the first European explorer to enter into the Arctic. In 1576, Sir Frobisher traveled into the area east of Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin Island) to search for an open water passage to the Orient. The idea of a Northwest Passage through the Arctic fascinated the people of Europe with its promise to increase trade profits and decrease travel times to eastern markets. The country that could find and claim such a route was sure to benefit immensely. Sir Frobisher’s journey—like many that would follow it—involved a form of research more guided by what the explorers wanted to find than conditions realistically present. Sir Frobisher repeated his expedition to the Arctic two more times to collect vast quantities of a sparkling black stone that he believed to contain gold. The stone was eventually proved to be iron pyrite—a rather useless material that was eventually discarded and used to pave local British roads.

Knowledge and Research in Nunavut



Above: Gerard Mercator's mapped vision of the Arctic produced in 1595. The North Pole is represented as a great rock, surrounded by a twisting whirlpool.

Many early explorers did not escape from failed research projects as lightly as Sir Frobisher. Throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries, Arctic research tended to emphasize the discovery and mapping of new land. Early maps of the area show gaping blanks, labeled 'terra incognita,' and it was the task of explorers to fill in these knowledge gaps. Often unwilling to learn from local Inuit, explorers conducted their search for new lands with little experience and few technologies suited to the harsh environment in which they traveled. Many of these sailors died of cold and starvation, and many more were marooned for long winters in ships unable to properly navigate the frozen sea. The most famous of these explorers is Sir John Franklin, whose entire expedition lost their lives seeking out a passage through the ice. It would not be until half a century later, in 1906, that the dream of a navigable arctic channel was realized by Norwegian

explorer Roald Amundsen. Unlike many of his predecessors, Amundsen learned skills such as dog-sled travel and fur parka making from Inuit, which proved invaluable to the success of his voyage.

Towards the latter half of the 19th century, research in the Arctic took on a more systematic approach. By this point in time, most Arctic islands had been mapped by both explorers and the rescue missions sent to bring the ill-fated expeditions home. With less land to chart, travelers to the Arctic began to turn their attention to understanding the numerous scientific problems posed by the Arctic. For years, sailors had recorded information about weather, geography, wildlife and local culture through observations made during their expeditions. Despite these numerous records, many phenomena in the Arctic failed to be understood: What caused the northern lights that were seen dancing in the Arctic skies? Could populations of bowhead whales—rapidly diminished through commercial whaling—somehow be restored? Who were the mysterious Inuit and where did they originate?

In order to increase knowledge about the Arctic, German polar explorer and scientist, Georg von Neumayer suggested that numerous countries combine their efforts and information about the North. The year 1882-83 was accordingly named the First International Polar Year. Scientists throughout the Arctic began coordinating their work from around the circumpolar world to look at phenomena such as northern lights, geomagnetism, and weather patterns. Twelve Arctic bases and two Antarctic bases were established for researchers to study and measure these subjects, and interpret their similarities and differences from various parts of the world. Throughout this era, the Arctic became viewed as a 'natural laboratory,' in which to study various subjects about the world. The

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northern wilderness was often viewed as being ‘untouched’ and ‘un-tampered with’ by human populations (the fact that Inuit had been in the area for nearly a thousand years was often overlooked), and animal populations were unique for their ingenious adaptations to the region’s cold and challenging environment.

Two major national research expeditions were launched throughout this era of Arctic research: The Canadian Arctic Expedition (1913-1918) was the first major research expedition to be undertaken in the Canadian Arctic. Organized by renowned explorer, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, the expedition had the dual purposes of mapping the little-known region to the south and west of Kiiliniq (Victoria Island), and documenting the environment and people native to the area. A team consisting of botanists, anthropologists, geologists, cartographers and photographers was organized into two separate parties to cover a larger extent of land. One party, led by Stefansson, headed north to search for new landmasses and measure the extent of the continental shelf. The second southern party traveled from the Mackenzie River to the eastern edge of Kiiliniq, recording information about the plants, people and wildlife of the region. The writings and collected specimens and artifacts from this expedition continue to provide valuable information about Arctic life and traditions at the turn of the century.

The Fifth Thule Expedition (1921-1924) was organized by Knud Rasmussen, a Danish anthropologist of Kalaallit Nunaat (Kalaallit) (Greenlandic) descent. Rasmussen was concerned about disappearing traditions amongst the Inuit and organized a series of six expeditions (known as the Thule expeditions) designed to document and record their vanishing Arctic life-ways. The

fifth and most extensive of these expeditions was conducted over the course of three years, during which Rasmussen and a team of researchers travelled by dogsled across the Canadian Arctic collecting ethnographic and natural specimens and interviewing the numerous Inuit groups whom they encountered. The expedition travelled over 20,000 miles between Greenland and Siberia, collecting ethnographic artifacts, interviews, Inuit drawn maps, photos, as well as thousands of pages of cultural documentation. The work was released in a comprehensive ten-volume report about the Canadian Arctic.



Above: The travel route assumed by the Fifth Thule Expedition during its travels between 1921-1924. Below: The seven central members of the Fifth Thule expedition, with Rasmussen seated front and centre in black.

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Until the Second World War, incoming researchers to the Arctic generally had a good working relationship with Inuit. Traveling by ship and dog team for extended periods of time, early scientists were reliant on Inuit to help them survive Arctic conditions and gather important knowledge relating to their studies. Many of these scientists and social scientists would live with the Inuit for years at a time, learning local languages and methods for hunting and living on the land. These insights helped researchers build a greater cross-cultural awareness of the environment, conditions and people they sought to study. Inuit throughout this period were also often hired as guides and research assistants, participating directly in the gathering of scientific information.

Following World War II tensions surrounding Cold War, the goals of research in the Arctic began to increasingly include issues of defense and sovereignty. A large-scale, secret research project was launched by the American army to build the Distant Early Warning (DEW)-Line, a chain of radars that could detect incoming Russian military with enough time to shoot them down. The formerly intertwined lives of researchers and Inuit populations became increasingly separate. Many Inuit were encouraged to move off the land and settle in communities. Inuit children were removed from their homes to be educated in residential schools. Researchers, for their part, had to rely less and less on the knowledge and skills of Inuit. The construction of the DEW-Line introduced infrastructure that allowed researchers to fly in and out of the Arctic for small research trips, rather than extended periods of time. A researcher no longer had to even interact with the Inuit in communities, and could bring all food, equipment, and field assistants directly from the south to their research site.

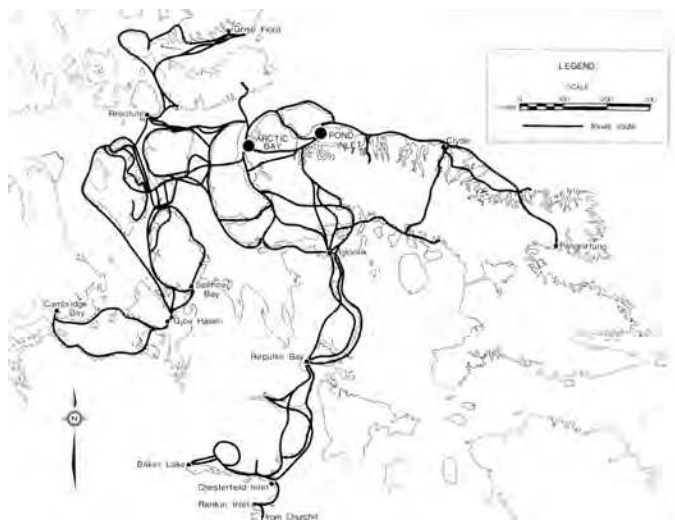
Research in the Age of Inuit Empowerment

During the years following the Second World War, Inuit quickly realized that they were rapidly becoming strangers in their own land. By the early 1970s, the Arctic was the site of numerous development projects for oil, gas and minerals, all of which were being managed by qaplunaat (non-Inuit). In 1971, a group of young Inuit advocates started the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada—which has since become re-named the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK)—as a group that could bring together the voices of all Inuit to speak loudly enough to be heard by the south. This organization started the process for the creation of an Inuit homeland through land claims negotiation, a dream that was realized with the formal passing of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement in 1993, and the birth of Nunavut as a territory in 1999.

The process of negotiating a land claim settlement for Nunavut also initiated a large-scale research project known as the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project. This project was designed to research the ways in which Inuit had used, and continued to use, the northern landscape in order to determine where the boundaries of land settlement should be drawn. Unlike previous research projects in the Arctic, the Inuit Land Use Project was organized and managed exclusively by Inuit, who hired professional anthropologists and researchers to interview roughly 80% of existing Inuit hunters to determine where they traveled and caught their food. The resulting maps indicating modern and historic trap-lines, hunting grounds (place names) and archaeological sites formed the foundation for Inuit land title and the present day boundaries of the Nunavut territory.

