

Reclaiming Early Ethnography Through Contemporary Inuit Cultural Production

by

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Abstract

The dissertation is concerned with how Inuit artists are reclaiming knowledge from early ethnographic texts. Early ethnographic texts, such as the writing, photographs, and cultural products produced or acquired by Danish-Greenlandic explorer Knud Rasmussen during the Fifth Thule Expedition (1921-1924), helped shape dominant perceptions of Inuit and their communities. For example, Rasmussen was hired by the Government of Canada in 1925 to act as a consultant for Arctic policy. During his tenure, Rasmussen identified what he perceived to be a loss of traditional Inuit culture, but he also argued that cultural loss was necessary for Inuit to survive in “modern society” (Bown 284). Rasmussen’s arguments, which were prevalent in anthropological discourses throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, are reflected in the genre of “salvage ethnography,” or texts created by early ethnographers that sought to preserve Indigenous cultures under the false assumption of disappearance. These discourses continue to have significant relevance today, as Inuit representational organizations, such as Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), partner with the Government of Canada to develop documents like the Arctic Policy Framework, which will shape federal priorities in the North until 2030.

The research is guided by two main questions: How is the knowledge contained in early ethnographic texts being reclaimed and mobilized in contemporary Inuit literature and film? And how can these artistic texts shape contemporary discourses about Inuit cultures, communities, and people? The dissertation aims to answer these questions through engagement with the primary texts, including: Mini Aodla Freeman’s *Life Among the Qallunaat* (1978/2015), Igloolik Isuma Productions’ *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* (2006), and Aqqaluk Lyngé’s *Taqqat uummammut aqqaannut takorluukkat apuuffiannut/The Veins of the Heart to the Pinnacle of*

the Mind (2008). Conventional literary analysis methods, such as close reading, are supported by interviews with the artists, and fieldwork in Nuuk, Greenland (January-May 2018) and Igloolik, Nunavut (July 2018).

The dissertation advocates for a methodological shift in Indigenous literary studies that prioritizes consultation with artists, the importance of fostering relationships, and working outside the physical confines of texts. Drawing from Kim TallBear's methodology of "standing with," which credits specialists who are not conventionally regarded as scholars within the restrictive framework of the academy, but who are essential to scholarship (82), I advocate for centring the knowledge of artists due to their lived expertise within the field. However, shifting methods in literary studies towards a model that prioritizes the contributions of artists presents significant challenges, including additional pressures on artists' labour and a lack of institutional support for both students and mentors.

These methodological inquiries are developed via engagement with three major texts. The first chapter considers how the original 1978 publication of Aodla Freeman's *Life Among the Qallunaat* was miscategorised as a form of reverse ethnography, while the 2015 edition maintains its initial memoir status. Using an interview with the author, a comparative reading between the two editions, and an analysis of the original typescript, I argue that Hurtig Publishers' mischaracterization of the text made it more marketable to Southern audiences and facilitated a reverse ethnographic reading. The second chapter, concerning the Isuma film *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*, draws from interviews with several crew members to examine how the creation of the community-produced film provided opportunities for re-teaching and re-learning cultural knowledge. Creators of the film drew from Rasmussen's ethnographic material to facilitate these processes. Lastly, the third chapter uses Lyngé's text and an interview with the

author to consider the potential of using relational methodologies for studying Greenlandic literature. As a Kalaaleq (Greenlandic) politician and author, Lynge engages with Rasmussen's ethnographic work to challenge dominant narratives concerning the representation of early "exploration" in Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland), including the essential contributions of Arnarulunnguaq, the memorialization of these events, and the major concerns involved with representing Kalaallit Nunaat as a place that can be "explored." The conclusion serves as a call to action for scholars in Indigenous literatures to use non-textual methods.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Shaina Humble. It received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, No. 00065062, August 22, 2016 (renewed annually). According to the *Nunavut Scientists Act*, all researchers undertaking work in the territory require a research license issued by the Nunavummi Qaujisaqtulirijikkut/Nunavut Research Institute. The scientific research license number for this project is 02 030 18N-A, which was issued on March 15, 2018. No research licenses are required to undertake work in Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland). No part of this thesis has been previously published.

Dedication

For my Grandad, Brian McCombe

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Introduction: Reclaiming Ethnography Through Inuit Art

“For far too long, researchers have enjoyed great privilege as they have passed through our communities and homeland, using public or academic funding to answer their own questions about our environment, wildlife, and people. Many of these same researchers then ignore Inuit in creating the outcomes of their work for the advancement of their careers, their research institutions, or their governments. This type of exploitative relationship must end”
*Natan Obed, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) President*¹

Introduction

I understand that I am a participant in a research culture in which scholars routinely pass through Inuit Nunangat,² or the Inuit homelands in Canada,³ to produce scholarship that is centered on research questions that are regularly established outside of the Inuit homelands. These researcher-generated questions, which are frequently defined by Southern academics working for Southern universities that are funded by Southern grants, are created based on our “academic” priorities that are often not established in consultation with Inuit, their

¹ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) is the national representational organization for Inuit in Canada. Obed’s quote is from his opening letter for ITK’s 2018 “National Inuit Strategy on Research” (3), which aims to counter “colonial approaches to research [that] endure in Canada” (4).

² ITK’s “National Inuit Strategy on Research” defines “Inuit Nunangat” as “the Inuvialuit Settlement Region ([Northern] Northwest Territories), Nunavut, Nunavik (Northern Québec), and Nunatsiavut (Northern Labrador). Collectively, these four regions make up Inuit Nunangat, our homeland in Canada” (n.p.). During a meeting in 2009, ITK chose to begin using the Inuktitut term “Inuit Nunangat,” as it encompasses “land, water, and ice” into its definition, while the Kalaallisut (Greenlandic) term (“Inuit Nunaat”) does not include water and ice in its definition (“Maps of Inuit Nunangat” par. 2). Moreover, the “National Inuit Strategy on Research” states that “Inuit Nunangat and its democratic governance structure should be utilized in research policy and practice in place of past designations for the ‘Arctic’ or the ‘North’” (18), so I will use this term where appropriate to refer to the Inuit homelands in Canada.

³ The term “Inuit Nunaat” is used in the 2009 document “A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic,” which defines the term as follows: “Our home in the circumpolar world, *Inuit Nunaat*, stretches from Greenland to Canada, Alaska and the coastal regions of Chukotka, Russia” (n.p.). I use the term “Inuit Nunangat” here because the “National Inuit Strategy on Research” is the main document addressed within the Introduction and it is based in a Canadian context.

representational organizations, governments, and/or research institutions. This problem is exacerbated in literary studies, as the discipline tends to foster individual scholarship that operates in the absence of consultation with expert practitioners (artists) and their communities. Given the “exploitative relationship” (3) identified by Obed at the opening of this chapter, what tangible actions can researchers, especially those working in Indigenous literary studies, take that will contribute to rebuilding these relationships based on the collaboration called for in Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami’s “National Inuit Strategy on Research” (NISR)? The NISR identifies five priority areas: 1) Advance Inuit governance in research; 2) Enhance the ethical conduct of research; 3) Align funding with Inuit research priorities; 4) Ensure Inuit access, ownership, and control over data and information; and 5) Build capacity in Inuit Nunangat research. The associated “Implementation Plan” (NISR IP), which outlines “the roles and responsibilities of rights holders⁴ and the stakeholders⁵ who will contribute to implementing the NISR” (4), states that the success of future research “requires a coordinated approach based on partnership... [between] governments, universities, research institutes and academics” (4). Accordingly, it is our responsibility as academics to work alongside rights holders to collaborate on research that acts in service to Inuit and their communities (NISR 4).

I use the NISR as a framework to provoke a discussion concerning the responsibilities that scholars in Indigenous literatures have to artists, their communities, and the artistic texts themselves. Broadly conceived, my dissertation is concerned with how Inuit artists, primarily authors and filmmakers, are reclaiming knowledge from historic ethnographic texts to generate

⁴ I use the term “rights holders” here in accordance with the call put forth in the NISR (12) and the “Implementation Plan” (4). The term encompasses Inuit and their respective organizations.

⁵ “Stakeholders refers to governments, academics, research institutions and other non-Inuit entities that have a vested interest or role to play in implementing the NISR” (NISR IP 4).

new narratives that challenge dominant perceptions of Inuit and their communities. Engagement with early ethnographic texts (which often represent a form of colonial discourse) in relation to contemporary Inuit art is essential, because, as Pauline Wakeham articulates in *Taxidermic Signs* (2008), “the project of disrupting the ongoing reproduction of colonial discourse and the mythology of aboriginal extinction that is, unfortunately, still all too timely in the current era” (127). As such, my dissertation analyzes how Inuit artists are drawing from early ethnographic material to create new narratives that have the potential to shape contemporary discourses.

In undertaking this research, I used interviews to consult with artists, and I spent five months as a guest researcher at Ilisimatusarfik (University of Greenland) in Nuuk, Greenland and a month interviewing artists in Igloolik, Nunavut. Using this approach necessitated that I grapple with the complicated questions that arise when using non-textual methods within the context of literary studies—something I aim to address within the present document. The resulting interviews supported the analysis of my three primary texts: Mini Aodla Freeman’s *Life Among the Qallunaat* (1978/2015); Igloolik Isuma Productions’ *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* (2006); and Aqqaluk Lynge’s *Taqqat uummammut aqquqaannut takorluukkat apuuffiannut/The Veins of the Heart to the Pinnacle of the Mind* (2008). Currently, my own research (and much of the scholarship produced within Indigenous literary studies) is unable to fulfill the requirements put forth in the NISR, but this problem, I believe, is instructive for Indigenous literary studies: how can future work within Indigenous literary studies ensure that it fulfills the protocols established by the NISR?

Ethnographic History and Continued Contexts

“Salvage ethnography” is a historic genre in which anthropologists sought to textually preserve Indigenous cultures under the false assumption that they were disappearing. The term

was coined in the 1960s to critique the romantic, moribund images that nineteenth century and early modern anthropology routinely disseminated (McCall 19). Ethnography, which can be parsed as “ethno” (culture) and “graphy” (writing), is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) as “[t]he systematic study and description of peoples, societies, and cultures.” These “systematic” studies involved ethnographers (predominantly white men) traveling to distant locales and studying cultures that were often “foreign” in relation to their own. The resulting documents, including literary publications, photographs, and cultural materials, contain a wealth of information that can provide rich knowledge about the culture being studied, but are not without their own complicated histories—histories that continue to manifest within current scholarship.

It is important to draw a clear distinction here between “ethnography” and the discipline of anthropology. Tim Ingold identifies that the aim of ethnography is “to render an account—in writing, film, or other graphic media—of life as it is actually lived and experienced by a people, somewhere, sometime” (21). Ingold’s articulation of “ethnography” emphasizes that it is a product, not a method (23), while the contemporary discipline of anthropology is premised on studying “*with* people, not mak[ing] studies *of* them” (21, emphasis original). Simultaneously, other scholars, including Martyn Hammersley, advocate that a “key dimension” of ethnographic research is “the kind of *methods* employed” (3). Building on Ingold’s article, Susan MacDougall, whose primary argument is concerned with how the term “ethnography” impacts disciplinary perceptions of anthropology, raises concern with anthropology’s disciplinary tendency to use the term “ethnography” as a light adjective to reflect the “qualities [of] attention, care, and correspondence [that] are important” for the discipline (par. 8), such as “reflecting on moments of cultural significance or loaded nonverbal cues” (par. 4). Ingold and MacDougall’s reflection

of anthropology differs significantly from the so-called “founding fathers of anthropology” (Ingold 21), who believed that ethnography should be “dedicated to the documentation of empirical particulars,” while anthropology should be “dedicated to comparative generalization and the search for law-like regularities in the conduct of human affairs” (21). This friction between anthropology and ethnography—and, to a lesser extent, “Eskimology”—is present throughout my dissertation. Historic figures, such as Knud Rasmussen and Peter Freuchen, have been characterized using different terms, including “anthropologists” and “explorers.” Much like the people producing the ethnographic products, the texts themselves resist classification and exist on a gradient that fluctuates between travel literature and cultural accounts.

The NISR is a document that seeks to demonstrate how Inuit can move from exclusion, as frequently occurred during the era of “salvage ethnography,” to self-determined rights holders within research relationships and networks. The strategy document identifies how “[e]arly approaches to the conduct of research in Inuit Nunangat cast Inuit as either objects of study or bystanders” (5); in contrast, modern Inuit artists are now reclaiming knowledge from those early research documents to re-tell their own histories in their own words. Inquiry into these processes is important for several reasons: first, early ethnographies, as will be outlined below, often present Indigenous peoples as passive recipients of change who (in accordance with the contemporaneous colonial goals⁶ of research) were expected to “disappear.” Second, a turn to focus on reclamation emphasizes how Inuit artists today are using the ethnographic materials, many of which had devastating effects on their families and communities, to challenge the narratives that these documents perpetuate. However, these conversations are not without the

⁶ The NISR states that “[r]esearch has largely functioned as a tool of colonialism, with the earliest scientific forays into Inuit Nunangat serving as precursors for the expansion of Canadian sovereignty and the dehumanization of Inuit” (5).

complications of attending to these discussions within the context of the calls put forth through the NISR—something the present project was unable to do in its entirety.

Several of the early ethnographies addressed within my dissertation, including the materials collected by Rasmussen during the Fifth Thule Expedition (1921-1924), *My Life Among the Eskimos: The Baffinland Journals of Bernhard Adolph Hantzsch 1909-1911*, and others, were produced in the tradition of “salvage ethnography.” Briefly, “salvage ethnography” is a historical genre in which anthropologists sought to textually preserve Indigenous cultures under the pretense that they would disappear (Rony 15 and Simpson “Settlement’s Secret” 208). Beyond the pretense of disappearance, the practice of salvage ethnography also removed knowledge and cultural products from Indigenous communities and objectified people by turning them into objects of research or “mere” informants. Despite the significant advances of contemporary research, which is exhibited (in part) through increased consultation with Indigenous experts, community-based research projects, and respect for Indigenous knowledge, the impacts of salvage ethnography continue to be felt by some Indigenous communities today, as the products of salvage ethnography were used to support colonial policy.

The work of early ethnographers was frequently used in colonial administration; for example, Knud Rasmussen was hired in 1925 as a consultant of Arctic policy for the Government of Canada (Bown 273). During his tenure with the Canadian government, Rasmussen noted what he perceived to be the loss of traditional Inuit culture, but he also felt that cultural loss was necessary for Inuit to survive in “modern society” (Bown 284). Moreover, Diamond Jenness, who is regarded as “one of Canada’s most distinguished anthropologists” (Taylor and Kikkert par. 2), gave a lecture at the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) Staff College in 1944 where he stated that:

There can be no doubt that Canada would immensely strengthen her claim to sovereignty over the uninhabited islands in her Arctic sector if she established either Eskimo settlements or (and) scientific research stations on those islands that are most readily accessible by sea or by air. I say Eskimo settlements, not settlements of white men, because no ordinary white man is content to make his home and raise his family in a land where the usual amenities of civilized life can find no place and where medical, educational, and other facilities are either non-existent or totally inadequate (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 124)⁷

Jenness' quote exemplifies early anthropological discourses, as he demonstrates the clear contrast that he envisions between "Eskimo settlements" and "civilized life," and, much like the concerns outlined in the NISR (5), he suggests that "Eskimo settlements or (and) scientific research stations" can be mobilized by Canada to "strengthen her claim to sovereignty." Popular discourses like the ones outlined above helped to fuel government policy, such as the relocation of Inuit communities suggested above and residential school, that sought to assimilate Inuit to Southern culture and norms.

Building on the complicated tradition of salvage ethnography, my dissertation examines how Inuit artists are reclaiming knowledge from historic ethnographic documents that originated from different locales across the Inuit homelands. The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) contains several definitions of "reclamation": first, it is defined as "[t]he action of revoking." Subsequently, "revoking" is defined by the OED as the ability "[t]o recall or bring back," which

⁷ The footnote in the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples report states the following about the quote: "As quoted by Grant from a paper cited by Frank Tester and Peter Kulchyski, 'Choosing Volunteers: A De-Construction of Inuit Relocation in the High Arctic, 1953', paper presented to the 8th Inuit Studies Conference, Quebec, October 25-28, 1992; referred to in Grant, vol. 1" (124).

suggests that the object (either tangible or intangible) existed and requires something to act as a catalyst to facilitate its reclamation. Second, “reclamation” is also defined as “[t]he action of claiming something (formerly in one’s legal possession) back.” Again, this definition emphasizes the process of restoring—or returning—something that was previously in possession. My research demonstrates how the process of reclamation within this context better aligns with the definition that emphasizes the process of recalling—as opposed to claiming something that had been lost. I seek to complicate the assumption that the knowledge ever left the community, as some of the artists interviewed emphasized how they used the ethnographic documents to enhance their knowledge, as the knowledge has remained in the collective memories of communities—not within the salvage ethnographies themselves. Lastly, “reclamation” is also defined as a “reassertion of a relationship or connection with something.” The use of “reassertion” can refer to the reclamation process itself, while the “relationship”/ “connection” has the potential to reference a connection with whatever is being reclaimed. Several definitions of “reclamation” are mobilized within the dissertation depending on the text(s) and/or context(s), so I will address the specific use of the term in relation to each text.

Identifying the ways in which Inuit artists are reclaiming knowledge from historic ethnographic texts, or how these texts intersect with their own, is central to determining how their art challenges ongoing colonial discourses. Audra Simpson, an anthropologist from the Mohawk Nation of Kahnawà:ke, argues through her concept of “ethnographic refusal” that voice is entangled with sovereignty, and when Indigenous peoples speak for themselves, this interrupts the paradigm of “salvage ethnography” and “anthropological portraits” of Indigenous peoples (*Interruptus* 97). As such, I consider how the reclamation process occurs in each example and across various media forms, focusing on how the historic ethnographies are mobilized to

interrupt “anthropological portraits.” Māori scholar Brendan Hokowhitu defines “Fourth World Media”⁸ as “media controlled by Indigenous peoples in settler-colonial states, such as ... Canada” (113). In the context of settler-colonial states, Hokowhitu defines Indigenous sovereignty in relation to Fourth Media as “the determination of Indigenous peoples to represent and perceive their epistemic knowledge through the media as they deem appropriate” (113). I apply Hokowhitu’s theory of Fourth Media to explore how Inuit artists are “re-righting (writing)” cinematic and literary media to represent their respective epistemologies (114). I draw upon these critical conversations with the goal of asking how “ethnographic refusal” and Indigenous sovereignty in Fourth Media may operate in Inuit territory and contexts.

The Inuit artists who are reclaiming the knowledge and representations in early ethnographic texts are the primary disruptors of colonial discourses. Therefore, my project aims to foreground the voices and opinions of Inuit artists through its methods (especially the interviews) and theory. Moreover, the case studies, which include *Life Among the Qallunaat*, *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*, and *Taqqat uummammut aqquataannut takorluukkat apuuffiannut/The Veins of the Heart to the Pinnacle of the Mind*, seek to support the work that Inuit artists are undertaking by respectfully engaging with the texts and attending to cultural, political, and regional specificities. Respect is shown to both artists and their texts through consultation, so I sought to interview all authors and several Isuma crew members whose work I engage with in this dissertation. Hence, non-textual methods played a major role in shaping my understanding of the literary and filmic texts. Engaging artists in the conversation surrounding

⁸ In a broader sense, “[t]he notion of ‘Fourth World’ was coined in appropriation of the emancipatory potential of the Third World critique... Fourth World Media (hereafter referred to as ‘Fourth Media’) on the other hand has come to refer to media controlled by Indigenous peoples in settler-colonial states” (Hokowhitu 113).

the use of art as a tool of reclamation is important for several reasons: first, it is crucial that we position artists as agents in this critical dialogue, because they are the experts and have experience in undertaking artistic processes themselves. Second, it is also important to build relationships, particularly because I am a non-Inuk settler who is participating in these discussions. Building relationships also creates a form of accountability, and it shapes whom I have responsibility to in working through this research. Together, the textual materials under consideration and the methods of engagement used both highlight the disconnects between disciplines that are grounded in working with people (such as Indigenous Studies) and literary studies. Considerations of these disciplinary intersections emphasize the current limits of Indigenous literary studies research and its present failure to adhere to the protocols of Indigenous Studies, community-driven research, and other calls to community-engaged, accountable research, such as those articulated in the NISR.

Disciplinary Clashes and Expectations

The above-mentioned disciplinary clashes are challenging, but these rifts often led to some of the most insightful results regarding potential methodological shifts that literary studies stands to gain from direct engagement with other fields, especially those that center working directly with Indigenous peoples and their communities. Chris Andersen (Michif) and Jean M. O'Brien (White Earth Ojibwe) unpack the nuanced history of Indigenous Studies in the Introduction to their edited collection *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies* (2017). In the Introduction, Andersen and O'Brien emphasize the three main "intellectual goals for Indigenous Studies [as identified by Robert Innes (Cowessess First Nation)]: to access, understand and convey Native cultural perspective(s); to conduct research that benefits Native people and/or communities; and to employ research methods and theories that will achieve these goals" (3,

emphasis original).⁹ Andersen and O'Brien's collection aims to explore the *methodological* prescriptions of Indigenous Studies" (3, emphasis original). Their exploration is particularly salient given that Indigenous Studies started to emerge as a distinct form of scholarship¹⁰ during the 1960s and a substantial amount of work has been dedicated to addressing what Indigenous Studies is/is not (1), rather than how it is conducted on the ground. Innes speaks to the methodological possibilities offered by Indigenous Studies in his article "Introduction: Native Studies and Native cultural preservation, revitalization, and persistence," where he argues that Native studies¹¹ is a discipline that is marked by its goal of "improving Native people's lives and communities" and prioritizing building "an ethical research relationship" over the collection of data (4 and 6). This objective, namely the goal of producing scholarship that benefits Indigenous communities and nurtures relationships, stands in contrast to many methodologies within literary studies, as we tend to generate scholarship that focuses almost entirely on the texts themselves. Although I acknowledge that text-based methods are an essential aspect of our discipline, what might scholars in Indigenous literatures gain from pushing our disciplinary boundaries to incorporate community-based practices and consultation?

Daniel Heath Justice (Cherokee Nation) offers some insight into this question in his contribution to Andersen and O'Brien's edited collection. In this collection, Justice explores the ongoing history of Indigenous literary nationalism in relation "to the intellectual and ethical

⁹ Located on page 2 of Innes' 2010 article "Introduction: Native Studies and Native cultural preservation, revitalization, and persistence" in *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*.

¹⁰ Within the Introduction to *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies*, Chris Andersen and Jean M. O'Brien outline some of the challenges of framing Indigenous Studies as a discipline (1-2) due to concerns regarding how this construct manifests in practice.

¹¹ Although Innes uses the term "Native studies," he is referring to the same discipline outlined by Andersen and O'Brien in *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies*. For example, within the Introduction to the edited collection, Andersen and O'Brien cite Elizabeth Cook-Lynn who uses the term "Indian Studies" (3), which is another term for the same discipline, among others.

concerns of Indigenous literary studies” (23). He defines Indigenous literary nationalism as follows: “very simply, to understand Indigenous literatures it is both intellectually and ethically imperative to know something about the meaningful contexts from which those literatures emerge *and* with which those literatures are engaged” (24, emphasis original). Moreover, Indigenous literary nationalism aims to centre Indigenous perspectives, while enabling “cultural expressions and politics... [to have the same] significance to literary concerns as aesthetics” (Justice 24). Given Justice’s emphasis on the importance of attending to social and political contexts, I seek to ask how we can ethically engage in scholarship that draws from Indigenous literary nationalism, while also prioritizing methods that incorporate the expertise of artists and community members: How can scholarship that deals with “cultural expressions and politics” only by consulting texts, and not by talking to people, give the same weight to “meaningful contexts,” like politics, community, and artists’ knowledge? My dissertation is primarily grounded in literary studies; however, engaging with a project that operates at the intersection of these fields often led to productive methodological questions, which will be addressed within the methods chapter and supported by the following three body chapters.

Literary Studies and the “National Inuit Strategy on Research”

Natan Obed, in his contribution to the “National Inuit Strategy on Research” document, states that “[t]he term research invokes strong reactions among Inuit because researchers have historically been and continue to be the primary beneficiaries of research involving our people, wildlife, and environment” (3). In accordance with Obed’s statement, how can Southern researchers doing work in Inuit Nunangat, especially those undertaking work in the humanities, contribute to scholarship that directly engages and benefits Inuit and addresses the NISR’s five major priority areas? To speak to these priority areas, I will briefly explicate how my research

does—or does *not*—align with the objectives defined in the NISR, and some of the changes that should be made during future research to better align with the calls put forth in the NISR. Each priority is accompanied by the associated objectives and actions as presented in the original document. However, a more extensive methodological discussion will be addressed in the “Tacit Knowledge” chapter and in the introductions to each subsequent body chapter. This section serves to introduce concerns regarding the importance of using non-textual methods in literary studies research, the ethics associated with the potential transition, and the associated responsibilities outlined in the NISR.

Advance Inuit governance in research

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) argues that Inuit self-determination in research “unlocks the potential” of scholarship within Inuit Nunangat; according to their definition, “self-determined” research happens when “researchers and research institutions... acquire free, prior, and informed consent of Inuit prior to research activity being undertaken in our homeland” (11). Self-determined research occurs when Inuit are “engaged as partners in setting the research agenda..., have equitable opportunities to access funding for Inuit-led research, and are engaged as partners with research in the design, implementation, and dissemination of research” (11). Moreover, working together as partners in the research process is “necessary to improve the efficacy, impact, and usefulness of Inuit Nunangat research activity” (NISR 16), so both rights holders and stakeholders stand to benefit from supporting rights holders to attain increased self-determination in research. Furthermore, ITK argues that governments and research institutions must move beyond colonial approaches to research, because they do not “equitably benefit” Inuit communities or respect “Inuit self-determination in research” (29). Drawing from this framework, what can academics in Indigenous literary studies do to ensure that we contribute to

self-determined research within Inuit Nunangat, and, as appropriate, other regions within the Inuit homelands (such as Greenland)?

I am particularly concerned with how literary scholars can involve Inuit in setting their research agendas,¹² especially as graduate students. How can academics—faculty and students alike—consult Inuit within the context of Indigenous literary studies? For example, when an Inuk writer writes a book, and then a university-based reader (likely at a Southern institution) wants to write about it, whom should the academic consult? The author? Their “community”? Which community would a scholar consult? A literary community? A home community? Or perhaps something else entirely? Moreover, is our research something that community members are interested in participating in? Involving Inuit communities in setting the research agenda would require substantial time prior to the project’s conception, which directly contrasts the strict timeframes imposed by doctoral (or Masters) programs,¹³ and additional funds that many students are unable to access (Daborn 34, 47-48 and Gaudet 58-59). Likewise, unless students are participants on a larger research initiative, how can they involve Inuit communities in the project design?

I do not have direct answers to these queries, but my methods chapter and the associated case studies will help to consider the future research possibilities we may have as humanities scholars, and what I learned from undertaking my own fieldwork. However, I *do* think that Inuit

¹² Like the NISR, the *Tri-Council Policy Statement* also addresses the importance of consulting communities to determine their priorities: “To benefit the participating community, a research project should be relevant to community priorities and have the potential to produce valued outcomes from the perspective of the community and its members” (128).

¹³ The *Tri-Council Policy Statement* identifies that “[t]he time required to establish collaborative relationships may be difficult to accommodate in the programs of students. Mentorship by experienced researchers who introduce students to communities and monitor their ethical practice can facilitate the trust-building process and advance student progress” (130), but this is especially challenging in the humanities, as we tend to work individually.

artists, and their communities, can—and must—be active contributors to research implementation and dissemination in literary studies. In my dissertation, I consulted with artists after the research had already begun in order to learn from their expertise regarding the creation of their respective artistic texts. My consultation with artists during the “implementation” research phase had significant impacts on my scholarship, including major suggestions by Atuat Akkitirq regarding the creation of *The Journals* and advice about whom to approach for translation support. Likewise, the consultation provided opportunities to discuss dissemination plans; for example, I discussed the potential of having entire transcripts included with the dissertation, follow-up plans for verification, and next steps in the research process. Turning to the “Implementation Plan” for the NISR, we see that one of the “objectives” identified in relation to Priority One is to “[e]stablish accountable, coordinated, and transparent approaches to Inuit Nunangat research” (7). How can artist consultation, which keeps literary scholars accountable to the people, communities, and texts that we work with, help us to produce research that is “accountable, coordinat[ed], and transparent”?

Enhance the ethical conduct of research

ITK, in its second priority, articulates that “Inuit have limited capacity and means for ensuring that researchers adhere to existing guidelines for conducting ethical research or [to] contemplate Inuit-specific ethical concerns related to all research” (30). They identify the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS 2)* as a guiding document for research ethics at Canadian universities, but they also argue that the policy “does not encompass Inuit-specific ethical concerns” (30). Although the *TCPS 2* offers “practical advice to assist researchers who plan to work with Inuit or in Inuit Nunangat,” (NISR 23) particularly regarding the mechanics of obtaining the appropriate research license(s), possible

methods of community engagement, and dissemination, the NISR outlines three major concerns, namely: 1) There are minimal mechanisms beyond individual Research Ethics Boards (REBs) to ensure compliance with the *TCPS 2*; 2) There are significant conflicts of interest between the REBs and researchers, as the REB (which is often situated at a university) has an interest in the research proceeding; 3) The *TCPS 2* is limited to institutions that receive Tri-Council funding, all of which are located outside of Inuit Nunangat (24).

In reviewing these guiding documents, researchers might ask themselves if it is ethical to continue to undertake work that directly benefits our careers, but is not always in-line with the priorities identified by Inuit and their representational organizations. And how can we undertake scholarship in literary studies that is in service to Inuit and their communities? Although the “National Inuit Strategy on Research” is primarily addressing larger institutional bodies with this priority, some of the objectives, such as “adhering to existing ethical research guidelines,” (30) must also be implemented by individual researchers. Likewise, the third objective, “[c]reate transparency in the review and oversight of research in Inuit Nunangat,” (30) can be enacted by individual researchers in literary studies by ensuring that we are transparent with the people that we work with—for example, by sharing transcripts, verifying quotes, and disseminating research results to all participants. A discussion concerning potential methodologies will be addressed within the methods chapter and taken-up in relation to each case study within this dissertation.

Align funding with Inuit research priorities

ITK’s third priority clearly identifies the goal of ensuring the “Inuit Nunangat research funding reflects Inuit research priorities” (31). Moreover, these priorities will “[e]nable research led by Inuit” and “[e]nsure transparency, coordination, and accountability in the resourcing of Inuit Nunangat research” (31). It is challenging to align funding with Inuit research priorities in

the current academic environment, because “Inuit participation in research is limited by federal funding criteria” that often prevents Inuit from accessing funds as lead researchers (25); moreover, the current structures of funding institutions marginalize Inuit and prevent them from contributing to decisions concerning the allocation of research funds, which means that allocations “may not be useful to Inuit” (19). Although individual researchers do not have the ability to change the funding structure of major funding bodies, such as the Tri-Council agency, we do have the ability to ensure that we responsibly use the funds that we are able to access. For example, as individual researchers, we must ensure that participants are paid¹⁴ for their time and contributions to our scholarship. We must also build partnerships with Inuit researchers outside of academic institutions to help bridge the funding gaps until the funding institutions change their current practices.

Ensure Inuit access, ownership, and control over data and information

ITK defines its fourth priority as “[e]nsuring Inuit access, ownership, and control over data and information gathered on our population, wildlife, and environment” to ensure self-determination in research (32). Moreover, “Inuit-specific data is inconsistently shared by researchers who may act unilaterally to publish and disseminate data without first seeking the consent of Inuit representational organizations or Inuit-appointed institutions” (32). This is not a recently articulated concern, as ITK and the Nunavut Research Institute (NRI) co-authored “Negotiating Research Relationships with Inuit Communities: A Guide for Researchers” in 2006, which identifies a “lack of local data ownership” as a major concern for Inuit communities (4). More specifically, the document articulates the concern that the databases housing research

¹⁴ In 2006, ITK and the Nunavut Research Institute co-authored the “Negotiating Research Relationships with Inuit Communities: A Guide for Researchers” document, which outlines a “lack of recognition or compensation” (4) as a major research concern in Inuit communities.

materials concerning Inuit Nunangat are often located at southern institutions behind pay walls (ITK/NRI 4). Accordingly, the NISR identifies partnership to support “the governance of Inuit Nunangat research... to determine how information should be stored, analysed, monitored, used, shared, and preserved in ways that maximize benefits to our communities while minimizing harm” (21). To accomplish this goal, researchers must “improve methods for sharing data with Inuit in ways we would like to receive it,” and, given that difficult information can arise during research, “processes, protocols, standards, and agreements” must be developed to ensure that communities can benefit from the scholarship produced on their homelands (21).

I have tried to enact this priority in six key ways, namely: including all transcripts when consent was granted, transcribing Inuktitut documents (to ensure that Inuktitut speaking interviewees could verify the documents in their preferred language and for other Inuktitut speakers to access the original contributions of interviewees), verifying transcripts, verifying chapters, sharing the entire dissertation with all participants, and providing copies to Igloodik Isuma Productions.¹⁵ These decisions are explicitly addressed in the methods chapter and in relation to each case study.

Build capacity in Inuit Nunangat research

Like some of the other priorities defined in the NISR, this priority, which is defined as “encompass[ing] the investments in built infrastructure and human resources that are necessary to implement many of the actions included in this strategy,” (33) is largely associated with institutional decisions. However, individual researchers, especially those working with larger

¹⁵ The final two steps will be completed when the dissertation is submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research at the University of Alberta. Please note that all interviewees had the opportunity to see their quotes within the context of the dissertation and within the context of the dissertation if they chose. All interviewees provided feedback during this step of the process.

research initiatives, can “[b]uild human research capacity in Inuit regions and communities to facilitate Inuit-led research” (33) by hiring local researchers. Although the *TCPS 2* is broadly speaking to working with Indigenous communities, Article 9.13 states: “Where the form of community engagement and the nature of the research make it possible, research should be relevant to community needs and priorities. The research should benefit the participating community (e.g., training, local hiring, recognition of contributors, return of results), as well as extend the boundaries of knowledge” (128), which aligns with the fifth priority of the NISR. When working with communities, how can literary scholars reciprocate by helping to build capacity within those communities?

Despite the “National Inuit Strategy on Research” reflecting a strong Canadian bias, other documents, such as the Inuit Circumpolar Council’s 2018 “Utqiagvik Declaration,” emphasized similar points in its articulation of “The Arctic We Want.” For example, the “Utqiagvik Declaration” highlights that “Inuit have a right to self-determination in all facets of life, including in the promotion of Indigenous Knowledge¹⁶ and research” (7). Moreover, the same document calls for the development of international research protocols that would facilitate “equitable and ethical utilization of Indigenous Knowledge and engagement of Inuit communities to provide guidance to international fora” (7), while simultaneously “advocating for Inuit driven research and monitoring, equitable partnerships in all aspects of research, information sovereignty, and working to increase intellectual and political space for Inuit across scales” (7). Similar to the NISR, the “Utqiagvik Declaration” is pushing towards a research future in which Inuit are self-determined and active rights holders within the research processes

¹⁶ The “Utqiagvik Declaration” defined “Indigenous Knowledge” as “a systematic way of thinking applied to phenomena across biological, physical, cultural and spiritual systems” (6).

that affect their families and communities. Considered together, the five major tenants of the NISR demonstrate the significant limits of Indigenous literary studies as it currently stands: How can we, as scholars that *should* be accountable to Inuit and their communities, incorporate the calls put forth by the NISR? Is it ethical to maintain the current disciplinary status quo, especially with the publication of documents like the NISR?