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Since the passing of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement in 1993 and the official formation of the Nunavut territory in 1999, Inuit have changed the protocols for research to ensure that the programs and studies occurring in the North have tangible benefits for local people. Rules are in place to make sure that communities are informed of research results and are consulted in how projects should be run in the North. Inuit youth are often hired to help take part in research programs and learn the skills to become researchers themselves. A territorial organization, known as the Nunavut Research Institute, has been established to review and provide permits for all incoming research to Nunavut. While the control of research by Inuit has had many benefits for both communities and researchers, there still remains issues with the balancing of scientific knowledge and interests with those of local community members.



Detail of Inuit Land Use and Occupancy project map 44 (Pond Inlet Inuit travel routes).

Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit and the Modern Face of Traditional Knowledge

In 1999, the Canadian territory of Nunavut (meaning ‘Our Land’ in the Inuktitut language) was officially created as the result of a land-claim settlement between the federal government and the Inuit population of the central and eastern Canadian Arctic. At the time of its formation, Nunavut was understood to be an ‘Inuit homeland’ to be governed through novel policies and practices specifically designed to incorporate the culture and history of the territory’s overwhelmingly Inuit constituency. The question of how to represent Inuit traditions in the modern world was foremost on the agenda in 1998 when representatives from the Nunavut Social Development Council met in the municipality of Igloolik to discuss the integration of traditional knowledge and governance in the soon to be inaugurated territory. It was decided that the term ‘traditional knowledge’ was inadequate to represent the holistic nature of Inuit knowledge, envisioned as being equally rooted in traditional lifestyle and contemporary strategies for adapting to the modern world. The term ‘Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit’ was chosen as a replacement to ‘traditional knowledge.’

The concept of Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit—more commonly known as IQ—serves as a bridge between old and new lifeways in the Canadian Arctic. While the Inuktitut term literally translates as “that which has long been known to the Inuit,” it is a modern concept designed to enhance Inuit participation and representation in government, as well as social and cultural policies, programs, and

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services within Nunavut. The term 'IQ' is seen as encompassing the relationship between thought, action and belief; linking the knowledge and values that have allowed Inuit to survive for centuries in the Canadian Arctic to both present Inuit society and future aspirations for cultural independence and fortitude. Inuit have described IQ as a form of 'living technology,' or a tool that can be used to more successfully adapt to a rapidly globalizing world while still maintaining a foundation of traditional culture and values. While IQ technically refers to the cultural knowledge applied on a daily basis in the lives of Inuit individuals, it is rarely considered at the personal level, and typically appears in conversations relating to Nunavut politics and pan-Inuit identity. IQ has become a key concept behind the quest to ensure that the structural and political operation of Nunavut represents Inuit interests. Each department of government is responsible for developing and implementing IQ-related policies, though some have been more active in this regard than others. The department of Culture and Heritage has made the most notable contributions to exploring what IQ entails and how it can seek practical application. Other departments have been criticized for relating IQ to areas that have little association to traditional Inuit culture. A common practice in various government departments is to hold regular 'IQ days,' which allow staff to forgo office work and engage in cultural activities such as fishing, sewing or out of town (on the land) excursions.

The translation of IQ into policy and politics has required that the term go beyond a sense of 'cultural instinct' and be articulated into a formal set of rules and values amenable to practical application. The government of Nunavut has devised and issued a list of core IQ principles, or values, for this purpose. This list outlines

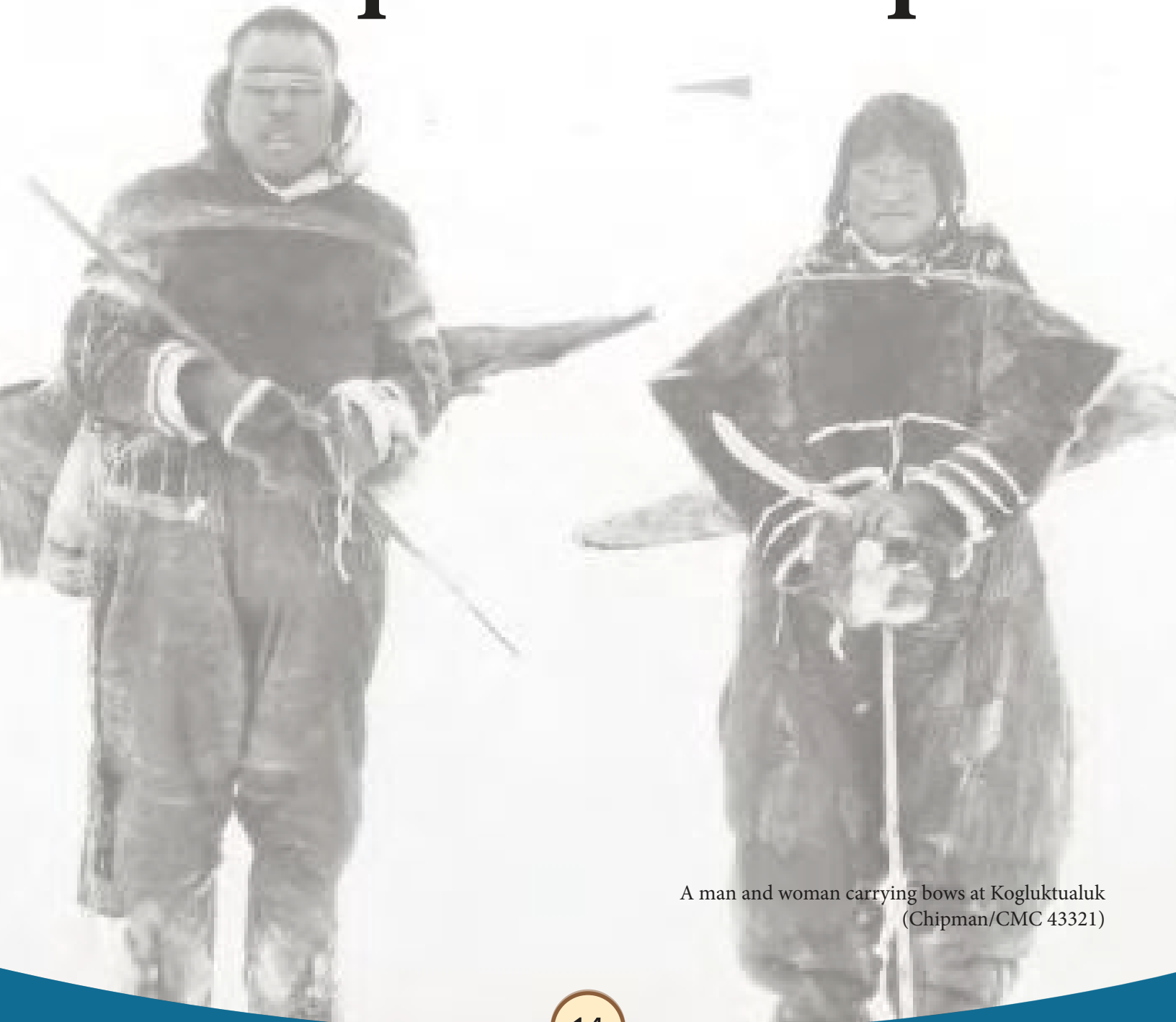
eight broad principles, such as environmental stewardship, and working together for a common cause, which are said to guide traditional Inuit living. This list of principles has been contested by some Inuit for its removal of values from the broader cultural context that gives them their meaning. The concept of IQ remains a conscious topic of debate in Nunavut. While it has potential to bring generations of Inuit together to counteract the erosion of cultural traditions, it also has the potential to codify traditional knowledge and values in a way that undermines the intricacy and diversity inherent to Inuit worldview. Attempts to define and record IQ knowledge remain an ongoing priority within the territory.

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GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF INUIT QAUJIMAJATUQANGIT

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A History of Iqaluktuuttiaq



A man and woman carrying bows at Kogluktualuk
(Chipman/CMC 43321)

A History of Iqaluktuuttiaq

From Time Immemorial

Located on the southeast coast of Kiilliniq, Iqaluktuuttiaq (“the good fishing place” in Inuinnaqtun) has been a hub for activity in the central western Arctic since time immemorial. For centuries, people travelled to Iqaluktuuttiaq to harvest the abundant iqualukpik (Arctic char) and ihuuq (lake trout) in the rivers and lakes in the area, and to hunt the tuktu (caribou) that often migrated nearby. Pre-Dorset people, living off nattiq (seal) and tuktu, occupied the area about four thousand years ago. They were followed by the Dorset, the first people to take advantage of the local iqualukpik, and then by the Tuniit (Late Dorset), traces of whose living quarters can still be seen close to the community. Around 750 years ago, the Thule migrated eastwards from Alaska and moved into the area. The Thule lived a comfortable life in stone houses and used effective tools like the kakivak (fish spear), pitikhik (bow) and pitikhaqtuq (arrow), aalliak (sled), qajaq, and advanced sewing equipment. To carry them through the long, hard winters, the Thule drew upon caches of tuktu and iqualukpik. The modern Inuit appeared about five hundred years ago and, like the Thule, they used caches, fished, and hunted caribou.

For hundreds of years, the Inuinait of the western Kitikmeot (often called Copper Inuit because of their historic use of instruments made from copper deposits in the region) thrived in a pattern of life perfectly adapted to the environmental conditions of the central Arctic. In a seasonal cycle that repeated year after year, Inuinait lived in large iglu villages on the sea ice and hunted nattiq during the winter months, before returning to the land in smaller groups to harvest iqualuk (fish) and hunt tuktu in the spring and summer. Inuinait were



A Copper Inuit caribou skin tent. Coronation Gulf, 1916. (CMH 3408014)

“One of the things I noticed is that people were always traveling within our area. They did not stay in one spot. They would travel from one spot to another and I remember people would be going to other lakes...to fish. So people were travelling around all the time. They did not stay in one spot.”

- Marjorie Taptoona, 2001

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most nomadic people in the North American Arctic and they travelled extensively in their seasonal cycle as they sought the best hunting and fishing grounds in the region. During the course of their travels, Inuinnait from southern Kiiliniq and the adjacent mainland between Coronation Gulf and Queen Maud Gulf often travelled to Iqaluktuuttiaq to take advantage of the fishing, for social gatherings, and to trade with one another.

The main regional and social groups that lived or interacted in the Iqaluktuuttiaq area were the Iqaluktuurmiut, Ahiarmiut, Killinirmuit and Umingmaqturmiut. While Inuinnait from these social groups share similar cultural practices, even today they maintain different traditions, tools and dialects. The Iqaluktuurmiut travelled deep into the interior of Kiilling, often to Hadley Bay and the northeastern coast, but often centred their activities on Iqaluktuuq (“place of many fishes”), the short stretch of the Ekalluk River that drains Tahiryuaq (Ferguson Lake) into Iqaluktuuq (Wellington Bay) (Iqaluktuuq is the river section between the two). The Killinirmuit ranged along the southeastern coast of Kiiliniq and Albert Edward Bay, and often ventured to Jenny Lind Island to hunt nattiq. The Ahiarmiut came from the Kuugyuaq (Perry River) area on the mainland, while the Umingmaqturmiut lived around Qingaut (Bathurst Inlet) and the Kent Peninsula. After a summer and fall of fishing and hunting around Iqaluktuuttiaq, Inuinnait from these groups would have hoped for a winter’s supply of dry and whole fish, dried and frozen caribou meat, and skins for clothing – everything they would need as they returned to the ice.

“We worked hard then. We traveled much. If one was lucky, one had lots to eat. If one had no luck one was hungry. Often one was hungry. But then came again good times. And the people were happy and danced.”

-Ekalun, Bathurst Inlet, 1970



An Inuinnait man uses a bow drill near Kugluktuk. (CMH 4317797).

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Above: Spearing char at the mouth of Nulahugyuk River, near Benard Harbour, 1916. (Jeness/CMC 37080)

Iqaluktuuttiaq and European Exploration

Inuinait participated in extensive trade networks throughout the Kitikmeot and beyond, exchanging skins, driftwood, soapstone, flint, copper, clothing and tools. As a result of these networks, Inuinait probably attained their first European trade goods long before they had contact with qaplunaat (an Inuktitut term for white people, or non-Inuit). Following rumors of rich copper deposits near the Arctic coast, Hudson's Bay Company explorer Samuel Hearne became the first European to travel in the Kitikmeot when he followed the Coppermine River to the coast of Coronation Gulf in 1771. Only in the nineteenth century, when Britain's Royal Navy and the Hudson's Bay Company began their quest for the Northwest Passage in earnest, did Europeans start to push into the traditional lands of the Inuinait in the western Kitikmeot. Between 1819 and 1822, John Franklin led his first Arctic expedition to chart the coasts of Coronation Gulf and Qingaut (Qingaut is the town Kiluhiktuq is the bay) – and lost eleven out

of his twenty men in the process. During their exploratory expedition around Coronation Gulf and the Kent Peninsula in 1839, HBC explorers Peter Warren Dease and Thomas Simpson crossed over the Dease Strait and became the first Europeans to visit Iqaluktuuttiaq, which they named Cambridge Bay after the Duke of Cambridge, a patron of science and exploration.

In September 1846, Franklin's famous lost expedition became trapped in the ice between Victoria and Qikiqtaq (King William Island) and all 128 men perished in the years that followed. In the massive search for the Franklin expedition, the HBC and Royal Navy mapped much of Kiiliniq. Dr. John Rae ventured to Iqaluktuuttiaq in 1851, while Richard Collinson and the crew of the HMS Enterprise became the first Europeans to winter in the bay the next year. During his months at Iqaluktuuttiaq, Collinson reported several hundred Inuinait around the bay, although this number decreased when they dispersed to their nattiq

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hunting sites on the sea ice. Although initially shy and wary, Inuinait quickly started to do what they had always done at Iqaluktuuttiaq – trade. Sometimes dozens of Inuinait surrounded the Enterprise, trading furs and other traditional items for European food and metal tools. The resourcefulness, hardiness and cheerfulness of the Inuinait impressed Collinson, as did the quality of the fishing at Iqaluktuuttiaq.

After the search for Franklin’s expedition ended in the late 1850s, few Europeans ventured into the Kitikmeot over the next half century. During his transit of the Northwest Passage, Roald Amundsen took a dog team to the eastern coast of Kiiliniq, but did not reach Iqaluktuuttiaq. Neither did the subsequent Canadian Arctic Expedition (1914-1917), although they thoroughly explored Coronation Gulf, Qingaut and parts of Kiiliniq, and recorded a vast amount of information on the traditional Inuinait societies they encountered. Despite the presence of the occasional explorer, most Inuinait had little to no interaction with qaplunaat until the 1920s.

“I don’t remember much when I was little. There was nothing around [Kiiliniq] Victoria Island and mainland. There was no white men at all, not even a house. I had my first child before the white men ever came.”

-Stephen Angulalik, 6 June 1992

“The number seen by us in the vicinity I estimated at between 200 and 300... the inner harbour, the large lake west of [Uvajuq] Mount Pelly, and the peninsula about Cape Colborne, forming their hunting and fishing ground from May until October; at which period they follow the deer to the mainland, where having first collected together in the neighbourhood of the Finlayson Islands, they winter... Fish appeared to be the staple article of food, which both the sea and lakes afforded in abundance... They have left with us the impression that they are a kind-hearted, well-disposed people.”

-Captain Richard Collinson, 1889

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Fur Traders, Mounties and Missionaries

Sensing the rapid change facing Inuinnait populations, Vilhjalmur Stefansson (the leader of the Canadian Arctic Expedition) urged the Canadian government to insulate the Inuinnait from further contact with Europeans to protect them from disease and cultural disruption. Despite his appeals, the fur trade was already invading the Kitikmeot. During the first decades of the twentieth century the price of Arctic fox furs rose steeply and propelled the expansion of the fur frontier across the western Arctic. In 1905, Christian Klengenber, a Dane who had worked in the Beaufort Sea's whaling industry, opened the Kitikmeot up to the fur trade when he anchored off the southwest coast of Kiiliniq at Penny Bay and started trading. He returned in 1916 and eventually established trading posts on Kiiliniq and in Qingaut. Klengenber's son, Patsy, continued his father's work as an independent trader and established his own trading post in Qingaut. He eventually bought a schooner, the Aklavik, and used it to move his goods throughout the central Arctic. Patsy Klengenber often visited Iqaluktuuttiaq and tragically drowned there in September 1946 when his ship caught on fire and sank. The wreck of the Aklavik can still be seen in the bay, across from the old HBC post.

The Kitikmeot soon became known as one of the best fox fur producing regions in the Arctic. Christian Theodore Pedersen and the members of his Canalaska Trading Company followed the Klengenber's and expanded their operations into Coronation Gulf. To counter the competition from these traders, the HBC also expanded its presence into the Kitikmeot and soon fur trading posts dotted the landscape. In 1920, the HBC post on the Kiillingujaq (Kent Peninsula) established a

temporary outpost at Iqaluktuuttiaq, which became a permanent station in 1923 (although it closed temporarily between 1925 and 1927 because of supply problems). Due to its central location and the number of Inuinnait who continued to meet in the area every spring and summer, Iqaluktuuttiaq grew into the core of the Arctic fox fur trade in the Kitikmeot. Canaslaka established a trading post on the bay in 1927, and both companies enjoyed strong returns, even though the industry declined during the Great Depression. In the 1930s, annual yields for the fox furs at the HBC post reached 7000 pelts. During a particularly good season in 1942-1943, the post traded more than 12 000 white fox furs. To support its efforts at Iqaluktuuttiaq, the HBC bought the Maud (which it renamed the Baymaud), the small ship that Roald Amundsen had used to transit the Northeast Passage a few years before. After the boat proved untrustworthy in the ice and developed multiple leaks in its hull, the HBC let her sink in Cambridge Bay in 1931.