Dissertation Outline

The present dissertation is divided into four main chapters, namely a methods chapter followed by three case studies. The methods chapter, titled “Tacit Knowledge: Fieldwork, Interviews, and Non-Textual Engagement Within a Literary Studies Context,” draws from my experiences undertaking fieldwork in Nuuk, Greenland and Igloolik, Nunavut to outline the methods and methodology that I used during my doctoral research. However, given the significant differences between the case studies, each chapter will begin with a deeper analysis of the methods employed for that portion of the dissertation. Building on my fieldwork experiences, the methods chapter considers the limits of textual engagement: In the case of living artists, what do humanities scholars risk missing in the absence of interviews? What can scholars of Indigenous literary studies gain from these conversations and how can we reciprocate? Building on these questions, what responsibilities do we, as scholars engaging with these forms of artistic production, have to the artists and communities associated with these texts? This discussion is generated based on my positionality within the present research, as I come to this work from the position of a settler student. Given my experiences as a guest researcher at Ilisimatusarfik (University of Greenland) and conducting interviews with Iglulingmiut,¹⁷ this chapter considers how community can be understood, created, and fostered within a literary studies context. And,

¹⁷ People from Igloolik, Nunavut.

drawing from Indigenous literary theory concerning the importance of centering relationships (Jo-Ann Episkenew and Daniel Heath Justice) and Indigenous relationality (Dwayne Donald, Cindy Gaudet, and Zoe Todd), the chapter considers how we can engage with these texts alongside ongoing, living relationships. Finally, the chapter concludes with a consideration of what challenges these queries offer to the discipline of Indigenous literary studies—one that has been defined and shaped primarily by individual textual analysis.

The first case study, titled “Ethnography or Memoir: The Misrecognition of Mini Aodla Freeman’s *Life Among the Qallunaat*,” considers how the 1978 edition of the text was initially mischaracterized as a reverse ethnography, while the 2015 edition restores its memoir status. Developing the discussion from the methodology chapter, and drawing from Cindy Gaudet’s concept of Keeoukaywin (or the “Visiting Way methodology” [47]), I consider how my relationship with Aodla Freeman—which has developed over multiple years of language instruction, visiting, and the interview for this project—has shaped my reading of her text. I develop my argument using the original typescript (with Aodla Freeman’s consent), the original 1978 publication by the late Mel Hurtig of Hurtig Publishers, and the most-recent 2015 edition that was created under the editorial guidance of Keavy Martin, Julie Rak, and Norma Dunning with the University of Manitoba Press (UMP). I argue that the major edits of Hurtig Publishers, in which significant passages were removed and/or altered, and the paratextual framing (including the first edition’s cover sleeve, “Forward,” section divisions, etc.) resulted in the intended audience—namely Southerners—misrecognizing the text as a reverse ethnography in which an Inuk woman was commenting on life in the South. In contrast, the most recent edition, which was published in the *First Voices, First Texts* series, a collection from the UMP that seeks to disseminate “lost or underappreciated texts by Indigenous authors” (UMP par. 3), seeks to

involve the author in the editorial process. The chapter concludes with a discussion of how understanding Aodla Freeman's publication as a memoir, or a genre that is limited by Western generic expectations, also has its limitations.

The second case study, which is titled "'Re-Learning' Through Community Filmmaking: Igloodik Isuma Productions' *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*," considers how crew members involved with the production of the 2006 film *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* used ethnographic material to "re-teach" and "re-learn" cultural knowledge. Using the ethnographic materials collected during Knud Rasmussen's Fifth Thule Expedition (1921-1924), including literary publications, photographs, and numerous cultural objects, elders facilitated a "re-teaching" process whereby Iglulingmiut, or people from Igloodik, could "re-learn" numerous cultural skills, such as sewing, beading, and dog sledding, that had been restricted due to the ongoing impacts of colonialism. This chapter demonstrates the paramount importance of (wherever possible) interviewing artists, as my interview with Atuat Akkitirq (elder, filmmaker, actress, and costume designer) significantly reframed my discussion within the chapter. Akkitirq's emphasis on the role that "re-teaching" played in the film's production demonstrates that the cultural knowledge continues to be present within the community and elders' memories, but the ethnographic material and the production of the film functioned as catalysts to "re-teach" younger generations. My fieldwork for this chapter, which required travelling to Igloodik to interview crew members for a month in July 2018, exemplifies some of the challenges outlined in the methods chapter—such as, how might community consultation operate within the context of literary studies? And how can literary scholars undertake this ethical work while ensuring that relationships are developed and maintained?

The third and final case study, “Reading Across Inuit Nunaat: Aqqaluk Lyngé and the Reclamation of Knud Rasmussen’s Fifth Thule Expedition,” moves from Canada to Greenland to consider how Lyngé’s poetry anthology *Taqqat uummammut aqquannut takorluukkat apuuffiannut/The Veins of the Heart to the Pinnacle of the Mind* (2008) engages with earlier ethnographic traditions. Given the difference in socio-political contexts (particularly the relationship between Greenland/Denmark, especially Greenlandic Self-Rule [2009] and Home Rule [1979]), and Lyngé’s role as both a poet and politician, this chapter unpacks the methodological tensions between using postcolonial and relational methodologies when reading Greenlandic literature. I focus on three major poems within the collection, namely: “The Little Women,” which exemplifies the essential contributions that Arnaraulunnguaq (a Greenlandic Inuk woman) made to the Fifth Thule Expedition, “The Long Journey,” which brings the historic contributions of the Expedition into the present moment in which the speaker shares their experiences of visiting Moriussaq (Miteq’s¹⁸ former settlement) to meet his sons, and “A Curious Journey,” which addresses the irony of Danish explorers assuming that Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland) is a place where “no human beings could exist” (Lyngé 96). My work in this chapter was informed by five months (January-May 2018) as a guest researcher at Ilisimatusarfik, language learning in Greenland, and an interview with Aqqaluk Lyngé.

The concluding chapter, which functions as an “Afterword,” is a call to scholars in Indigenous literary studies to consider non-textual methods. Depending on the project, these methods could be interviews, fieldwork, focus groups, or a combination of different research methods. I am putting out this call, because, although I acknowledge the significant challenges

¹⁸ Miteq, or Qaavigarsuaq, is Arnaraulunnguaq’s male cousin who contributed to the Fifth Thule Expedition.

and risks involved with using non-textual methods in literary studies, I believe that the benefits far outweigh the risks. This is something that my dissertation seeks to demonstrate.

Tacit Knowledge: Fieldwork, Interviews, and Non-Textual Engagement Within a Literary Studies Context

“Visitors often take what they need and then leave, filled up with stories and images of the strange and idiosyncratic ways things happen here, smug for having participated in a temporary mapping of their own piece of the North”

Courtney Chetwynd, “Tacit Knowledge”

Introduction

One of the first things I had to learn when I arrived in Nuuk, Greenland was how to locate myself in relation to a new geographical place, cultural context, and linguistic landscape. Following what I had learned from my Inuktitut teachers in Canada,¹⁹ I would introduce myself as a “qallunaaq,” which is an Inuktitut word that is often translated to mean someone who is from the South or not Inuk. Inuktitut and Kalaallisut (Greenlandic) are distinct languages, but there are a lot of similarities and both are considered to be part of the Inuit dialect continuum (Mahieu and Tersis ix). Accordingly, when I saw the word “qallunaaq” in various Greenlandic texts, and having looked it up in a Kalaallisut dictionary²⁰ (Oqaasileriffik Ordbogit), I assumed that it had the same meaning in Kalaallisut and Inuktitut—despite the differences in pronunciation. However, I quickly learned that I am not a qallunaaq in Greenland because I am not a Dane. Instead, I was told by my friends to say, “Canadamiuvunga,” or “I am from Canada.” This moment challenged my ways of positioning myself and how I understand myself in relation to local histories and ongoing colonial dynamics within the context of Kalaallit Nunaat

¹⁹ I have had the privilege of working with multiple Inuktitut teachers throughout my graduate education, including Mini Aodla Freeman, Myna Manniapik, Meeka Otway, and Noel McDermott.

²⁰ The definition I used states that “qallunaaq” means “en hvid mand eller kvinde,” which translates to “a white man or woman.” The Oqaasileriffik Ordbogit is a Kalaallisut-Danish dictionary produced by Oqaasileriffik (The Language Secretariat of Greenland). I did some of my Kalaallisut classes with Oqaasileriffik and they administered my language exam.

(Greenland). It also demonstrated the tangible limits of only textual engagement, as the dictionary, which often represents a form of reputable textual consultation, did not include information that was important within that cultural moment. In short: textual engagement had failed me. Such a short-coming raised major disciplinary questions for me. Namely, what are literary scholars missing in the absence of consultation with authors? What are we missing without immersion in cultural, linguistic, and place-based knowledges? And what are the ethics involved in undertaking work in Indigenous literary studies without these contexts, especially if one is a settler scholar engaging with Indigenous literatures?

Addressing the myriad of relationships that can exist between an author(s), a text(s), and academic(s), this chapter takes a cumulative approach to engaging with fieldwork and authorial consultation within the context of literary studies. I begin with a discussion of positionality and how I situate myself in relation to my dissertation research. This provides context for a discussion of what “community” and “community consultation” can look like in literary studies. I also consider how understandings of “community” enable us to build relationships—however these may operate—within our scholarship and between people. Definitions of “community” generate questions regarding what “community” might mean within a literary context, and how these understandings shape who we are accountable to in our scholarship. Drawing from Indigenous Studies and anthropological scholarship raises serious ethical considerations regarding how literary scholars could potentially produce community-based or community-driven scholarship. At the mid-point of the chapter, I draw from Indigenous literary nationalism and Indigenous relationality to consider what it might mean to read through relationship. I conclude the chapter with an articulation of some of the challenges that I envision for this approach to literary studies, including our lack of training to undertake this kind of work,

concerns regarding funding, and the potential burdens that this puts on artists' labour.²¹ Lastly, in the conclusion, I discuss what steps Indigenous literary studies may need to take if academics elect to incorporate non-textual methods into their scholarship.

I am including a methods chapter in a literary studies dissertation for several reasons: first, I used methods that are less conventional within literary studies, as interviews, fieldwork, and language learning played a significant role in guiding my understanding of the texts that I engage with for my research. Given that interviews and fieldwork are underused methodologies within literary studies, I hope that this methods chapter demonstrates what the discipline has the potential to gain through direct engagement with artists and the everyday experiences of fieldwork.²² Second, I believe that this methodological discussion provides essential context to the subsequent chapters, especially considering that the following chapters function as case studies and required vastly different forms of engagement to address the specific artistic contexts in which the texts were created. The introduction to each case study (chapters two through four) includes a methodological explanation that addresses the specificities of that example. Moreover, retroactively speaking, I wish I had more literary-based models to help guide and develop my methodological queries for research that extends beyond the text. For example, how does “fieldwork” operate within the context of literary studies? Or how do interviews impact our reading of a text? Of course, there are several scholars—Dale Blake,²³ Dallas Hunt,²⁴ Julie

²¹ Thank you to Orly Lael Netzer for highlighting how author interviews result in additional labour for artists and for challenging the potential role of interviews within literary studies.

²² Geoffrey M. White and Ty Kawika warn of the dangers involved in distinguishing between ‘field’/ ‘home,’ as this alienates scholars working with their own communities (383). However, I am using the term “field” here in a general sense to refer to engagement beyond the text. This enables the “field” to be anywhere.

²³ Dale Blake’s dissertation “Inuit Autobiography: Challenging the Stereotypes” (2000).

²⁴ Dallas Hunt’s article “Nikikíwan: Contesting Settler Colonial Archives through Indigenous Oral History” (2016).

Rak,²⁵ among others—who offer strong models of what consultation can look like within a literary context. Blake (an Inuk scholar) did interviews with the authors whose texts she engaged with, while Hunt (a Cree scholar) worked alongside his Grandmother’s oral histories to complicate the colonial narrative of Swan Lake First Nation. Other disciplines, including Indigenous Studies, anthropology, and others, also offer several nuanced discussions concerning undertaking fieldwork and the challenges that often arise during the process. However, these discussions are understandably aimed at audiences situated within their respective disciplines, so rearticulating these academic discussions to address the disciplinary concerns of literary studies is challenging. Moreover, Kathy Absolon and Cam Willett identify that “Aboriginal research methodologies are as much about process as they are about product,” (107) so including an explicit discussion of the research process enables an approach that aligns more with Indigenous research methods.

The present chapter provides the foundation for the “Afterword,” which functions as a call to scholars in Indigenous literary studies to consider undertaking research that works alongside artists to build and nurture relationships. Community members and researchers across a myriad of geographical locations and disciplines are calling for scholarship that enacts “ethical relationality” (Donald 6; Todd n.p.), serves Northern communities (Moffitt, Chetwynd, and Todd), and is grounded in Indigenous knowledge (Moreton-Robinson; Kovach; Smith, Linda Tuhiwai; Wilson and Wilson). Indigenous literary studies also emphasizes methodologies that centre relationships; consider, for example, Jo-Ann Episkenew’s scholarship in *Taking Back Our Spirits* (2009) or Daniel Heath Justice’s monograph *Why Indigenous Literatures Matter* (2018).

²⁵ Julie Rak’s monograph *Negotiated Memory: Doukhobor autobiographical discourse* (2004).

Justice's emphasis on the importance of relationship is demonstrated within the preface of his monograph, where he argues that:

relationship is the driving impetus behind the vast majority of texts by Indigenous writers—relationship to the land, to human community, to self, to the other-than-human world, to the ancestors and our descendants, to our histories and our futures, as well as to colonizers and their literal and ideological heirs—and that these literary works offer us insight and sometimes helpful pathways for maintaining, rebuilding, or even simply establishing these meaningful connections. (xix, emphasis original)

Working within the context of Indigenous literary nationalism, a literary methodology that centres the cultural frameworks of the author's Indigenous nation(s) in the analysis of the text, Justice's quotation demonstrates the multivalent nature of Indigenous literatures, as our scholarship intersects and engages with relationships on multiple levels that cannot be addressed with textual engagement alone.

Justice has also argued that using a nationalist approach does not necessitate that the scholar is Indigenous, but it does “insist that there's a meaningful interpretive relationship between specific writers, their specific communities on specific lands shaped by specific social, cultural, and political histories” (*Sources and Methods* 26). But how can literary scholars develop “meaningful interpretive relationship[s]” using only textual engagement when the method is removed from living relationships? And how can scholarship that relies *only* on texts speak to “specific lands shaped by specific social, cultural, and political histories”? Keavy Martin, who offers a broad definition of literature that encompasses “any work of art in the medium of language” (“Is an Inuit Literary History Possible?” 69), emphasizes that “[l]ands and

literatures are closely connected, and the fate of one tends to be inevitably reflected in the other” (69), which offers an association that highlights the necessity of undertaking scholarship that is grounded on “specific lands” (Justice, *Sources and Methods* 26). Speaking to contexts such as the Inuit Circumpolar Council’s 1977 declaration that Inuit are a single, unified people (Martin 67-69, 71-72, 74-76), Martin demonstrates the intimate connections between potential understandings of nationhood and climate change (75), for example. Likewise, Kristina Fagan (Bidwell) articulates the central role of community in Indigenous literary nationalism, as the theoretical framework “aims to understand Indigenous literature within its Indigenous contexts, that is, to understand how stories work within communities” (“Canadian Indian Literary Nationalism?” 36). Fagan also explains how “[e]xperience of community, with all its trouble and all its riches, can act as a corrective to any over-arching theory and to the academic tendency to define and conclude” (“Canadian Indian Literary Nationalism?” 37). Based on the above arguments, I do not think it is possible to engage with specific lands and cultural/political histories in the absence of fieldwork and interviews (unless the scholar is from the community), because it does not enable textual understandings that are grounded in lived experiences.

The importance of grounding understanding in lived experience is highlighted in the Interviewing Inuit Elders series, which was developed by students in the Inuit Studies program at Arctic College in 1996. Specifically, the series identifies that the elders “had no wish to speak about things of which they had no personal experience, but they wished to teach the students by giving an account of what they had heard and seen themselves” (5). The emphasis of only sharing what one has “heard and seen themselves” emphasizes the importance of drawing from personal lived experiences, which is difficult to accomplish when literary scholars often rely entirely on written material. Saullu Nakasuk, one of the elders interviewed for the series,

articulates that one should not speak from “hearsay, because it is too easy to speak a falsehood. It is not desirable to tell untruths” (5). Expanding on Nakasuk’s point, Pauloosie Angmaalik explains the dangers of speaking to something that you have only heard about once:

I have already stated that I can say that I don’t know anything about it if I had only heard about it just once. If at a later time someone were to tell about it like it really is, and though I did not intentionally lie, I would be like someone who had lied. Thinking about my own reputation, I have continued this as a practice. (6)

Given the emphasis towards speaking to things that you have experienced yourself, and the dangers of “speaking to something that you have only heard once,” fieldwork should be an essential component to all studies of Indigenous literatures. And, given the significance that many Inuit elders place on only speaking from lived experiences, it is crucial to studies of Inuit literatures. Nakasuk and Angmaalik’s comments effectively demonstrate how literary criticism cannot be responsible when it relies *only* on texts. Without connecting textual representation to lived experience, literary scholars risk missing salient information that cannot be experienced by reading a text in isolation, such as developing “a meaningful interpretive relationship” with authors, their communities, and lands, all of which are shaped by “specific social, cultural, and political histories” (*Sources and Methods* 26). Likewise, literary scholars might miss how the concerns articulated in texts intersect with broader discourses—like climate change, nationhood, and/or other community-specific concerns.

Settler scholar Sam McKegney rejects “ethical disengagement,” (63) or the argument that settler scholars should not engage with Indigenous literatures due to positionality. Instead of ethically engaging with Indigenous literatures, settler scholars sometimes retreat into silence (58), practice hyper self-reflexivity (59), or shift the focus to non-Indigenous research topics

(60), but he argues that these responses all re-center settler narratives. Instead, McKegney suggests that settler scholars should acknowledge the limits of their knowledge (63) and conduct research with responsibility to Indigenous communities and in service to the creative texts that we study (64). How can these “meaningful interpretive relationship[s]” (Justice, *Sources and Methods* 26) happen in the absence of conversations with artists (interviews) and outside of “specific lands” (fieldwork)? And what constitutes responsible engagement within the context of Indigenous literary studies? I do not have definitive answers to these questions, and I can only speak to my personal experiences of interviews and fieldwork within the context of my dissertation, but I hope that this chapter provides an opportunity to begin to think through different forms of non-textual engagement within literary studies.

Simultaneously, there are significant limitations that need to be considered before literary scholars can begin undertaking research that involves Indigenous artists and their communities. There are major disciplinary restrictions, including the notion of the “intentional fallacy” (Wimsatt and Beardsley, “The Intentional Fallacy”), which is the assumed problem of basing a response to a text on authorial intention instead of one’s individual engagement with the medium (468-470), and our lack of training in interdisciplinary methodologies. I am particularly concerned with the absence of interdisciplinary training in methods like interviews, focus groups, and fieldwork. However, returning to McKegney’s “Strategies for Ethical Engagement,” we cannot “cower” under the weight of these restrictions and we cannot use them as a “crutch” (63) to justify the exclusive use of well-worn methods like close reading. That is not to say, however, that primarily text-based methodologies do not offer substantial contributions to the discipline; rather, I am advocating for literary scholars to responsibly incorporate methodologies—when appropriate—from disciplines that are anchored in working with people and communities.

It is imperative that scholars in Indigenous literary studies undertake non-textual work in a responsible manner, which can only be done if we are willing to consult the scholarship of other disciplines, and work with community members and researchers who have the necessary experience. There are also institutional limits, like access to funding and the in-field support of other disciplines. Northern research is expensive. And, drawing from Mini Aodla Freeman's speech at the 1980 celebrations for a "Century of Canada's Arctic Islands," we must secure financial support that enables us to translate and report the gathered information to participating individuals and communities (34). Unlike many scientific disciplines, we do not have the mentorship structure that involves junior students in field research and prepares them to undertake future work with greater independence; likewise, our mentors have not had the opportunity to learn these methods. Our projects also operate on an individual level, so we are not normally joining a research project that has long-standing relationships with specific communities. Lastly, asking artists to participate in interviews places additional demands on their time, while also limiting the amount of time they can spend on projects that will likely have broader engagement, such as their artistic texts or publications with media outlets. Of course, artists have a limited amount of time that they can dedicate to their art, and, depending on the project/individual, they may prefer to dedicate that time to creating new work, commenting to media (which has a larger audience than most academic publications), and/or addressing questions that are directly related to their concerns.

Some Indigenous authors have explicitly identified the limits and potential damage that methodologies like close reading can have on the integrity of the artwork. Gregory Scofield, a Métis poet, offers the reader some insight into the relationship that the speaker in his poem "The Dissertation" envisions between poets and academics' engagement with their poetry. The

speaker comments how “[h]e was her selection. No fuss. / No dazzle” (l. 6-7). Initially, “it was flattering” (l. 12), but “[s]he [the academic] overtook his poetry like a landlord” (l. 8), which resulted in a “coexistence of sorts” (l. 13). For me, this “coexistence” embodies an absence of relationship, because it suggests a sort of passivity within the exchange and the relationship was only “of sorts,” as the colonizer colonizes (“overtook”) his poetry as the landlord. Métis scholar David Garneau articulates that “[t]he colonial attitude is characterized not only by scopophilia, a drive to look, but also by an urge to penetrate, to traverse, to know, to translate, to own and exploit” (106). In this manner, the academic in the poem uses her “microscope” (l. 15)—a tool that can be used to invade space by revealing detail that cannot be seen with the naked eye, or to uncover lifesaving knowledge—to obsessively study the speaker’s work. The use of the word “microscope” to explicate the process of close reading emphasizes the academic’s drive towards scopophilia, as the academic uses the microscope to access information beyond what is offered by the author at a textual level. She is always “prodding and jotting, / jotting and prodding” (l. 17-18), but these actions suggest that she is not taking time to reflect on her work, or engage with the poet himself. Moreover, the destructive action of “prodding and jotting” implies that she is invasive and unaware of the respectful boundaries that must exist between her scholarship and textual engagement. What kind of textual engagement might Scofield’s poem advocate for? How can literary scholars undertake this work in a way that is cognizant of the relationships between themselves, the texts they work with, and the authors themselves?

The texts within my dissertation also offer some guidance into what kinds of relationships might be possible and what forms of engagement may be ideal within these contexts. Mini Aodla Freeman’s memoir *Life Among the Qallunaat*, for example, offers some insight into how she views the relationships between Inuit and anthropologists. Aodla Freeman

remarks that she has “seen an anthropologist getting ready to go to the Arctic. They are the worst junk carriers I have met—junk in the sense that the items they take with them are unnecessary” (2015 126). Aodla Freeman’s quotation demonstrates how researchers are not always prepared for the situations that they are required to engage with during field research; furthermore, she has argued in other venues that “Inuit have clothed them [scientists/researchers], fed them, taken them to wherever they wanted to go to do their studies,” (34) which speaks to a long-standing relationship in which researchers have relied on Inuit to undertake their work—work that, according to the “National Inuit Strategy on Research,” has not always been appropriately reciprocated. As literary scholars, how can we best prepare ourselves to undertake fieldwork without literal and metaphorical “junk”? And how can we reciprocate for the contributions that our collaborators have made to our research? In Aodla Freeman’s 1980 speech, she explicitly states the dangers of undertaking work without adequate knowledge when she states that:

Inuit never went out into the ocean without testing their kayak first, Inuit never put up their igloo without examining the location, Inuit did not go into action without weighing the total situation first. The plane arrives, the government or industry officials step out and out comes a new situation. Often, even today, no letters, no phone calls, no information (34).

Aodla Freeman’s quote offers a caution to literary scholars, as she emphasizes testing the situation before entering it and ensuring that “government or industry officials” (or academics) communicate before and after their arrival. This chapter will address some of the ways that literary scholars could potentially undertake research that involves fieldwork and interviews, while ensuring that they attend to Aodla Freeman’s articulated concerns and the calls put forth in the “National Inuit Strategy on Research.” It will also address the approaches that I took within

my own research and some of the situations that I could have improved if I had “weigh[ed] the total situation first.”

Positionality

It is protocol within the discipline of Indigenous Studies to explicitly locate oneself in relation to the peoples, communities, and research projects that one engages with. Following the scholarship of Absolon and Willett, who argue that “[i]dentifying, at the outset, the location from which the voice of the researcher emanates is an Aboriginal way of ensuring that those who study, write, and participate in knowledge creation are accountable for their own positionality” (97), this section of the chapter enables me to situate myself in relation to my research and begin addressing how my positionality shaped my methodological decisions. Absolon and Willett also explain that locating enables researchers to “make a claim about who you are and where you come from, your investment and your intent” (112), so I hope that this portion of the chapter will situate my lived experiences in relation to my research and highlight the investments and intentions of my doctoral research.

Positionality discussions must attend to the different components of researchers’ lives; for example, Sarah Nickel addresses how identities can shift throughout the research process, especially within the space of the interview (2014), and Stan Wilson addresses the role that his teacher had in his intellectual development (Wilson and Wilson 336). Both Nickel and Stan Wilson demonstrate how the triangulation of research, or the intersection of different research methodologies and life experiences, intersect to shape our approaches to research. Other Indigenous scholars (Blake; Innes; Moreton-Robinson; Reder, others) have addressed the importance of positionality from a variety of positions and investments, but, together, these scholars all emphasize the multi-dimensional aspects of identity and how they contribute to our

research. My own research and experiences have also demonstrated the layered nature of positionality, as almost every interview began with a precursory discussion regarding where I had travelled from, where I was studying, and where I had grown up, and conversations with family shifted understandings of our history. These discussions generated conversations surrounding the goals of the research and how the information from the interview would be used within the context of my dissertation. The conversations progressed differently depending on the context and my previous relationship with the interviewee, but there were many commonalities between these conversations, so I will attend to some of these discussions here.

Calgary is not located within Inuit Nunangat, but growing up there has helped to mould my research investments and my current project into its present form. My interests in Indigenous literatures began when I was an undergraduate student at the University of Alberta, where I participated in an Indigenous literatures course that focused on our relationships to land. During one of our projects, we were asked to give an oral presentation that unpacked our relationship with a location that we personally valued. I chose to speak about my experiences attending and working as a camp counsellor at YMCA Camp Chief Hector (CCH). CCH is a children's camp located in Treaty 7 territory—specifically the territory of the Stoney Nakoda Nation—in the Bow Valley Provincial Park, just West of Calgary. This oral presentation—and subsequent questions from Dr. Keavy Martin (the professor of the course and my current doctoral supervisor)—facilitated the creation of my English honours thesis. Interviewing an elder from the Stoney Nakoda Nation and my former camp supervisor helped me to realize the potential that interviews have within the context of literary studies, as these interviews enabled me to consider my research questions in dialogue with others who had investments in how Canadian history is represented within the context of camp programming. Consequently, these conversations resulted

in the development of camp curriculum recommendations that would not have been possible in the absence of consultation—or relying solely on textual sources.

This early work facilitated the development of my current dissertation research through its emphasis on the impacts that interviews can have on our understanding of literary texts. Much like my English honours thesis, my experiences completing a bachelor's degree in anthropology impacted my current research questions regarding ethnography and how Indigenous artists are engaging with the complicated histories of anthropology and ethnography through art. Although my anthropology honours thesis did not directly contribute to my doctoral research, my coursework began to raise questions regarding the problematic disciplinary history of anthropology and the role of ethnography within these histories. Moreover, my engagement with the discipline of anthropology further solidified the importance of community consultation and the potential benefits of using fieldwork and interviews as research methodologies. However, I do not feel that my minimal experiences of “applying” the theories learned in seminars adequately prepared me to undertake the fieldwork that I did for my dissertation, as I only engaged with the discipline at an undergraduate level—a point that will be expanded in the “Challenges” portion of the present chapter. Together, my experiences working directly with people (in addition to textual sources) during my English honours thesis, and the disciplinary questions that were raised during my anthropology degree, both led to the present project.

I come to this research from the position of a settler student originally from Calgary, Alberta, but discussions with family, colleagues, and friends have challenged how I articulate my identity. During my doctoral research, I had the opportunity to re-connect with several family members from San Clara, Manitoba, which is a rural Métis community located 465 km Northwest of the Red River Valley. Part of the Northwest Region of the Manitoba Métis

Federation locals, San Clara is home to approximately 950 Métis whose families—like my own—came to the region from St. Francois Xavier and St. Boniface, Manitoba (Davey 3). I am incredibly thankful for all the family members who patiently introduced me to our relatives—visit-by-visit. I continue to appreciate the countless cups of tea, the telephone conversations, and the various meals shared across the prairies. Together, these experiences have helped me to piece together our fractured family history that fissured because of ongoing colonial violence. Re-connecting with my family—and the community of San Clara—has been an incredible experience that helped me to build familial connections across the prairies.

Nuuk and Igloolik: Undertaking Fieldwork as a Literary Studies Student

It is important to briefly address how the opportunity for fieldwork in Nuuk, Greenland and Igloolik, Nunavut, Canada arose within the context of a Ph.D. in literary studies. It is challenging to do fieldwork as a literary studies student, because the humanities have a different funding structure than disciplines where fieldwork is commonplace, such as science and social science programs that often work as a research team, have more institutional support, and disciplinary training. Moreover, students in the humanities are generally not trained for fieldwork, as our training tends to focus more on engagement with texts and less on working alongside people. Funding presented the first significant challenge pre-fieldwork. The second major challenge was the gap in training that many literary scholars have. I am fortunate to have had some fieldwork training via my undergraduate degree in anthropology, working as a research assistant with scholars employing a variety of fieldwork methods, and being situated in an interdisciplinary department. Despite these supports, I still found it challenging to plan and execute my fieldwork. Looking retroactively, there are countless things that I would have done differently, including living outside of Nuuk for a portion of the time to promote language

learning and to gain a better understanding of life outside of the capital. Also, I wish I had considered different forms of community engagement and reciprocity before travelling to Igloolik.

Speaking in the context of postwar American art, Johanna Burton and Lisa Pasquariello unpack some of the tensions involved with artist interviews and the interpretation of a text. They state that, although “the artist interview seems clearly designed to bring the figure of the artist into direct consideration when looking at or thinking through the implications—formal and historical—of any artwork, an impulse very much in tension with prevailing suspicions that warn against linking art with its makers’ intentions or biographies” (46). Despite potential tensions and “prevailing suspicions,” I continue to advocate that interviews were an essential component of my research process; yet, I am frequently asked why I chose to do fieldwork as a component of my dissertation. Why would I decide to interview authors given that the text can be interpreted without authorial consultation? Moreover, does interviewing the author introduce questions of authorial intention into my dissertation? And what will I do if authors’ personal opinions differ from my arguments concerning their artistic production? Despite these significant concerns, I found that the benefits of the interviews outweighed the apprehensions outlined above. Given that the artist(s) of each text included within this dissertation are still alive, and given my own positionality as a non-Inuk student working with Inuit texts, I determined that it was best to conduct interviews as a form of authorial consultation. Moreover, within the context of literary studies, John Farrell identifies that thinking of a literary text as a “mere text” detracts from its “value as a human gesture made in a concrete historical situation toward a potentially identifiable audience” (10). The texts included within this dissertation necessitate that the analysis be anchored to the situations in which they originated and those in which they continue to function.

For example, Aqqaluk Lyngé's poetry collection, *The Veins of the Heart to the Pinnacle of the Mind/ Taqqat uummammut aqutaannut takorluukkat apuuffiannut*, is tied to ongoing Danish colonialism in Greenland, but the Kalaallisut/English translation can be understood as possessing an "identifiable" audience within Kalaallit Nunaat (based on the use of Kalaallisut) and abroad (based on the English translation). Despite the concerns outlined by Farrell, Burton and Pasquariello, I argue that the interviews are necessary for my project because the research questions consider implications beyond the "mere text" to engage with ideas such as creative processes, the context of the publications, and broader cultural contexts. My research questions could not have been adequately addressed without the support of artist interviews to work alongside textual engagement.

The primary goal of the interviews is to situate the artists as the experts in this conversation. Centering artists within discussions concerning their artwork honours the relationship-building process that Kim TallBear identifies in her chapter "Standing with and Speaking as Faith: A Feminist-Indigenous Approach to Inquiry." In this chapter, TallBear argues that research is a relationship-building process (78-79), part of which involves crediting those who are not conventionally regarded as "scholars" within the stifling framework of the academy, but who are essential to the work that we do. Moreover, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and the Nunavut Research Institute's "Negotiating Research Relationships with Inuit Communities" guide identifies that researchers should "assign the same value, credibility and respect to local expertise (from recommended elders, or others) as that assigned to peer-reviewed scientific findings" (5). My work with Isuma crew members is the most prominent example of consulting local expertise for this dissertation: Isuma uses a community filmmaking process that engages the entire community (Pettit 186), and, as Zacharias Kunuk articulated in our interview, the crew "rel[ie]d

on the elders,” while also taking “kids out of school to be in a film project” (Personal Interview, July 9, 2018). This example demonstrates how interviewing different members of the production team—who ranged from one of the directors to seamstresses—enables the varied contributions of different artists to be foregrounded and represented within the dissertation. Including interviews with the dissertation, and, when consent was given, entire transcripts, helps to create space for artists’ commentary and offers an opportunity for them to directly engage with the research topic. Including full transcripts enables artists’ contributions to be viewed in their entirety, which stands in juxtaposition to the regular quote selection and partition that is most often employed in academic research. Moreover, two of my interviews were conducted in Inuktitut with the support of an interpreter (Jason Kunnuk),²⁶ so I hope that a future researcher, with stronger Inuktitut language skills than myself, can use Akkitirq and Avingaq’s untranslated contributions in future scholarship. There is also precedent in Indigenous Studies to focus on the essential contributions that community members make to research.

I did a total of seven interviews for my dissertation research. I interviewed Mini Aodla Freeman about her memoir *Life Among the Qallunaat*, Aqqaluk Lynge about his anthology *Taqqat uummammut aqutaannut takorluukkat apuuffiannut/ The Veins of the Heart to the Pinnacle of the Mind*, and five crew members that were involved in the creation of the Isuma film *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*. As mentioned previously, there is some precedent within literary studies to use interviews in addition to other textual methodologies. Specifically, I am taking my lead from Blake and Rak, who both used interviews in support of their doctoral research. Blake conducted interviews where possible, noting that her “own positioning... as a mixed-blood academic with some Inuit heritage and some knowledge of Inuit cultures” (10)

²⁶ The Inuktitut transcripts were transcribed by Myna Manniapik.

shaped authors' responses to her questions, thus highlighting that our interviews are likely to yield different results, and my own positionality likely shaped the outcome of my interviews. Although Blake is working within the genre of autobiography, she attests to how "consultation may lead to additional needed information, surprising differences in opinion, and conflicting views about the characteristics, purposes, and direction" of the literature under consideration (201). These moments of "differences in opinion... [or] conflicting views" offer literary scholars an opportunity to consider how our work can be re-shaped by different understandings of the text.

Differences in opinion do not necessitate that we avoid interviews to prevent authors' opinions contradicting our own, as approaches to artistic interpretation can stand in contradiction to each other. Blake also interviewed Aodla Freeman for her dissertation, and it was her scholarship that indicated the possibility of including full transcripts with the dissertation, especially given that the interviews with Iglulingmiut elders were done in Inuktitut. Returning to Blake's work almost twenty years after its submission, I thought that having access to full interview transcripts, particularly Aodla Freeman's transcript, would have enabled a comparative reading of the interviews. Rak addresses the challenges of working with translations and some of the limitations involved with transcribing an oral exchange into writing and with, in her case, translating the discussion from the original Russian to English (87). Likewise, I am concerned that some of the intricacies of the original exchange have been lost, but I still believe that including the interviews provides essential knowledge to my research. To avoid misrepresentation as much as possible, I verified both transcripts with the elders to ensure that

the conversation is represented in a way that they are both comfortable with.²⁷ Both elders provided additional clarification and/or revisions in writing and I made all requested changes.

It was paramount that the research for this dissertation take place in locations closely related to the artists and the texts that they created. There are the practical considerations, including the difficulties involved with trying to contact some of the interviewees from Igloolik, and the fact that it is generally easier to have a conversation in person. I do not think it would have been possible to do my interviews with the Isuma crew members remotely from Edmonton, as I did not know any of the interviewees before travelling to Igloolik, and multiple interviews required the support of a translator. Fieldwork and being in the physical place enables more rapport to be built with interviewees. It also provided cultural and geographical context for reading the individual texts. For example, when I was in Igloolik, Jason Kunnuk (the interpreter I worked with for the Inuktitut interviews) took me to different shooting locations that had been used by Isuma. Being able to see some of the sets up close, such as the inside of one of the sets for *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* (Appendix B), enabled me to gain a better sense of the context in which the film was shot. Together, fieldwork in Igloolik, Nunavut and Nuuk, Greenland had a significant impact in guiding my readings of the artistic texts under consideration for this project.

Fieldwork in Greenland

I lived in Nuuk, Greenland from January-May 2018. During this time, I was a guest student at Ilisimatusarfik (University of Greenland) in the Department of Language, Literature

²⁷ The shared transcripts included both the Inuktitut and English portions of the conversation. Atuat Akkitirq and Susan Avingaq suggested changes for the Inuktitut portions of the document. I also sent chapter summaries in Inuktitut to Akkitirq and Avingaq to confirm that they were comfortable with how I had used our conversation within my dissertation.

and Media where Professor Birgit Kleist Pedersen was my host supervisor. I had three main objectives for my time in Nuuk: a) library research b) an interview with Aqqaluk Lyngé c) language learning and cultural immersion. First, working in Nuuk provided the opportunity to undertake library research while abroad by accessing Ilimmarfimmi Atuagaateqarfik, Groenlandica (the library housed at Ilisimatusarfik), and Nunatta Atuagaateqarfia (the public library in Nuuk). It was beneficial to be studying in a place that provided access to several texts that are more challenging to locate in Canada, including texts that are central to the Greenlandic literary canon. Second, I did an interview with Aqqaluk Lyngé in March 2018. The goal of the interview was to consult with the author and gain insight into the creative process involved in writing *Taqqat uummammut aqquataannut takorluukkat apuuffiannut/ The Veins of the Heart to the Pinnacle of the Mind*. The interview was invaluable to the production of my chapter on Lyngé's text, as he provided insight far beyond what is contained in the introduction or the textual body of his anthology, including his personal relationships with Knud Rasmussen's publications and the impetus for writing the 1982 version, *Tupigusullutik angalapput/Til hæder og ære*. Lastly, fieldwork in Greenland was necessary for language learning and cultural immersion, as these activities would have been difficult (or impossible) to accomplish in Edmonton. The goal of this section is to briefly unpack the Greenlandic fieldwork in relation to Lyngé's text and to address how these experiences impacted my reading of Lyngé's anthology and provided additional cultural context to my textual analysis. A more extensive discussion precedes Chapter Four, "Reading Across Inuit Nunaat: Aqqaluk Lyngé and the Reclamation of Knud Rasmussen's Fifth Thule Expedition."

As mentioned, I undertook library research at various libraries within Nuuk. My host supervisor, Professor Birgit Kleist Pedersen, helped me to gain an understanding of Greenlandic

literary history. Of course, these discussions were supplemented by independent reading and conversations with other colleagues. I was also able to take a course titled Responsible Conduct of Research, which was taught by guest lecturers from the University of Southern Denmark. This course introduced students to methodological and ethical research questions, including the information presented in the *Danish Code of Conduct for Research Integrity*. Focused on the social sciences and humanities, the course offered an opportunity to address ethical and methodological queries with other researchers working within diverse academic fields. Likewise, I audited a course taught by Keavy Martin and Richard Van Camp titled “Indigenous Literatures from the Canadian North.” This course directly addressed both Aodla Freeman’s *Life Among the Qallunaat* (2015) and Igloodik Isuma Productions’ film *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*. It was beneficial to discuss these texts in a classroom environment, as the discussions yielded new insights into these texts, such as Evi Kreutzmann’s comments regarding the translation of the dialogue in *The Journals*.

My interview with Aqqaluk Lyngé was drastically different than my interview with Aodla Freeman and crew members from the film *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*. I had not met Lyngé prior to our meeting for our interview, so, as a result, the interview followed a more formal question/answer structure. I think that the interview had a positive impact on the production of the chapter, because it provided additional contexts, including the fact that Lyngé initially wrote some of the poems included in the collection as part of a program about Knud Rasmussen on DR-TV (Danish Radio-TV) and critical insights into how Lyngé’s childhood shaped the contents of the poems. The initial interview also provided opportunities for me to follow-up with Lyngé regarding any additional questions that I had, such as the publication venues of some of his earlier texts. My interviews with the crew members from *The Journals of*

Knud Rasmussen were also different, but that will be addressed in the following section concerning my fieldwork experiences in Igloolik. Likewise, I will address the more-specific ways that my fieldwork in Greenland shaped my understanding of Lyngé's text in Chapter Four.

Language learning was one of my primary fieldwork goals in Nuuk. Admittedly, it was a lot more challenging than I initially expected. I took five different language classes during my time in Nuuk to cobble together as much as possible during my five-month residency. The classes were essential to my language learning, but I also required the assistance of friends and additional learning materials that helped me to better understand some of the concepts that I found challenging during class. The main challenge with the Kalaallisut learning materials was that most were offered in Danish, minus *Greenlandic for Travellers* (which functions as a phrase book and is not intended for holistic language learning), the Learn Greenlandic DVDs, and the "Memrise" application that can be used in English when downloaded. The second challenge was the amount of time that I could be in Greenland. The Michael Smith Foreign Study Award only permits students on the grant to be abroad for a maximum of six months. Although I was only in Greenland for five months, a month short of the maximum, I needed to return home because of conferences and my fieldwork in Nunavut.²⁸ I think it would have been beneficial to live in Greenland for longer given the potential for additional language learning and cultural immersion experiences; moreover, if I was to repeat my fieldwork, I would have done a similar amount of time in Nuuk and then moved to a smaller settlement for the later portion. I would have moved to

²⁸ Martyn Hammersley, in his article "Ethnography: Problems and Prospects," identifies how contemporary ethnographic research is more "likely to last months rather than years" (5). Furthermore, he states that this shift "reflects, no doubt, the intensification of work in universities, the increasing pressure on academics for productivity, and the shortening of contracts for researchers employed on particular projects" (5). Therefore, it is not uncommon—especially in graduate programs—to have fieldwork last months rather than years.

a smaller settlement (such as Maniitsoq) because living outside of Nuuk—where services in English are relatively accessible—would have supported my language learning. Lastly, an ideal fieldwork scenario would involve multiple fieldwork trips to Kalaallit Nunaat over an extended period.

Reflecting on my fieldwork experiences, it seems like my ongoing learning of Kalaallisut was the thread that tied my best “learning moments” together. The relationships that I built and the experiences that resulted from these friendships have begun to mould how I approach Greenlandic literature. I quickly learned that there were *so many* things that I did not understand, especially non-literary knowledge, but relationships with friends, colleagues, and mentors helped to facilitate this learning. First, there are limited possibilities for building sustained relationships without gathering together, as being together in place fosters these connections. I do not think it would have been possible for me to build these relationships without spending time in Greenland. Second, the gathering involved with fieldwork demonstrates whom I have responsibility to in my research, as I met artists and some of the communities that they work within. Lastly, these moments of gathering provide the opportunity for reciprocity. It is challenging to know what this reciprocity might look like, as it might not appear in the same manifestation as the kindness that was shown towards you, but it does need to be reciprocated. Moreover, how can we as scholars working in Indigenous literary studies reciprocate for the contributions that these texts have made to our careers? Perhaps the everyday interactions involved with fieldwork can help to facilitate this process, but this reciprocity must extend beyond the limited time that researchers are able to spend in “the field.”

Beyond the structured (or planned) aspects of fieldwork, the unplanned benefits of living in Kalaallit Nunaat were significant. Specifically, cultural immersion played a major role in

shaping my understanding of Greenlandic texts, as I spent a substantial amount of time in Katuaq (the cultural centre in Nuuk), attending cultural events (including Kaffemik, a fashion show, concerts, knitting club, films, literary events, public talks, etc.), and visiting with friends. Each event offered its own learning opportunities. Knitting club, for example, offered an opportunity to visit with people outside of Ilisimatusarfik and to practice my Kalaallisut outside of the classroom. Likewise, visiting with friends offered opportunities to discuss what was happening in the city, and to share different stories—especially aliortukkersaarutit (ghost stories). Although not directly related to my doctoral research, ghost stories offered insight into what stories are appropriate to share, with whom, and when. Learning about the cultural expectations of particular narratives outside of a text-based context can reformat some of our research questions, such as questioning what stories might have been appropriate to share within historic ethnographic texts.

Fieldwork in Nunavut

I was in Igloolik, Nunavut in July 2018 to conduct interviews with cast members involved with the Isuma film *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*. During this time, I interviewed five artists who contributed to different aspects of the film's production. I interviewed the director Zacharias Kunuk at the beginning of my time in Igloolik, and his contributions helped to clarify the overall production process. He also provided guidance in locating an interpreter to translate during the interviews with elders that needed to be conducted in Inuktitut. Jason Kunnuk interpreted for the two Inuktitut interviews with the elders and helped by taking me out to visit their summer camps. I interviewed Atuat Akkitirq, Susan Avingaq, and Michelline Ammaq from the costume design team. Akkitirq and Avingaq's interviews were done with Kunnuk's interpretive support. Lastly, I conducted a fifth interview that I was unable to verify,

so it will not be included here. I interviewed crew members who were involved with different aspects of the film's production to gain a stronger understanding of the reclamation process. For example, how were Rasmussen's ethnographic materials, including his writings, photographs, and collections (clothing, tools, etc.), used to support the creation of the costumes? What was the process of writing the script and how were the ethnographic materials factored into this process? Drawing from a variety of expertise allowed me to gain a stronger sense of the creative process and to obtain a better overall sense of how the reclamation process occurred.

I travelled to Igloodik and spoke with different members of the crew because—unlike the other texts that I am considering for my dissertation—Isuma's *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* is a multi-authored text. Isuma uses a community filmmaking model that involves a variety of community members in the creation of their films (Pettit 186), and, to attend to this participatory filmmaking context, I decided to interview artists who were involved with different aspects of the film's production. Interviewing crew members also enabled me to better attend to film as a distinct medium. Isuma's film *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* requires a different approach to interviews, as film creation necessitates that several artists are involved with each project. Moreover, Isuma's community-driven filmmaking process emphasizes the importance of consulting with creators beyond the directors themselves. Speaking with the seamstresses, for example, offered insights into the film's creation processes, such as how the production team undertook research into the clothing/props and how they blended elders' knowledge with ethnographic products. In contrast, literary texts—including Mini Aodla Freeman's memoir and Aqqaluk Lynge's poetry collection—tend to be single-authored texts. Film as a medium also necessitates that several people work together to create the final product, and interviewing multiple crew members attends to these differences in medium.

I contacted interviewees after our respective interview to verify the transcribed version of the conversation. Where possible, I emailed participants a digital copy of our transcribed conversation and an audio recording of the discussion. For Akkitirq and Avingaq, who did not have access to email, I sent paper copies of the documents and a letter in Inuktitut updating them on the progress of the research to date. I also included a self-addressed envelope and a Northern phone card to ensure that they could contact me with any suggested changes. I sent these messages in August 2018—shortly after returning to Edmonton. All transcripts included in Appendix A have been verified by the respective interviewee and include any requested changes. Once I had a full dissertation draft, I shared the chapters with participants: I highlighted all the quotes that they contributed and included a summary of discussion in their preferred language.

Despite the major positive contributions that these interviews made to my dissertation, I am concerned with how I could have increased community involvement and how a literary project (in which the number of artists contributing to a text is generally limited) could be created using community-based or community-driven methodologies. Although I did not employ either methodology within my dissertation research, best practices within disciplines like Indigenous Studies emphasize involving community from the beginning (Gaudry 2011). But what is considered “community” within the context of literary studies? Who, beyond the artists themselves, do we have a responsibility to report to? And how can our research give back to the communities that support our scholarship through their contributions? The discussion of community within this chapter begins to address these questions.

Community

How can we define “community”²⁹ within the context of Indigenous literatures? We engage with a multitude of research communities on a regular basis, as we work with colleagues within our respective departments, participate in conferences, publish, and converse at literary events. But what communities are we accountable to? And how do we work in collaboration with these communities? Given that literary studies frequently require working with a set number of texts, and a limited number of artists are usually responsible for the creation of these texts, where can we locate “authority” within a community? For example, Isuma is responsible for the creation of *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*, but how could a research project incorporate the diversity of community members who contributed to the project? Is Isuma the only organization that needs to be consulted in this process? And what happens if there is substantial disagreement³⁰ amongst the different artists that contributed to the creation of the film? I interviewed a variety of crew members to account for the different community members who engaged with the reclamation process throughout the film’s production. However, future researchers may consider how the results may differ when community members beyond Isuma

²⁹ The *Tri-Council Policy Statement*, which governs all research funded by the Tri-Council, defines community as follows: “Community—describes a collectivity with shared identity or interests, that has the capacity to act or express itself as a collective. In this policy, a community may include members from multiple cultural groups. A community may be territorial, organizational or a community of interest” (111-112). However, I have decided to emphasize the contributions of Indigenous scholars within the present section.

³⁰ It should be noted that the *Tri-Council Policy Statement* states that “[i]f [a] disagreement about interpretation arises between researchers and the community and it cannot be resolved, researchers should either (a) provide the community with an opportunity to make its views known, or (b) accurately report any disagreement about the interpretation of the data in their reports or publications. This should not be construed as giving the community the right to block the publication of findings. Rather, it gives the community the opportunity to contextualize the findings” (132). The document also advocates that conflict can also be avoided if research processes and protocols are discussed at the outset of the project and reassessed throughout.

are consulted, such as those working in the hamlet office or Arctic College. Of course, I spoke informally with different community members, but these conversations did not become a formal component of my research. Moreover, these conversations began after the research project was developed, so I was unable to incorporate these discussions on a foundational level. For example, while I was in Igloolik, I learned that some family members of Knud Rasmussen attended the initial in-community screening of the film *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*, but I did not know this before conducting the interviews, so I was unable to learn how these relationships were created, or how the initial screenings happened.

Discussions of community are both important and needed within literary studies. Despite the individualized research culture of the humanities, working with communities (however these may be defined) is important for identifying whom researchers are accountable to in their work. Responding to McKegney's open letter to Indigenous literary studies, Robert Appleford identifies the challenges of working "with the fuzzy definition of 'community'" (91) and how these understandings shift depending on the approach of the scholar (he explicitly identifies the "'tribalist' team" and "'cosmopolitan' team" [91]). In contrast, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair identifies within the same collection that ethical criticism "includes real-life, modern Indigenous peoples in it" (305), so "we all have a responsibility to listen respectfully to, learn from, and engage with Indigenous peoples and communities with whom we live, from whom we draw, and with whom we share this world" (308). Building from Sinclair's assertion of the importance of working with and engaging Indigenous peoples and communities within our work, I turn to Métis scholar Adam Gaudry's concept of "insurgent research" (2011). Insurgent research acknowledges the "major responsibility" (Gaudry 113) that researchers have to the communities that they work with, which stands in contrast to an extraction methodology, or the state of "the

contemporary academic environment, [in which] research and publishing expectations drive researchers to take deeply meaningful information, often from a marginal or ‘underresearched’ community, and present it to a third party [the ‘academy’]” (113). The goal of insurgent research is to use a research methodology “that recenters the community in the research process” (Gaudry 114). Although not all components of insurgent research are possible within the context of literary studies, particularly the potential for “action oriented” works that result in direct action (Gaudry 117), the “accountability to community makes researchers responsible for their actions during the research process and for the final products of their research projects” (118). For this reason, I elected to share both the chapter drafts and the initial interview transcripts with interviewees to (where possible) obtain their consent and ensure that the material is represented in a manner that they support.

My doctoral project works with multiple, overlapping definitions of “community.” Consider, for example, Aodla Freeman’s memoir: who am I accountable to in working on this scholarship? First, I am clearly accountable to the author. I must represent her work as accurately as possible, draw from our interview together to the best of my knowledge, and verify documents with her to ensure that she is comfortable with the resulting product. But whom might I be accountable to beyond the individual author? Am I accountable to her family? To her community? And how might I do this? Moreover, given how much she has traveled throughout her life, what community would this be? Thinking through Aqqaluk Lynge’s poetry anthology, who am I responsible to beyond the author when working with that text? Kalaallit? The Greenlandic literary community? Lastly, working with Isuma’s *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* has presented the greatest challenge to what defines “community” within the context of my project. Who I am accountable to here, beyond the individual interviewees? Isuma? All

Iglulingmiut? Perhaps this multi-authored text was an opportunity to engage with research that originated from the community and was developed by the community, but, even reflecting retroactively, I am unsure how this would have been done within a literary studies project.

Gaudry, in his epilogue “Next Steps in Indigenous Community-Engaged Research: Supporting Research Self-Sufficiency in Indigenous Communities,” argues that research projects working with Indigenous communities must engage in scholarship “that has community-defined research questions, community oversight, and community engagement and underlying values” (254).

And, ideally, these projects should empower Indigenous communities “in creating research self-sufficiency” (254). How might literary scholars engage in scholarship that supports Indigenous communities—however that might be defined—to work towards research self-sufficiency? And, following Indigenous literary nationalism, how can we undertake research that supports the self-determination of the peoples that we work with?

Gaudry argues that the best research entails “acting as good relatives... working to undercut colonialism and return power and respect to Indigenous philosophies and ways of being” (256). I hope that my project supports the “resurgence of Indigenous knowledge” (Gaudry 256) by centering the voices of the Inuit artists themselves. Overall, I am concerned with what community-defined research might look like within literary studies, or if it is even possible. How can we work with community to develop research projects that will serve the community? And is “community” the only framework that researchers can work within? I believe that Gaudry’s assertion that “acting as good relatives” is an essential research practice that enables other forms of authorial consultation to occur beyond a community framework. Focusing on authorial consultation provides space for authors who might not live in their community, those who may have difficult relationships with their community, and/or those who have adopted new kinship

networks. Consulting with authors facilitates the opportunity for them to provide input into the project, especially when they are consulted throughout the process. This consultation could be a way to ensure that authors have a stake in how their work is used in an academic context and that they are comfortable with the ways that their work is used by academics. How might this be possible at a graduate level in which there are institutional limits to what is possible within the relatively-short tenure of the Ph.D., especially if there are no connections with the community prior to the student undertaking the project? Is this too much labour on the part of artists? I partially address these questions within the “Challenges” portion of the present chapter.

A core tenant of “acting as good relatives” is maintaining relationships beyond the project itself. These actions point to the responsibility that researchers must show towards the artists that they work with and consult. These relationships can be a lot easier to maintain when the artist is in the same city as the researcher, or has access to electronic communication, but it does become more challenging when the researcher lives far from the research participants. This distance can be reduced when the researcher reaches out to participants throughout the research process, including to verify the transcripts and ensure that the interview contributions are properly represented within the chapters, but, just as importantly, responsibility can be shown through more informal means. Keavy Martin, discussing her work in Pangnirtung, Nunavut, identifies how she provided support to her friends and family by offering to do tasks like “cleaning, bringing groceries, making tea, [etc.]” (*Stories* 124). Moreover, she suggests that a form of reciprocity can be supporting Inuit in the South, or, much like Martin’s experiences, Atuat Akkitirq shared in-person and in a letter, that “we have to give food to our elders whenever we have it and it doesn’t have to be big” (translated from Inuktitut). Each of these suggestions demonstrate potential means of enacting reciprocity in our research.

Zoe Todd offers some tangible suggestions to researchers who are not Northerners, but who must remain aware of their role as visitors in the North. As guests, we must “be aware of the reciprocal duties... [we] hold to Northern nations, laws, and governance” (n.p.). Following Audra Simpson’s scholarship, and the argument for ethnographic refusal that she presents in *Mohawk Interruptus*, Chetwynd, Moffitt, and Todd argue “that we need a total research industry interruptus” (n.p.). This “interruptus” would ensure that the research is “truly in Northern control” (n.p.) with research institutions and funding situated within the North—physically and intellectually. Moreover, they argue that the articulation of this “interruptus” must be defined by self-determining people, and, as researchers working in the North, we need to be aware of “on what terms we should or should not participate” (n.p.). Returning to a literary studies context, I would like to consider “on what terms we should or should not participate” when reading texts. Garneau, speaking to the context of his oil painting “Aboriginal Curatorial Collective Meeting,” argues that sometimes work requires “occasions of separation,” (105) or moments in which Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples “take space and time to work things out among themselves” (105). It is possible that these “occasions of separation” may be required within discussions of literary texts, even if they are published within a public context. Consider, for example, the level of language comprehension required to understand *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* without subtitles or read the Kalaallisut poems in Lyngé’s anthology: if the viewer/reader is not a native speaker of Inuktitut/Kalaallisut, then understanding the text in the original language would require a substantial dedication to learn the language. The inherent inaccuracy of translation creates spaces in which everyone is not able to participate on the same level. Moreover, conversations with artists would facilitate the possibility to address what they are comfortable seeing addressed within an academic context.

Reading Through Relationship

The purpose of this section is to provide an overview of the reading methods that I have used throughout my dissertation. Most of my methodologies draw from Indigenous literary nationalism and Indigenous relationality as critical lenses. Specifically, I draw from Justice's discussion of relationality, or what it means to be a good relative and fully kin (beyond a biological notion), to think through how our reading practices can put "relatedness into thoughtful and respectful practice... and take up our responsibilities to one another and to the world of which we're a part" (*Why Indigenous Literatures Matter* 86). However, each chapter has slightly different approaches to attend to the different mediums and contexts, so the specific intricacies of each case study will be addressed in the respective chapter. For example, my chapter on *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* draws largely from Brendan Hokowhitu's definitions of "Fourth World Media" (113) and the process of "re-righting (writing)" (114), which is less relevant to Aodla Freeman's text-based memoir and Lyngé's poetry anthology. Moreover, my chapter concerning Lyngé's text draws from relational readings and fieldwork to attend to the increasing independence of Greenland through its current self-government.

Craig S. Womack, in his seminal text *Red on Red: Native American Literary Separatism* (1999), articulates how he is working towards a form of literary criticism "that emphasizes Native resistance movements against colonialism, confronts racism, discusses sovereignty and Native nationalism, seeks connections between literature and liberation struggles, and, finally, roots literature in land and culture" (11). My project attends to Womack's criticism by addressing how the cultural products under consideration result in political and intellectual sovereignty, which, I argue, situates the texts in relation to both land (political sovereignty) and culture (intellectual sovereignty). Moreover, fieldwork helps to read the texts in relation to "land

and culture” (Womack 11). One of the main goals of Indigenous literary nationalism is to “reclaim precolonial literary traditions... [and to] resist being confined to the experience of colonization” (Martin “Is an Inuit Literary History Possible?” 70, emphasis original). Kimberly M. Blaeser articulates the importance of searching for an approach to Indigenous literatures that arises from the specific Indigenous cultural context (53) and originates from the literature itself (54). It is for this reason that my project attempts to honour Inuit approaches and methodologies for reading Inuit texts. The use of interviews also helps to attend to Inuit-specific methodologies of textual engagement, and fieldwork helps to push the use of Indigenous literary nationalism beyond conventional text-based methodologies.

One of the major concerns of my project is identifying an Inuit-centered methodology for reading the texts that I consider; as such, Blaeser’s insistence on the importance of having the literature speak for itself is paramount, because she argues that it “offers scholars not only rich opportunities for interpretation, but much of the language and organizing principles necessary for the construction of a critical center” (60). Robert Allen Warrior, the author of *Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions* (1994), argues for the importance of practicing literary criticism that centers “intellectual sovereignty” (97). Moreover, Warrior articulates how “American Indian intellectuals” must exhibit a commitment to sovereignty and to “allow the definition and articulation of what that means to emerge as we critically reflect on that struggle [to obtain sovereignty]” (97). Addressing the struggle of working towards sovereignty, Warrior explains how “if sovereignty is anything, it is a way of life” (123), and, as a result, we need to incorporate Indigenous conceptions of sovereignty into our academic practice; despite the European origins of the term, he attests that to “simply abandon such terms... risks abandoning their abiding force and utility” (xxi). Although Warrior is speaking from the position

of an Osage scholar, I argue that Warrior's concept of "intellectual sovereignty" is applicable to my dissertation, but I also acknowledge that I must attend to Inuit-specific forms of "sovereignty," such as Greenlandic political discussions surrounding Self and Home Rule, and the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement in Canada. Overall, I am drawing from Indigenous literary nationalism to attend to the specific contexts of the literature under consideration.

Justice argues in *Why Indigenous Literatures Matter* that "relationship is the central ethos of Indigenous literature" and it offers us opportunities to "consider how these works articulate existing relational concerns and offer new possibilities, fresh perspectives on existing conflicts and struggles" (158). This articulation of relationship—especially when paired with his opening definition concerning the multivalent nature of relationships (xix)—gestures towards a reading methodology that extends beyond the text. My dissertation seeks to attend to the different layers of these relationships by reading literary texts in relation to the original ethnographies that many of the artists drew from, the interviews with authors, and my own experiences undertaking fieldwork as a literary studies scholar. Expanding these methodologies can begin to address the non-textual methodological gap that presently exists in literary studies. Consideration and support for non-textual methodologies within the context of literary studies, which may range from interviews, fieldwork, focus groups, etc., would allow relationships to develop between artists and researchers, as well as the different places, peoples, and communities related to our work. Without the consideration of these methodologies, I argue that we may lose the potential that literature and other art forms have to offer "fresh perspectives on existing conflicts and struggles" (Justice 158), which has the potential to result in more tangible impacts for our scholarship outside of the academy—and it may also offer an opportunity for further reciprocity.

Challenges

One of the major challenges that I encountered was reciprocity to the artists and communities that contributed to my research. I frequently asked myself how reciprocity might work within the context of literary studies and what potential my project might have to give back to the peoples that I work with. Of course, I gave honorariums to every interviewee, and small gifts where appropriate, but I think that these exchanges constitute the bare minimum³¹ of what should be offered for the essential insights that the artists offered to my research. As mentioned previously, I have included verified interview transcripts with the consent of the interviewees. I did this in the hope that the select quotations used for the dissertation would not be read in isolation, and, most importantly, I included the Inuktitut transcriptions in the hope that future scholars with expertise in Inuktitut will be able to engage with the elders' original contributions. However, I feel like this form of reciprocity falls short of what has been possible within other disciplines. Moreover, the inclusion of full transcripts with the dissertation raises several ethical considerations, including: How might these documents be used in future research? How does consent and copyright operate when one does not know how these documents will be used in future scholarship? Overall, I chose to—when consent was given—include entire transcripts to ensure that artists' insights could be read in full. And interviewees seemed very interested in having the entire transcript included, especially the Inuktitut transcription (when applicable). Returning to Scofield's poem "The Dissertation," scholars are reminded of the responsibility that

³¹ ITK and NRI's "Negotiating Research Relationships with Inuit Communities: A Guide for Researchers" identifies a "lack of recognition or compensation" (4) as a major concern articulated by Inuit regarding research in their communities. Moreover, the document states that "Inuit participants in research projects have not always been appropriately recognized (i.e. appropriate credit in publications, reports, etc.) or compensated for their important contributions (i.e. paid adequately and equitably for their time)" (4).

we have to the work—to respect the boundaries that exist between a text and a researcher—and the accountability we have to respect that relationship.

In the introduction to the present chapter, I articulated three main concerns regarding the use of non-textual methodologies within the context of literary studies; namely, the limited training that literary scholars typically have in non-textual research methodologies, concerns regarding access to funding, and the additional burdens that these methodologies place on artists' labour. First, I will return to McKegney's point that we cannot "cower" (63) under the restrictions that limited knowledge of particular contexts present, so (if we chose to engage in these methodologies) we must take responsibility for learning these skills and employing them to the best of our ability. I chose to address my personal methodological gaps by consulting methodological literature beyond literary studies, speaking with scholars who had the applied experiences of undertaking fieldwork, and auditing a course in Indigenous methodologies. Second, field research requires access to funding, and Northern research is particularly challenging in this regard. To undertake this work in an ethical manner, including sharing research results with community, junior researchers (including graduate students) require access to funding that can support this work. Lastly, interviews and other non-textual methodologies place additional burdens on artists' labour. As such, researchers need to ensure that this labour is both respected and properly compensated.

Conclusion

Overall, I hope that this chapter offers numerous cautions and complexities to help literary scholars understand the difficulty, and sometimes the impossibility, of using Indigenous literary studies methodologies exclusively when undertaking research about Indigenous literatures. Through fieldwork, I have learned about the importance of grounding my readings,

particularly as a settler student undertaking this work, in relationships and place. My fieldwork experiences in Nuuk and Igloolik helped me to realize the connections between the respective texts and the places that each is tied, namely Kalaallit Nunaat and Nunavut. However, reflecting on these experiences, it is particularly difficult to determine how “community” can be defined within Indigenous literary studies, what opportunities are available for reciprocity, and whom we are accountable to in our research—beyond the individual artists themselves. Each subsequent case study within the present dissertation offers a discussion concerning the impacts that these methods had in developing the research questions. Without these methodologies, scholarship in Indigenous literary studies has the potential to miss substantial information, such as misunderstanding the word “qallunaaq.”

Ethnography or Memoir: The Misrecognition of Mini Aodla Freeman’s *Life Among the Qallunaat*

“I sat down and wrote a book. That’s how it started. At that time, I didn’t realize that anybody can write a book. Anybody. The mentality in my mind was ‘an Inuk write a book?’ was a question in my head, because since I was five years old in school and at work with the government, it was always ‘you don’t do this, you do this, you don’t do that’ kind of attitude... So, I sat down; I wrote a book.”

Mini Aodla Freeman, personal interview

Introduction

When Mini Aodla Freeman’s life story was first published in 1978, she intended for her text to focus on her family and the people of Nunaaluk³² (personal interview, Sept. 5, 2017), not on qallunaat.³³ However, when the first edition of *Life Among the Qallunaat* was published by the late Mel Hurtig of Hurtig Publishers, it was clear that the original typescript had been heavily marketed to present Aodla Freeman’s life narrative as a form of reverse ethnography. In other words, her life story had been altered to present a cultural commentary on life in the South from the perspective of an Inuk woman—something that was more marketable to Southern audiences. Aodla Freeman, in a transcribed conversation with Keavy Martin and Norma Dunning (two of the three editors from the 2015 edition), articulates how Hurtig “cut a lot” (“Conversation” xiv) about the people of Nunaaluk from the original typescript (xv), while simultaneously suggesting that she change her title to *Life Among the Qallunaat* (xiv). Although Aodla Freeman could not

³² In the 1930s, a small group of Inuit settled on the Cape Hope Islands in James Bay. Aodla Freeman speaks about her experiences growing-up in Nunaaluk in Louise Abbott’s film *Nunaaluk: A Forgotten Story* (2014).

³³ In the 2015 edition of *Life Among the Qallunaat*, Aodla Freeman states that she originally defined “qallunaat” as “people who pamper their eyebrows” (86). “Qallu” is “eyebrow” in Inuktitut (Tusaalanga Glossary). However, she later complicates this description through her statement that the term can also mean “very respectable, avaricious, materialistic, humans who could do anything with material, or those who fear for their capacity to manufacture material” (87). “Qallunaaqtaq” is an Inuktitut word that means “fabric for sewing” (Tusaalanga Glossary).

recall the exact title of her original typescript during the conversation, she did remember that it included “something about ‘James Bay Inuit,’” but Hurtig advised that she change her title as a means of “fighting back [against the book] *Life Among the Eskimos*” (“Conversation” xv).

During my interview with Aodla Freeman, she explained how she “wrote a story about Cape Hope Island and the way they lived, moved around to Old Factory, did trading in East Main, Old Factory, and Moosonee... It’s all in the book. How we lived in Cape Hope” (personal interview, Sept. 5, 2017). Moreover, while reflecting on the process of drafting the original typescript, Aodla Freeman articulates how she wanted to write a text that would be “understandable for... [her] when... [she] read it again,” including descriptions of what her family “went through in Cape Hope[,] ... what people did, and what... [their] daily lives involved” (personal interview, Sept. 5, 2017). These conversations provide modern readers with some insight into Aodla Freeman’s initial objectives for the publication. Drawing from both the 2015 and 1978 publications of *Life Among the Qallunaat*, the original typescript,³⁴ and an interview with the author, I argue that the major revisions to the first typescript resulted in a form of reverse ethnography, while the 2015 edition aims to restore the narrative to a story about Aodla Freeman’s life as a young woman.

The creation of a reverse ethnography—in favour of a narrative written by an Inuk, for Inuit—is a problem for several reasons. First, it is not in keeping with Aodla Freeman’s intention to produce a narrative about her family and community for other Inuit. Editing the original document to present the author’s account as a commentary on Southern life re-centers whiteness,

³⁴ The original typescript and corresponding editorial materials were used with Aodla Freeman’s consent and the support of all three editors from the 2015 edition. Corresponding editorial materials include the original typescript with Keavy Martin’s annotations and her marked-up 1978 edition of *Life Among the Qallunaat*.

which is especially problematic when external structures beyond the text remain intact. Specifically, colonial systems remain, while qallunaat indulge the idea of being marginalized, displaced, and objectified without ever experiencing colonial violence and continuing to maintain their white privilege in tangible ways. This can result in qallunaat readers having a false sense of “understanding,” or having “experienced” an oppression comparable to that enacted by colonial systems—including early ethnographic traditions, such as salvage ethnography. Lastly, re-centering whiteness reinforces early anthropological notions of Indigenous peoples disappearing and the discipline’s former role in “salvaging” their cultural practices, which further problematizes the original publisher’s editorial decisions that involved altering Aodla Freeman’s life narrative into a form of “reverse ethnography.”