The HBC and Canalaska stations at Iqaluktuuttiaq supplied trade goods to many of the other fur trading posts in the Kitikmeot, including the one Stephen Angulalik operated at Kuugyjuaq (Perry River). Born into an Ahiammiut family in 1898, Angulalik had spent considerable time at the HBC station on the Kent Peninsula where he learned the fur trade. When the government forced the HBC and Canalaska to close their posts at Perry River owing to concerns about overhunting in the area, Angulalik stepped in to run the latter station as an independent fur trader. He built a thriving business, purchased his own schooner (the Tudlik), and gained international recognition for his achievements.

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Over the next three decades, Angulalik ran a successful business and even expanded his operations to a second post at Sherman Inlet. This remarkable and affluent fur trader frequently visited Iqaluktuuttiaq and eventually settled there with his family in 1967.



Above: Stephen and Mabel Angulalik at their wedding, 1941 (NWT Archives N-1979-050-0968).

Below: Trading furs for supplies at the Hudson Bay Company post in Kugluktuk, 1949 (Harrington/LAC/PA-143236).

The involvement of the Inuinnait in the fur trade economy changed their lives in subtle ways. With a steady source of cash income now available, Inuinnait could purchase hunting supplies, canned food and luxury goods from the fur traders. These trade goods, which included new technologies such as rifles, stoves and steel traps, changed how they hunted and lived on the land. To attend to their trap lines between April and November, many Inuinnait settled into coastal trapping locations rather than in winter sealing camps on the sea ice, thus ending the seasonal cycle that their ancestors had embraced for centuries. As Inuinnait on Kiliniq came to rely more on tuktu and less on seal to meet their dietary needs, the animals stopped migrating across Dease Strait and remained on the mainland, making hunting more difficult.

While these developments changed the way Inuinnait lived, and sometimes brought additional hardships, none were as serious as the diseases that the Europeans brought into the Kitikmeot. The earliest reports of flu in the Inuinnait population around Iqaluktuuttiaq came in 1926. In the years that followed, measles, tuberculosis and the flu tragically killed many Inuinnait, including Angulalik's first two wives.

“Since the white man came there seems to be more sickness too and people seem to be dying more. Seems like they’re dying one after the other. Even a cough can have sickness in it, which can be deadly.”

-Stephen Angulalik, n.d.

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Other newcomers followed the fur traders into the Kitikmeot. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police first established a presence in the region in the 1920s and built a permanent post at Iqaluktuuttiaq in 1926, from which they imposed Canada's laws on the Inuinnait. While the HBC had constructed its post on the west side of Cambridge Bay, the Mounties built their station on the east side. Over the next years, the RCMP's famous patrol vessel, the St. Roch, often over-wintered in the bay and occasionally provided transportation to traveling Inuinnait. By the end of the decade, Anglican missionaries had constructed a mission next to the police station at Iqaluktuuttiaq, while Roman Catholic Oblates visited from their base at Bathurst Inlet (although in 1954 they also built a church in Iqaluktuuttiaq). Alongside their evangelical work, these missionaries also sent a handful of Inuinnait children to attend the mission school in Aklavik – which often meant they were away from their homes and families for several years at a time.

In the fall of 1929, Iqaluktuuttiaq received international attention when authorities lost contact with Cyril MacAlpine's party of surveyors after they experienced technical difficulties with their aircraft near Kuunnuaq (Ellice River). Luckily, the surveyors met three Inuinnait hunters who guided them to the safety of Iqaluktuuttiaq after a 55-day trek. On 4 November, the party used the Baymaud's wireless set to broadcast that, "MacAlpine and party found. All well. Located Cambridge Bay." Bush pilots, who had been scouring Bathurst Inlet for the lost party during the previous weeks, landed the first planes in Cambridge Bay to bring the southerners back home.

The 1920s and 1930s brought tremendous change to the Kitikmeot - the first wave of permanent European settlements, a new economy, new religion, new laws, new technology and the first planes. The vast majority of Inuinnait, however, continued to embrace their traditional nomadic lifestyle and lived off local resources. They travelled extensively, moving between their new trap lines and the best hunting and fishing areas. No more than three or four families, and a handful of elderly and disabled Inuinnait, settled permanently around the HBC and police posts at Iqaluktuuttiaq in the 1930s. For the rest, the site remained a place for temporary gatherings, trade and fishing. Only in the years after the Second World War did this begin to change.



Nookudluk looks through Richard Finnie's camera on the set of a recorded drumdance, 1931.
(Finnie/LAC/e002342726).

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At a Crossroads: Iqaluktuuttiaq and the Cold War

As relations between the Soviet Union and the United States deteriorated after the Second World War, it became obvious to defence planners that the Arctic would form the front line if another world war broke out. In a flash, Iqaluktuuttiaq's central location and relative accessibility made it one of the most strategically important places in the North American Arctic. Nothing changed the lives of Inuinnait more than the Cold War and the defence activities it inspired. Military construction became a key impetus for Inuinnait to settle in permanent communities, as was the case across much of the Canadian Arctic.

For Inuinnait, this period of rapid change started in 1946. That winter, the Canadian military started to study the conditions and terrain of the Kitikmeot and began testing its equipment in the region. That February, the Canadian Army launched an overland expedition from Churchill to Iqaluktuuttiaq called Operation Musk-Ox. When they reached their destination in March, the soldiers mingled with the resident Inuinnait, who investigated the expedition's mechanized vehicles, provided the soldiers with warm caribou skins, and taught them how to dogsled. Although soldiers involved in the operation only spent a few days at Iqaluktuuttiaq, Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) planes landed in the bay a few months later as they searched for suitable air bases in the western Arctic. Throughout the summer, the RCAF crews flew along the coast and into the interior of Killinng, often landing at Inuinnait campsites that they spotted. The resilience, skills and welcoming attitude of the Inuinnait greatly impressed the operation's commanding officer, who warned that the Inuinnait

would be swept up and irreversibly changed by the wave of military activity he knew was approaching Iqaluktuuttiaq.

“The Eskimos have been obviously exploited and neglected; the only free gift from the white man being his social and communicable diseases against which the Eskimo has little resistance. The general effect of introducing the doubtful virtues and values of civilization has been to confuse him in respect to religion; undermine his health by introducing white man's unsuitable clothing and food; kill him off with the white man's many and varied diseases and encourage him to spend all his time hunting foxes so he can trade for items which he doesn't need and without which he would be better off.

-Squadron Leader Stanley Partridge, Royal Canadian Air Force, 1946.

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His prediction proved accurate. The United States Air Force soon decided that the central location of Iqaluktuuttiaq made it the perfect site for a long range aid to navigation (LORAN) station. The LORAN program consisted of a ‘master’ station at Kittigazuit (near Tuktoyaktuk) and two ‘slave’ stations at Point Barrow and Iqaluktuuttiaq, which acted as a series of interdependent ‘lighthouses’ that ships or aircraft could use to pinpoint their position through triangulation. Accordingly, Iqaluktuuttiaq became an important part of the military’s plan to improve navigation in the Arctic. The LORAN station, however, never worked properly and in 1951 it was made into a Department of Transport operated radio station. Instead of guiding military aircraft, for decades the 189-metre freestanding tower, as high as Uvajuq (Mount Pelly), guided hunters back into the community, until it was torn down on 5 August 2014.

Elders point to the construction of the LORAN station in the spring and fall of 1947 as the beginning of permanent Inuinnaït settlement at Iqaluktuuttiaq. The military recruited Inuinnaït to help build the station, and the new source of wage labour proved very attractive to trappers who faced a sharp decline in the price of fox furs at that time. More than twenty Inuinnaït worked on the LORAN station and brought their families with them to Iqaluktuuttiaq. Using scrap lumber and other castoffs from the construction, they established the ‘old town’ on the east side of the bay. As more Inuinnaït came into the community for extended visits, the population of Iqaluktuuttiaq swelled to one hundred people. After the LORAN station was built, however, only a handful of jobs remained available to Inuinnaït so most of the laid-off workers returned with their families to outlying camps on Kiiling and the mainland. Still, the permanent population of Iqaluktuuttiaq never again declined to

its pre-1947 levels. Over the next few years people slowly trickled into the community looking for employment with the military or the Department of Transport, with the price of fox furs continuing to fall and the number of caribou in the region declining.

Iqaluktuuttiaq became the scene of even more military and government activity in the late 1940s. The site was chosen to house the RCAF’s Arctic Survival School in 1948, and four local Inuinnaït were chosen to work as instructors – men whom the press referred to as the school’s “professors.”



Above: The LORAN tower was a landmark in Cambridge Bay until being removed in 2014: (Griebel/KHS).

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The instructors taught qaplunaat airmen how to build shelters, hunt and fish, and take advantage of the country's natural resources. In 1949, the Canadian Army also recruited local Inuinnait at Iqaluktuuttiaq and Qingaut to serve in the first Canadian Ranger patrols – a unit that served as the eyes and ears of the military in the North. RCAF aircraft often used the airfield at Iqaluktuuttiaq as they transported goods and personnel across the North, and even staged mercy flights out of the community – flying sick or injured Inuinnait to hospitals in the south or bringing supplies to alleviate cases of famine that were reported in the Kitikmeot. Unfortunately, the first of the military's mercy flights came as result of the diseases that this influx of outsiders brought to the growing population at Iqaluktuuttiaq: a major flu outbreak in 1949 led to the deaths of eighteen Inuinnait and infected many more people.

Although the establishment of the LORAN station and a military presence at Iqaluktuuttiaq had a major impact on the Inuinnait, it paled in comparison to the dramatic transformation inspired by the construction of the Distant Early Warning Line. The Canadian and American governments built the line of radar stations across the High Arctic to provide advanced warning if Soviet bombers ever attacked across the North Pole. The DEW-Line brought hundreds of ships, planes and workers into the Canadian Arctic. They brought with them buildings, steel towers, oil drums, electronic equipment, paint, wood, wire, and all types of construction equipment that soon changed the face of the Arctic. Iqaluktuuttiaq became the main focal point for this activity in the central western Arctic. One of six main DEW-Line stations was built on the west arm of the bay, 5 miles from the 'old town.'

“Cambridge Bay is just one of twenty-four locations in the Western Arctic where the D.E.W. line sites are beginning to change the landscape, the black skyline, and the way of life of the indigenous people... To say that the Eskimo located at the various D.E.W. Line sites stand at a cross-roads is to state the obvious. One might add that it is a cross-roads at which there are sign-posts with meaningless words written on them.”

-Anthropologist J.D. Ferguson,
April 1957.

The construction of CAM-MAIN – which served as the command, communications, maintenance and supply headquarters for the twelve auxiliary and intermediate radar stations that were situated in 50-mile intervals between Bernard Harbour and King William Island – became the primary impetus for continued growth at Iqaluktuuttiaq. Over two hundred Inuit from across the western Arctic found work in this sector in the late 1950s, and many settled in Iqaluktuuttiaq with their families. Inuit workers set up their tents and shelters close to the DEW-Line station, and the community started to shift from the east side of the bay to its west arm. The D.E.W.-Line employees worked a wide array of jobs. While many performed janitorial duties and manual labour, others received training as mechanics and carpenters. A small contingent even

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travelled to Alberta to learn how to operate heavy equipment. When Iqaluktuuttiaq elders remember their time on the DEW-Line, they recall working long days, driving jeeps and trucks for the first time, using new and powerful tools like jackhammers, and eating a great deal of military rations. While many of the men and women who have served on the DEW-Line over the decades remember their jobs fondly, they also highlight the many negative changes the military construction brought.

Employees and their families quickly adopted elements of the housing, food, clothing, habits and language of the qaplunaat. They used the massive amount of surplus material in the station's dump to construct shacks and modified empty oil drums into rudimentary stoves. Despite their best efforts, these temporary dwellings were cold, uncomfortable and difficult to maintain. While Inuit workers continued to hunt and fish whenever they had a chance, more families started to supplement country food with whatever rations they could secure from the DEW-Line.



Cooking taking place through a mixture of traditional and modern tools, 1950. (LAC/Harrington PA-147235)

The wage economy began to undermine the traditional social organization of the Inuit, changed family life and parenting norms as men left for weeks at a time, and altered gender roles. The DEW-Line also introduced alcohol into the community, which many Elders remember as its most negative aspect.

“A while ago the number of white-men increased and that’s when the changes started to take place. Especially when the DEW Line sites came, that’s when the lifestyle of the Inuit changed. People started to work for wages. People’s lives changed for the worse when the DEW Line came in. People began drinking alcohol at the sites. When people began earning money from these sites they started ordering alcohol themselves.”

- Frank Analok, 8 July 2000

The construction phase of the DEW-Line was completed within two years. While some Inuit workers found full time work at CAM-MAIN or the auxiliary stations, most were laid off at this point. Some left Iqaluktuuttiaq and returned to outlying camps on Kiiling, Kuugjuaq, and Qingaut. The fur trade still offered some cash income, and many Inuinait continued to run trap lines. In 1961, the HBC post at Iqaluktuuttiaq took in 26 polar bear furs and 4164 fox furs from 79 individuals. In a rare example of Inuit who returned to a traditional

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The CAM-MAIN base located outside of Iqaluktuuttiaq, 1991. (Ed Hawco).

life on the land after the construction of the DEW-Line, more than 100 Inuit chose to live in the camps around Qingaut rather than settle in Iqaluktuuttiaq. The HBC station established at Umingmaktuug in 1964 became the centre of activity for these families, which continued to live traditionally and operate their trap lines all year round well into the 1980s.

For most Inuinait, however, trapping was no longer a full-time occupation. Many of the younger Inuit who had worked on the DEW-Line had already lost the equipment and skills necessary to trap and live off the land. Inuit had followed the path towards wage employment and static communities, and there was no turning back. While some Inuit found work with the various government agencies that moved into Iqaluktuuttiaq, others had to live off of casual employment and social assistance. With few jobs available, unemployment persisted as a major problem at Iqaluktuuttiaq in the decades ahead.

Cambridge Bay: A Community Takes Shape

During the DEW-Line construction, the Canadian federal government posted a Northern Service Officer (NSO) to Iqaluktuuttiaq with orders to administer southern Kiiliniq, Qingaut and Kuugjuaq. The community soon developed into the government's administrative hub for much of the Kitikmeot. Education and health services followed. The government built a nursing station for the community in 1956, and its staff of two also provided healthcare to the inhabitants of Kuugjuaq and Qingaut. The federal day school at Iqaluktuuttiaq was finished in November 1957, only to burn down ten days later. A new school was built the following year, and it expanded five years later to include three classrooms, a workshop, kitchen and a hostel for children from the outlying camps. By 1964, 71 Inuinait and 8 qaplunaat had enrolled at the day school. Prior to the 1990s, when a high school opened in the community, many teenagers were sent to residential schools in Inuvik, Fort Simpson and Yellowknife. This meant leaving their families and the community for ten months out of the year.

By the early 1960s, the modern community of Iqaluktuuttiaq was taking shape. In 1963, the population at Iqaluktuuttiaq stood at 265 Inuit and qaplunaat. That year, the community became home to the most northerly telephone exchange in the world. Pacific Western Airlines started to run regular scheduled flights into the community. Local Inuit and qaplunaaq formed a village council in 1962 to better manage the needs and concerns of the growing community. While initially the community's garbage and waste was simply left on the ice of the bay to be disposed of by the

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spring thaw, basic sanitation services were soon in place. The community's first curling rink, coffee shop, and bakery were also open for business and frequented by all members of the community. Due to fluctuations in the fur market, the rising cost of hunting and trapping equipment and a scarcity of tuktu, by 1967 most Inuinnait from Kuugjuaq, including Angulalik and his family, and outlying camps in southern Kiiliniq had settled into Iqaluktuuttiaq, steadily increasing its population.

Housing remained the first and most pressing problem for the expanding community. Adequate housing could not keep up with the number of new people migrating into Iqaluktuuttiaq, nor could casually employed and unemployed Inuinnait afford houses. Overcrowding became a major problem. After reports of the deplorable living conditions arrived in Ottawa, a government administered housing program sent prefabricated houses to the community in the early 1960s. Ranging from the 12x24 foot one-room 'matchbox' units to a three-bedroom model, none of the houses were particularly comfortable or well adapted to the harsh climate of the region. Compared to the shacks and tents that people had been staying in since the construction of CAN MAIN, however, they seemed like luxury to the people who moved into them. By the end of 1967, everyone living in the community had access to government housing, with fuel and electricity, although overcrowding remained an ongoing problem.

“[Since arriving] in Cambridge Bay in 1967, it has changed drastically... Arriving at first here in Cambridge Bay [I had to] move into a dwelling and too many people and too much alcohol was introduced... We are given warmth and are idle and it seems we are given every comfort. I long for my old way of life.”

-Mabel Ekvana Angulalik, n.d.

“The difficult time is no longer being able to travel all the time. That is what I enjoy, travelling. So, at first it was difficult to stay in one location, to stay still. But I am used to it now. I missed travelling a lot.”

-Matthew Nakashook, August 2011

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An aerial photo of Cambridge Bay in 1964.

“[When we first arrived] we lived in a shack. We would use canvas tents and we would double them up to keep warm. And we used snow blocks to keep out the draft... When we first got matchbox houses, it was so comfortable, then they started building more houses... and we felt a little more comfortable when they put in fuel burning stoves.”