Bernhard Adolph Hantzsch’s ethnography *Life Among the Eskimos*, or the text that the first edition of *Life Among the Qallunaat* was said to be “fighting back”³⁵ against, was republished by the University of Saskatchewan Press in 1977, a year before Aodla Freeman’s text was originally released in 1978. Based on the *Baffinland Journals*, a series of exploration narratives written between 1909 and 1911, *Life Among the Eskimos* is the ethnographic “by-product of the search for the Northwest Passage and especially of the search for the lost Franklin expedition” (Rowley, “Forward” xi). Explicitly identifying Hantzsch’s publication within the opening interview of the 2015 edition of *Life Among the Qallunaat* is important, because it directly challenges the paratextual framing of the first publication.³⁶ The paratext, or the

³⁵ The notion of “fighting back” will be expanded upon within the sub-section “Forced Dialogue with ‘Ethnographies,’” but I am using Hantzsch’s text here because it is the text that is suggested within the conversational interview opening the 2015 publication of *Life Among the Qallunaat* (xv).

³⁶ Gerard Genette defines paratext as the material surrounding a text. The paratext can be further sub-divided into the peritext, or anything between the covers of the book (book sleeve, forward,

additional materials that surround the main text (like the book sleeve and “Forward”), of the 1978 edition emphasize that the original edition was forced into dialogue with an ethnography through editorial decisions, such as the title change. Furthermore, Aodla Freeman’s comments during the conversational interview at the beginning of the 2015 edition exemplify how *Life Among the Qallunaat* was misunderstood as an ethnographic publication partially because of its initial marketing.

I use the term “marketing” here to refer to major editorial decisions (including removing substantial passages in which Aodla Freeman describes her formative years as a James Bay Inuk), paratext (like the “Forward” of the 1978 edition), and changing the title to arguably increase the marketing appeal for qallunaat readers in the South. A productive way to think about marketing appeal is to consider how “capitalist appeal” addresses how “[m]emoir is a way of thinking and perhaps even of being public, as it remains a way to construct, package, and market identity so that others will want to buy it” (Rak, *Boom!* 7). Aodla Freeman’s text, for example, was made more appealing for Southern readers by using a title that claimed to offer a reverse reading of qallunaat culture from an Inuk perspective, as *Life Among the Qallunaat* centers Aodla Freeman’s experiences among Southerners—not her family. The three major subdivisions of the original publication, which is something that can be quickly viewed before deciding whether to purchase a text, also support a reverse ethnographic reading, as qallunaat can rapidly skip to the sections that interest them, namely the passages detailing Aodla Freeman’s experiences in the South. In contrast, the most recent edition of *Life Among the Qallunaat*, which was published in the First Voices, First Texts series, a collection from the University of

chapter titles, images, etc.), and the epitext, or material about the text that exists outside of the publication itself (interviews, reviews, etc.) (8-9).

Manitoba Press that seeks to disseminate “lost or underappreciated texts by Indigenous authors” (UMP par. 3), seeks to involve the author in the editorial process and undertake editorial work that is as “transparent as possible” (“Afterword” 260).

Published almost forty years apart, the different editions received drastically different responses: the current editors explain how half of the print run from the original publication was likely stored by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs,³⁷ despite clear indication—based on book reviews and consideration for literary awards—that Aodla Freeman’s text was destined to be a best seller (Rak, Martin, and Dunning 273). The successes of the current edition, including stellar reviews and winning the Mary Scorer Award for the Best Book by a Manitoba Publisher (2016), support the present editors’ assertions. Likewise, when Aodla Freeman and I were discussing the drastically different receptions of the two editions, she explained how readers responded “Much more. Much more!” to the 2015 edition largely because the reading public had access to copies of the publication. However, Aodla Freeman articulated during our interview that she traveled to the Northern portions of Canadian provinces during the release of the 1978 publication (personal interview, Sept. 5, 2017). During this speaking tour, which

³⁷ In a recent blog post with the University of Manitoba Press (2017), editor Keavy Martin explains that Norma Dunning found a sales receipt in the Hurtig archives indicating that of the 6,254 books published in the original November 1978 print run, a “bulk sale” of 4,244 copies took place (par. 5). The editors believe that the bulk purchase was most likely made by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (par. 5). A small portion of the original print run was also distributed to local Edmonton bookstores (Rak, Martin, Dunning 274). Keavy Martin and Julie Rak are doing further research on the fate of the 1978 publication of *Life Among the Qallunaat*.

During my interview with Aodla Freeman, she articulated some of the challenges involved with publishing the first edition: “The first publication of that book [*Life Among the Qallunaat*] had a really bad time. A really bad time. I think Mr. Hurtig was asked by the government to send all the books, 3000 of them to Indian Affairs. And Indian Affairs kept all the copies in the basement. Never distributed it” (personal interview 5 Sept. 2017).

included Alice Masak French³⁸ and Daphne Odjig³⁹ as co-speakers, Aodla Freeman stated that “[p]eople were very enthusiastic” (personal interview, Sept. 5, 2017), but many were unable to access copies of the text. When speaking about the 2015 edition, Aodla Freeman articulates how she has “seen the copy everywhere” and she also shared that the book has won two awards, one in Canada and a second in the United States⁴⁰ (personal interview, Sept. 5, 2017). Together, the drastically different receptions of the two editions establish how different marketing strategies and differing access to the publication impacted its dissemination.

This chapter argues that the marketing of the 1978 edition of *Life Among the Qallunaat* overemphasized the qallunaat context to create a form of “reverse ethnography” in which Aodla Freeman’s life story was edited to become a cultural commentary of Southern life from the perspective of an Inuk woman. Drawing from Aodla Freeman’s original typescript and corresponding documents, comparative readings of the published 1978 and 2015 editions, and an interview with the author, this chapter will demonstrate the potential dangers of qallunaat-centric framing and a focus on the “ethnographic.” Specifically, re-centering whiteness is not in keeping with Aodla Freeman’s intentions for her publication, as it reinforces anthropological tropes of vanishing, and the creation of a “reverse ethnographic” narrative offers qallunaat readers a false sense of having experienced being a “cultural outsider”—while colonial systems outside of the text remain intact. I begin my argument by attending to the generic possibilities of *Life Among*

³⁸ French is a Nunatakmiut Inuk. Her memoir is titled *My Name is Masak* and was published in 1976.

³⁹ Originally from the Wikwemikong Unceded Indian Reserve on Manitoulin Island, Odjig created various forms of art.

⁴⁰ *Life Among the Qallunaat* won the “Mary Scorer Award for Best Book by a Manitoba Publisher, Manitoba Book Awards” in 2016 (<https://uofmpress.ca/books/detail/life-among-the-qallunaat>). The American award was the “Electa Quinney Award for Best Published Stories, Native American Literature Society (NALS)” (<https://nativelit.com/awards/>).

the Qallunaat: Is it a memoir? A reverse ethnography? Or something else? And what are the potential dangers of imposing generic classifications on the text? The discussion of genre lays the foundation to address a series of comparative readings between the different editions of *Life Among the Qallunaat*. I begin with a comparative reading of the 1978 and 2015 editions of *Life Among the Qallunaat*; specifically, I attend to the removal of select passages from the original publication and the effects that the initial omission and the current reinsertion has on our reading of the text. Next, I attend to the paratextual framing of both editions to garner a better understanding regarding how extratextual materials impact our reading of *Life Among the Qallunaat*—focusing particularly on how the paratext facilitates reading the “memoir” as a form of “ethnography.” Towards the end of the chapter, I inquire into the forced dialogue between *Life Among the Qallunaat* and various contemporaneous ethnographies, including Peter Freuchen’s *Book of the Eskimos* (1961), Bernhard Adolph Hantzsch’s *Life Among the Eskimos* (edited by L.H. Neatby, 1977), and *The Life and Work of E.J. Peck Among the Eskimos* (edited by Arthur Lewis, originally published in 1904). Consideration of these ethnographies offers an opportunity to better understand how Aodla Freeman’s text was forced into dialogue with contemporaneous ethnographies. Lastly, I consider previous scholarship concerning Aodla Freeman’s text and Inuit life writing. Although most scholarship addresses the 1978 publication, engaging with this literature allows readers to gain a better understanding of how the first edition of *Life Among the Qallunaat* was understood by contemporary scholars.

Non-Textual Methods

My engagement with Mini Aodla Freeman’s *Life Among the Qallunaat* is somewhat different than the other primary texts considered within the dissertation. Aodla Freeman has been my Inuktitut teacher since 2016, which has naturally led to countless conversations about her

text, her experiences during both publications, and other life experiences. Returning to Cindy Gaudet’s theory of Keeoukaywin, or the “visiting way methodology” (47), I will briefly consider how these exchanges have shaped my reading of Aodla Freeman’s publication. Specifically, the regular visiting enabled us to build a relationship that impacted the interview and verification process, as we built a level of comfort over multiple years. These regular visits were only made possible through living in the same city during a significant portion of the Ph.D.—something that was not possible with other artists, save for a few months. Moreover, language learning fosters situations in which we frequently discussed the complexity of Inuktitut words, how they connect to daily life, and how understandings have shifted over time. Together, these experiences resulted in interactions that “foster[ed] trusting relationships” based on “unscripted outcomes” (Gaudet 59), as we visited regularly outside of research contexts.

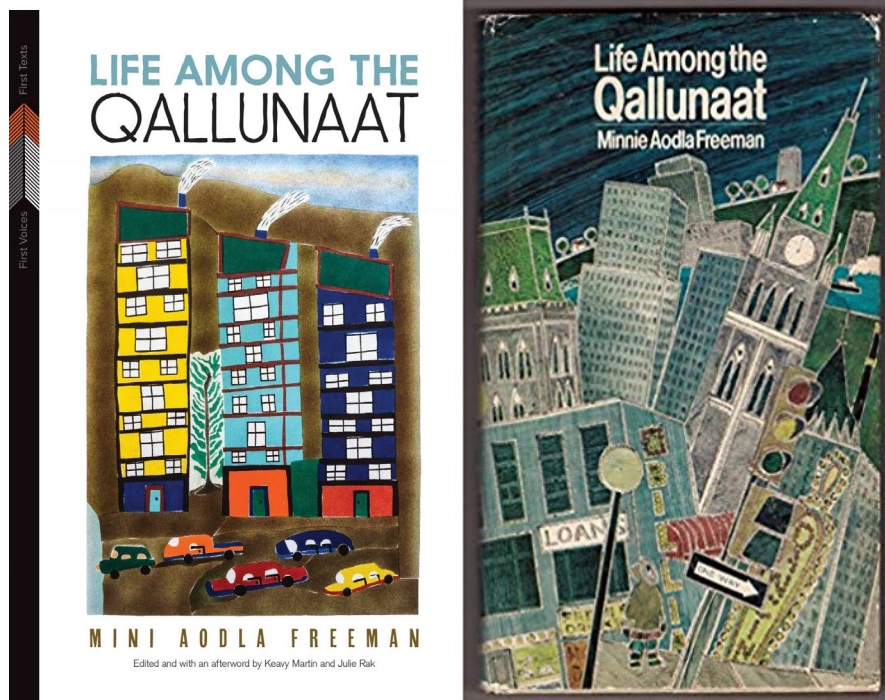


Figure 1: Cover of Mini Aodla Freeman's 2015 Edition Figure 2: Cover of Mini Aodla Freeman's 1978 Edition

Genre and *Life Among the Qallunaat*

Before proceeding into an analysis of the two editions of *Life Among the Qallunaat* in relation to contemporaneous ethnographic texts, I will first define some terms germane to this chapter, namely: memoir, ethnography, autoethnography, autobiography, and reverse ethnography. This portion of the chapter will serve as the foundation for the close reading present in later sections, but the close reading, and more specific textual examples, will help to nuance and complicate the initial definitions I outline here. Clearly defining generic boundaries and the overlapping portions of these categories is important for this chapter, because having a grasp on these relationships will support reading both editions of *Life Among the Qallunaat*, as the first publication was framed as a form of “reverse ethnography” and the second as “memoir,” and generic understandings will also help to consider why Aodla Freeman’s text was potentially edited to “fight back” against earlier ethnographic publications.

Memoir

Julie Rak, in her monograph *Boom!: Manufacturing Memoir for the Popular Market* (2013), argues that the term “memoir” tends to refer to both “the writing process and the product of writing, and it has described a writing of one’s own life in relation to others, to events, or to the construction of some kind of public identity” (12). Likewise, this publicity “remains a way to construct, package, and market identity so that others will want to buy it” (Rak 7) and “that memoirs are cultural products created by and within a market” (16). Aodla Freeman’s *Life Among the Qallunaat* can be classified as a memoir because she describes her life experiences in relation to others (both Inuit and qallunaat), in relation to larger events, like World War II, and in doing so she creates a public persona. The invocation of Aodla Freeman’s public persona became apparent to me when I sat in on Keavy Martin’s introductory English course during a

class that Aodla Freeman had come to speak; during the question period, one of the undergraduate students asked Aodla Freeman⁴¹ how she felt about all the students “knowing everything about her life while she didn’t even know their names.” In response, Aodla Freeman stated that “they didn’t know everything.” I understood Aodla Freeman’s comment to be an articulation of her carefully-constructed narrative that only allows for the insights into her life that she is willing to share. Likewise, the memoir itself presents a narrow snap shot of the early years of Aodla Freeman’s life and only makes passing references to experiences beyond those years, such as brief mentions of her husband, Milton Freeman, who was not present in her life during the events represented in the publication.

Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson argue in *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (2010) that the memoir genre is a form of life narrative that places the subject (author) in relation to a social environment (274). The subject, which in this case is Aodla Freeman, can be positioned as “either observer or participant,” but a memoir must invest more attention to those surrounding the narrator than the narrator themselves. However, it is also important to note that Aodla Freeman the author and Aodla Freeman the narrator within *Life Among the Qallunaat* are not the same individual. Within the publication, Aodla Freeman positions the narrator within *Life Among the Qallunaat* as both an observer and a participant; for example, there are several passages in which she must “observe” qallunaat behaviour to determine the best course of action, including her first elevator ride (5) and the first time that she dines with her qallunaat⁴² friend (26). Moreover, Aodla Freeman provides the reader with

⁴¹ I am paraphrasing both the student’s question and Aodla Freeman’s response, but I did confirm with Aodla Freeman that she was comfortable with me including this exchange within my chapter.

⁴² Singular of qallunaat.

examples in which failing to observe qallunaat decorum can place an Inuk in difficult situations. Consider, for example, her encounter with the man who “looked like a policeman” and yelled at her in his sunatuinnangitualluit⁴³ (particular) qallunaaq way to keep off the manicured grass (48). This example—in which Aodla Freeman comments on the sunatuinnangitualluit practice of the security guard—offers an instance in which the narrator explicates her social environment for the reader, a practice that is common within the memoir genre.

The passage with the security guard also demonstrates how Aodla Freeman frequently turns the narrative lens away from herself—whether she refocuses it on other Inuit at home or qallunaat in the South. The qallunaat expectation of maintaining aesthetic grass, particularly with the support of a security guard, is a strange cultural tendency because (as the section title indicates) such an expectation is not “life or death.” However, Aodla Freeman makes the shift to participant a few vignettes later, as she accompanies her qallunaaq to a tulip show in Ottawa (57) and upon seeing the show Aodla Freeman realizes that, as the section title indicates, ““life-or-death had a reason.”” As Smith and Watson articulate, this turn away from the self is a key component of the memoir genre. Lastly, Smith and Watson argue in their definition of memoir that the term tends to refer “to life writing that takes a segment of a life, not its entirety... [while] focusing on interconnected experiences” (274). Aodla Freeman’s memoir offers a narrative glimpse into a portion of her life, as it represents aspects of her childhood, teenage years, and pre-martial adulthood, but it does not share other major life events like marriage or children (although she does vaguely reference her children and husband in the dedication/her husband is occasionally mentioned within the body of the text). It is also clear that these experiences are

⁴³ Drawing from Alice Te Punga Summerville’s *Once Were Pacific*, I am deliberately not italicising Inuktitut words.

interconnected because her non-chronological structure still presents narrative continuity. Using the term “memoir” within the title of this chapter attends to the salient arguments made by Rak, Smith, and Watson concerning the genre.

Autobiography

Returning to Rak’s argument about the relationship between the market and memoirs, the publication history of *Life Among the Qallunaat* clearly demonstrates how the text has been impacted and shaped by market forces, especially considering the initial title change and the vast differences between the original and re-print marketing techniques. Although I use “memoir” within the title of this chapter, it is important to address the differences between “memoir” and “autobiography.” Rak, in her article “Are Memoirs Autobiography? A Consideration of Genre and Public Identity,” explains how the term “memoir” simultaneously references both the process of note-taking and the completed writing project itself (317). Memoir blends the public and private life, often including writing about the self and others (Rak 316), but, unlike “autobiography,” “memoir” tends to be linked to the “less valued aspects of life writing in autobiographical criticism” (Rak 308). Overall, Rak argues that “memoir” is “a form of life writing associated with... non-professional or non-literary textual production” (306). In *Life Among the Qallunaat*, Aodla Freeman narrates her experiences with the everyday, including the first time that she got her period and a surprising allergic reaction to food—both of which are more common, everyday experiences, regardless of geographical or cultural location. Drawing from Lee Quinby, Smith and Watson emphasize the importance of differentiating between “memoir” and “autobiography,” because “autobiography” tends to turn inwards, while “memoir” has a more outward reflection.

Robin McGrath, in her article “Circumventing the Taboos: Inuit Women’s Autobiographies,” defines “autobiography” as having “a pre-determined chronological structure, a limited subject matter, and generally requires little research or invention, but at the same time is flexible enough to accommodate the inclusion of oral songs and stories, religious or spiritual speculation, political opinion, or history” (223). However, Aodla Freeman’s text does not subscribe to these conventions, as she does not follow a linear chronological structure and takes on a range of subject matters (from adapting to the qallunaat world to growing-up in James Bay), but she does include stories and history within her text. For example, she narrates a story about a woman who raises a worm named “Deed” (109-114) and she frequently makes references to history, such as her discussions of World War II (83-85). During our interview, Aodla Freeman explained how her text would have been incomprehensible if she had just “type[d] away” without consideration of the beginning, middle, and end of her book (personal interview, Sept. 5, 2017). Despite a clear beginning, middle, and end, Aodla Freeman’s text challenges McGrath’s notion of a “pre-determined chronological structure,” as her story shifts across narrative time from her experiences in Ottawa, to her childhood, and back. McGrath further argues that one of the defining qualities of Inuit autobiography is its inclusion of “traditional stories” (219), something that will be considered in relation to *Life Among the Qallunaat* during the later portion of this chapter while discussing the text in relation to ethnographies.

The definitions provided by Rak, McGrath, and Smith and Watson demonstrate the intricate differences between “memoir” and “autobiography,” two terms that are frequently referenced in relation to *Life Among the Qallunaat*. It should be noted, however, that the current editors of *Life Among the Qallunaat*—Keavy Martin, Julie Rak, and Norma Dunning—argue that Aodla Freeman employs the memoir genre “as an instrument of translation, as her narrative

weaves together inherited Inuit knowledge, a ‘reverse ethnographic’ account of her time in Ottawa and Hamilton, and reflections on the history and activity of the people of James Bay during a period of intense political and social change” (262). Likewise, they argue that the title misrepresents the focus of the text because when Aodla Freeman discusses her process she “frames this work as being not so much about qallunaat (or even her life among them), but rather as about her own people—the Inuit of James Bay” (Rak, Martin, Dunning 266). As the most-recent editors argue, *Life Among the Qallunaat* is a memoir: the textual history shows that it was produced within a market and for a specific audience, as Aodla Freeman positions herself as both an observer and participant within her narrative, and her narrative gaze (while reflexive) does largely comment on those around her.

Ethnography

Like “memoir,” the term “ethnography” refers to both the process of undertaking ethnographic fieldwork and the resulting textual product(s) that are generated from the initial fieldwork. Deconstructing the term into its component parts, “ethno” and “graphy,” the word references a discussion of culture (“ethno”) and writing about culture (“graphy”). The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) defines “ethnographic” as the “systematic study and description of peoples, societies, and cultures,” whereby an individual example of such a study becomes an “ethnography.” Drawing from Arnold Krupat, Rachel Ramsey defines “ethnohistory” and “ethnography” as the study of a culture and its people, but also of how and why this examination takes place (36). As such, Ramsey’s definition moves beyond mere description to consider how and why ethnographic processes occur. In contrast, Robin Patric Clair argues that “ethnography grew out of a master discourse of colonization” (3). Clair asserts that the components of ethnography, which “necessarily includes philosophical, political, spiritual, and aesthetic

elements,” have defined people and cultures (3). Considering disciplinary practices in the Pacific Islands region, Geoffrey M. White and Ty Kawika Tengan question what form of anthropological work takes place when the people under discussion are not present within the discussion itself. Drawing from James Clifford (1989/1997), White and Kawika Tengan argue that disciplinary distinctions between “field” / “home” and “outsider-anthropologist-author” / “insider-native-informant” are required to shift and transform, as there is not always a difference between “home” and “field” (383). Consequently, these transformations result in “an ongoing reimagining of the region as a certain kind of geocultural space” (384), and, in turn, this reimagining will shift the discipline of anthropology. In short, what happens when the conventional “object” of anthropology begins to produce cultural commentary from an “insider,” or “subject” position? Aodla Freeman’s memoir, and the associated marketing techniques, offer us insight into this question.

Reverse Ethnography

Shifts from emic (insider) to etic (outsider) are germane to Aodla Freeman’s text because the 1978 edition positions her as an “outsider-anthropologist-author” to Southern, qallunaat culture. However, to some extent, the most-recent edition can still be read as a form of reverse ethnography, but the main difference is that the 2015 publication does not frame the text as an ethnographic account, unlike the original 1978 edition. Despite the differences in paratextual framing, some readers are still reading *Life Among the Qallunaat* as an ethnographic account of the South; for example, when Aodla Freeman visited my introductory English class as a guest speaker in November 2017, one of my students asked her why she chose to write about the South when she had articulated that she intended to focus on the people of Nunaaluk. In response,

Aodla Freeman stated: “because you’re interesting.”⁴⁴ This exchange demonstrates that there are still reverse ethnographic qualities to the present edition, even if the newer text is more focused on the Inuit of James Bay than the initial publication. Historically, the study of anthropology has been defined as the study of others, but, as White and Kawika Tengan identify, the presence of Indigenous scholars helps to decrease “the distance between the agents and the objects of anthropological research” (390), as those who have historically been the “subject” of anthropological study shift to become the “agents” producing the ethnographic texts. Given that Aodla Freeman’s text was forced into dialogue with Hantzsch’s ethnography, and most likely others (a point that is expanded in the section of this chapter titled “Forced Dialogue with ‘Ethnographies’”), it is important that her publication be considered in relation to the ethnographic history outlined by White and Kawika above. As the later portions of this chapter will demonstrate through a discussion of Hantzsch’s *My Life Among the Eskimos* and other relevant ethnographies, the generic lines between ethnographies and more general travel narratives are hazy and challenging to discern, particularly due to the disciplinary concerns outlined by White and Kawika Tengan regarding producing work based on your own community—a topic that is foregrounded in discussions of “autoethnography.”

The “reverse ethnographic” is the subversion—or challenging of—the traditional ethnographic relationship, whereby those who are most often observed by anthropologists become the observers. For example, the film *Qallunaat!: Why White People Are Funny*, produced by Mark Sandiford and Zebedee Nungak, uses the reverse ethnographic to confront historic ethnographic representations of Inuit. The film opens with unidentified historic ethnographic tapes and Nungak stating that qallunaat need to be the subject of study by those

⁴⁴ Again, I am paraphrasing both the student’s question and Aodla Freeman’s response.

who are normally the focus of the ethnographic gaze. Using random “scientific instruments” (ranging from a photocopier to a vacuum-like object referred to as the “Qallunizer 3000”), the Inuit actors in the film occupy the position of the anthropologist, identifying how qallunaat have strange tendencies, including standing in the doorway for prolonged periods of time while saying goodbye, and the desire to “keep up with the Joneses,” or how qallunaat tend to be overly competitive with their neighbours. The hilarious and at times sobering commentary flips the traditional ethnographic script to highlight the obscurity of qallunaat culture and their desire to undertake invasive tasks like ethnography.

Autoethnography

Carolyn Ellis defines “autoethnography” as the “research, writing, story, and method that connect the autobiographical and personal to the cultural, social, and political” (xix). Moreover, autoethnographic texts feature “concrete action, emotion, embodiment, self-consciousness, and introspection portrayed in dialogue, scenes, characterization, and plot” (Ellis xix)—much like *Life Among the Qallunaat*. Basically, Ellis argues that the term “autoethnography” “refers to writing about the personal and its relationship to culture” (37); however, the classification of a text is largely dependent on the labels assigned by the publisher and others (39), as is made evident by the drastically different reader responses to the 1978 and 2015 editions of *Life Among the Qallunaat*. In both editions of *Life Among the Qallunaat*, Aodla Freeman is writing about her own culture, but the 1978 version uses paratext and the select removal of passages about her family to emphasize her reverse ethnographic experiences in the South. Aodla Freeman’s memoir has the potential to also be classified as an autoethnography because she is writing about her own culture, while generating a narrative structure that is driven by “dialogue, scenes, characterization, and plot.” As Ellis articulates, these narrative qualities are seminal to the genre

of autoethnography, as they mark a transition from mere cultural observations to a coherent text written by an author that is conventionally regarded within the field of anthropology as an “outsider” to, in this case, qallunaat culture.

In contrast to Ellis, Mary Louise Pratt employs the terms “autoethnography” and “autoethnographic expression” to refer “to instances in which colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that *engage with* the colonizer’s terms” (9, emphasis original). Pratt’s articulation of autoethnography focuses more on the interactions between the colonized and the colonizer, or what occurs in the “contact zones,”⁴⁵ so “[i]f ethnographic texts are a means by which Europeans represent to themselves their (usually subjugated) others, autoethnographic texts are texts the others construct in response to or in dialogue with those metropolitan representations” (9). Pratt’s definition aligns well with the present argument, as early ethnographies, such as Bernhard Adolph Hantzsch’s *My Life Among the Eskimo*, represented the so-called cultural “other” to primarily European audiences, while some of the other texts within this dissertation—like Igloodik Isuma Productions’ film *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*—use the original ethnographic narratives to create autoethnographic accounts of their own community. Although *Life Among the Qallunaat* has some ethnographic qualities in which Aodla Freeman is responding to earlier disciplinary traditions, such as her assertion that she has “seen an anthropologist getting ready to go to the Arctic. They are the worst junk carriers I have met—junk in the sense that the items they take with them are unnecessary” (2015 126), she does not

⁴⁵ Pratt defines “contact zones” as “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination—such as colonialism and slavery, or their aftermaths as they lived out across the globe today” (7).

use these early representations to generate a response from qallunaat; rather, she uses them to respond to misrepresentations of Inuit.

Returning to the most-recent edition of *Life Among the Qallunaat*, Aodla Freeman makes the comment in the introductory interview that her people are not a “writing people,” as all Inuit culture, rules, laws, games, and more were “are all [preserved] from memory, passed on from one generation to another” (xiv). Although Indigenous peoples have been sharing life stories for millennia via oral histories (Reder 157), Aodla Freeman’s comment demonstrates how she is using writing—a tool of the colonizer—to share her narrative because “[o]ne day, somebody is going to forget” (“Conversation” xiv). Moreover, like Pratt, Smith and Watson argue that the term “autoethnography” emerged in the 1980s as a critique of the “investigator-informant model of ethnography” that had been previously employed by anthropology (258). These critics framed autoethnography as a “situated practice of self-narration” that worked in opposition to “normative [European] discourses” (Smith and Watson 259). Although “autoethnography” tends to be the most popular term used by scholars, other terms do exist, including: Marilyn Strathern’s “auto-anthropology” (“The Limits of Auto-Anthropology”), David Hayano’s “self-ethnographic texts” (“Auto-Ethnography: Paradigms, Problems, and Prospects”), and Deborah Reed-Danahay’s notion of auto/ethnography (*Auto/Ethnography: Rewriting the Self and the Social*). Together, the above definitions provide us with the means to discuss potential ways of describing the process of narrating one’s own culture. Regardless of how scholars categorize *Life Among the Qallunaat* generically, Aodla Freeman has articulated that she is using her text to self-narrate her story for other Inuit (Blake 147); therefore, an inquiry into the editorial changes for both editions will offer insight into how the imposed changes—particularly the forced dialogue with early ethnographies—impact the marketability of *Life Among the Qallunaat*.

Given that “autoethnography” is defined as the relationship between the personal and the cultural, what happens when Inuit start writing about their own experiences and cultural practices? Dale Blake’s dissertation “Inuit Autobiography: Challenging Stereotypes” is focused on Inuit autobiography and includes substantial passages addressing Aodla Freeman’s *Life Among the Qallunaat*. In her dissertation, Blake addresses the stereotypes that Inuit authors are forced to work with, particularly the images of the simple, smiling, protector of the North (1). However, Blake argues that Inuit life writing “counteract[s] this iconicity... [because] Inuit present themselves as individuals struggling against stereotypes that lock them into such potentially harmful imagery and entrap them in categories such as the ‘colourful’ and ‘exotic’” (1). Given the history of Inuit life writing outlined by Blake, it is paramount that this chapter address not only the publication history of *Life Among the Qallunaat*, but also those larger discourses—such as Indigenous reclamation—that this dissertation seeks to engage with. Furthermore, challenging Robin McGrath’s assertion that Inuit men tend to follow the epic tradition in writing while women tend to be more reserved (fictionalizing their lives, writing about their youths, and/or writing at an old age), Blake argues that the 1978 edition of *Life Among the Qallunaat* refuses to represent “stereotypical, passive, and uncomplaining Inuit ‘types’” (9). Despite the text’s resistance to stereotyping Inuit, *Life Among the Qallunaat* still shows the struggles of engaging with wider Inuit stereotypes through Aodla Freeman’s descriptions of her interactions with qallunaat; for example, Aodla Freeman details how the qallunaat wanted her to wear a heavy parka in the middle of July to pose for a Ginger Ale advertisement (35), and how her dorm mates at Laurentian Terrace expected her to arrive in Ottawa with clothing made of fur (3-5). These interactions demonstrate that even when writing an autoethnography, in which the focus of the narrative is your own culture, one is often still

required to occupy a “reverse ethnographic” position in which the author challenges dominant perceptions of their own cultural group.

In conclusion, this section sought to unpack potential genres that *Life Among the Qallunaat* may be read within, namely memoir, autobiography, ethnography, autoethnography, and reverse ethnography. Although the boundaries between these genres are in flux, it is important to consider generic differences because it offers a framework in which to consider editorial decisions, readings of the text (via book reviews and scholarship), and potential intertextual dialogue. Moreover, the above definitions demonstrate that *Life Among the Qallunaat* is a text that exists in the interspaces of genres and when engaging with the text we must be attentive to these overlapping categories. Attending to these overlapping generic categories offers insight into the editorial history of *Life Among the Qallunaat* and how the text was altered for marketing purposes.

What is in a title? *Life Among the Qallunaat* and *My Life Among the Eskimos*

During our discussion, Aodla Freeman shared additional information concerning the title of her publication. When I asked her about Hantzsch’s text *My Life Among the Eskimos* (I also brought a copy to our interview) she articulated that she had never seen that text before (personal interview, Sept. 5, 2017). She also explained how she originally submitted four titles to Hurtig for consideration, but he “chose none of them” and later phoned her to ask if she was familiar with *Life Among the Eskimos* (personal interview, Sept. 5, 2017). Given that her family “had all Northern books... [she] knew what he was talking about” (personal interview, Sept. 5, 2017). The comment concerning Aodla Freeman having “all the Northern books” certainly speaks to her extensive personal collection, but her assertion that she “knew what he was talking about” may be a reference to her lived experiences in the North, which stands in stark contrast to early

ethnographic practices whereby qallunaat wrote about their experiences as “experts” of the region. Despite Hurtig calling Aodla Freeman to discuss the title of the memoir, she explained how the original editorial process was challenging at times, because she was living in Ontario with her family, but Hurtig was stationed in Edmonton, which meant that she had to phone long distance to ask any questions (personal interview, Sept. 5, 2017). Aodla Freeman also jokes that “[i]t wasn’t exactly that... [she] wanted to hear the answer” to her questions (personal interview, Sept. 5, 2017). When Hurtig called Aodla Freeman prior to publishing the first edition of her text, he suggested that “you [Aodla Freeman] should reverse that [*Life Among the Eskimos* title] and put *Life Among the Qallunaat*,” and, as Aodla Freeman explains, she “didn’t have experience about writing a book or getting published,” so she did not argue with him and “just agreed with him” (personal interview, Sept. 5, 2017).⁴⁶ Aodla Freeman’s commentary during our interview highlights how the title change of the original typescript provides insight into both the editorial process and the other text that *Life Among the Qallunaat* was put into dialogue with. As such, this section of the chapter is concerned with reading possible ethnography titles in conversation with the published title of the memoir, *Life Among the Qallunaat*.

Hantzsch’s text was first translated from German into English in 1977 by the University of Saskatchewan’s Institute for Northern Studies; although Hantzsch was a trained ornithologist, and his text could be read as a travel account, the barriers between ethnography and travel narratives were relatively fluid at the time, as early anthropologists frequently relied on the travel

⁴⁶ The feeling of *ilira* in Inuktitut is explained by Rachel Attituuq Qitsualik as a fear of authority or ill will, or, more specifically, “a feeling that is not quite fear, and yet may cause traditional Inuit to seem as though they are yielding to authority” (n.p.). *Ilira* only features in interpersonal conflicts in which there is the potential for argumentation—it is only felt when there is the possibility of colliding opinions and it is felt by the one who backs down to avoid conflict. It is possible that Aodla Freeman avoided confronting Hurtig for this reason.

accounts of others to create their ethnography (Brettell 127). The whole title of Hantzsch's text is: *My Life Among the Eskimos: The Baffinland Journals of Bernhard Adolph Hantzsch 1909-1911*. The invocation of the word "my" is significant because it ensures that the self (Hantzsch) is centered within the narrative and Inuit ("Eskimos") become a backdrop to Hantzsch's narrative account. It is also apparent that it is a narrative about a German man and that he will be the focus of the text, despite his "voyage" happening alongside and with Inuit. Moreover, Hantzsch's trip would have been impossible without the support of the Inuit that accompanied him during his research. Using the word "my" as the first word in the title may also spark the interest of Southern readers, as it implies that this white, European man will be writing about the "exotic" culture of the "Eskimos" for the enjoyment of a Southern audience. "My" also foregrounds and privileges the perspective of a European man within this exchange: Southern readers may find his account to be more "valid" or "authoritative" because he is a white male who would—simply due to his positionality—have more perceived authority within Germany and other European countries. Using "my" within the title of the text also enacts a form of possession over both the accounts and the information contained within, as the construction of the title (in which "my" is the first word and is acting towards the rest of the title) implies that it is Hantzsch's life with the "Eskimos."