-Mary Mingilgak, July 2001

To provide additional opportunities for wage employment, the Inuinnait-owned Iqaluktuuttiaq Cooperative began operations in 1961. While the Co-op eventually collected and sold carvings, furs and other crafts, its main priority was to establish a commercial fishery based in the community. The cooperative operated a piphi (dried fish) fishery in winter at Ferguson Lake and a fresh frozen summer iqaluk fishery on the Ekalluk River. They built large freezers for storage in the community and at Iqaluktuuq. In the early 1970s, the fishing operation expanded and the Co-op built a large processing plant in Iqaluktuuttiaq, which often employed more than twenty women in its seasonal operations. This fishing program became one of the most effective operations in the Canadian Arctic and its Inuinnait managers and workers were known for their enthusiasm and desire to learn the business.

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Iqaluktuuttiaq and the Creation of Nunavut

Iqaluktuuttiaq and the Inuinait also played an important role in the political development of the Canadian Arctic. In February 1959 the RCMP arrested Jimmy Kogogolak for shooting an umingmak (musk-ox) near the community. In his landmark trial, Justice John Sissons ruled that “Game ordinance does not apply to the Eskimo and cannot. Eskimo title does not appear to have been surrendered or established in whole or in part by treaty or legislation in the Parliament of Canada.” Sissons went on to argue that “the lands of the Eskimos are reserved to them as their hunting grounds.” This decision marked one of the first steps on the long road towards northern lands claims and spurred on the creation of Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC, now Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami), the national Inuit political organization, in 1971.

Political activism in the community increased over the next two decades. In 1965, Inuit and qaplunaat members of the Cambridge Bay Community Association were amongst the most vocal groups in the NWT calling for reforms in the existing territorial government and the establishment of an elected provisional government in Yellowknife with powers similar to those enjoyed by other provincial legislatures. In the 1970s, Iqaluktuuttiaq became the scene for some of the first discussions on Inuit land claims. It hosted several important meetings of Inuit leadership, including a pivotal gathering of the ITC in September 1974. During this assembly, Inuit representatives from all over the Canadian Arctic tabled a preliminary proposal for a land claim of more than 800,000 square miles. As the land claims process heated up over the next two

years later, local Inuinait created the Kitikmeot Inuit Association (KIA) to give them a voice in the negotiations and to defend their interests.

“Some of the things that they said are now being practiced here in our land. Some are being applied. All that time they were practicing teamwork, trying to help the people, they are speaking out and Inuit were learning and starting to hear about it.”

-Frank Analok, NLCA Oral History Project, Oral History of the Nunavut Agreement.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the importance of Iqaluktuuttiaq as the political, economic and administrative centre of the Kitikmeot continued to grow. In recognition of this fact, the territorial government made the community the regional headquarters for the new Kitikmeot Administrative Region in 1981. At the same time, Inuit in the Eastern Arctic were pushing ahead with their plans for the division of the NWT and Iqaluktuuttiaq was briefly considered as a potential site for the capital of the proposed new territory. In the 1982 territory-wide plebiscite on the proposed division, the people of Iqaluktuuttiaq voted against it while 80% of Inuit in the Eastern Arctic voted in favour of it. When the Western Constitutional Forum and the Nunavut Constitutional Forum agreed on a boundary between the NWT and the new territory in 1985, they decided to let the communities of Iqaluktuuttiaq, Kugluktuk, Qingaut

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and Umingmaktuug decide whether they would separate with the Eastern Arctic or stay in the NWT. The residents of Iqaluktuuttiaq faced a tough choice. Despite their close cultural, economic and political ties with the NWT and the Western Arctic, the lure of joining a new Inuit-led territory was strong. In the end, Iqaluktuuttiaq chose Nunavut.

“There are still a lot of mixed feelings about which side to go on. Some people aren’t sure they want division but everyone knows it’s inevitable now. They have to make a choice but things are moving too fast for people to take it in.”

-Mayor John Ohokannoak,
February 1985

Contemporary Iqaluktuuttiaq

After the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement in 1993 and the creation of Nunavut in 1999, Iqaluktuuttiaq remained the administrative centre of the Kitikmeot. The Kitikmeot Inuit Association took over responsibility for 96% of the regional responsibilities in the Kitikmeot. One of its primary goals became the clean-up of the DEW-Line sites, after it became apparent that the stations posed a significant environmental threat.

To support the growing population at Iqaluktuuttiaq, which was well over a thousand by the end of the century, the KIA and its business side, the Kitikmeot Corporation, sought out responsible economic opportunities, ranging from

property development, to travel services and communications technology. Its main emphasis has been on mining and mineral exploration. The KIA is the surface title-holder of 104,278 square kilometers of Inuit-owned lands in the Kitikmeot. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, mineral exploration intensified in the western Kitikmeot. Between 1982 and 2005 the Lupin Gold Mine operated near Contwoyto Lake, and it was followed by the Jericho Diamond Mine and the Hope Bay Gold Mine. Back River Gold Project. Since the mid-1990s, plans to open up the region for mining have included that Bathurst Inlet Port and Road Project. People of the West Kitikmeot have had a consistent message since the early 1990s – they want to see industrial development in their region, but only so long as the land, wildlife and water were protected.

“The land has always been the foundation of Inuit culture and well-being. Although there have been many changes in Inuit society over the last few decades, this link to the land remain vital... this important link must remain unaltered.”

-Final Report on Resource
Management Planning in West
Kitikmeot, July 1996

Iqaluktuuttiaq has continued to grow with the new millennium. Unofficial statistics as of 2016 place the town’s population around 1,600 people, an estimated 80 percent of whom are Inuit. Like many Nunavut communities, the population is overwhelmingly young, with half of the population

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under the age of 25. As one might expect of such a youthful demographic, community concerns tend towards ensuring that these populations have sufficient education, academic and cultural training, and opportunities to keep the momentum of the community headed in the right direction. Iqaluktuuttiaq is home to an elementary school, a high school and a campus for Nunavut Arctic College. Each of these institutions stresses an approach that integrates formal classroom learning with intergenerational, and more experiential, forms of cultural teaching.

Despite the modernity of Iqaluktuuttiaq, much of its population continues to engage in traditional activities. During the late spring and summer, much of the population moves from town into tents and cabins throughout the surrounding landscape to enjoy the brief, but beautiful season. While few families rely completely on land-food for their subsistence, fishing and the hunting of tuktu, nattiq, and umingmak continue to be popular pursuits. Iqaluktuuttiaq has very little experience with soapstone carving or print-making arts, which were generally introduced to more easterly communities during the 1960s and 70s as economic development projects. The community is, however, known for its detailed sewing arts, which typically blend functionality and craftsmanship in the form of ornate winter wear such as pualu (mitts), atigi (parkas) and kamik (boot/shoes).



Above: Mary Kaniak puts the finishing touches on a pair of ipirautiit, or sealskin boots. (Griebel/KHS).

Centre: Jimmy Haniliak assembles an igloo during a winter land camp. (Griebel/KHS).

Below: Eva Koplomik at the annual Omingmak Frolics festival tries her hand at muskox skinning. (Griebel/KHS).

A photograph showing a woman in a purple hooded jacket and floral skirt being interviewed by a filmmaker in a light blue jacket. The filmmaker is holding a professional video camera with a microphone. They are standing in a rocky, open landscape under a clear sky. The woman is gesturing with her right hand while speaking.

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Pam Gross films Mary Avalak remembering stories of her youth in Iqaluktuuq. (Griebel/KHS).

Community-based Research in Iqaluktuuttiaq

A Definition of Community-Based Research

Community-based research is an approach to knowledge building that focuses on creating partnerships between incoming researchers and community members. This approach can be used in any type of research study, and has three interconnected goals: research, action and education. The basic premise of community-based research is that research will be developed in full partnership between academic and community groups through all stages, from the initial planning of the project to conducting research and interpreting results. This framework of partnership extends even to the initial reasons for doing research, which are jointly developed by both groups, resulting in projects that have direct benefits to both the building of academic knowledge and improving education and standards of life in various communities. It is important to recognize that a community is not just a town or geographical grouping of people, but a self-defined grouping of individuals that come together according to a commonly-held culture, history, location, or desire to see things change.

One of the most popular approaches to this form of research in Nunavut is termed 'community-based monitoring.' Community-based monitoring is a process through which community members and organizations, government agencies, and academics work together to track changes in the social and natural environment and respond to issues of community concern. This process depends on the gathering of observations by people in local communities rather than by researchers. This approach recognizes that community members have privileged perspectives and skills for observing

their surrounding environment, especially in cases of indigenous groups who have a long history of living in a specific area. By recording these observations over an extended period of time, communities can help researchers and agencies understand if changes are occurring, why these changes might be happening, and how they might be related to larger global issues. These same gathered observations can also be used by communities to support decision making at the local level.