Despite centering Hantzsch in the title, the narrative also includes information (cultural and that concerned with "natural history") taught to Hantzsch by the Inuit that he was working with. For example, Hantzsch was working as an ornithologist during his time on Baffin Island, so a lot of the information he collected during his travels is related to birds. In Appendix A, which is concerned with birds on Baffin Island, Hantzsch provides details concerning how the particular Rock Ptarmigan species he was observing was "[a]pparently far more rare than the

larger species” (382). Hantzsch could not accurately make this observation without the support of his Inuit research partners, because the “apparently” suggests that he did consult with the Inuit that he was travelling with, and questions concerning “rarity” would require more than three years of fieldwork to discern. Lastly, “my” also enacts a form of authorial authority claiming that the contents of the text are Hantzsch’s own, when several of the stories included within the text in fact belong to the Inuit communities that shared them with Hantzsch. Due to the use of the word “my” within the title, I suggest that readers expect to read an account of Hantzsch’s life in relation to the “Eskimos,” which they do receive to some extent, as he narrates his experiences working with different families, interpersonal relations, and the challenges that the various parties encounter.

Inclusion of the word “among” is significant because it implies that Hantzsch traveled to the Arctic himself and lived with Inuit; this is noteworthy in relation to the history of ethnography and travel writing because earlier works have a history of “armchair anthropology.” “Armchair anthropology” refers to authors who would read the travel accounts of others (largely missionaries and explorers) and write ethnographies based on these writings, but this often resulted in inaccurate and extreme descriptions of the cultural “Other.” (E.J. Peck’s text, for example, was substantially edited by Arthur Lewis, who provides commentary on Peck’s lived experiences; this results in Lewis occupying the position of an “armchair anthropologist.”) Unlike earlier anthropologists, Hantzsch traveled to Baffin Island and traveled with, learned from, and worked with Inuit, a decision that allowed him to write a more detailed account of Inuit culture. Moreover, the details that Hantzsch shares within his text makes it apparent that he is aware of the current developments within the field of anthropology, despite not being employed as an anthropologist. For example, in the “Introduction” Hantzsch comments how “the

Rudolf Virchow Foundation in Berlin aided... [his] journey with 2,500 marks, with the stipulation that the fruits of... [his] anthropological researches should be given to the Anthropological Association, and of... [his] ethnographic studies to the Berlin Museum for Propagation of Knowledge” (3). Hantzsch’s research dissemination plans demonstrate how he was aware of the anthropological components of his scholarship.

Next, using “the Eskimos” within the title suggests that “the” Inuit are a singular, homogenous group of people—there is only “the” one group. As Aodla Freeman’s text demonstrates, among others (such as the plethora of Inuit authors whose work is represented in *Paper Stays Put: A Collection of Inuit Writing* edited by Gedolf Robin), there are numerous Inuit groups and communities that results in significant cultural diversity. The decision to use the word “Eskimo” within the title is also important. “Eskimo” is a word used by Europeans to describe the culturally-diverse Inuit. Aodla Freeman addresses the term “Eskimo” within her memoir, explaining how “Inuit, too, gave themselves an identity. To... [her] the word ‘Eskimo’ does not mean anything. It is an Indian word— ‘escheemau’—that qallunaat tried to say at one time” (2015 87). Aodla Freeman’s description of the term illustrates for readers how the term was imposed by Europeans and coopted from the James Bay Cree. As was common for travel accounts in the early twentieth century (including Peck’s publication), Hantzsch’s title includes his full name, provides a reference to the location that he traveled to, and the dates that he traveled. Much like the use of the word “my,” including the author’s full name within the title focuses the reader’s attention towards the individual that drafted⁴⁷ the account.

⁴⁷ “Drafted” is a key word here because Hantzsch died in the field and was only able to re-write part of his text prior to his passing (Neatby xviii). After Hantzsch passed, Rev. Greenshield tended to his collections before they were transferred to Germany (xviii). It is assumed that the original manuscript is lost as the result of a fire-bombing in Dresden in April 1946 (xviii).

Although the title references “Baffinland,” it should be noted that the geographical region that it refers to is massive, and although Hantzsch traveled over large areas (the map included with Hantzsch’s publication demonstrates that he was primarily in central and Eastern Baffin), the title does not speak to individual communities—further advocating that Inuit are a homogeneous group of people. Lastly, Hantzsch’s title concludes with the dates of his travel, 1909-1911. Including the exact dates of travel situates the narrative within a specific temporal period that would resonate with Southern readers, as they would be able to associate these years with other events occurring at the time. I discuss time and its impact in both ethnography and Aodla Freeman’s memoir in the later portions of this chapter with specific references to how the amendments made by Hurtig Press constructed different ways of understanding the narrative in relation to time.

The full title of Aodla Freeman’s memoir is *Life Among the Qallunaat*. Like Hantzsch’s text, the word “life” is also invoked, but it is not preceded by the word “my” or another word to indicate possession. Including the word “life” within the title highlights that the narrative is centered on Aodla Freeman’s life experiences; however, because “my” was removed from Aodla Freeman’s version of the title—despite the forced dialogue with Hantzsch’s text—it reduces her authority over the composition of her own life writing, which is particularly significant given that both her title and the content of the text were modified to seemingly fit a dialogue with Hantzsch’s ethnography. The reduced authority is made apparent through the earlier editorial decisions in the first edition, such as re-structuring the smaller vignettes into a three-part narrative and removing substantial portions from the original typescript. Although Aodla Freeman’s name is not included within the title of her memoir, it is included on the cover page of both the 1978 and 2015 editions. On the title page of the 2015 edition, the author’s name is spelt

as “Mini Aodla Freeman.” However, the Hurtig edition spells her name as “Minnie,”⁴⁸ which is significant because “minijuk” means a “gentle rain” in Inuktitut and “Mini” is the Inuktitut spelling of her name. However, it should also be noted that “Minnie” is the legal spelling of her name. The misspelling of her name is clearly significant because she comments how the newspaper reporter for the Miss Northern Affairs contest also misspelled her name because “he wrote only a few words” (2015 34). In this instance, Aodla Freeman’s last name is misspelled, as: “He did not even spell my surname right—he wrote it ‘Oadla’ when it is ‘Aodla’” (2015 34).

As Aodla Freeman articulates in the conversational interview with Martin and Dunning at the beginning of the 2015 edition of *Life Among the Qallunaat*, she intended for her text to be about the Inuit of James Bay (“Conversation” xiv), but, as the title clearly suggests, the removal of substantial passages from the original typescript highlights her “life among the qallunaat.” As such, her experience with—or among—the qallunaat is expected by readers, and it will also impact how they approach the text, because readers may use the title to aid them in framing the text prior to reading. As mentioned previously, these perceived needs of Southern readers were most likely intended to increase the sales profits from the book. Lastly, the use of the Inuktitut word qallunaat is significant for many reasons: first, as Aodla Freeman explains in her memoir, “qallunaat” could potentially refer to the people who pamper their eyebrows, but that seems unlikely given that early qallunaat in the Arctic would not have had the ability to tend to their eyebrows (2015 86-87). As such, Aodla Freeman contends that the term refers to “qallunaaraaluit, very respectable, avaricious, materialistic, humans who could do anything with material, or those who fear for their capacity to manufacture material” (2015 87). However, it

⁴⁸ When Aodla Freeman came to visit my English 102 class in November 2017, she commented how the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) would spell Inuit names like they heard them, even if it was incorrect. Spelling her name like “Minnie” is a result of this process.

also appears “exotic” or “foreign” to the qallunaat reader who is most likely unfamiliar with Inuktitut. This “foreign” quality would likely draw some Southern readers in because they are drawn to a narrative written by an Inuk woman, or the cultural “Other,” a point emphasized by the representation of *Life Among the Qallunaat* on the 1978 edition’s book sleeve—only to discover that they themselves are qallunaat. Readers learning that they are the people that they expected to be “different” or “unique” potentially challenges readers’ expectations about ethnography, as their own practices are now under scrutiny; however, as articulated above, this role reversal is not without issue, particularly the re-centering of qallunaat. The perceived “foreign” quality of Inuktitut is emphasized in the original edition of *Life Among the Qallunaat* through the italicization of all Inuktitut words. This comparative reading of Hantzsch’s title in relation to *Life Among the Qallunaat* provides insight into how Aodla Freeman’s text was originally modified to be read as a reverse ethnographic text about qallunaat.

Paratext and the Framing of an “Ethnographic” Text

The paratext of the first edition, including the original book sleeve and “Forward” written by the former Administer of the Arctic, Alex Stevenson, frames the narrative as an ethnographic text about the qallunaat written by an Inuk woman. The book sleeve from the original edition details how Aodla Freeman found herself in Ottawa working as a government translator, while “grappling with a white—*qallunaat*—world that was hundreds of miles and seemingly hundreds of years distant from her James Bay home” (1978 book sleeve n.p.). Although Aodla Freeman details her challenges “grappling” with the significant lifestyle adjustments that living in the South required (such as learning how to navigate an urban lifestyle and the ease of electricity), and she narrates stories about the crippling loneliness associated with being “hundreds of miles” from home, her descriptions do *not* situate James Bay in the distant, historical past—as the

original book sleeve implies. Instead, I suggest that the rhetoric positioning her James Bay home in the distant past does not arise from the narrative itself, but is drawn from anthropological and popular discourses to better position Aodla Freeman as an Inuk anthropologist traversing distant locales—thus making the text more marketable to Southern readers. Moreover, Stevenson’s suggestion that the so-called qallunaat world “was hundreds of miles and seemingly hundreds of years distant from her [Aodla Freeman’s] James Bay home” implies a narrative of cultural evolution. In this implied narrative, Aodla Freeman and the other Inuit of Nunaaluk are regarded as “distant,” or behind, the “white—qallunaat—world.” Stevenson, through the invocation of an implied narrative of cultural evolution, perpetuates a racist notion that locks Indigenous peoples in a stagnant past. Johannes Fabian, in his monograph *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*, explains how the works of anthropologists frequently situate the cultural “Other” in a time that is not contemporaneous with the anthropologist. Thus, the perceived “object” of anthropology cannot occupy the same temporal space as the “subject,” or the anthropologist (Fabian 21-25). Likewise, Mark Rifkin argues that either Indigenous peoples are “consigned to the past, or they are inserted into a present defined on non-native terms” (vii). Rifkin challenges settler conceptions of time via “temporalities,” or the notion that time is not a “homogeneous measure of universal movement along a singular access,” but a culturally-determined concept with an infinite number of possibilities (2).

The suggestion that Inuit and their cultures are rooted in the past was also manufactured by contemporary popular discourses, such as those created and disseminated by films like *Nanook of the North*.⁴⁹ In *Nanook of the North*, Robert J. Flaherty—the filmmaker responsible

⁴⁹ In 1913, George Weetaltuk (Aodla Freeman’s maternal grandfather) met Flaherty on Charlton Island with Symma Aodla (her paternal grandfather) (*LATQ* 2015 67).

for the creation of *Nanook of the North* in 1922—filmed Inuit from Inukjuak employing historic hunting practices and engaging with modern conveniences, such as the gramophone, with fabricated confusion. Flaherty’s manufactured representations can be viewed as catering to a Southern audience, because by 1922 community members in Inukjuak were using technology such as rifles, but a Southern audience expected to encounter a “primitive” culture on screen, so Flaherty catered to these expectations to satisfy his patronage. However, Michelle Raheja, in her chapter “Visual Sovereignty, Indigenous Revisions of Ethnography, and *Atanarjuat (The Fast Runner)*,” emphasizes how Nanook’s smile and laugh in this scene can be read multiple ways: Nanook’s response to the gramophone may be read by members of an Inuit community as a form of resistance, while Southerners may read the same moment as naïveté (191-192). *Nanook Revisited* (1990) is a response film in which French filmmakers, Claude Massot and Sebastian Regnier, travel to Inukjuak with the original film and contemporaneous photographs to investigate the continued impacts of *Nanook of the North*. As the narrator of *Nanook Revisited* explains, *Nanook of the North* “told of times already mythical,” and the response film presents an opportunity to see how community members engage with Flaherty’s past images from the region, while simultaneously challenging Flaherty’s representation of Inukjuak in 1922.

Like Nanook, who is presented in the film as a smiling, happy Inuk biting a record, Aodla Freeman and her peoples are framed by the paratext as relics of the past, as their livelihood is identified on the book sleeve as being “directed by a seasonal round of hunting and trading, a society bound by rules and customs that found their justification in simple survival” (n.p.). Written in the past tense, this quote implies that the Inuit of James Bay had not attained a position in the modern twentieth century, due to their reliance on “hunting and trading” for “simple survival.” “Simple survival” implies that the Inuit of James Bay were unable to thrive in

the economic boom of the post-World War II economy,⁵⁰ but Aodla Freeman explicitly identifies how her peoples' survival was not simple, as they were forced into residential schools and mandated relocation to Great Whale River, where the group ultimately disbanded.⁵¹ Moreover, her family and community had been living in the region for a long time and it is evident from the text that her family had substantial skill to be able to survive in this environment; for example, Aodla Freeman describes the processes involved with making kamiit (boots) and the complex trade processes that her family is immersed in, thus further demonstrating how her family's survival was far from "simple." Additionally, the book sleeve's passing acknowledgement of "hunting and trading" does not consider the complex trade routes that Aodla Freeman's father helped the qallunaat to navigate, as he "was the only man who knew the way to Fort George, where the water was deep and where it was shallow" (2015 79), or how Weetaltuk (her maternal grandfather) always had glass in his windows and other materials not available in the Hudson's Bay Company store (86). This network of trade relations—from the exchange of knowledge to material goods—highlights how the qallunaat relied on Aodla Freeman's family, and likely other Inuit in the North, for their own "simple survival."

Comparing the original typescript with the 1978 edition demonstrates the different ways that Aodla Freeman and the editors at Hurtig Publishers identified the passing of time.

Specifically, in the original typescript of "I Remember," Aodla Freeman states that she "was barely four when ice was just beginning to form on the sea" (86). Although Aodla Freeman's

⁵⁰ It should be noted, however, that filmmaker Alethea Arnaquq-Baril's film *Angry Inuk* (2016) challenges settler perceptions of a post-World War II economic boom by highlighting the drastic negative impacts that the 1983 seal ban had on Inuit communities.

⁵¹ Although there is not space for it within the current project, a comparative reading between the original typescript and the 1978 edition shows several passages in which the original publishers removed discussions of Aodla Freeman's residential school experiences and her family's forced relocation.

statement is marked by numerical time, as she identifies as being four years old at the time, her narration of the story is intimately connected to the ice forming on the sea. In comparison, the Hurtig edition identifies that she “was barely four years old in 1941” (43), thereby tying Aodla Freeman’s narration to the calendar year. Many Southern readers would not have been able to identify the significance of the season in which ice begins to form on the sea in James Bay. In contrast, Inuit from the James Bay area would better understand the time of year that the annual event occurs and the changes that it brings, and, as a result, Inuit readers may have more familiarity with this temporal marker. When presented with the year 1941, however, most readers would be able to relate to this temporal period via significant world events, such as World War II. This shift in Aodla Freeman’s original time-telling method highlights the qallunaat-centric elements of the Hurtig edition, as the modifications make the text more accessible for Southern readers at the expense of removing elements that Inuit readers may identify with.

While the paratext of the original edition relegates Aodla Freeman’s family and culture to an evolutionarily distant past, it also positions her as an anthropologist (and cultural outsider) who is well-positioned to comment on qallunaat culture. The original book sleeve positions her as a “foreign traveler” who can “see the white, urban world in all of its absurdity... [and] cannot fail to compare its facets, favourably or unfavourably, with her own culture” (n.p.). Early anthropological paradigms emphasized the importance of having individuals from outside of the culture participate and observe, while acting as the “foreign traveler,” to comment upon the society that they were studying. The discourse whereby cultural outsiders provide cultural commentary is present in the anthropological insistence on “making the strange familiar and the familiar strange” (Myers 1, 7). A common assertion within the discipline of anthropology (Myers

7), it operates on the premise that individuals from outside of a given culture will be more attentive to cultural intricacies than those with more frequent contact. For example, while reminiscing on memories about her Grandmother's qullik,⁵² Aodla Freeman reflects on how positionality within a given culture effects how we perceive seemingly mundane daily occurrences. She draws a comparison between the qullik and the ease of electricity, stating: "It is me who is comfortable today because I can reach up and switch on a gadget that nobody seems to pay attention to except when it's needed, and because I do not have to reach down and put in all that work in order to get one flame" (*LATQ* 2015 18).

Drawing attention to her relative "comfort," through the ease of flicking a switch in favour of the tedious work of tending a flame, Aodla Freeman highlights that many people (presumably qallunaat) do not attribute much attention to electricity, despite the essential role that it plays in their daily lives; however, as someone who was "born twice" (*LATQ* 1978 78), once into Inuit culture and a second time into qallunaat culture, she is able to comment on the "comforts" that electricity provides. The same section within the original typescript also demonstrates how electricity can be "dangerous but also very wonderful, useful and comfortable," like the qullik (20). Likewise, electricity can be accessed by "merely clicking a most innocent looking gadget on the wall" (Original Typescript 21/ 1978 30). Norman Vorano articulates how Aodla Freeman's commentary, which he identifies as ranging from "going to the post office, visiting a hospital, [to] walking down a metropolitan street, "de-naturalize[s] the institutions and seemingly quotidian chores... [that he] took for granted" (17). Both examples demonstrate Aodla Freeman's ability to draw attention to a mundane—yet essential—set of modern conveniences that are rarely discussed by qallunaat. Due to her observation, Aodla

⁵² An Inuit seal oil lamp.

Freeman positions herself as an astute observer of qallunaat society because she has enough distance to notice cultural practices that many qallunaat remain unaware of; although the narrator of the text does perform cultural commentary about qallunaat, it is the emphasis that the revisions undertaken by Hurtig Press—to the exclusion of almost everything else—that overemphasizes the reverse ethnographic qualities of the text in favour of Aodla Freeman’s commentary about her family and community.

Aodla Freeman is framed as an outsider to Southern Canadian culture in the original edition of *Life Among the Qallunaat*, and, based on this anthropological hypothesis, she should be able to provide a more nuanced discussion of qallunaat culture than the qallunaat themselves. Qallunaat readers’ interests in hearing about their own culture from the perspective of an Inuk woman is evoked in the editor’s comment about Aodla Freeman’s narrative on the book sleeve, which reads: “It is the voice of an Inuk—and a woman—addressing the *qallunaat* world at last” (n.p.). This description emphasizes the readership’s interest in engaging with a text written by a female Inuk who can—in the ethnographic tradition—comment on Southern culture. However, the quotation also invokes questions regarding what is defined as “foreign” and what constitutes “addressing,” or speaking back to the qallunaat world. Although Aodla Freeman is not from Ottawa, and she is living on traditional unceded Algonquin territory, she is identified as a “foreign traveler” within the colonial borders of lands claimed by Canada. Identifying her as a “foreign traveler” within Canada promotes the possibility of her speaking back to settler Canadians in the South. Aodla Freeman’s “foreign” status should also be questioned by readers, as she frequently identifies the Arctic as her territory, even referring to it as “my land” (11) and “my own country” (7) on several occasions. Likewise, the narrator’s “foreign” status seems to render the qallunaat as un-foreign, or even indigenous. Framing Aodla Freeman as an Inuk

anthropologist who can speak back to qallunaat society further emphasizes the ethnographic qualities of the first edition, as she is seen to be recording her thoughts and experiences amongst cultural others. Likewise, the original edition's emphasis on Aodla Freeman's anthropological commentary shifts the narrative's focus from being about her experiences with her community to a qallunaat-centered perspective of the same events. Given that Aodla Freeman has clearly articulated that the focus of her memoir is the people of Nunaaluk, having the paratextual materials position her as an anthropologist only fulfills the objectives of Southern readers to remain the topic of conversation, as her commentary on qallunaat culture becomes the focus of the narrative.

Meanwhile, the chapter break down of Aodla Freeman's original typescript is composed as a series of small vignettes that work together to share a portion of the author's life story, an overall structure that the present edition honours (Rak, Martin, Dunning 270). The present editors argue that restoring the publication to its undivided state helps to foreground Aodla Freeman's intentions by allowing for a greater focus on the Inuit of James Bay (270). In contrast, however, the 1978 edition restructures the vignettes into three major sections: (1) *Ottawamillunga*: In Ottawa, (2) *Inullivunga*: Born to Inuk Ways, and (3) *Qallunanillunga*: Among the Qallunaat.⁵³ Like the book sleeve, the creation of three distinct sections further highlights the assumed ethnographic qualities of Aodla Freeman's memoir, and it also has the effect of framing Aodla Freeman's familial experiences in James Bay with her experiences in the South. Sections I and III both focus on life in the South, as Section I concentrates on the

⁵³ It should be noted that some academics, who most likely did not have access to the original typescript, have attributed the narrative structure that the three section divisions impose to Aodla Freeman (Grace 280). Although the original typescript does not indicate that the original divisions were imposed by the author, as they are not present, Keavy Martin suggested that Aodla Freeman must have been consulted in some capacity due to the Inuktitut in the titles.

Southern city of Ottawa and Section III focuses on qallunaat who primarily reside in the South. These sections have qallunaat-centric titles despite Aodla Freeman's frequent references to her childhood in James Bay with her Inuit family. Even "Born to Inuk Ways," which at first glance appears to center Inuit ways of being, ultimately emphasizes qallunaat culture. "Born Into" suggests that Aodla Freeman is no longer actively engaging in these cultural practices because it makes no reference to the current moment, despite the other two section titles referencing a contemporary happening. In the "Afterword" of the 2015 edition, the current editors argue that the imposed three part structure centered the focus on the qallunaat and not the James Bay Inuit, and, while the first two sections "represent quite faithfully the content of the early sections of the manuscript, the third seems to be an attempt to create continuity with the 'reverse ethnographic' thrust of the first section," which results in the middle section (that is primarily focused on Aodla Freeman's family and community) functioning as a "mere colourful interlude" (Rak, Martin, Dunning 270). Aodla Freeman herself identifies how she "decided to write a book about James Bay and the people there" ("Conversation" xiv) and it was Hurtig Publishers who elected to remove substantial portions of the text and retitling the publication (xv). The most recent publication of *Life Among the Qallunaat* restores the vignettes without the imposed structure. Additionally, the current edition includes supplementary paratext (photographs, scanned page of the original typescript, the conversational interview, etc.) that helps to reframe it as a story about Aodla Freeman and her family, not a narrative about her experiences residing in the South—an argument that will be expanded upon in the later section of this paper.

Having an editor at Hurtig Publishers impose a narrative structure on Aodla Freeman's original typescript creates an unnecessary and unintended separation that pushes readers to—should they choose—engage with the text more selectively. The three-part structure allows

readers to skip to the parts that interest them. For example, if a reader was only interested in gleaned an understanding of how an Inuk woman interpreted her life in the South, then that individual could readily flip to the relevant sections of the memoir to locate that information. Reading in this selective manner would allow for the reader to make sense of the text despite the omission of major narrative details. Moreover, the establishment of the three-part structure creates a false sense of partition: the text is a memoir that should be read from cover-to-cover because it provides a snap shot of Aodla Freeman's younger years. Returning to White and Tengan's argument concerning the dissolution of the border between "home" and "field," the imposed three-part structure of the 1978 edition makes Aodla Freeman's "field" (the South) appear as a part of her life separate from "home" (in James Bay).

The paratextual elements of the present edition—including the local map preceding the opening conversation, a replication of the first page of the original typescript, and the glossy photos⁵⁴ at the approximate mid-point—all function to re-center Aodla Freeman's family within the narrative. The gray-scale map, which includes both Inuit and settler-colonial place names, contextualizes the narrative and clearly demonstrates how Aodla Freeman's stories are rooted in real geographical locations. This editorial choice stands in stark contrast to the original book sleeve's insistence on Aodla Freeman's "foreign" status that disconnects her from the land. Likewise, the map is focused on the James Bay region, with only two small arrows indicating the distance to the Southern cities of Hamilton and Ottawa, both of which are central to the narrative itself. The inclusion of the map is in line with the content of the narrative, as Aodla Freeman highlights the challenges of grasping her history lessons at school because discussions about the

⁵⁴ Later print runs of the 2015 edition of *Life Among the Qallunaat* did not include glossy photos. Instead, later print runs printed the photos on standard paper.

continents and Canadian provinces meant nothing to her, as she “had no idea what Canada was” because her world only included “Cape Hope Island, Charlton Island, Old Factory, Moose Factory and Fort George and all the little islands that... [she] knew by their Inuit names” (*LATQ* 2015 118-119).

Like the map, the inclusion of the first page of the original typescript provides readers of both editions insight into the complexity of the editorial process. For example, a portion of the first sentence on the original typescript reads: “Whenever I meet a person for the first time...” In comparison, part of the 1978 edition’s first sentence states: “Whenever a white person meets me for the first time...”⁵⁵ Aodla Freeman’s original typescript foregrounds her position within the exchange, as she articulates that she is meeting the other person. In the 1978 edition, however, the positionality of the white person is emphasized, as the sentence’s syntax suggests that the white person is meeting her and she is the more passive recipient of the exchange. Aodla Freeman also details that it was the qallunaat who “named themselves whitemen to divide themselves from any other colour for it is surely them that have always been aware of different racial colours” (Original Typescript 103, 1978 87, and 2015 86). Although there are countless examples of such editorial decisions between the two editions, providing the reader access to the first page of the typescript adds transparency to the editorial process—a goal emphasized by Martin, Rak, and Dunning (“Afterword” 260).

Lastly, the inclusion of photos, especially these select photos, re-centers Aodla Freeman and her family within the narrative. A substantial portion of the memoir is dedicated to sharing

⁵⁵ All quotations from the original typescript are quoted exactly as they appear in the original document. Aodla Freeman graciously allowed me to read her original, unedited typescript, so I have declined to use [sic]. I will retain the spelling and grammar used in the original document. I will continue to use this practice for the duration of the chapter.

stories about Aodla Freeman's formative years around her grandparents, and the inclusion of their photos further personalizes these narratives because readers are visually reminded of Aodla Freeman's connection to her family. Likewise, we see various photos of Aodla Freeman ranging from approximately age 16 to 23, when a significant portion of the narrative occurs. The final photo, which is a photo booth image of Aodla Freeman and her husband Milton Freeman, emphasizes how her life extends beyond what is contained in the text, as her husband is mentioned only briefly within the memoir. Together, the above paratextual elements of the 2015 edition emphasize the prominence of Aodla Freeman's family within the narrative and as a result decrease the focus on the ethnographic and qallunaat qualities of the text, as these representations are more specific to Aodla Freeman's individual life experiences in favour of more general commentary on Inuit cultures.

The original "Forward" was written by Alex Stevenson who was employed as the Administrator of the Arctic at the time. During our interview, Aodla Freeman stated that she worked with Stevenson in the Welfare Division of Indian and Northern Affairs where she was working as a translator (personal interview, Sept. 5, 2017). Aodla Freeman did not know that he would be writing the introduction to her book until she saw the text in print; commenting on the introduction, Aodla Freeman explains that he did not know her well "and it shows," despite seeing him every day and working within an office in the same area (personal interview, Sept. 5, 2017). The rhetoric used by Stevenson further highlights how the first edition of *Life Among the Qallunaat* was branded as an ethnographic text. In the tradition of salvage ethnography, Stevenson comments how "[t]he native people were no longer living in the isolation of their past way of life," and how "the Inuit way of life had been disrupted and a culture undermined" (9). Stevenson's commentary, along with the entirety of his "Forward," highlights the substantial

changes that occurred within the Canadian North during the 1950s; however, his comments are also reminiscent of early ethnography in that they emphasize the changing conditions of the Arctic by articulating how Inuit cultures have been “undermined” and “disrupted,” assertions that suggest that the cultures need to be preserved for future generations—a declaration common in early discourses of salvage ethnography. Additionally, several of Aodla Freeman’s comments within the main text exemplify how Catholic Bishops, as a tool of the colonial state, “came to count how many of us were left” (2015 77), an assertion that further demonstrates how qallunaat wrongly believed that Inuit would ultimately disappear.

Lastly, Stevenson frames Aodla Freeman’s publication as a depoliticized text and not a life account when he refers to the text as an “enchanted book” (2015 11), thus highlighting its assumed folkloric qualities via the dismissive description of an “enchanted” text. The Oxford English Dictionary defines “enchanted” as the ability “to attract, win over, compel or induce, as if by magic” or “to charm, delight, enrapture.” These definitions relate to *Life Among the Qallunaat* in a myriad of ways, but it is most likely being employed in a positive manner to suggest that Aodla Freeman can “enchant” her readers by winning them over to the text. It is important to note, however, that this can also be read as a qallunaaq devaluing of her narrative, which occurs within the body of the text as well; for example, when Aodla Freeman is camping with her schoolmates and the priest, there is a major thunder storm and the girls become concerned about the danger of shiny objects, and Aodla Freeman observes how “[h]e [the priest], of course, did not believe us—like many qallunaat, it was to him just another folksy tale” (126). Framing Aodla Freeman’s life story as a fairy tale results in her experiences being relegated to de-politicized “enchanted” texts, instead of a life account about her vast experiences, something that the current editors seek to rectify through their aspiration of a “transparent” editorial process

that deeply involves the author herself (“Afterword” 260). Moreover, invoking the term “enchanted” in relation to the life narrative of a female author has substantial gendered qualities, and can be read as a patronizing comment regarding the text itself. Dismissing Aodla Freeman’s memoir as an “enchanted” publication diminishes the potential political impact that the text has had. Lastly, Stevenson’s use of the word “enchanted” also passes an aesthetic judgement on the text, as the term implies that Aodla Freeman’s memoir is not a “serious” literary work.

The most striking paratextual shift between the original and current editions is the inclusion of an introductory “Conversation” and a critical “Afterword” within the most recent publication. Including a “Conversation” in favour of a more conventional introduction shifts the reader’s attention away from the editors towards a dialogue between themselves and Aodla Freeman. This shift centers Aodla Freeman’s experience within the editorial process, as she guides the conversation in a manner that reflects how she hopes her narrative will be framed. Explicitly including a portion of the dialogue between two of the editors and the author acts as a model of consultation that pushes back against earlier ethnographic models in which anthropologists frequently published their “findings” without verifying the contents with their Indigenous collaborators. It should also be evident to the reader that these dialogues occur beyond what is recorded within the text, as the conversation concludes with Aodla Freeman asking her interlocutors if they “have time for tea?” (“Conversation” xvii). The critical “Afterword,” which modifies what is conventionally included in the prefatory materials to the back of the publication, briefly shifts the focus away from Aodla Freeman’s narrative to the academic objectives of the publication. Although the inclusion of the “Afterword” does not contribute to Aodla Freeman’s articulated intentions for the text, namely that it be “for Inuit by Inuit” (Blake 147), it does contribute to the academic objectives of the text and increases the

transparency of the editorial process. Moreover, as Keavy Martin identified, it is a requirement of the First Voices, First Texts series because the University of Manitoba Press is an academic press. To balance the academic requirements with Aodla Freeman's goals for the text, Martin, Rak, and Dunning followed Sophie McCall's lead and situated the critical essay at the end instead of the beginning.

Editing in Relation to Contemporaneous Ethnographies

The present section is concerned with analyzing the effects that the significant revisions undertaken by Hurtig Publishers had on Aodla Freeman's text. To do this, I will compare both editions of *Life Among the Qallunaat* to potential ethnographies that may have impacted the editing of the 1978 edition to demonstrate how the early ethnographies were used to shape Aodla Freeman's memoir to better align with contemporaneous dominant discourses in anthropology. This comparison is salient given that Hantzsch's ethnography is identified as the forced interlocutor of Aodla Freeman's text within the 2015 publication of *Life Among the Qallunaat*, and the other ethnographic texts were identified by the author during our interview. These early ethnographic texts offer readers a model concerning what kinds of publications Hurtig Publishers was likely considering during the editorial process for Aodla Freeman's text. I focus primarily on the discrepancies between the original typescript and the 1978 edition because I argue that the first publication was edited to be a form of "reverse ethnography."

Early in the narrative, Aodla Freeman offers "misrecognition" as a potential means of engaging with her text. More specifically, during the first untitled vignette of *Life Among the Qallunaat*, Aodla Freeman presents the reader with multiple moments of misrecognition: within the second paragraph she questions whether she is to walk upon the train tracks or cement (3), and, upon arriving at Laurentian Terrace, her roommates misrecognize her according to Inuit

stereotypes, including the expectation of skin clothing and a folding igloo (4). Both examples—among others that will be expanded upon within this section—present the reader with moments of misrecognition, as Aodla Freeman misrecognizes the train tracks as a walking path and the women at the dorm misrecognize Aodla Freeman according to dominant stereotypes. Given this textual guidance, I consider which passages were removed from the original typescript, what commentary was added by Hurtig Publishers, and other passages that received substantial modification during the editorial process. In doing so, I draw attention to the fact that the first publication of *Life Among the Qallunaat* was misrecognized as an ethnographic text.

From the beginning of the text, Aodla Freeman is only recognized within the narrow confines of qallunaat-produced Inuit stereotypes; for example, when she first arrives at her dorms in Ottawa to work as a translator, she comments how the other young women “expected to see sealskin clothing, maybe along with a folding igloo” (2015 4). According to her peers, Aodla Freeman could not possibly have qallunaat cloth clothing or sleep in a dorm bed like the other women. Instead, her peers expected her to fulfill a pre-fabricated image that they had of Inuit, an image that is further confirmed via her other observations of the qallunaat themselves. In later passages, Aodla Freeman details how her relationship with the qallunaat is partially dependent on her ability to adhere to these stereotypes, as she comments how she “was friends with qallunaat as long as... [she] made parkas and translated for them” (51), thus implying that if she chose not to accomplish these tasks, then her relationships with the qallunaat would be weakened or non-existent. Moreover, qallunaat will go to great lengths to ensure that she adheres to their Inuit stereotypes, such as literally dressing her up to fulfill their image of an Inuk woman, as she was costumed for a Ginger Ale commercial, which involved her wearing a parka in the middle of July, in 80-degree weather, on top of a roof, under the beating sun. Towards the end of the

current edition, Aodla Freeman makes a comment regarding how qallunaat perceive Inuit, stating that “[t]hey [qallunaat] think that the Inuit were nothing but a bunch of smiley, happy people. They never stop to think that Inuit, too, are capable of killing and murdering, just as their society is full of” (220). This explicit acknowledgement of misrecognition (in which Aodla Freeman was forced into the confines of a qallunaat stereotype)—particularly when paired with other moments of misrecognition, such as her frequently being misidentified as Chinese (2015 29, 46, 47), Japanese (47), or Hawaiian (47)—suggests that readers need to exercise caution when first reading her text, as narrative details might not be what they first appear.

Hurtig Publishers removed many significant passages from Aodla Freeman’s original typescript; for example, the original publishers removed large passages about Aodla Freeman’s family members, especially her grandparents. Aodla Freeman’s narrative clearly explicates the major role that her grandparents played in her life, as her mother passed when she was a young girl, so the removal of these passages detracts from the narrative focusing on her family. I argue that the removal of stories about the author’s family increases the focus on her experiences living within qallunaat society and does not contribute to her articulated goal of creating and maintaining a record “for Inuit by Inuit” (Blake 147). Many of the deleted passages are concerned with Aodla Freeman’s grandmother and the teachings that she shared with the author and her younger brother, Miki. There is also the select removal of passages concerning Aodla Freeman’s extended family, which further emphasizes the focus on life in the South and detracts from Aodla Freeman’s familial narratives.

Reading the original typescript and the 1978 edition alongside one another, readers see that Hurtig Publishers removed the passage about “Grandmother’s Helpers” in which Aodla Freeman explains how her grandmother told stories about the visiting police officers to convince

her to behave appropriately. Likewise, Hurtig removed the portion in which Aodla Freeman explains why her grandmother was the only person who could “put... [her]... back in... [her] place” (Original Typescript 36), an action that she would never do because “she is too wise and too strong in the mind” (36). Without the inclusion of the justification, and the identification of her grandmother’s great strength, readers would not be aware of why Aodla Freeman’s grandmother had the ability to directly impact her granddaughter’s actions. In the present edition, the role of Aodla Freeman’s grandmother is made clear, as the author reflects on how her grandmother mobilized her childhood misunderstanding concerning the role of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). The passage further explains how Aodla Freeman did not know about the “law” and the responsibilities that the RCMP have as a result. Reflexively, Aodla Freeman now knows that her grandmother’s stories were “wonderful tricks to make... [her] listen” and “follow her [Aodla Freeman’s grandmother] rules” (2015 21). Removing this passage in the original publication reduces the representation of Aodla Freeman’s retroactive reflections about her grandmother’s nuanced parenting style. It is also possible that this passage was removed due to its other contents, including Aodla Freeman’s articulation of fearing the RCMP officers (people who are widely respected within Canadian national myth) and her “E9-438 number” (21). The “E9-438 number” is significant because by 1978 many readers would have been familiar with the number tattoos given to prisoners at concentration camps during the Holocaust; moreover, it would certainly be clear to readers that assigning numbers to people that are then forced to be part of their names/identity and worn on dog tags is an act of dehumanization.

The original editor’s decision to remove Aodla Freeman’s discussion of how prejudice makes a person look unhealthy (Original Typescript 42) does not allow for the same attention to

be drawn to her grandmother's wise commentary that is so prevalent within the original typescript. Weetaltuk, Aodla Freeman's maternal grandfather, is also frequently erased from the narrative. For example, Hurtig Publishers removed a passage about Weetaltuk in which Aodla Freeman discusses his experiences and the vast changes occurring in the North (Original Typescript 78-79). Shortly after, Hurtig Publishers removed a section from the vignette entitled "Weetaltuk Died and They Became Weak." The removal of this vignette does not enable Weetaltuk to be represented as a leader in the way that Aodla Freeman did in the original typescript. In this passage, Aodla Freeman also discusses the drastic impacts that government relocation programs had on her family (Original Typescript 80). Removal of information regarding the Government of Canada's relocation programs, especially when coupled with the editorial decisions to remove substantial narrative details about Aodla Freeman's family, further demonstrates that the original publication was primarily intended for Southern audiences, as inclusion of information about the relocation programs would have likely been controversial to them at the time—Northern audiences were likely already be aware. Other family members—such as Aodla Freeman's "crippled uncle" (Original Typescript 102)—are also removed from the text.

The deletion of Aodla Freeman's community moves beyond her family, as the original publishers also removed moments when she discusses Inuit cultural practices. For example, Aodla Freeman originally included a passage in which she explains how a husband and wife refer to one another within her Inuit culture (Original Typescript 218-219), but it was removed, along with other passages such as the experiences of James Bay Inuit travelling South for medical treatment (Original Typescript 353-355), something that was also unlikely to be known by Southern audiences at the time. Lastly, the select removal of information about Aodla

Freeman's family also contributes to larger notions of "salvage ethnography," as removed passages detract from her familial and cultural vibrancy and complexity, including the addition of three new cousins that were born to two uncles and an aunt, are removed, while the passing of other family members is retained (Original Typescript 131-132). Removing passages detailing the family's expansion also contributes to notions of "salvage ethnography" because it presents a disappearance or erasure of Aodla Freeman's community—something that the genre of "salvage ethnography" is premised on.

Syntactic modifications made by the original publisher reduce Aodla Freeman's agency within interactions with qallunaat. Early in the original typescript, Aodla Freeman details an interaction that she has with a qallunaaq woman in Ottawa. Aodla Freeman initially constructed the sentence for the typescript in the following manner: "I stood for some time where I was told to wait for her. Suddenly a woman was examining me and I looked at her" (4). In this exchange, there is a gaze executed by the qallunaaq woman and reciprocated by Aodla Freeman. There is balance within the exchange. Compare this to the modified sentence of the Hurtig edition that reads: "Suddenly, a woman approached me" (19). In this sentence, particularly when compared to the original, Aodla Freeman is passively approached by the woman and she does not return her gaze within the text. This imposed passivity is seen in other exchanges that Aodla Freeman has with qallunaat, namely her unnamed qallunaaq friend and her qallunaaq husband. In the original typescript, Aodla Freeman explains how she watched her qallunaaq for cultural cues on how to conduct herself within a restaurant (30); in comparison, the 1978 edition states that "[a]s usual I followed my *qallunaaq* without question" (34). Again, in this exchange modified by Hurtig Publishers, Aodla Freeman becomes passive as she follows her qallunaaq friend as "usual." A later passage contains the same structure, as Hurtig's edition states that her "qallunaaq

wanted to go swimming one day and... [Aodla Freeman] wanted company” (35). Although Aodla Freeman states multiple times in her narrative that she experienced loneliness while in the South, the original sentence explains how she made the decision with her qallunaaq friend, as “[m]y Qallunaaq and I decided to go swimming” (32). These slight modifications on the level of syntax give the effect of Aodla Freeman being a passive recipient of qallunaaq culture, when the original typescript clearly demonstrates the challenges that she overcame when traveling to the South.

Several passages removed from the Hurtig edition reduce the doubt that readers may acquire because of Aodla Freeman’s trepidation and introduction of uncertainty. For example, in the original typescript when Aodla Freeman is deconstructing the meaning of the word “qallunaaq” she argues that she is “not sure anymore if thats what it means” (Original Typescript 104). The uncertainty is introduced because at the opening of the narrative Aodla Freeman explains that she believes Inuit refer to Southerners as “qallunaaq” because they pamper their eyebrows (Original Typescript 103-104). Hurtig Publishers’ decision to remove this slight doubt has the effect of increasing the author’s credibility, as her self-questioning is removed from the reader’s view, but it also reduces the complexity of the term. Other situations, such as when the narrator meets the “Grand Lady” or the man reading Arabic, also introduce hesitation into those passages and the entirety of the narrative. When first meeting the “Grand Lady,” for example, Aodla Freeman articulates that she did “not know what... [she] thought on arriving” (Original Typescript 29). Although it would be incredibly disorientating to be in the presence of the woman that Aodla Freeman calls the “Mrs. the late Governor General Georges Vanier” (2015 25), especially considering the narrator’s shy personality, the author’s uncertainty is made clear in this passage through the articulation of her inner thoughts of confusion, even years after the

original event occurred. Aodla Freeman's uncertainty has the double effect of positioning her as an outsider to qallunaat culture and introducing further ambiguity to her ability to comment on qallunaat culture. Hurtig Publishers' decision to remove this passage suggests that it detracted from Aodla Freeman's authority. A later passage, in which Aodla Freeman strikes up a discussion with a man reading in Arabic, introduces further uncertainty because she comments on how she missed things because of her not asking inquiring questions (Original Typescript 56). Lastly, while narrating a vignette about the time that she got caught in a revolving door trying to purchase stamps, she addresses how she learned "some strange but very tall tales about Qallunaat being so knowledgeable about everything" (Original Typescript 23). Together, the removal of these passages reduces the doubt that readers may have reading *Life Among the Qallunaat*, but it also does not allow Aodla Freeman to unpack some of the complexity of Inuktitut words, how she understood qallunaat culture, or learning to ask inquiring questions.

Forced Dialogue with "Ethnographies"

Overall, this chapter has considered both editions of *Life Among the Qallunaat* and the original typescript to question how different elements of the text—ranging from the paratext to how the text is internally organized—help the readership to understand it generically. Genre classification is important for readers because it frames their initial approach to the text and their experiences with the genre in the past may mould their current reading practices. This chapter highlighted how the various methods employed by the editors often frame Aodla Freeman's text as a form of reverse ethnography. In the final section of this chapter, I will read *Life Among the Qallunaat* in relation to contemporaneous ethnographic publications, namely Peter Freuchen's *Book of the Eskimos* (first published in 1961 and was re-published in 1981 for a mass market), Bernhard Adolph Hantzsch's *My Life Among the Eskimos* (based on the Baffinland Journals

published between 1909-1911 and re-published in 1977 as an English translation), and *The Life and Work of E.J. Peck Among the Eskimos* (first published in 1904). I consider *Life Among the Qallunaat* in relation to early ethnographies for two main reasons: 1) Hurtig's assertion that Aodla Freeman's publication fight back ("Conversation" xv) against an unidentified ethnographic text suggests that these early texts shaped his editorial decisions; 2) some of the ethnographic texts, particularly Freuchen's publication, were directed at a broad reading public, which is likely to shape dominant perceptions of Inuit and their communities. These three early ethnographies have vastly different publication dates, are concerned with different geographical spaces within Inuit Nunaat, and have diverse reasons to be considered in relation to Aodla Freeman's *Life Among the Qallunaat*. Although it is unlikely that readers will ever know the exact title of the ethnography that Hurtig was pondering when he suggested that Aodla Freeman change the title of her original typescript, I suggest that these three titles are a strong possibility.

All the texts considered within this section can be classified as forms of "ethnography." Referring to the "Defining Genre" portion of this chapter, readers will recall that an "ethnography" is a text that describes a given culture following "systematic study" (Oxford English Dictionary). In this case, however, I am invoking the term to refer to three texts that provide some description and narration of Inuit cultures—whether this outcome is the primary intention or not. Freuchen, Hantzsch, and Peck all went to different regions within Inuit Nunaat to undertake various tasks, but, regardless of the intended task, each author produced a text that describes Inuit from the region where they were doing work. Freuchen, who was Knud Rasmussen's travel partner, tells a vastly personal account that details his time working closely with Inuit. In contrast, Hantzsch presents a travel journal that painstakingly explains the minute details of his daily life while working as an ornithologist. Lastly, Reverend Peck was working to

convert Inuit across the Canadian Arctic to Christianity. Regardless of intention, these books were published and disseminated within primarily European reading publics and provided accounts of Inuit cultures from a European, male perspective. Given that most Southern Canadians would not have had access to further information beyond these texts (among other contemporary texts, most of which were also written by white men), the information contained within these ethnographies would have been seminal in shaping how many Canadians in the South understood Inuit and their cultures.

Despite the differences between the three texts, all publications disseminate information about Inuit during the early to mid-twentieth century, and this likely impacts how readers engaged with Aodla Freeman's memoir. Perhaps Hurtig suggested the title change and the modification of the paratextual material as a means of attracting a readership that would have been more familiar with the material presented in these texts. Either way, forcing *Life Among the Qallunaat* into dialogue with publications written by white men during the early twentieth century is likely to remind readers of these texts and it obscures Aodla Freeman's focus on the politics of her community, because readers' attention is drawn to the history of the ethnographic texts. Overall, the forced dialogue was not useful or logical, as the imposed conversation acted as a gimmick to manufacture false connections between Aodla Freeman's memoir and contemporaneous ethnographies.

Book of the Eskimos, Peter Freuchen

Although the 2015 prefacing interview does not identify Peter Freuchen's *Book of the Eskimos* as the ethnographic text that Aodla Freeman's memoir was forced into dialogue with,⁵⁶

⁵⁶ In listening to Martin's recording of the original interview, Aodla Freeman says that her book was forced into dialogue with *Life Among the Eskimos*. Although Aodla Freeman does not

Keavy Martin made an editorial note during the revision process of *Life Among the Qallunaat* stating that she had mentioned Freuchen's work to Aodla Freeman and that Aodla Freeman has discussed her book in relation to Freuchen's work in conversation. Moreover, Freuchen's publications—much like those of his travelling partner, Knud Rasmussen—are part of a larger discourse concerning polar exploration and ethnographic literature contemporaneous with Bernhard Adolph Hantzsch and Edmund James (E.J.) Peck. As a result, it is imperative that this chapter consider Freuchen's text in relation to *Life Among the Qallunaat* to address potential ethnographic texts that Aodla Freeman's memoir was forced into dialogue with during its initial publication.

The popularity of Freuchen's publication is apparent because the text was originally published as both a hardcover and later as a paperback edition. Originally published posthumously in 1961, *Book of the Eskimos* precedes the first printing of Aodla Freeman's memoir by 17 years. Yet, despite the substantial gap between the publications, there are several similarities between Freuchen's *Book of the Eskimos* and Aodla Freeman's *Life Among the Qallunaat*, namely the structural components of the respective texts. For example, both texts are composed by weaving a series of shorter narratives together to create a larger narrative that references itself at various points throughout. Likewise, both Freuchen and Aodla Freeman's stories use a framing structure in which the smaller narratives begin and conclude in the same manner. In Freuchen's "Marriage, the Harbor of Safety," for example, he begins by asking "[i]s it of any advantage to be beautiful? Yes and no" (267). Likewise, he concludes the same passage with the same statement. Acting as a framing device for the smaller vignette, the current edition

remember the author's name, she states that he was an anthropologist from Denmark. Martin suggests Peter Freuchen's name in response and Aodla Freeman agrees.

of Aodla Freeman's memoir employs a similar strategy. For example, in the vignette "They Too Have Their Own Way of Writing," Aodla Freeman begins with the following statement: "Not very long after my visit and after many, many bottles of Coke, my right foot got infected to the point where I could not walk" (2015 26). Like Freuchen's text, this passage in *Life Among the Qallunaat* concludes with Aodla Freeman reminding the reader why she shared this story, namely because, "[a]fter that, I never drank any Coke—I sort of like it, but it did not like me" (2015 27). Here, both texts reflect oral narration, as the reader is gently reminded of the story's purpose. All editions of Aodla Freeman's *Life Among the Qallunaat*, including the original typescript, are structured as a series of small vignettes; accordingly, a comparative reading of Aodla Freeman's memoir and Freuchen's ethnographic text demonstrates that not all of the similarities between early ethnographic texts and *Life Among the Qallunaat* are the result of editorial decisions. Instead, it shows the permeability of generic boundaries, as both Aodla Freeman and Freuchen's text are able to reflect oral narration within a written text.

The popularity of Freuchen's text likely informed contemporary conversations and acted as a cultural zeitgeist—shaping and defining the intellectual culture of the era. The text's role in shaping contemporary discourses likely impacted how the first edition of Aodla Freeman's text was received in 1978 when it was first published. Unlike the texts published by Hantzsch and Peck, Freuchen presents a personalized narrative, which reflects the methods that he employed in the "field." Freuchen took "participant observation" further than any of his contemporary anthropologists (Wagner n.p.), as he spent a significant portion of his life living with Inuit in Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland) and married Navarana Mequpaluk, an Inuk woman from Perlernerit (Cape York), Greenland. Freuchen's close work with Inuit—especially his first person, personal tone—stands in stark contrast to the more "scientific" accounts that were popular in the early

twentieth century when he departed for his first expedition in 1906. Likewise, Freuchen's ethnography is representative of early ethnographic texts that defined generic expectations at that time. Seeing a similar structure within Aodla Freeman's publication, readers would likely perceive the mirroring as an engagement between *Life Among the Qallunaat* and *Book of the Eskimos*, despite *Life Among the Qallunaat* being a text written independently of any ethnography.

My Life Among the Eskimos: The Baffinland Journals of Bernhard Adolph Hantzsch 1909-1911, Translated (from the German original) and Edited by L.H. Neatby

Bernhard Adolph Hantzsch's text *My Life Among the Eskimos: The Baffinland Journals of Bernhard Adolph Hantzsch 1909-1911* is published as book three in the Mawdsley Memoir Series, a collection of texts that were published to honour the late Dr. J.B. Mawdsley, the first Director of the Institute for Northern Studies at the University of Saskatchewan (n.p.). I argue that *Life Among the Qallunaat* may have been forced into dialogue with Hantzsch's text for several reasons: first, *My Life Among the Eskimos* was re-published as an English translation of the German original in 1977 by the University of Saskatchewan Press, a year before Aodla Freeman's text was first released. Second, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs provided a research grant that supported Neatby in undertaking the translations of the original document (n.p.) and it is possible that the Department also supported Aodla Freeman's publication by mass-purchasing copies. Lastly, much like the original forward of *Life Among the Qallunaat* penned by Former Minister of the Arctic Alex Stevenson, the forward of Hantzsch's text was written by Graham W. Rowley, a Former Advisor to the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs in Ottawa. Despite these similarities—all of which are the result of external influences and not authorial decision-making by Aodla Freeman—there are several notable

differences between *Life Among the Qallunaat* and *My Life Among the Eskimos*. Specifically, given the map included on the back cover of Hantzsch's text, it is clear that Hantzsch was not undertaking work anywhere near James Bay, or the area where Aodla Freeman grew-up.

Hantzsch was also trained as an ornithologist and the cover art for the 1977 edition was done by J. Dewey Soper, a Canadian ornithologist. The disjunction between Aodla Freeman's memoir and Hantzsch's text raises several questions concerning why the two texts were potentially forced into dialogue by the original publisher. A comparative examination of these two texts is required, because Hantzsch's re-published text is representative of the early ethnographic documents being re-issued close to the publication of the original *Life Among the Qallunaat*.

It is challenging to assign a genre classification to Hantzsch's text because of its varied history and the breadth of its content. Despite being trained as an ornithologist, Hantzsch is aware of anthropological works because Franz Boas' report on the Central Eskimos is referenced (Rowley xi), and, much like Knud Rasmussen, he chose to travel and live like the Inuit (xi), although "he did not attempt to emulate them" (xi). The "Editor's Introduction" frames the text in several ways: originally, the editor comments how "Hantzsch's character and interests, his circumstances and mode of travel, make his *memoir* an original document throughout" (xvi, emphasis added). However, in a later passage of the "Editor's Introduction," Hantzsch's text is referenced as "one of the best pieces of Arctic literature... [that] will bear comparison with the outstanding travelogues of earlier times" (xviii). Hantzsch re-wrote part of the text prior to his passing and his "revised narrative is full of graphic touches which could have had no place in the daily journal from which it is compiled" (xviii); yet, he was unable to revise the entirety of his narrative before his passing, so how is the text to be discussed? Is it a travelogue? A memoir? An ethnography? Or something else entirely? Hantzsch's text is potentially a travelogue, as it begins

with him working to acquire the needed funds to begin his Arctic adventure and it details his experiences during his travels. There is also the potential that it is a memoir because it details the author's life experiences and at times references experiences from his childhood. Lastly, there is the potential that it is an ethnography given that Hantzsch does discuss Inuit cultural practices throughout. One of the most troubling aspects of this forced dialogue is that the contents of Hantzsch's text—regardless of how it is generically classified—are vastly different from the contents of Aodla Freeman's text. Hantzsch's text frequently discusses the quotidian, mundane experiences of daily life in the Arctic, such as having his flour ruined due to contact with moisture. In contrast, Aodla Freeman's discussions of her new experiences in the South are not framed as routine experiences, but rather as new experiences that the reader is able to experience alongside Aodla Freeman.

The Life and Work of E.J. Peck Among the Eskimos, Edited by Arthur Lewis

During our interview, Aodla Freeman stated that Peck's *The Life and Work of E.J. Peck Among the Eskimos* was the book that Hurtig was referencing because her family "had all Northern books and... [she] knew what he [Hurtig] was talking about" (personal interview, Sept. 5, 2017). Aodla Freeman is ideally positioned to make comments on potential relationships between her publication and historic ethnographies, because she has vast personal experiences working with anthropologists on research and she is married to Milton Freeman, an anthropologist who worked across Inuit Nunangat. Peck's text was first printed in 1904, but Aodla Freeman's copy that she lent me was part of the third print run in 1908. However, the text details Peck's experiences working with Inuit in the later nineteenth century because in June 1876 Peck was asked to travel to Hudson's Bay "to go forward to preach the Gospel to the Eskimos" (21). Aodla Freeman's assertion that Peck's text was the book that Hurtig was

referencing is fitting for several reasons: first, it makes sense geographically because Peck dedicates entire chapters to discussing Inuit culture in the Hudson's Bay region. For example, Peck states that "It is sufficient to say that those to whom the reader will be introduced [within the text] are almost exclusively those of the central division on the Eastern shores of the Hudson's Bay and Cumberland Sound" (25). Second, like Hantzsch, Peck had clear knowledge of the discipline of anthropology because he was asked by Franz Boas to collect ethnographic data. Peck's knowledge of the discipline of anthropology is important to note because Aodla Freeman's text was framed by Hurtig Publishers as a "reverse ethnography."

Unlike Hantzsch's text, Peck's publication does have some similarities with the content of Aodla Freeman's *Life Among the Qallunaat*. Although the present chapter is focused on the forced dialogue between *Life Among the Qallunaat* and early ethnographies, and the problems with this process, there is some permeability between generic boundaries and using Western genre classifications may not always be fitting for Inuit literature—as the next section will demonstrate—so this section will briefly speak to the commonalities between Peck's text and *Life Among the Qallunaat*. For example, Peck dedicates substantial space to unpacking Inuktitut and other terms circulating in relation to Inuit, such as the word "Eskimo" (23). Much like Aodla Freeman, Peck draws comparisons between what he experiences in the North and his life back home in England. For instance, Peck details how—much like the women back home in England—the labour of Inuit women "is never done" (48). Lastly, Peck addresses some Inuit stereotypes through the lens of a European who has spent years in the Arctic. In *Life Among the Qallunaat*, Aodla Freeman challenges the European perception that Inuit people are always happy and smiling. Much like Aodla Freeman, Peck makes the following observation:

We picture to ourselves, perhaps, the delight of such a trip. The merry bells tinkle in our ears; the ruddy faces of the travelers glowing with health and happiness

appear before us; the smooth, swift, exhilarating motion of the sledge seems to impart itself to our own bodies; as in fancy we compare it with the animated scenes that we have witnessed among those who seek their pleasure in this fashion on the sometimes frozen snow of our own well-laid, even roads (123).

In response to the above stereotypical image, Peck states that “we must not allow fancy to lead us astray by making us think that Arctic journeys are pleasant picnics” (124). Together, these ethnographies provide additional context regarding contemporaneous ethnographic discourses that were circulating alongside the original publication of *Life Among the Qallunaat*, which in turn impacted academic conversations around the first publication of *Life Among the Qallunaat*. Hurtig’s decision to modify the title of Aodla Freeman’s memoir—as a means of “fighting back [against the book] *Life Among the Eskimos*” (“Conversation” xv)—clearly demonstrates how the forced dialogue between Aodla Freeman’s memoir and early ethnographic texts shifted both our understanding of the genre and the purpose of her memoir, namely to create a text for Inuit (Blake 147).

Past Academic Understandings of *Life Among the Qallunaat*

Save for the most-recent editors’ “Afterword” that is published in the 2015 edition, and Keavy Martin’s article in *Canadian Literature*, all currently published scholarship about *Life Among the Qallunaat* is concerned with the 1978 publication. As this section will demonstrate, most academics—perhaps persuaded by Hurtig’s marketing decisions—read Aodla Freeman’s text to be a form of reverse ethnography in which she uses the text to comment on Southern, qallunaat culture. Dale Blake, for example, reads *Life Among the Qallunaat* as a form of “metissage,” or something that is written from an in-between place that is “an ambiguous and ill-defined territory” (153). Heather Henderson argues that Aodla Freeman is “[c]ondemned to remain on the border between two worlds” (68)—that of the qallunaat and Inuit. Like Blake, Bina Toledo Freiwald frames Aodla Freeman as “an observer of and commentator on multiple,

intersecting realities: traditional Inuit life, Inuit life in transitions, the *qallunaat* experience in the North, the Inuit experience in the South, and *qallunaat* life in the South” (285). Toledo Freiwald argues that Aodla Freeman occupies the position of an “autoethnographer” who provides commentary on her life as an Inuk living in the South experiencing “intersecting realities” (285). Likewise, Peter Kulchyski argues that Aodla Freeman’s book “can be read as an Inuit anthropological description of non-Natives: the strange habits of the *qallunaat*, ‘people who pamper their eyebrows’” (191). Sherrill Grace identifies *Life Among the Qallunaat* as a narrative that “amounts to an ethnographic gaze on these strange people [qallunaat]” (241), and Julia V. Emberley classifies Aodla Freeman’s text as an “anthropological study of colonial culture” (23). Lastly, Robin McGrath, in her article “Circumventing the Taboos,” briefly addresses the working relationships between some Indigenous authors and anthropologists. Specifically, McGrath argues that “the presence of anthropologists in native Indian and Inuit communities has worked to actively support the writing and dissemination of native autobiography in isolated areas” (215) and she also provides a brief close reading of *Life Among the Qallunaat*. As the above scholarship demonstrates, most academics have perceived Aodla Freeman’s memoir as a form of anthropological commentary, or a reverse ethnography about the qallunaat world, which is not what the author intended for her publication. This is a problem because it re-centers whiteness—while external oppressive structures remain intact—and qallunaat remain the primary focus of the narrative, not Inuit.

In contrast to the scholars above, Keavy Martin and Norman Vorano look at *Life Among the Qallunaat* as an independent text, or one that is not necessarily reliant on qallunaat discourses. For example, Vorano argues that the 1978 edition of Aodla Freeman’s memoir reverses the “traditional order of representation” because she is clearly “writing *for* Inuit, not

about them” (18)—a comment that is affirmed by Blake’s interview with Aodla Freeman in which Aodla Freeman states that she wrote her memoir for other Inuit (147). Likewise, Martin, in *Stories in a New Skin: Approaches to Inuit Literature* (2012), argues that Aodla Freeman is working within the tradition of *inuusirmingnik unikkaat*, or speaking from experience (114). Martin articulates how Aodla Freeman moves flexibly between genres and contributes to Inuit conceptions of literary criticism by drawing from her personal experiences (114), while simultaneously creating new narratives that can guide readers/listeners into different ways of understanding Inuit texts (119). Moreover, Martin’s recent article, “The Rhetoric of Silence in *Life Among the Qallunaat*,” explores the role of silence within the text (145). More specifically, Martin explores how silence teaches the means by which “listeners attune their ears to its rich complexities” (147). Together, this scholarship demonstrates the generative potential of reading *Life Among the Qallunaat* as something more than a text that functions to “speak back” against the narrativization of blended culture (whether occurring in ethnographies or another medium) and dominant representations in the South: something that is restored in the most recent edition. The present edition restores the structure of the original typescript, which helps to resist reading *Life Among the Qallunaat* as a text that “speaks back.” Moreover, it frames Aodla Freeman’s text as she intended: a narrative about her experiences for present and future Inuit, not a reverse ethnographic text.

Differing from previous publications concerning *Life Among the Qallunaat*, the twenty-first-century editors comment on the versatile nature of Aodla Freeman’s text, arguing that the author “was able to make use of the memoir form..., as her narrative weaves together inherited Inuit knowledge, a ‘reverse ethnographic’ account of her time in Ottawa and Hamilton, and reflections on the history and activity of the people of James Bay during a period of intense

political and social change” (Rak, Martin, Dunning 262). The most-recent editors argue that aspects of the original publication—particularly the title change (266) and the implementation of the three subtitles (270)—misrepresent Aodla Freeman’s intended focus on the Inuit of James Bay and instead draw readers to focus on the author’s experiences in the South. To challenge the impositions left by Hurtig Publishers, the current editors aimed to “restore” (272) *Life Among the Qallunaat* by reinserting passages originally removed from the 1978 edition and returning lines and wording “so that Aodla Freeman’s own voice and way of telling a story are as strong as they are in her typescript” (272). Overall, the present editors aimed to establish a “balance between clarity and Aodla Freeman’s own way of telling her readers what she wants them to know” (273). These editorial decisions become particularly salient when considered in relation to the publication history of Aodla Freeman’s memoir and the dangers of framing *Life Among the Qallunaat* as a qallunaat-centric text.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has argued that the 1978 edition of Mini Aodla Freeman’s *Life Among the Qallunaat* was framed as a reverse ethnographic publication that presented commentary on Southern life from an Inuk woman’s perspective, while the paratext worked to frame Inuit and their cultures according to anthropological stereotypes. For example, the change in title guides readers to consider Aodla Freeman’s memoir in relation to early ethnographies and the removal of select passages reinforces false notions of salvage ethnography. Although there is uncertainty concerning which text Aodla Freeman’s original memoir was forced into dialogue with—this chapter suggested the possibility of Peter Freuchen’s *Book of Eskimos*, Arthur Lewis’s *The Life and Work of E.J. Peck Among the Eskimos*, and/or Bernhard Adolph Hantzsch’s *My Life Among the Eskimos*—it is clear that larger anthropological discourses are

referenced via Alex Stevenson's introduction to the 1978 text, the book sleeve of that same edition, and the imposition of a three part structure that highlights Aodla Freeman's life in the South. Understandably, most previous scholarship has highlighted the "reverse ethnographic" qualities of *Life Among the Qallunaat*, but this chapter sought to use the original typescript and the editorial materials to consider the ways in which the framing and extensive editing of the original text shaped earlier academic arguments. This reshaping is important because it forced Aodla Freeman's *Life Among the Qallunaat* into dialogue with texts that it was not intended to engage with. This forced engagement resulted in Aodla Freeman's memoir being marketed as a form of reverse ethnography that focused on Southern life in favour of the complex, intricate politics of Aodla Freeman's home community in Nunaaluk. Likewise, my interview with Aodla Freeman helped to address the publication history and her personal experiences with both the 1978 and 2015 editions.

This chapter sought to challenge previous interpretations of *Life Among the Qallunaat* as a "reverse ethnography" through a consideration of the publication history of *Life Among the Qallunaat*, reading the 1978 and 2015 editions in relation to each other, and consulting with the author. The importance of author consultation is highlighted in the results of Dale Blake's dissertation, because discussion with Aodla Freeman revealed that she did not intend for her memoir to be understood as a reverse ethnography. Blake's dissertation, which is concerned with Inuit autobiography, provides a basis for using interviews within the context of literary studies. Given that Blake is working within the genre of autobiography, she attests to how "consultation may lead to additional needed information, surprising differences in opinion, and conflicting views about the characteristics, purposes, and direction" of the literature under consideration (201). Blake's dissertation highlights the importance of consulting with living authors, as she

interviews Aodla Freeman about her autobiography; during the interview, Aodla Freeman explains how she did not write her autobiography with political intentions in mind (147), but other scholars that did not consult with the author argue that Aodla Freeman enacts a “decisive writing back” to the Southern reader (Grace 241). As such, I undertook an interview—and follow-up discussions—with Aodla Freeman as a form of consultation.

My argument in this chapter challenges earlier academic discourses concerning Aodla Freeman’s memoir primarily because I had access to more materials than previous academics—especially the original typescript—and I discussed the publication with the author herself. Access to this additional material offered new insights into how the changes made by Hurtig Publishers help to facilitate a reverse ethnographic reading of the 1978 edition of *Life Among the Qallunaat*. The changes made to the original publication are problematic for multiple reasons. First, a reverse ethnographic reading of a text that was created by an Inuk author—for other Inuit (Blake 147)—shifts the text to focus on qallunaat, not Inuit. With this shift, qallunaat remain at the center of the conversation and therefore retain dominance within the narrative. Re-centering whiteness and focusing on qallunaat is problematic because it offers qallunaat a false sense of having “experienced” marginalization, while the oppressive structures imposed by colonization remain intact outside of the text itself. Second, using editorial revisions to remove information about Inuit, their communities, cultures, and families, re-inscribes colonial violence, as it removes Inuit from their own narrative, thus enacting the perceived assumptions of “salvage ethnography”—namely the misperception that Indigenous peoples are disappearing. This disappearance is especially problematic because Indigenous women, girls and Two-Spirit people are experiencing alarming rates of violence within lands claimed by Canada and abroad.

It is important to analyze the effects of the editorial decisions that reframed Aodla Freeman's memoir as a reverse ethnography, because editing the original typescript into a form of reverse ethnography re-inscribes the violence perpetuated by salvage ethnography. Continuing the violence of salvage ethnography, which, as demonstrated above, had negative impacts on policy (Inuit relocation by the Government of Canada, residential school, etc.), it is important to investigate how the reframing of Aodla Freeman's text impacted the ways in which the narrative is read. When we read Aodla Freeman's memoir outside of the confines of ethnography—as the author intended—we stand to gain insight into the information that the author intended to share with her reader. Moreover, the text offers Inuit readers an opportunity to engage with the text in the manner intended by the author, thus offering them an opportunity to learn about Aodla Freeman's family, community, and culture. The shift from framing Aodla Freeman's text as an ethnography to a life narrative also shows a change to a more intimate conversation, as we see a transition from Alex Stevenson, a former Administrator of the Arctic, opening the text with his "Forward" to a transcribed conversation between Aodla Freeman and the editors. Instead of speaking as distant, objective academics, the current editors transcribed an interview that occurred in Aodla Freeman's home and concludes with "You have time for tea?"

“Re-Learning” Through Community Filmmaking: Igloodik Isuma Productions’ *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*

“Some of the things we don’t know because we grew up without some of our history... A lot of it we’re relearning”⁵⁷

Zacharias Kunuk, personal interview

Introduction

“Reclamation” is a central term within my dissertation, as my research considers how Inuit artists—from poets to filmmakers—are drawing from historic ethnographic material to create new narratives that focus on Inuit cultures, communities, and peoples. Initially, I thought that the role of reclamation was clear in the Igloodik Isuma Productions’ film *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* (2006), because, as the title suggests, the producers drew from the ethnographic material produced during Knud Rasmussen’s Fifth Thule Expedition (1921-1924). Moreover, several scholars, including Michael Robert Evans (47), Sylvie Jasen (4), and Russell J.A. Kilbourn (99-100), discuss the extensive ethnographic research that the crew undertook prior to the film’s production. Drawing from scholarly publications and the film itself, I made the argument in earlier proposals that *The Journals* is a rearticulated account of the Fifth Thule Expedition that re-narrates a portion of the journey from an Iglulingmiut⁵⁸ perspective. I argued in initial proposals that the film is an example of reclamation, because the production team used materials from Rasmussen’s journey, such as written accounts, photographs, and various cultural products that Rasmussen collected during his travels, to “reclaim” the ethnographic accounts

⁵⁷ During verification, Kunuk clarified that Inuit had never seen this new technology, but he had grown up watching movies. He taught himself how to use a camera through trial and error. He got his first camera in 1981.

⁵⁸ Inuit from Igloodik, Nunavut.

from the perspective of the shaman Avva⁵⁹ and his family. Although this argument is still prominent within the present chapter, my interview with Atuat Akkitirq⁶⁰—and her gentle questioning concerning the translation of the word “reclamation”—greatly shifted the focus of my argument towards an inquiry into the roles that both “re-teaching” and “re-learning” played (and continue to play) in relation to Isuma’s *The Journals*.