One of the greatest advantages of community-based research is its ability to bring together both scientific and Inuit knowledge. Observations by local and indigenous communities are often made within a non-scientific context. In other words, these observations are made according to traditional practices and cataloged according to various social and cultural criteria. People who have lived in an environment for a long period of time tend to know the area differently than outside researchers. While community-based research has helped both researchers and community members better understand each others' perspectives on the environment, there can be issues with intellectual property rights and the ownership of the information that is collected. It is advisable that clear boundaries are established in regards to what information can be published and shared prior to beginning such a project.

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Community-Desired Directions for Research in Iqaluktuuttiaq

Perspectives on the usefulness of research often vary greatly between researchers who study for their livelihood and people who actually live in a researched community. While community members are often happy to participate in research programs and the gathering of knowledge, they often do so with an expectation that the information will be applied in ways that make their own community a better place to live.

The word “benefit” often comes up in relation to community-based research in Nunavut, but it is not often clearly defined. The following section provides an outline for five directions that research in Iqaluktuuttiaq can take to benefit the community. This statement was developed through a public workshop process in Cambridge Bay, and stems from community members’ extensive experience with projects that have and have not worked within the community. In some cases, quotes provided in the text have been listed without proper citation as the speakers requested their names not be shared alongside the information.

1) We want research that responds to needs identified by our own community.

It is easy for research to become out of touch with non-academic populations. Research is often dedicated to extremely focused research topics, and academics become used to communicating with like-minded individuals. Whatever the reason, some research loses sight of the bigger picture

of life in Iqaluktuuttiaq. This research typically moves through our community without us noticing it, or us being noticed in turn. As a fast-growing municipality, we have many challenges that we need to meet: our traditional language and culture are being lost, our youth needs education and direction. We need training and jobs. The more research can contribute to this effort, the better.

When asked, we can help make connections between research topics and local priorities. When contemplating any form of research in or near Iqaluktuuttiaq, we encourage all researchers to contact someone in the community to discuss the project and figure out how it might best be developed to serve both scientific and local needs.

2) We want research that shares its process and results in ways that are accessible to our community.

Sometimes, research is difficult for community members to access. We are genuinely interested in learning more about our surrounding environment and like to see what techniques researchers use to investigate the land, weather and animals. We like research that can take the time to explain its methodologies and results in words we understand. There are many ways to do this, and these are covered in this guidebook’s section on communicating research.

It is important for researchers to understand that communication in our community might take place differently than what they are used to. Inuinait culture is an oral culture. Some of us read only in Inuinnaqtun, or do not read at all. We often have no access to the journals where researchers

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publish their results. While Internet is available, it is most often used for communicating with friends and family. We suggest that researchers try to understand where and how knowledge is transferred in our community, and share their studies and results accordingly.

3) We want research that not only trains local people, but also builds on strengths, knowledge and resources already present in the community.

As a community, we have a lot to offer incoming researchers. We are a community of diverse talents and expertise, and would like to further develop these strengths by applying them to research programs. The hiring of local people for research brings geographically and culturally specific knowledge into a program, and gives residents of Cambridge Bay the opportunity to build their skills, experience and confidence. By working alongside people already knowledgeable about the community, researchers gain direct access to logistical information about what products are available for purchase, what project timelines are feasible, and who can best be contacted regarding specific needs. Our community strives for independence, and the more we refine our current talents and train young people in new areas of expertise, the closer we come to this goal.

“You can come into a community knowing a lot or you can come into a community learning a lot. There is a big difference.”

**-Ernie Leblanc. Iqaluktuuttiaq
Wellness worker**

4) We want research that promotes a co-learning of knowledge.

Local people have much to teach incoming researchers. They have extensive knowledge of the surrounding environment, traditional lifeways and the reality of life in the Arctic. We like to see research projects that are open to two-way communication, and are willing to listen to, and learn from, local wisdom.

5) We want research committed to meaningful and long-term relationships

We recognize that research projects cannot go on forever. We do, however, encourage research that involves a long-term commitment by all of its partners. Projects started in our community should be considered in terms of long-term benefits and impacts. Proper oversight should exist to ensure the sustainability of projects left behind for the community to manage: Local people should be educated in the process and meaning of the research, technical knowledge and hard-to-find parts should be in place should future repairs be needed. Researchers should ensure that proper infrastructure and support networks are in place to apply research results, and carry projects into the future.

We also like to see that long-term relationships are developed between community members and researchers. Establishing the trust and personal connections needed to properly conduct projects often requires that researchers get to know and understand local people outside of a working context. The benefits of strong personal

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relationships go both ways: researchers have their eyes opened to meaningful personal experiences and a broader picture of life in the north, and local people are able to learn more about projects and perspectives they would otherwise have no access to. Many long-lasting friendships have developed from research in our community, and often result in projects that are more committed to ensuring positive change over a long-term period

Local Advice for Working with Local People and Culture in Iqaluktuuttiaq

Conducting research in any community setting can be difficult. Work in northern communities often entails additional challenges due to their physical remoteness and lack of accessibility to many materials and amenities.

Be patient, open and accepting.

Things move at a different pace in our community. The everyday speed of life can be frustrating to individuals with restricted budgets and schedules for research. While community members do their best to facilitate incoming projects, they often have a broader perspective on the immediacy and scale of research. They recognize that many project details—such as weather and transportation conditions—are beyond human control, and must be met with humor, ingenuity, and most importantly, patience. They recognize that family, safety and good relationships with other people are more important than strict adherence to plans. We ask that researchers also show these traits when dealing with local projects.

“I find that some researchers come in and collect a lot of information, and while they are really nice, and really respectful and appreciative of everything, once they’ve collected everything they need they are gone and that is the end of it and we don’t hear back from them. The elders have given them so much information and shared so much, and they don’t get to see how that information contributed to anything... if it made a difference, if it was used we don’t know. I find that to be very frustrating, and I am sure that researchers are using the information for great things, but it doesn’t benefit anyone in the community. I think it would be great if they could create research projects that are much more community based and with a purpose to serve the community.”

-Anonymous, Iqaluktuuttiaq community member

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Be social.

The key to understanding our community is to interact. Many researchers like to spend their non-working hours apart from the community, resting and catching up on other projects. We encourage researchers to use their free time to get to know our community outside of work. Go out and meet people and find common interests outside of your project. Volunteer at the local library, school or community centre. Many of the most memorable northern experiences for researchers come from social invitations to go out hunting, fishing or travelling to cabins. Participating in the daily life of our community will help researchers do better research.

Be respectful of Inuit knowledge structures and rights.

Inuinnait culture relies on the oral tradition, which has its own internal rules for the transmission and receiving of knowledge. Oral knowledge is generally not protected by copyright until it is written down, filmed or recorded. When this happens, it is generally the creator of the written work or recording (the interviewer) who has rights in the work that is created. When a person is recorded sharing personal information or telling the story of their life, the knowledge that is on that recording should still belong to them. The right to use and publish this information can be donated to a researcher only when a consent form is signed by the interviewee. By granting interviews to researchers, we ask for them to use our words in good faith.

Payment and Honoraria

Researchers should always be thankful when people take time to share their knowledge in interviews. There is an expectation that researchers will compensate individuals for interviews, either through a gift, a payment or honorarium. There are also some interview relationships where people will refuse these payments for their contribution. It is always smart to negotiate the terms of payment or compensation for interviews, as well as translation and interpretation, prior to beginning the work.

The price of payment and honoraria varies according to the organization running a program, the type of project being run, and level involvement required of participants. As a basic rule of thumb, the extended involvement of elders is typically compensated by an honorarium of around \$200/day. Professional services—such as trained land guides—are typically compensated at a higher daily rate of \$300+/day, which may or may not include the use of logistical materials (such as snow machines, sleds, and tents). Interviews with knowledgeable community members are typically paid at a rate of \$40/hr, or \$50/hr for elders.

In situations such as community meetings or focus group interviews, it is not possible to financially compensate every individual for their input into a research project. In such group meetings, it is suggested that participant attendance is recompensed with refreshments or the possibility of winning a prize through a raffle system.

Translation, transcription and the Inuinnaqtun language

When in Nunavut, it is always important to consider which language is being used to conduct interviews and engage with the community. The traditional language of Iqaluktuuttiaq is Inuinnaqtun, a regionally specific dialect of the Inuktitut language family that is written in roman orthography than than syllabic script. Inuinnaqtun is recognized as an official language separate from Inuktitut in both Nunavut and the Northwest Territories. While it is estimated that the number of fluent speakers of Inuinnaqtun amount to only several hundred individuals, the language continues to hold a strong and important place in Inuinnait culture. Efforts to preserve and promote the language require that Inuinnaqtun be used and documented whenever possible.

Inuinnaqtun use in Iqaluktuuttiaq is generally divided among generations, with individuals younger than 40 often being unilingual English speakers, individuals between 40 and 65 being able to read and write both English and Inuinnaqtun, and Elders of 70 onwards often being unilingual Inuinnaqtun speakers. There are many exceptions to this rule, and it is best to determine the specific language abilities of community members prior to their involvement in a research program.