Directed by Zacharias Kunuk and Norman Cohn, Igloolik Isuma Productions’ film *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* was co-produced with the Danish company Barok Film A/S. The opening intertitles of the film inform the viewer that the events begin in “Arctic Canada, January 1912,” but the narrative quickly moves to the area surrounding Igloolik, Nunavut in 1922. Similar to Isuma’s other productions, the film’s narrative centers an Inuit perspective concerning the interactions between the shaman Avva (played by Pakak Innuksuk), his family (especially his daughter, Apak [Leah Angutimarik]), and three Danish explorers from the Fifth Thule Expedition, namely Knud Rasmussen (Jens Jørn Spottag), Therkel Mathiassen (Jakob Cedergreen), and Peter Freuchen (Kim Bodnia). The storyline depicts the challenging scenarios and conflicting ideologies that dominated religious conversion in the North during the early twentieth century, as Umik the Prophet (Samueli Ammaq) offers food to Avva and his community in exchange for religious conversion. Given the current lack of resources, and the expansive journey that the group undertook to Igloolik, several members of Avva’s community (alongside Mathiassen and Freuchen, as Rasmussen did not travel to Igloolik) accept Umik’s

⁵⁹ Knud Rasmussen spells the shaman’s name as “Aua,” but I chose to maintain Isuma’s spelling of the name (“Avva”) within the present chapter. Moreover, Keavy Martin, in her monograph *Stories in a New Skin: Approaches to Inuit Literature*, also chose to use the “Avva” spelling following the work of Joanna Awa in “The Story of a Name” (147).

⁶⁰ All interview quotes from Atuat Akkitirq and Susan Avingaq are quoted from Jason Kunuk’s translation (Inuktitut to English). A full transcription of the interview, including the original Inuktitut responses, is included in Appendix A.

offer to partake in a communal religious feast. Community members' acceptance—and Avva's corresponding refusal to consume meats that are taboo to shamans—demonstrates a momentous shift, as viewers witness community members, especially those with shamanic abilities (like Apak) convert to Christianity in an inescapable situation. Towards the end of the film, Avva, who has already paid a visit to his dear (and now converted) friend Anguliannuk (Apayata Kotierk) exhibits an incredible amount of pain, as he banishes his helping spirits and turns away from his traditional beliefs. The film presents a nuanced and complicated account of early colonization in Northern Canada: a time that corresponds quite closely with contemporaneous notions of salvage ethnography. Given these interconnected narratives, how did crew members involved in the production of *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* draw from the numerous ethnographic products resulting from the Fifth Thule Expedition? And, returning to my conversation with Akkitirq, how do these rearticulated narratives inform (or facilitate) moments of “re-teaching” and “re-learning” for Inuit?

During our review of the project's informational letter and the interview consent form, Akkitirq inquired as to who had translated the document due to a concern with how the word “reclamation” had been rendered in the Inuktitut document.⁶¹ With the support of Jason Kunnuk, the interpreter that translated during Akkitirq and Susan Avingaq's interviews, I shared that a professional Inuktitut translator originally from Pangnirtung, Nunavut had translated all the documents. In response, Akkitirq suggested that it might be a “mistranslation” due to regional

⁶¹ The Nunavut Research Institute (NRI), which is the organization responsible for issuing permits to undertake research in the territory, requires that all documents are translated into Inuktitut (or the appropriate language for the region) before research is completed. I have included a more extensive discussion of this process—and the associated translations—within the methods section of the present chapter.

differences,⁶² as she did not believe that the creation of *The Journals* involved “reclamation.” Rather, she suggested that it was a process of “re-teaching”⁶³ because the required knowledge was present within the community and elders’ memories, but it had to be “re-taught” to younger generations during the production of the film. For example, the creation of *The Journals* required that knowledgeable seamstresses provide instruction to novice seamstresses. Michelline Ammaq, who was responsible for researching the costumes and supporting the sewing apprenticeship program for *The Journals*, explained during our interview that she matched elders with younger individuals who provided the difficult manual labour of softening the skins, but, “at the same time, they’re learning, like how Atuat [Akkitirq] would measure with her hands” (personal interview, July 23, 2018). Ammaq also described a specific sewing location where hot water for tea was provided and where individuals could visit together (personal interview, July 23, 2018). The process described by Ammaq mirrors how Akkitirq narrated her experiences learning to sew as a young girl, as her mother would put down her sewing and she would go and work with it⁶⁴ (personal interview, July 14, 2018). Likewise, Ammaq detailed how novice seamstresses could just turn to the nearest person within the sewing space to get support, and the elder would support them to learn the sewing methods used by their ancestors.

After a follow-up discussion with Jason Kunnuk, and further reflection on my own, I believe that Akkitirq may have tried to draw my attention to my misunderstanding of the process

⁶² Inuktitut dialects across Nunavut share substantial vocabulary, but “there are some striking differences” and “dialects can also vary considerably in terms of the affixes they use and what they mean” (Inuktitut Tusaalanga, “Differences between the dialects”).

⁶³ Unfortunately, there is no recording from this portion of the conversation, so I do not know the Inuktitut word that Akkitirq was suggesting.

⁶⁴ Willem C.E. Rasing details the Inuit observational learning style in his contribution to *Traditions, Traps and Trends: Transfer of Knowledge in Arctic Regions* (2018 Oosten and Miller, editors).

through the gentler suggestion that there might be an error within the document’s translation—something that I did not do myself. This gentle suggestion, especially when paired with the insightful questions at the end of the interview concerning the protocols of my doctoral program, emphasizes the importance of focusing on “re-teaching” and “re-learning” in favour of “reclamation” within the present chapter. After coding⁶⁵ all interview transcripts from discussions with the crew members involved with the production of *The Journals*, I recognised that both “re-teaching” and “re-learning” focused prominently within all discussions, so I chose to re-focus the present chapter to centre these discussions in lieu of “reclamation.” Shifting the focus from “reclamation” to “re-teaching” and “re-learning” has two major effects: first, the shift in diction emphasizes that the knowledge is *already* present within the community, but it required something (such as a film) to act as a catalyst to bring that knowledge to the forefront. Second, the shift in language ensures that Inuit crew members maintain their agency, as they are the experts in this process—not the qallunaat ethnographers.

Multiple definitions of “reclamation” are provided in the introductory chapter of this dissertation. Drawing from this discussion, I will focus on two definitions from the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) that are most closely associated with *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*, namely: 1) “The action of protesting, objecting, or expressing disapproval”; 2) “The action of claiming something (formerly in one’s legal possession) back.” The first definition encapsulates a potential “disapproval” with early representations of Iglulingmiut within ethnographic publications. However, this understanding is quickly challenged, as Ammaq

⁶⁵ Although I use “coding” as the verb for describing how I reviewed my interview transcripts, I did not use NVivo, or a similar data analysis software, due to the limited number of transcripts. However, I did review the interview transcripts to locate major themes and common terms, so I believe that the term is appropriate.

articulated during our interview that she would “like to see a newer edition of his [Rasmussen’s] journey” published, or a newer, more accessible text that she could share with her grandsons (personal interview, July 23, 2018). Moreover, the actions of “protesting” and “objecting” do not align with Inuit forms of conflict resolution, as Alethea Arnaquq-Baril demonstrates in her documentary film *Angry Inuk* (2016). Speaking about Inuit responses to various sealskin bans, and later to the young Inuit students of the Nunavut Sivuniksavut⁶⁶ program, Arnaquq-Baril articulates how Inuit conciliatory practices are often calmer than the aggressive responses that can characterize protests in the South. Accordingly, a definition that foregrounds aggressive actions does not capture the process of creating *The Journals*. The second definition, which centers “claiming” something back, suggests that the “possession”—or knowledge, in this case—has already *left* the community, which does not align with Akkitirq’s suggestion that the knowledge remained in the community and elders’ memories.

In contrast, what might it mean to “re-learn,” or, conversely, “re-teach” within the context of the film’s production? Following Akkitirq’s suggestion, “re-teaching”/ “re-learning” emphasizes that the knowledge is *already* present within the community, but it requires something—such as the production of a film—to act as a catalyst and bring that knowledge forward. For example, during our interview, Akkitirq explained how the elders already knew the methods used for making the various outfits, but they had to use an ethnographic drawing to help recreate a pair of pants with a large pocket (personal interview, July 14, 2018). Ammaq expanded on Akkitirq’s commentary when she shared that she had a general idea of the pattern, as she had seen a photograph of her great grandmother wearing her pants with the large pocket

⁶⁶ Based in Ottawa, Ontario, the program provides Inuit youth with cultural and academic learning opportunities.

and she had also seen her late uncle's wife wearing hers, but, because she did not see the pants annually, she had to use other materials for support (personal interview, July 23, 2018). Hence, the drawing supported the group to “re-learn” the design, as the elders had it in their memories, but they required various materials to solidify the pattern in their minds. Akkitirq and Ammaq's examples demonstrate that the collective memory of the community is intact, but the artists are still pragmatic and draw from historical sources when they are available. Moreover, Ammaq, who attended boarding school from the age of seven—when she “should have been learning around the camp”—used the early short films created by Isuma to learn the knowledge that had been “robbed” from her as a child (personal interview, July 23, 2018). Ammaq's second example exemplifies how the films themselves were also used as tools for “re-teaching,” as she learned cultural knowledge that she would have acquired in the absence of the residential school system. Again, it is crucial to emphasize that Ammaq's film-based learning also aligns with Akkitirq's “re-teaching” model, because (like the knowledge concerning the pants with the large pocket) the support originates from *within* the community.

How might the shift in language from “reclamation” to “re-teaching” / “re-learning” ensure that Inuit crew members maintain agency, instead of the predominately white ethnographers, such as Peter Freuchen and Therkel Mathiassen (both of which were participants in the Fifth Thule Expedition and represented in *The Journals*)? And what ongoing impacts might “re-teaching” and “re-learning” have in Igloodik? Shifting the discussion from “reclamation” to both “re-teaching” / “re-learning” ensures that the agency, namely who has the knowledge and the ability to write narratives about Iglulingmiut, rests within the community. Employing a model based in these practices also centers artists—particularly elders—due to its emphasis on Iglulingmiut as the bearers of cultural knowledge about their community.

Foregrounding these processes demonstrates that the community's memory remains intact, which challenges the very basis of salvage ethnography. How can something be "salvaged" if it was only assumed to be on the brink of disappearance and was not actually lost? Lastly, "re-teaching" / "re-learning" offers a community-centric approach, as it represents the community as the knowledge holder, not past ethnographers. These questions are particularly important when considered in relation to the production of *The Journals*, as it is a multi-authored text that was created with the support of many community members—something that will be addressed via my justification for choosing to interview multiple crew members.

Drawing from Kim TallBear's methodology of "standing with," which involves crediting individuals that are not conventionally regarded as scholars by academia, but are nonetheless essential to the work that we do as academics (82), I am choosing to centre the explanations concerning "re-teaching" and "re-learning" articulated by crew members from *The Journals* during our interviews. Beginning with "re-teaching," Susan Avingaq, an elder and seamstress involved with *The Journals*, articulates how she contributed to the set design, namely: "She already knew how it was. She grew up like that. How it was organized, so she already knew from experience" (personal interview, July 16, 2018). During the filming process, Avingaq would be asked to comment on the arrangement of materials on set, so these moments—coupled with the moments in which she would determine if the selected props were functional on set—provided opportunities for her to re-teach crew members about life during her childhood. Likewise, Avingaq noted how younger generations did not know how to make clothes for "little younger ones, kids," so "she got the pattern all the way from her memory" to teach other community members (personal interview, July 16, 2018). Madeline Ivalu and Avingaq worked together to teach community members different clothing styles for children and youth. During our interview,

Avingaq discussed how important it is to capture traditional clothing on film, because “when you hear about certain clothing patterns, when you just hear, it’s hard to imagine the parka, the pants... it’s hard to imagine,” but seeing it is “the real visual” (personal interview, July 16, 2018). Therefore, filming these processes, and creating opportunities in which community members can learn through observation, fosters numerous opportunities for teaching and learning. Both quotes emphasize the importance of representing Inuit culture on screen and how it offers opportunities for re-teaching.

Building on the concept of “re-teaching,” several examples of “re-learning” were also offered during my interviews with the crew members from *The Journals*. For example, Ammaq located a photograph of Nivisanaaq’s (Mrs. Shoofly) amauti,⁶⁷ enlarged that photograph, and counted the beads before creating the costume to ensure accuracy (personal interview, July 23, 2018). This process acted as a moment of “re-learning,” because Ammaq used a photograph, or an ethnographic product from the Fifth Thule Expedition, to recreate a historic outfit. Ammaq’s commentary demonstrates how the ethnographic record can still be understood as a tool that can be used in the “re-learning” process. Although the ethnographic material did not originate in the community, it was the creation of *The Journals*—something initiated and completed in the community—that facilitated Ammaq’s “re-learning” experience. Presumably, she also received support from the other women in the sewing group to “re-learn” some of the techniques required to sew the replicated amauti. Likewise, she used Rasmussen’s ethnographic texts to “get a picture in [her] head of the trip that they [Rasmussen’s team] had from Repulse [Bay] to here [Igloodik]” (personal interview, July 23, 2018). Ammaq’s ability to create this mental image pairs well with Kunuk’s articulation that he relied more “on the elders, because the elders knew. They

⁶⁷ An amauti is a parka worn by some Inuit women in Northern Canada.

were born⁶⁸ on the land” (personal interview, July 9, 2018). Together, the deep knowledge of elders and the community’s involvement with the creation of *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* demonstrate the importance of centering “re-teaching” / “re-learning” in favour of “reclamation.” This shift in discourse wrests agency back from early ethnographers to foreground artists’ knowledge and centre Inuit perspectives.

History of Igloolik Isuma Productions

This chapter focuses on *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* due to the film’s emphasis on the interactions between Iglulingmiut and members of the Fifth Thule Expedition, the film’s creation process (namely drawing from Rasmussen’s early ethnographic material), and Igloolik Isuma Productions’ mission to create “independent community-based media” (Isuma “Mission” n.p.). Isuma is an Inuit-led, Canadian film production collective based out of Igloolik, Nunavut. “Isuma” means “to think” in Inuktitut (Kunuk, “The Art of Inuit Storytelling” n.p.). Founded in 1990, under the direction of Zacharias Kunuk, Norman Cohn, Paulossie Qulitalik, and Paul Apak, the goal of Isuma is to create films about Inuit from an Inuit perspective (Evans 100-101). Isuma’s films challenge historical and contemporary representations of Inuit, as most representations—which range from literary travel accounts by explorers, whalers, and missionaries, to early films like Robert Flaherty’s *Nanook of the North* (1922)—are often produced by qallunaat. Michael Robert Evans, who did fieldwork with Isuma in Igloolik for nine months during his doctoral degree, articulates that Isuma’s films are more than entertainment, because they also enact “cultural salvage work” by recording cultural practices (igloo building,

⁶⁸ Following the guidance of interviewees during verification, I made minor amendments to the quotations in this chapter. I did not make changes to the verified transcripts, as the amendments were shared by interviewees to provide additional information within the context of the chapter. I maintain this practice throughout the chapter—when relevant.

who experienced the events themselves) in “academic” contexts, like museums. Isuma’s films are engaging in cultural work that extends beyond the films themselves. Kunuk explains how Isuma works to “show how our ancestors survived by the strength of their community and their wits, and how new ways of storytelling today can help our community survive another thousand years” (“The Art of Inuit Storytelling” par. 8). The filming process itself, which involves different experts from within the community, was one of the major reasons why I decided to interview different crew members, as interviewing a wider range of artists provided additional insight into the community-based filmmaking process.

Kunuk articulated that the ethnographic research, which involved visiting several museums and reading Rasmussen’s cultural accounts, offered him a “big learning experience,” because, while visiting the museums, “[a] lot of them [elders] put more information on the card of the object because there was hardly any information” (personal interview, July 9, 2018). The crew’s ethnographic research—coupled with the Isuma style of “just let it roll” (Kunuk, personal interview, July 9, 2018)—makes the production of *The Journals* an important learning experience for those involved in the film’s production and those viewing the film itself. During our interview, Ammaq discussed how her daughter began taking up beadwork on her own following her involvement with costume creation during the filming of *The Journals* (personal interview, July 23, 2018). Likewise, both Akkitirq and Avingaq articulated the importance of the film to Inuit in Igloolik and beyond, as Akkitirq explained how she believed that people learned from the film and Avingaq shared how she had heard about Rasmussen when she was younger, but she did not know the specifics before becoming involved in the film’s production (personal interviews, July 14/16, 2018, respectively). Both examples demonstrate the impact of *The Journals* beyond the film itself, as Kunuk learned more about the ethnographic materials during

the filming process, and Ammaq noted how her daughter continued to practice the skills she acquired during the filmmaking process after the film itself was completed. These instances speak to the film as a catalyst to spark these “re-learning” moments within the community.

Beyond what is visually represented on screen, Isuma seeks a positive economic impact in the community of Igloolik through the immersion of community members into the film production process, which introduces external capital into the region (Evans 105-106). As Kunuk articulated during our interview, “everyone working with Isuma benefits and gets paid at the same time” (personal interview, July 9, 2018). The economic benefits were also identified by other interviewees during our personal interviews. Outside of the positive economic contributions, Isuma is seminal to cultural production in Nunavut because its primary objective is to produce independent, community-driven media (film, TV, and Internet) that preserves and enhances Inuit culture and language, teaches Inuit stories, and creates jobs and economic development in Igloolik and beyond (“About” par. 2). In 2003, for example, Isuma entered a co-venture with Cohn Productions to develop Isuma Distribution International (IDI), which functions as a platform to distribute and sell Inuit and other Indigenous films across the world via the Internet (“About” par. 9). It is clear from these examples that Igloolik Isuma Productions has had substantial impact within the community of Igloolik and beyond. As such, it was paramount that I interviewed several crew members who were involved in the production of *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* to better understand the impacts that the film had (and continues to have) in the broader community.

Methods

As mentioned in the Introduction, each case study has a section in which I address the methods used for that chapter. Although the Methods Chapter aims to provide an overview of the

methods used throughout the dissertation, I have included additional discussions in each chapter to address the specificities of that case study. I have divided the present methods section into four main topics: pre-fieldwork preparation, fieldwork, post-fieldwork verification, and reflection on relationality. In regards to *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*, speaking to the methods in this section is particularly important given how Atuat Akkitirq's major suggestion significantly altered my original argument.

Pre-Fieldwork Preparation

I prepared several things before undertaking fieldwork in Igloolik, Nunavut. First, my language learning played a substantial role in helping me to build relationships during my fieldwork in the community. Although I am only able to speak basic⁷⁰ Inuktitut, I began my interviews with elders by introducing myself in Inuktitut. I believe that introducing myself in Inuktitut made a significant difference to the interviews, as the introductions were met with a warm response from all interviewees. Likewise, my basic understanding of Inuktitut helped to build relationships in the community, because children would frequently joke about my pronunciation—something that often resulted in further conversation and follow-up questions. It is challenging to visit a community where you do not have pre-established research connections, so these seemingly minor moments added up and provided support for my research.

Second, a significant portion of my pre-fieldwork preparation was dedicated to applying for funding to undertake fieldwork in Igloolik and to ensure that all participants were offered an honorarium. I received funding from the Department of English and Film Studies (Sarah Nettie Christie Travel Grant), the Northern Science Training Program (NSTP), and from the University

⁷⁰ The language requirement for the Department of English and Film studies is intermediate proficiency in two languages; although Inuktitut was one of my languages, the requirement focused on reading and writing, so I would suggest that my spoken Inuktitut is at a basic level.

of Alberta Northern Research Award (UANRA) to undertake fieldwork in Igloolik. Each of these grants were essential to completing fieldwork in Igloolik, but the flexibility of UANRA—particularly around in-field translation and post-fieldwork Inuktitut transcription—helped to ensure that I could effectively communicate with Inuktitut-speaking elders, something I will expand in the later portions of this methods section under “Fieldwork.”

Third, I applied for and received a research license from the Nunavummi Qaujisaqtulirijikkut (Nunavut Research Institute [NRI]) before beginning my fieldwork in Igloolik. According to Nunavut’s *Scientists Act*, all researchers conducting research in Nunavut must obtain a license that permits them to do research in the region. The application for social scientists, or the Social Science and Traditional Knowledge Research application, requires that applicants demonstrate their ethics approval (Research Ethics Board 1, University of Alberta), provide a non-technical project summary, translate all consent forms into the appropriate language for the region (Inuktitut for this project), demonstrate community involvement/regional benefits, and answer questions concerning the use of the research. This application must be approved by the community before research can begin. I reached out to Isuma representatives and translated all forms before submitting my application. I contacted Norman Cohn, one of the co-founders of Igloolik Isuma Productions, prior to submission and he helped to put me into contact with several key individuals, including Zacharias Kunuk. Likewise, I contacted Myna Manniapik to translate all forms, including the informational letter that I shared with potential participants and the interview ethics form. The translation of both forms was essential when interviewing the Inuktitut-speaking elders, as they could review the forms before deciding whether to participate in an interview. In addition, reviewing the forms before meeting in-person

enabled the elders to develop questions concerning the project, the use of the research, etc.—both elders asked several questions before we began our discussions.

Before departing for Igloolik, I was required to ensure that all honorariums and gifts were prepared prior to my arrival. I prepared different gifts for each interviewee, but they often included items like: glover sewing needles; thread; chocolate; tea, etc. I also reached out to representatives at the Nunavut Research Institute to secure accommodations and arrange a ride from the airport (Igloolik did not have a taxi service during the period that I was in town) before departing.

Fieldwork

When I arrived in Igloolik, all the contacts that I had previously reached out to were not in town, and I initially did not have access to a working phone or internet. As such, I was not able to contact potential interviewees by email or phone—something that was not possible in the South without access to an Igloolik phone book. However, I met a community member⁷¹ shortly after my arrival and they helped to introduce me to Zacharias Kunuk and a second interviewee.⁷² The community member also provided support by showing me around Igloolik and helping me to locate the Isuma office, something that was difficult without a map or prior knowledge of the area. I had reached out to Kunuk via email before arriving in Igloolik, so after the community member introduced us in-person, he agreed to do an interview the following day (July 9th, 2018). During our interview, I inquired into the local standard regarding honorarium amounts for interviews in Igloolik; although the Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta had

⁷¹ I was unable to contact this individual after departing Igloolik, so I elected to leave them anonymous.

⁷² I did a total of five interviews while in Igloolik. However, I am not able to share the specifics of this interview because I was unable to verify the interview transcript with the interviewee.

approved an amount, I wanted to ensure that it was in line with what was expected in the community. The amount approved by the Ethics Board at the University of Alberta was in line with the community standard⁷³, and, following cultural protocol,⁷⁴ I brought gifts for each interviewee. Likewise, the community member introduced me to the second interviewee⁷⁵ and helped me to travel to their house for an interview on July 10th, 2018. The community member spoke with the interviewee before to inquire whether they were interested in doing an interview about their involvement with *The Journals*, and they agreed before I visited their house.

Following the initial interviews with Kunuk and the second interviewee, I went to the Isuma office and asked Kunuk if he had a suggestion regarding who I could contact to potentially translate during the interviews with elders. He suggested that I contact Jason Kunnuk, his nephew, for translation support. I met Kunnuk outside of the Isuma office in mid-July and we discussed potential means of doing the interviews with Atuat Akkitirq and Susan Avingaq, as both elders were residing at their summer camps outside of town. I shared both the informational letter and the interview consent form (in Inuktitut and English) with Kunnuk to share with Akkitirq and Avingaq. We did Akkitirq's interview at her residence. During the interview, she requested that I take multiple photos of the kamiks (boots) that she had recently completed to act as a visual to our conversation and the subsequent dissertation. Please see the images that are

⁷³ I had consulted with other Northern researchers before submitting the honorarium amount for approval, but the amount differs from community-to-community.

⁷⁴ The *Tri-Council Policy Statement* (Article 9.8) makes the following comment regarding the responsibility that researchers have to ensuring that they are respecting local protocols: "Researchers have an obligation to become informed about, and to respect, the relevant customs and codes of research practice that apply in the particular community or communities affected by their research. Inconsistencies between community custom and this Policy should be identified and addressed in advance of initiating research, or as they arise" (122).

⁷⁵ As mentioned above, I was unable to verify this interviewee's transcript or reach them, so I have decided to keep them anonymous.

attached in Appendix B. Likewise, Avingaq spoke during our interview about the essential nature of seeing the clothing to gain an understanding of how it functions, which is a theme that also resonated through the interviews with Kunuk and Michelline Ammaq. Avingaq's interview took place at her summer camp outside of town, and Kunnuk generously offered to take the quad out to the camp. During both interviews, we clarified the contents of the consent forms and ensured that everyone understood the proceeding steps; for example, I checked in to learn what follow-up methods would be preferred and if they were comfortable having the Inuktitut portions of the conversation transcribed (this would require a third, and at the time unknown,⁷⁶ person having access to the original recording). In response, Akkitirq inquired into how the dissertation examination process would operate, while Avingaq was interested in seeing pictures that I had brought from my visit to the Danish National Museum. Each interview was about an hour and a half.⁷⁷

Jason Kunnuk, who acted as an interpreter for the interviews with Akkitirq and Avingaq, was essential to my time in Igloolik. He reached out to both elders before the interview, ensured that they were comfortable with the interview before introducing me, and took me to each location. During our commute, Kunnuk took me to the shooting location for *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*. Located on a beach about twenty minutes outside of Igloolik, the set of *The Journals* is contained within a plywood box. I have attached an image in Appendix B of both the interior and exterior of the set. Like Akkitirq, Kunnuk strongly suggested that I take photos of the set and the surrounding area. Some of the props were still located within the set. Kunnuk also

⁷⁶ Myna Manniapik transcribed Akkitirq and Avingaq's interviews.

⁷⁷ Although I estimated that each interview would be approximately an hour, both elders asked to continue the interview when we reached the hour mark. I am thankful that they dedicated additional time to our discussions.

showed me some of the shooting locations used in *Atanarjuat*. Beyond sharing the locations used for various Isuma films, Kunnuk also gently supported me when I was not doing things as expected. For example, I have a habit of over-asking for permission, as I will frequently ask “Can I sit here?” or “Can I use this?” Having done that at Akkitirq’s house, he kindly reminded me that I did not need to ask permission for each action I took, as doing so made me appear as a child within this context. These learning moments were essential to the success of my research in Igloolik, as Kunnuk supported me in completing my research and helped to ensure that I was acting according to the expected protocol.

The final interview was with Michelline Ammaq at the Isuma office on July 23rd, 2018. Later in my trip, I accessed internet at the Co-Op Restaurant, so I emailed Ammaq to organize a potential interview. As a member of the sewing crew, Ammaq helped to tie different conversations together; for example, she provided additional information regarding how Nivisanaaq’s amauti was constructed for the film using both beads and coloured fabric. Our interview was approximately an hour.

As with other interviews in this dissertation, all interviews followed a semi-structured format whereby I came with prepared interview questions, which were different depending on the role of the interviewee on the crew of *The Journals*. I amended the questions as appropriate and I also asked follow-up questions depending on how the conversation proceeded. Most interviews were about an hour, although the interviews requiring translation were closer to an hour and a half. Beyond the interviews, fieldwork provided an opportunity to see the shooting locations of the different Isuma films in person, visit the Isuma office, and gain a better sense of the cultural context.

Post-Fieldwork Verification

During each interview, I checked in with the interviewee to discuss potential means of verifying the interview transcript and the final dissertation chapter. I sent some interviewees their transcript via mail and others by email, depending on the interviewee's preference. I included a self-addressed envelope, a Northern phone card that I had bought before departing Igloolik, and a printed copy of the relevant transcript with all mailed documents. I included a self-addressed envelope and a phone card to ensure that interviewees could contact me if they wanted anything changed within the document. The phone card is particularly important due to the high cost of phone calls within the North—I did not want participants to incur costs during the research process. Kunuk and Ammaq verified his transcript via email. Akkitirq and Avingaq both verified the Inuktitut portions of their interviews via mail. Akkitirq responded stating that she was comfortable with the transcript as it stands and Avingaq requested minor amendments to the Inuktitut portions—all of which have been completed in the attached transcripts.

Verification of the chapter itself presented an additional challenge that was further complicated by distance and language barriers. I shared a copy of this chapter and I will share a copy of the final dissertation with all participants. I highlighted the contributions of each individual before sending them their copy to ensure that it was clear how I used our conversation within the final product. I also wrote a summary for both Akkitirq and Avingaq regarding how I used their respective contributions. This summary was translated into Inuktitut and sent via mail to ensure that they are updated regarding how the research has progressed. Unfortunately, it is not possible for me to cover the costs associated with translating the entire document from English to Inuktitut, and my limited Inuktitut language skills would not make this possible. Ammaq verified her contributions to the present chapter via email. Kunuk verified his

contributions via email and in a subsequent phone call. Akkitirq stated in a previous letter that she was retiring and that she was comfortable with the decisions that I would make in the final draft, although she suggested that I include photographs with the dissertation. Initially, I had planned to return to Igloolik to do the verification in person, but, following discussions with my committee members, I decided that it would be best to follow-up from Edmonton. The decision was made because I only interviewed five participants and it is possible that several would not be present in Igloolik when I returned. Verification is essential to ethical research, as it ensures that the contributions of participants are represented in a manner that they are comfortable with, and it also ensures that the information is accurate. However, there are also limits on what verification can be done because it is not always possible to contact all participants; accordingly, researchers have to make the best choices possible given their situation.

Reflection on Relationality

Métis scholar Cindy Gaudet, who did her doctoral research with the Omushkego people from the Moose Cree First Nation (Moose Factory, Ontario, Canada), addresses how the complications associated with high-cost research and difficult-to-access communities, two challenges that often occur in tandem, present to a visiting methodology (58-59). Specifically, she discusses how it takes time to “foster trusting relationships” (59), something that I found particularly challenging as a researcher in Igloolik, as I was only able to stay in the community for a month in July 2018. Gaudet identifies several differences between relationship-building in a Western context and relationality (48); particularly, she states that relationality is “trusting in a process with unforeseen or unscripted outcomes” (59), while relationship-building “focuses more on problems and how to arrive at better solutions or outcomes” (59). Relationship-building “assumes an external position of acquiring knowledge from the other, and does not consider or

address what happens in the relationship, the feelings brought up during visits, or the well-being of self, family, community, and the land” (Gaudet 59). Although I acknowledge that I am working from an “external position” within my research, I do believe that my work with Aodla Freeman and in Greenland offered more opportunities to visit and facilitate “unscripted outcomes.” In contrast, my experiences in Igloolik were shaped by the significant geographical distance and the absence of a pre-established research network.

Undertaking fieldwork in Igloolik was vastly different than working with Mini Aodla Freeman in Edmonton or conducting research at Ilisimatusarfik (University of Greenland). First, there is the significant geographical distance that separates Edmonton and Igloolik—a challenge that is exacerbated by Igloolik’s relative remoteness and limited internet connectivity.⁷⁸ The length of my visit was partially determined by the amount of funding available and the time constraints of my Ph.D. program. These physical/infrastructural limits to communication makes it a challenge to “foster trusting relationships” (Gaudet 59), because the “unscripted outcomes” (59) are difficult to achieve without sustained contact. Second, I went to Igloolik without having a strong connection to an established network. And, as I outlined above, I established that network upon arrival in Igloolik. In contrast, I was introduced to Aodla Freeman by my supervisor, Keavy Martin, and my host supervisor at Ilisimatusarfik, Birgit Kleist Pedersen, supported me in establishing an academic network in Nuuk, Greenland. In this section, I reflect on how relationality did—and did not—factor into my research in Igloolik. I am particularly

⁷⁸ Internet is accessible in Igloolik, but, like internet in most Northern locations, it often cuts out due to weather, it is expensive, and the speed is limited. Also, most interviewees did not have access to the internet. This concern is addressed in the “National Inuit Strategy on Research,” which states that “Internet access in Inuit communities is universally slower, unreliable, costly, and more unpredictable than for citizens in most areas of Canada” (27). The report continues to highlight the importance of introducing high-speed, reliable Internet to communities in Inuit Nunangat.

concerned with the possibilities and limitations available when we do fieldwork as independent researchers in literary studies, a discipline that is often defined by the rigour of independent scholars and does not habitually foster collaborative research.

During my fieldwork in Igloolik, I interacted with several science teams that were undertaking research in the community and surrounding area. I noted how these teams included researchers at various levels—ranging from undergraduate students to tenured professors—and how they would work together on their respective projects. Having researchers at different levels and skill sets helped to ensure that the project could be completed. For example, one team explained how there were different protocols in place should the Principle Investigator have to leave the field, which helped to ensure that there were appropriate safety measures in place. Moreover, having researchers at different levels helped to ensure that junior researchers had the opportunity to gain the essential field skills for their respective discipline. Likewise, intermediate researchers (such as graduate students) also had opportunities to develop their mentorship skills through the support of undergraduate students. Working within an established network ensures that there is continuity within the research, especially given that the tenure of a doctoral program is relatively short when compared to the professional lifespan of a tenured faculty member. The co-authored “Negotiating Research Relationships with Inuit Communities: A Guide to Researchers” explicitly states that long-term projects are the preference whenever possible (5), so it is important that literary scholars take this into consideration should they elect to do fieldwork, or other forms of consultation-based research. Although a network is not always ideal and/or available, it can provide some support to relationship-building, as it ensures that a network is maintained over time. However, I believe that most of my relationships in Igloolik focused on relationship-building, not relationality. Compared to my experiences working with

Aodla Freeman and studying at Ilisimatusarfik, I found that undertaking research in Igloolik without a local support system did not enable opportunities for visiting, something that was further complicated by language barriers. Introduction to a research network can also provide support and safety for a student within the field. Of course, it is the individual researcher's responsibility to create and maintain these networks, but working individually in a remote community can introduce additional challenges to this process—some of which are challenging to avoid without the support of a group.

Before undertaking Northern fieldwork, I spoke with other graduate student colleagues about the challenges of undertaking research with and in Northern communities; I had also read publications by scholars like Zoe Todd that outline the challenges of doing Northern fieldwork and proposed challenging questions to the reader: what are the ethical considerations involved with Northern fieldwork? How do funding challenges (particularly the fact that these decisions often rest with Southern institutions) and the introduction of significant distance/travel times factor into these decisions? Can relationships be maintained over such distances, especially when additional challenges like internet connectivity are introduced? And is it more responsible to exercise “ethnographic refusal” (Todd “Interrupting the Northern Research Industry” n.p.)? As a Métis person not from the North, Todd defines “ethnographic refusal” in this context as “the refusal to conduct ethnography that is driven by southern or foreign research institutions until Northern research processes are changed to give northerners more say in the ‘who, what, when, where, why, and how’ of research as it happens in the North” (n.p.). Many of my colleagues and other scholars have raised serious concerns regarding whether it is possible to do ethical Northern fieldwork within the current paradigm of Northern research where Southerners—who are often not Indigenous—visit Northern communities for short periods of time, collect the

“data,” and depart. These publications often finish by asking if they should do Northern research at all. And the conclusion was often “no.” Sometimes there was a caveat, but, even with that caveat, it still seemed like the potential risks often outweighed the benefits. So, if literary scholars do decide to undertake fieldwork in the North, what considerations must we address before moving forward?