In many cases, work with community members will require access to both English and Inuinnaqtun speakers. If the person asking the interview questions cannot speak the first, or most comfortable, language of the person being interviewed, it is often best to hire someone who can. There are two ways of doing this:

1) Interpretation

An interpreter can be hired to repeat what one person says to another person in a different language. This process is often used during interviews to mediate between the person asking questions and the person being interviewed. When hiring an interpreter, it is important to find someone who is very fluent in both the language of the interviewer and the language of the interviewee, so that no small details are lost. When talking about specific themes, such as traditional life on the land, it is good to find an interpreter who has some knowledge of the area. This means they are more likely to possess the specific vocabulary associated with the topic. The rate of pay for interpretation can vary greatly depending on the skills and accreditation of the interpreter, but are usually between \$50-100/hr.

2) Translation

A translator will read transcripts or listen to recordings of interviews and write them out in another language. This process often takes a lot of time, but is a great way for a researcher to fully understand what the person being interviewed was saying. Because it takes place at a much slower pace than interpretation, translation is able to get at many more small details and cultural nuances. Often the same person can be hired to both interpret and translate an interview. The average rate for translation tends towards ¢40-50/word, or \$5/ written line.

A skilled interpreter and translator can make all the difference in the production of a successful interview or research project. As a result,

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interpretation and translation are both very essential and sought-after positions in Nunavut. A good interpreter or translator has often gone to school specifically to learn their trade or has spent a life-time practicing their skills, and should be paid accordingly. Good interpreters and translators are also often very busy with contracts, and can be difficult to get a hold of for work. If this is the case, there are often elders and other people within the community who speak several languages, and who can be asked to help out with the interviews. When trying to choose an interpreter from Iqaluktuuttiaq it is good to ask for suggestions from elder-oriented organizations around town—such as the Kitikmeot Inuit Association or Kitikmeot Heritage Society—in order to make sure that the individual is qualified for the work and has sufficient knowledge of the interview theme.

Working with Elders

Inuit elders are often highly respected by their community as sources of knowledge and experience. Because of their status as traditional knowledge holders, elders are frequently approached to participate in research projects. When interviewing or involving elders in a project, it is important to remain aware of differences that might exist between respective understandings of their role in the research process. Factors such as gaps in age, language, research interest and technological know-how, can often result in misunderstandings during projects involving elders. A manual was specifically created by the Nunavut Arctic College in 2008 to facilitate working with elders, and offers some of the following suggestions:

- Always provide an interpreter if you are unable

to speak in Inuinnaqtun or Inuktitut. An ideal interpreter would be an older person who understands the elder's rich terminology as it is not equal to the younger person for clear understanding. Get someone who knows people and who is trusted by the community;

- Respect the elder because they get tired easily. An old saying is to treat others as you want others to treat you and to treat every body equally with kindness;
- If you are taking them to your work place, check to see if s/he requires pick up; transport them yourself if possible. If they are working with you explain the form of payment and how long they will be working. If any tools or equipment are needed, check to see if they will provide it or if they need help in getting it;
- Find out what the elder is interested in and if it is okay to contact them later to assist in certain tasks or projects. If they agree, then make an appointment or meeting no longer than one week in advance and follow up the day before to discuss details and to remind them;
- Ask if they have any further questions or anything to add because some remain quiet although they may have something to say.

It is suggested that new researchers to Nunavut read through the full Nunavut Arctic College guide to working with elders, the information for which can be found in the reference section of this booklet.

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“I just have this clock in my head... we only have this amount of time with these elders. Once these elders are gone, then that’s it. Who else was born in an igloo, who else was raised on the land, who else speaks Inuinnaqtun, who else knows how to skin a seal, who else knows how to sew a parka, chew hide... .Once the time comes when no more elders are here, what are we going to do? We need to use this time very wisely.”

-Anonymous, Iqaluktuuttiaq community member.



Above: Elders Mary Avalak and Annie Anavilok share their knowledge about living in traditional iglu structures. (Griebel/KHS).

Communicating and Disseminating Research Results in Iqaluktuuttiaq

The sharing of research results with communities can sometimes be a daunting obligation. Researchers are often used to presenting their work within academic circles, and can find it challenging to communicate projects with community members who often do not share their language or priorities. Knowledge transmission is key to northern research, and community members want to be kept up to date on new findings about Arctic land, animals and people. The best way to ensure this is to maintain close personal contact with community members and organizations throughout the course of a research project. News travels quickly by word of mouth in our community, and providing people with regular updates of your work during meetings, visits, and casual conversations in the grocery store, can be a great way to ensure that the community is both aware and interested in what you do.

There are various other ways that research can be communicated in Iqaluktuuttiaq:

Local radio

Cambridge Bay has its own radio station (97.7 FM) which is community-operated, and offers programming in both English and Inuinnaqtun. The radio is still a regular fixture in many people’s daily lives, and is often playing throughout the work day and at home. When live radio hosts are broadcasting, they are often open to community announcements being made on air. This can be arranged by bringing in a written notice of the event or topic being discussed, or by joining the

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announcer to speak directly on the air. Researchers will often use a radio call-in format to explain their projects, accepting phone questions from community members and responding to them on the air. Radio remains one of the best ways to ensure that a message reaches a wide demographic of people in the community (including those who do not read).

While it is usually free or a nominal price to make brief announcements on the radio, fees for the hiring of radio announcers and translators for more extensive radio programming will have to be negotiated with the municipality.



The Cambridge Bay radio station, located near the Co-op building on Omingmak street. (Gross/KHS).

Workshops

Iqaluktuurmiut are often very visual learners. We enjoy gaining first hand experience of new ideas and ways of looking at the world. The use of public workshops to promote research projects can accordingly be very effective. These workshops might range from land-excursions to classroom experiments, but should ultimately be

designed as a two-way learning process through which community members can both gain new knowledge, and contribute their existing knowledge to the research topic. Regardless of the type of workshop being conducted, it is best to contact a local organization with extensive knowledge of local landscape, available materials, expertise and schedules for advice and to possibly help facilitate the endeavour. These organizations can also recommend available public meeting spaces.

As most research tends to take place in the summer, seasonality also becomes an issue with workshops. When setting up events, researchers should consider that during the summer many community members have different schedules and are often prioritize being of town at cabins and camps. Mondays and Fridays throughout the year are often difficult for community meetings as they are community bingo nights. Both meetings and workshops typically do not take place on Sundays or during days during which there is a local funeral.

The Internet

Despite Iqaluktuuttiaq being a small town, it has a thriving Internet presence and community members often go on-line to access local people and events. Facebook is generally the foremost source for on-line knowledge and communication. There are two community Facebook pages set up specifically to circulate knowledge within the community: Cambridge Bay News, which is a posting board for local events, news, and discussions, and Cambridge Bay Sell and Swap, which is an online marketplace set up for local people to trade, sell, and request various materials they need. Both Facebook sites have moderators and can be easily signed into as a

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visitor. These sites are a great way for researchers to open discussions with community members, share the processes and results of their work, and request local materials and expertise for a project.

Community posters

Enter almost any public building in Iqaluktuuttiaq, and you will notice a bulletin board. Public posters are a great way to distribute messages to the community. The content of the posters should be kept very brief, and should be translated into the Inuinnaqtun language whenever possible. The turnover on posters is very high, so postings made too far in advance will likely be covered up or removed before the event occurs. In some occasions multiple postings are required.

The most commonly used posters boards in town can be found at the Post Office, the Northern, and the Co-op store.



The successful dissemination of research requires that researchers think hard not only about where they release their message, but also about how their audience might interpret that message. When research results are communicated, community members are often exposed to only a small portion of what went on in the study. This can lead to people focusing on the most dramatic and controversial aspects of a project, without

considering why and how the rest of the project took place. In order to prevent this from happening, it is important to always present the work in a clear, straightforward manner, making sure that descriptions of results are attached directly to explanations of why they happened that way.

It is also important to consider whether some information from a study should remain confidential. Knowledge gathered from a community during interviews or workshops is not always meant to be made public. Despite signing research consent forms, many community members do not have a full understanding of how widely their words can circulate. In a similar fashion, many northerners use the Internet to share information with their family, friends, and community, without realizing that their messages are available to Internet users around the world. If planning to widely circulate material that you suspect might have been gathered with different expectations of use, it is always best to check in with the individual or a local organization who might have a better sense of the message's suitability.

The final thing to remember about disseminating research results in Iqaluktuuttiaq is that knowledge produced through research is often put to use. Researchers sometimes forget that the results of their studies have real-life implications. Research results are often consulted by policy makers and governments to help decide what future action should be taken. Even at the community level, research results are often incorporated into the making of important decisions. When disseminating research results, researchers should always keep in mind that they are presenting an authoritative picture of how the world works, which will almost inevitably be used to shape the choices other people make.

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