I had completed five months of fieldwork in Nuuk, Greenland before departing to Igloolik. I had also been working with Mini Aodla Freeman learning Inuktitut for over two years before I departed for Nuuk. As a result, I had thought about some of the potential challenges involved with having such a short fieldwork session in Igloolik; for example, was I conducting “helicopter research,”⁷⁹ where I arrived in the community, met as many crew members working on *The Journals* as I was able to, did interviews, and left? Of course, I had reached out to as many potential interviewees as possible prior to departing, but the reality is that a lot of people were not contactable from the South, and I did need to meet people in-situ. Drawing from work by Aodla Freeman, particularly her speech at the 1980s celebration for a “Century of Canada’s Arctic Islands,” I also took proactive steps to ensure that I would be able to check in with research participants throughout the process and verify the final documents. I addressed these methods in the above sections, so I will not address them here, but I do believe that these challenges have furthered my thinking regarding ethical conduct of research in the North, and that they have contributed to my personal decisions concerning potential next research steps.

⁷⁹ Although the “Negotiating Research Relationships with Inuit Communities” document does not use the term “helicopter research,” it does identify a concern with the “[s]hort, typically summer, field seasons—field season length, timing, and duration (i.e. one to two months in the summer) are not considered representative, or sufficient, to adequately understand the phenomenon under study” (4).

Although I am still uncertain where I fall within these discussions concerning ethical research in the North, I wanted to write this section to begin to unpack some of the things that I learned as a student undertaking fieldwork within the context of the humanities. Specifically, I am concerned with whether we can do ethical research safely within the North if our disciplinary structure continues to primarily undertake individually-driven research. When I was in Igloodik, I stayed at the Nunavut Research Institute's bunkhouse where several science teams came through during my visit; although I acknowledge that the disciplinary structure of the sciences is vastly different than the humanities, I do think that some of their research and mentorship structures might be able to offer some guidance regarding how we, as scholars within the humanities, might undertake fieldwork in the future.

There is the anthropological notion that fieldwork is best done individually. It is part of the "initiation" that is required by the discipline. And yet, several anthropologists have discussed some of the challenging aspects of doing fieldwork as an individual. I do not seek to challenge this disciplinary precedent—this is not my discipline, nor my place to comment—and I do not mean to reduce the potential advantages of individual fieldwork. What I seek to do, however, is to (drawing from my own experiences) respectfully offer potential alternatives to the individualistic model of the humanities in relation to fieldwork. Although individually-driven research is valid and important within a library or archival setting, if we do choose to undertake fieldwork in the humanities (and this is a big *if*), then I think we need to seriously evaluate the supports and possibilities that are offered to our students.

Speaking to the scientists who I lived with in the bunkhouse, they were surprised that I was there doing research alone. Was I part of a team? No. Were there junior or senior scholars travelling with me? No. These questions were often followed-up with inquiries concerning how I

was going to undertake various steps within my research, particularly the pre-research consultation and post-research sharing of results. Many of the researchers who came through the bunkhouse offered me immense support, including informing me about how the bunkhouse operated (calling the water truck, having the sewage pumped, or ensuring that the trash was removed at the appropriate times), how to use a phone card to call potential research participants and my mentors in the South, and some of the community expectations concerning the conduct of researchers in Igloolik. I do not think that these are things that I could have learned prior to my departure.

One of the most attractive things about the processes that the scientists undertook was that they developed projects over years, which resulted in some of the core people returning to the community year-after-year to continue to nurture these relationships. Moreover, there were always scholars at different levels within their careers, including undergraduate, master's, and Ph.D. students/candidates, all of which were supported by a faculty member, and possibly a post-doctoral student. Beginning to do fieldwork as an undergraduate student ensures that you begin learning the skills required to undertake fieldwork early in your career. Similar to how we teach our introductory students the basics of "close reading," some science students learn the basics of conducting research in the field; moreover, these students also learn as more senior scholars work through and solve the various problems that often arise during fieldwork, as they are able to learn in an immersion environment. This structure ensures that relationships are maintained with the community over years and that more junior students gain applied experiences that will benefit them later in their careers (whether they remain in academia or not). The network of research scientists also ensures that they can provide support in locations where the student's primary supervisor might not be. For example, if a student's primary supervisor does research in

the Eastern Arctic, but the student needs to do work with an insect in the Western Arctic, then they can join a team working in that area. They also conduct experiments for other groups and share this data to ensure that there is collaboration across the discipline. Although this form of collaboration would raise ethical concerns within the humanities, such as other scholars using interview materials for scholarship beyond what was initially agreed upon with the interviewee, disciplinary (and cross-disciplinary) collaboration could help to facilitate a broader network of researchers, which would ultimately help to ensure that students have the necessary support within the field.

Is it possible to safely undertake fieldwork individually within the humanities? If we are working alone and unable to contact our supervisors in the South, then what happens if something goes awry? Even if students can contact their mentors, it can be difficult (or impossible) for the mentors to provide support from the South. For example, if students are working independently in isolated situations, then it is more likely that their mental health will be impacted and there are increased risks to their physical safety (additional risks from travelling alone, health emergency, etc.). This is not to say that something will always come up, and I would hope that all researchers would be in a safe situation, but there should be a contingency plan if something does arise. Moreover, working in remote communities presents additional challenges that are not involved with doing work in the South; for instance, there may not be a taxi, the hotel might not have any available space (and it is likely that an alternate accommodation will not be available), or the initial meet-up strategy might not go as planned, and students might be left scrambling to find accommodation at the last moment. I believe that we have a responsibility to discuss potential challenges with our students before they depart to help prevent some of these complications. Of course, we are unable to plan for every situation,

and it is a very real possibility that mentors will be unable to provide support from the South, but what might we do to ensure that students are as safe as possible when working in remote communities?

The creation of a contingency plan is one option, but it is possible—and very likely—that all the fail safes put in place might fall through. Perhaps we could reach out to other academics, including those in the sciences and health fields. Although there are no guarantees that other disciplines would be open to working with humanities scholars, we need to find a way to do research that is important to the communities we are working with and supported by researchers outside of our own discipline. Perhaps it is also possible to facilitate research networks within larger institutions, such as the University of Alberta, in which students would be supported within the field.



Figure 3: Image of The Journals of Knud Rasmussen set just outside of Igloodik, Nunavut

The Journals of Knud Rasmussen and Isuma

During our interview, Zacharias Kunuk shared a story about his experience re-learning how shaman necklaces were made within a museum setting. Given that “we [Inuit] know what

we see and what they are,”⁸⁰ and that elders are able to identify cultural objects and how they are made, Kunuk shared how he learned from his ancestors’ creations within a museum context (personal interview, July 9, 2018). For example, Kunuk shared how his ancestors “would use the claw of the bear” and how they would create necklaces “totally different” from Indigenous peoples in the South. Particularly, Kunuk shared how the creators of Inuit shaman necklaces would drill directly through the claw and how the claw was positioned to face outwards, which is the opposite position of similar necklaces created by Indigenous nations to the South. Kunuk shared how he learned from these moments and copied the creation methods for one of his feature films, *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*. Centering these moments of re-learning—where Inuit artists can learn directly from the cultural products of their ancestors—returns the agency to artists, their communities, and their predecessors. Although the learning occurred within a museum, which is an example of an institutionalized academic setting, elders (as the experts) shared their knowledge with other community members and museum staff. These processes demonstrate that Inuit communities are more than “sites of loss” that were “preserved” by early anthropologists. Although the museum offered a venue to “preserve,” and later make accessible, the community’s cultural products for future generations, it was community members—especially elders—who provided the necessary teachings to younger generations and museum staff.

This chapter is primarily concerned with the Isuma film *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* (2006), which is the second film in the Isuma trilogy that includes *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner* (2001) and *Before Tomorrow* (2008). Norman Cohn, building on his experiences as one of the directors and writers for *Atanarjuat*, articulates the importance of *The Journals*:

⁸⁰ Here, Kunuk was referring to polar bear claws.

The Journals is a significant film because it portrays Igloolik in the early days of colonization and religious conversion. More specifically, as the opening scene of *The Journals* depicts in its intertitles, the film presents “[a] series of events reported in *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*” and begins in “Arctic Canada, January 1912.” Following the opening scene, the film’s narrative progresses ten years to 1922, or the approximate mid-point of the Fifth Thule Expedition (1921-1924). The narrative of the film visually depicts Rasmussen and his team, namely Arnarulungaq,⁸¹ Mitiq, Freuchen, and Mathiassen, who have come “to hear songs and legends if... [Iglulingmiut] will share them,” but Rasmussen’s inquiry is immediately complicated by Avva’s response that Iglulingmiut “believe [that] happy people should not worry about hidden things.” Avva’s comment demonstrates the main tensions in the film, including concerns regarding if “songs and legends” should be recorded for ethnographic consumption, and one of the later scenes—where Avva is alone with his wife, Orulu, in an Igloo singing an ajaja song after several other community members (including his shaman daughter, Apak⁸²) are singing Christian hymns after converting—demonstrates the difficult moment of conversion during a period of famine that was initiated by Apak experiencing a miscarriage in secret.

Academics’ responses to Isuma’s work vary widely, from substantial support and understanding of its innovative practices, to considerable misunderstandings regarding the organization’s objectives. Lucas Bessire, for example, argues that Isuma, particularly through *Atanarjuat*, accommodated “dominant society’s signifying practices,” while also challenging “the very nature of the primitivism that motivates and informs them” (833). Bessire’s comments

⁸¹ The contributions of Arnarulungaq and Mitiq will be discussed in the following chapter concerning Aqqaluk Lyngé’s writing.

⁸² The opening of the film is narrated by the voice of an older woman named Usarak. This narrator shares that she was called Apak as a young woman during the time of this story. I call her Apak here because she is a young woman in this scene.

stand in stark contrast to Isuma's own assertion that they do not rely on dominant signifying practices, but draw from Inuit cultural cosmology. Likewise, Ian J. MacRae notes how Southern audiences were drawn to *Atanarjuat*—a claim that he substantiates based on the film's ability to obtain substantial awards, such as the Palme d'Or—but audiences, like academic critics, tend to “shy away” from *The Journals* (267). Critics' trepidation with the second film, MacRae argues, is based on its discussion of “the complexities of cultures in collision and contact in the Canadian Arctic and, in particular, the issue of Inuit conversion to Christianity” (267). The goal of *The Journals*, mainly the re-appropriation of cultural knowledge from Southern books and museums (MacRae 269), and the “retelling... [,] recontextualization and reinscription” of Rasmussen's journals (265-266), force Southern viewers to encounter their own compliance in ongoing colonization and their privilege that is partially the result of the practices depicted within the film—such as Inuit forcibly converting to Christianity. Although Rasmussen's writings act as a framework for the film, Sylvie Jasen notes how oral history was used to substantiate most of the narrative details (7). As well, Cohn suggests how “reworking written ethnographies from an Inuit perspective challenges the authority (and misconception) of anthropological texts as the primary source of anthropological knowledge” (qtd. in Jasen 7). The use of film to challenge anthropological knowledge is demonstrated via the concepts of Fourth Cinema and visual sovereignty.

Brendan Hokowhitu and Vijay Devadas, the editors of *The Fourth Eye: Māori Media in Aotearoa New Zealand* (2013), identify three key terms: “Fourth Eye,” “Fourth Media,” and “Visual Sovereignty.” The “Fourth Eye” is a term that, considering the politics of media representations about Indigenous peoples, seeks to use “the media as a modality of Indigenous empowerment, sovereignty, resistance, and articulation of struggles,” an action that has the

potential to lead to an Indigenized mediascape (Hokowhitu and Devadas XXXVIII). The “Fourth Eye” builds from Fatimah Toby Rony’s concept of the “Third Eye,” which is the experience of looking at oneself through the eyes of others, a feeling that can be described as having an additional eye that resides outside of one’s body and examines interactions “with the dispassionate air of a zoologist examining a specimen” (4). In contrast, “Fourth Media” can be understood as “*re*-righting (writing) the erasure of indigeneity from the mediated public sphere and, in doing so, reshaping the vision of the postcolonial nation” (Hokowhitu 114). Drawing from Michelle Raheja’s scholarship, Hokowhitu and Devadas define “visual sovereignty” as “a reading practice for thinking about the space between resistance and compliance wherein Indigenous filmmakers and actors revisit, contribute to, borrow from, critique, reconfigure ethnographic film conventions, at the same time operating within and stretching the boundaries created by these conventions” (XXXIX). The goal of “visual sovereignty” is to confront the viewer regarding the “absurd assumptions” that occur in relation to the cinematic representation of Indigenous peoples, particularly how viewers themselves are complicit in the processes of representation (Hokowhitu 115).

Raheja explicates how Fourth Cinema “offers up not only the possibility of engaging and deconstructing white-generated representations of Indigenous people, but... [also how it] intervenes in larger discussions of Native American sovereignty by locating and advocating for Indigenous cultural and political power both within and outside of Western legal jurisprudence” (193). In a similar vein, Joanna Hearne explains how Inuit and other Indigenous nations have used historic, often anthropologically-generated images, to create a “cinematic retelling” that “assert[s] a distinct cultural identity and collective sovereignty” (310-311), an assertion that is used to “counter governmental assimilationist policies” (311). Hearne’s description of

“cinematic retelling” is seen in *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*, as Isuma takes the original, anthropologically-created narratives and generates a revised narrative that focuses on some of the challenges that Igloolik residents faced during the early days of colonization. Speaking to *Atanarjuat*, Raheja suggests that the “film is embedded within discourses about Arctic peoples that cannot be severed from the larger web of hegemonic discourses of ethnography” (193); I suggest that like *Atanarjuat*, *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* uses visual sovereignty to intervene in popular ethnographic discourses by using the film as a tool to support knowledge transference (196).

From the opening scene of the film, which begins with a black screen and a soundtrack of an ajaja song playing on a gramophone in the background, there is a clear connection drawn between ethnography and religious colonization. The presence of ethnography is referenced through the opening scene, as that black screen fades to a family arranging themselves in front of a camera, and, as the coloured, moving image fades to a black and white still, viewers see the recording device stop. Other references in the film, including the clay mask that is included during the closing credits of the film, draw clear parallels to the impacts that ethnography had in the region, and it is something that Kunuk spoke to directly during our interview. He articulated that they visited the New York Museum of Modern Art, where they located a clay facial mask and lots of preserved clothing, and that they traveled “to museums to study... [their] own culture” (personal interview, July 9, 2018). During verification, Kunuk shared how the clay masks at the New York Museum of Modern Art offered an opportunity to see the “actual faces of the people [that they] ... were about to film” for *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*. Together, these narrative details—and the information shared by crew members during our interviews—

demonstrate that the community memory is intact, but the ethnographic material can also provide additional support, such as the details of the individual's face.

Capturing “Re-Learning” and “Re-Teaching” on Screen

Building on the teaching/learning experiences that occurred during the production of *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*, how might similar experiences translate to the screen? Can these moments of both “re-teaching” and “re-learning” be captured and/or facilitated through the film itself? I argue that the film continues to offer different moments of both “re-learning” and “re-teaching” to audience members. Speaking to the production process during our interview, Kunuk stated that “we [Inuit] have to watch to learn,” but how can the medium of film be used to facilitate learning from watching a narrative on screen? And will different audience members have access to different forms of learning? I asked Kunuk during our interview if he thought that Inuit outside of Igloolik or residing in the South could also learn from the film. It was a definitive “yes.” In the present section, I explore moments of “re-teaching” and “re-learning” on screen to unpack how the film continues to facilitate “re-teaching” and “re-learning” moments after its completion.

The opening scene and the photographs included with the end credits of *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* both frame the narrative around ethnographic moments. Framing the narrative around ethnographic moments grounds the storyline in the lived experiences of real people, various geographical locations throughout Arctic Canada, and historic events anchored to specific dates. This narrative grounding is important because it helps to ensure that viewers are aware that the events depicted in the film are based on “a series of events reported in *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*,” which is essential when addressing challenging historical moments that continue to have an impact in the present—such as the introduction of Christianity

to the North—because it ensures that the viewer cannot dismiss the events as fiction. This is particularly important given audiences’ responses to *The Journals* following the success of *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner*, as *The Journals* pushes audiences to engage with narratives beyond stereotypes (Cohn par. 11) in a more contemporary moment, while *Atanarjuat* uses more historic narratives to convey its narrative. Although one of the major goals of Isuma’s films is to ensure that Inuit culture is represented on screen for cultural continuity (Evans 102), the films have a significant audience within Southern Canada and abroad, so it is paramount that audiences are aware of the impacts that colonization has had (and continues to have) in the North. Given this information, what role can *The Journals* play in “re-teaching” audience members about the history of colonization in the North? And what might Inuit audience members “re-learn” about their ongoing cultural history through the film?

Including some well-known people, such as Avva, Amnaruluguaq, Mitiq, and Avva’s family, draws clear kinship links to families that continue to reside in Igloolik. Moreover, Ammaq articulated during our interview that she was sorry that they did not produce the film earlier, when her grandmother was still alive, because her grandmother met Rasmussen as a child, and Ammaq wishes that she would have had the opportunity to ask her further questions about her experiences (personal interview, July 23, 2018). *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* re-centres the narrative on the shaman Avva and his family in favour of the explorers that produced the reports of the Fifth Thule Expedition, which shifts the focus to local representations. Grounding the film in “Arctic Canada, January 1912” has two main effects: first, the broad geographical location of “Arctic Canada” speaks to the mobility of Inuit communities in the early twentieth century before the Canadian government re-located Inuit in the 1950s. Second, connecting the narrative to specific dates enables the viewer to draw connections between the

events depicted on screen and contemporaneous events. In 1912, for example, the First Thule Expedition was exploring Northern Greenland. And, in June 1912, American explorer H.V. Radford and Canadian George Street were murdered by their unnamed Inuit guides following an altercation in which Radford struck one of the guides (Morrison par. 3). The early twentieth century was marked by Arctic exploration, including Robert Perry, Roald Amundsen, and William Edward Parry, but I suggest that the 1912 date is likely drawing attention to the latter two events, because the film's focus on the Fifth Thule Expedition and the reference to an Inuk man having killed the two white men (*The Journals*).

Beginning with the opening scene, which was briefly described in the chapter's introduction, viewers see several people arranging themselves for a group photograph. The scene begins with a black screen and an ajaja song playing on a gramophone in the background. Opening with a black screen focuses the viewer's attention on the ajaja song, as there are no images to detract the viewer's attention; during my interview with Kunuk, he articulated that they "tried to do what was happening in that year from the world" in terms of music, so they incorporated various musical recordings, including a recording of an Italian opera (personal interview, July 9, 2018).⁸³ Using the sound of an old scratchy recording to open the film emphasizes the ethnographic context of the narrative, especially given the closing image of the scene, which shows the recording stop and the narrative progressing ten years. The image of the dormant recorder initiates the narrative from the perspective of the Iglulingmiut, as it shifts from the recorder—which, at that time, was a tool⁸⁴ mobilised by European ethnographers—to

⁸³ Note that this is especially important given Rasmussen's history as an opera singer.

⁸⁴ Likewise, during our interview, Kunuk identified that the camera is "just a tool."

Usarak⁸⁵ narrating her youth. Usarak's narration shifts the medium from an ethnographic product created by Europeans to an elderly woman reflecting on her life. Next, the image fades to several individuals looking directly into the camera. While everyone continues to look directly into the camera, a man enters from the left side of the screen and gives directions to other group members, which clarifies that the individuals standing in front of the camera are organizing themselves for a photograph. Capturing Avva arranging his family in front of the camera emphasizes the agency of everyone within the shot, as they are being directed by their leader—not an ethnographer. This point is emphasized via the proceeding intertitles, which identify that the depicted events are happening in 1912, or before the arrival of Rasmussen. Lastly, the coloured, moving image on the screen fades to a black and white still. The black and white still is reminiscent of the black and white photographs collected during the Fifth Thule Expedition, or the same images that the crew used to support their research for the film.

During the end credits, viewers are again reminded of the ethnographic connections present in the film through the inclusion of the original photographs from the Fifth Thule Expedition. The inclusion of these photographs, most of which are images of people that were involved with the Expedition, reminds viewers that the events depicted in the film are based on real events. Although images of Rasmussen and his crew are included in the end credits, most of the images depict Inuit who contributed to Rasmussen's expedition. During our interview, Kunuk shared that Rasmussen's crew was putting plaster on peoples' faces during their travels in the North. The end credits of *The Journals* also include an image of one of these plaster masks. I suggest that including an image of the face mould draws a further connection between the

⁸⁵ Usarak was called Apak at the time that the events in the film took place, but she is narrating the story as an older woman, so I am using the name Usarak here.

ethnographic components of the Fifth Thule Expedition and the narrative events depicted in the film. For example, Kunuk explains that elders and crew members visited various museums with the following objective: “We went to museums to study our own culture” (personal interview, July 9, 2018). During verification, Kunuk explained how some of the cultural objects had descriptions in Inuktitut, so the elders and film crew members were able to provide additional information for museum staff. Moreover, he shared that the University of Philadelphia Museum had an incredible amount of traditional Inuit clothing—sealskin and caribou clothes—but that they were just hidden. When asked what those experiences were like, Kunuk responded that they were “just re-learning,” as crew members would recognize what they were seeing, but elders were able to provide detailed explanations regarding how the various items were constructed (personal interview, July 9, 2018). Given that a substantial portion of the research took place in museums and required working with various ethnographic products, such as Rasmussen’s writings, photographs, and “artifacts,” including the images with the end credits emphasizes the important role that these collections played in the film’s production.

Both learning and teaching are explicitly displayed on screen throughout *The Journals*. For example, Avva is shown teaching Rasmussen where Igloolik is located, and, likewise, Evaluarjuk (Ivaluardjuk) is shown learning Arnaruluguaq’s name. Visually representing the learning process is important because, in the words of Kunuk, “[i]n our culture, we should watch to learn,” so demonstrating these lessons on screen offers numerous opportunities for viewers to acquire new knowledge visually (personal interview, July 9, 2018). During verification, Kunuk shared that students were happy learning their culture and that they enjoyed playing outside for the film—especially because they were dressed in proper clothes for the climate. Different viewers will have access to different forms of knowledge; for example, Inuktitut speakers are

more equipped to catch information that is shared during cross talk, as significant portions of the film are not translated in the English subtitles. Moreover, Kunuk also emphasized the substantial learning that occurred during the film's production, as Isuma took "kids out of the school to be in the film project... and just let them play outside" (personal interview, July 9, 2018). The decision to remove children from school emphasizes the significant role that the film's production had on learning, because the children learned from "just playing around" with traditional outfits and toys (Kunuk, personal interview, July 9, 2018). Meanwhile, master builders were trained to build igloos, crew members learned the proper way to harness dog teams through preparing the sets for filming, and seamstresses learned more about sewing (personal interview, July 9, 2018).

There are two main learning styles demonstrated on screen. First, there are learning moments that most viewers would immediately recognize as learning, such as Evaluarjuk (Ivaluardjuk) practicing his syllabics, or, as mentioned previously, Evaluarjuk learning Arnarulunguaq's name. Speaking to this scene in *Stories in a New Skin*, Martin identifies that Evaluarjuk (Ivaluarjuk), the singer of songs, has his song captured on the gramophone recording that opens the film and this introduces the theme of documentation—or, potentially, ethnography—from the beginning of the film (91). Most viewers would understand these exchanges as learning moments due to lived experiences, as most viewers have experience with book learning and social introductions; however, there are also several moments in which substantial time is dedicated to specific cultural activities. For example, there are several examples of lengthy shots depicting cultural activities, or long shots of the natural landscape. Kunuk explained that "[t]he reason why we do that is because there's a lot of things happening in a frame" (personal interview, July 9, 2018). All of the things "happening in a frame" further demonstrate the observational learning style that took place during the film's production and for

viewers watching the film. Of course, igloo builders who were involved during the film's production would have a grasp of the tangible skills required to build an igloo, but viewers can learn about things like the snow knife, or, during the long shots of women chatting, viewers might learn that Iglulingmiut lit their dwellings using a qulliq. Given Isuma's original goal of producing "independent video art from an Inuit point of view" ("About"), I suggest that these learning moments offer different levels of information to different viewers—depending on their lived experiences. These on-screen learning moments were mirrored in my interviews with crew members, as Avingaq articulated how she used her childhood memories to support the set design and to ensure that the arrangement of materials within the shot were accurate (personal interview, July 16, 2018).

There are also moments in which actors offer direct instruction to viewers. For example, after Rasmussen has inquired about whether Iglulingmiut would be comfortable sharing their "songs and legends," Avva gently challenges Rasmussen's assumption that he can understand how the world works. Avva invites Rasmussen to follow him outside. The next scene shows Avva and Rasmussen looking at a blizzard with Avva's three helping spirits walking towards them, but neither character seems to respond to their presence, which demonstrates Avva's statement that "[y]ou [Rasmussen] cannot answer why life is the way it is." Simultaneously, Avva also emphasizes the importance of an observational type of learning, as he tells Rasmussen that "we can't explain anything, but you can see for yourself." Avva's statement emphasizes the importance of experience, as he offers moments of learning to Rasmussen by showing him a blizzard and sharing how these weather patterns impact their ability to secure food. Likewise, Avva shows Rasmussen his sister who is lying sick in her bed and questions why somebody, who has never done anything bad and has raised happy, cheerful children, can suffer "pain and

sickness.” I suggest that these moments can cause viewers to question their own educational experiences, which for many viewers likely occurred in a Southern-style learning environment, such as a classroom. These moments also signal for the viewer the responsibilities that they have in seeing the film, as they are being taught things on screen that require their care and attention.

Avva’s explicit teaching also offers guidance to Rasmussen, as the shaman says: “You [Rasmussen] too cannot answer why life is the way it is. All our customs come from life and turn toward life.” Moreover, when Rasmussen inquires into whether they would be interested in sharing their beliefs with the ethnographic team, and Avva responds by stating that they “believe happy people should not worry about hidden things,” it offers a moment of “re-teaching” for the audience. The moment of “re-teaching” is offered through Avva’s suggestion that not everything needs to be known (such as early ethnography recording all aspects of life, including the spiritual). I suggest that both quotations offer examples of Avva pushing against some ethnographic conventions, especially the early twentieth century notion that anthropologists can capture the whole life of a people. In the first quotation, Avva is highlighting the impossibility of learning everything about life, even if your entire livelihood is turned towards such goals. In doing so, he also questions Rasmussen’s work and the ethnographic canon. This is a theme that is present throughout the entirety of the film, as the narrative is reframed around Avva, his family, and the community of Igloodik in favour of Rasmussen. We also witness some of the researchers, particularly Peter Freuchen, struggling to communicate in Inuktitut, which again foregrounds Iglulingmiut as the experts of their own culture. Lastly, the second quotation—in which Avva informs Rasmussen that concerning himself with hidden things may lead to his unhappiness—highlights some of Avva’s implied concerns with the work that Rasmussen is undertaking.

The difficulty, or impossibility, of capturing “life” in an ethnographic document is mirrored within the filming style of *The Journals*, including decisions regarding translations. Although English translations are provided for the viewer throughout the film, there are significant sections of cross talk that are left untranslated in *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*. Sophie McCall, in her article “I Can Only Sing This Song to Someone Who Understands It’: Community Filmmaking and the Politics of Partial Translation in *Atanarjuat, the Fast Runner*,” highlights “Kumaglak’s refusal to sing a song to a mysterious stranger... [because he] ‘can only sing this song to someone who understands it’” (19). Building on Kumaglak’s refusal to sing the song to the stranger, McCall advocates that the statement, which is never translated from Inuktitut into English (despite being sung three times within the film), becomes a manifesto that defines the poetics of the film, namely “to respond to and contest the history of appropriation in recording Inuit songs” (19). As a result, *Atanarjuat* uses partial translation—among other methods that are addressed in the article— “to create mediated Inuit voices that counter ethnographic traditions of apprehending a singular cultural essence” (20). The resulting film, McCall argues, creates “two parallel texts that interact and speak to each other in complex and imperfect ways” (26), which enables the filmmakers to address different audiences. Likewise, I suggest that the limited Inuktitut to English translation shapes who can access what information in *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*. In *The Journals*, viewers who cannot speak Inuktitut are limited in what they are able to learn from the cross talk, which keeps some information private for Inuktitut speakers. Second, the “just let it roll” filming style outlined by Kunuk during our interview allows observational learning moments to be captured, such as the baby babbling in their mother’s amauti and women chatting while sewing. During a follow-up discussion, Kunuk shared how naturally these moments happened: he explained how “things just happen” during

the filming process. These moments often do not have a musical score, so viewers' attentions are focused entirely on the cross talk and image. Together, these scenes offer learning opportunities for Inuktitut speakers, as they can experience—to some extent—the observational learning style by watching how things are done. These scenes offer learning opportunities to select viewers, as Inuktitut speakers can learn what camp life was like for Iglulingmiut in the 1920s.

Conclusion

This chapter argues that the Isuma film *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* offers opportunities for both “re-teaching” and “re-learning” in three major formats. First, as my interviews with the crew members demonstrate, elders drew from the ethnographic materials of the Fifth Thule Expedition—including written texts, photographs, and cultural material collected by the team—to solidify some clothing patterns within their mind. Production processes, such as arranging materials on set or making the costumes, offered opportunities for elders to “re-teach” cultural knowledge to community members. As Atuat Akkitirq emphasized during our interview, the knowledge was already present within elders' memories, but the ethnographic material helped to clarify minor things, such as the appearance of a pants pocket. Second, the film itself offers on-screen learning moments, as it represents cultural practices, such as sewing or building igloos, and demonstrates the importance of observational learning. Lastly, *The Journals* offers opportunities for viewers to learn about the ongoing impacts of colonization in the North from an Iglulingmiut perspective. Akkitirq's insistence that the cultural knowledge remains intact within the community challenges the history of salvage ethnography, as it affirms that the knowledge never left, but that the historic materials can provide additional support to contemporary communities. Without fieldwork—and discussing the film with artists themselves—it would not have been possible to tease apart the differences between “reclamation,” “re-teaching,” and “re-

learning.” This shift in language is important for two major reasons: first, a focus on “re-teaching” and “re-learning” emphasizes that the community controls the knowledge and that the knowledge was already present *within* the community, but the film/production process offered an opportunity to bring that knowledge forward. Second, this linguistic shift emphasizes the agency of the artists within this process, as they drew from the ethnographic materials when appropriate, but they are the true experts within the process.

A substantial portion of this chapter was also dedicated to a discussion concerning my fieldwork methods and how these experiences align with the results of the other case studies within the dissertation. Particularly, I was concerned with how Cindy Gaudet’s visiting methodology (58-59), or the process of building “trusting relationships” (59) through sustained interactions that do not come with pre-established outcomes, can have within Indigenous literary studies. In response to my experiences in Igloolik, I concluded that this was especially challenging in this situation due to the difficulty of communication (distance challenges, access to internet, etc.), the length of my stay in the community (one month in July 2018), and the absence of a pre-established research network. I also raised concerns regarding potential safety risks that students might encounter in the field. If humanities scholars begin to undertake research that requires fieldwork, what support can we offer humanities students before, during, and after fieldwork? Individual faculty members cannot be expected to offer this support on their own, so what can we do at an institutional, or disciplinary level to support this kind of research?

Reading Across Inuit Nunaat: Aqqaluk Lyngé and the Reclamation of Knud Rasmussen's Fifth Thule Expedition

“We are not alone here in Greenland. There are almost 200,000 Inuit living in the world. We could be a great nation if the international borders had not been established as we know them today”

Aqqaluk Lyngé, personal interview

Introduction

Aqqaluk Lyngé's quote exemplifies the connectivity between Inuit in Greenland and across Inuit Nunaat. Lyngé's statement asserts the potential of a “great nation,” or the whole Arctic territory where Inuit live and have existed for thousands of years,⁸⁶ that could be established in the absence of international borders. The previous chapters of this dissertation have focused primarily on Inuit cultural productions within Canadian contexts, namely Mini Aodla Freeman's memoir *Life Among the Qallunaat* (1978/2015) and Igloodik Isuma Productions' film *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* (2006). Aodla Freeman's text focuses primarily on her experiences as a James Bay Inuk living in various places within lands claimed by Canada, while *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* emphasizes the community of Igloodik, Nunavut, although there are several connections to other places within the Inuit homelands through references to the Fifth Thule Expedition. Rasmussen's Great Sled Journey, or the Fifth Thule Expedition, crossed the national borders of Canada, the United States, and Greenland (Denmark), which suggests that the imposed borders of nation states during the early twentieth century still allowed for some fluidity within Inuit Nunaat.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ During the verification process, Aqqaluk Lyngé clarified that, in saying “great nation,” he was referring to the whole Arctic territory where Inuit have lived and existed for thousands of years; he also emphasized that in a world of more than six thousand nations, we only have 228 countries.

⁸⁷ “Inuit Nunaat” refers to the Inuit homelands in the Inuit Circumpolar Council's “Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic.” “Inuit Nunaat” is described as “stretch[ing] from Greenland to Canada, Alaska and the coastal regions of Chukotka, Russia” (ICC “Declaration”).

When Rasmussen landed at Diomedede, Russia, he was denied entry into the Siberian mainland because he did not have the appropriate documentation from the Soviet authorities in Moscow. Although Rasmussen did briefly meet people in Diomedede, his denial of entry—especially as a Greenlandic-Dane—demonstrates the significant impact that the imposition of nation state borders can have within Inuit Nunaat. These international dynamics are further complicated by Rasmussen’s personal decision to limit Danish researchers from entering the Thule region during his active years in Greenland (approx. 1912-1933). Greenland, like the Soviet Union during the 1920s, was primarily off limits to foreign researchers, including non-Danish scientists. Given these historical contexts, what happens when we remove the imposed borders of nation states within Inuit Nunaat in our readings of literary texts? How might this impact our textual analysis? And how might this shape an Inuit-specific literary analysis methodology? In this chapter, I consider Aqqaluk Lyngé’s anthology *Taqqat uummammut aqqaannut takorluukkat apuuffiannut/The Veins of the Heart to the Pinnacle of the Mind* (2008) and how the collection engages with—or responds to—earlier ethnographic traditions, particularly Knud Rasmussen’s work during the Fifth Thule Expedition. As in previous chapters, my argument is supported by an interview with Aqqaluk Lyngé (March 2018), fieldwork in Nuuk, Greenland (January-May, 2018), and Kalaallisut language learning while I was a guest student at Ilisimatusarfik (University of Greenland).

Drawing from Indigenous literary nationalism, with its emphasis on political contexts, I struggled to locate a means of engaging with Lyngé’s text that adequately enabled me to attend to the rapidly shifting political contexts of Greenland. Returning to Craig Womack’s work in *Red on Red: Native American Literary Separatism*, readers are reminded that Indigenous literary nationalism is a methodology that “emphasizes Native resistance movements against

colonialism, confronts racism, discusses sovereignty and Native nationalism, seeks connections between literature and liberation struggles, and, finally, roots literature in land and culture” (11). However, it is currently unclear within Indigenous literary nationalism whether text-based methodologies are sufficient. Building on one of the central arguments within the present dissertation, this chapter uses Lyngé’s poetry anthology to further demonstrate how fieldwork and in-person relationship building at the site of the literature is an essential component to supporting textual readings that are grounded in the appropriate political contexts. As Daniel Heath Justice advocates in *Why Indigenous Literatures Matter*, “relationship is the central ethos of Indigenous literature” (158) and the literature itself is “one more vital way that we [Indigenous peoples] have countered those forces of erasure and given shape to our own ways of being in the world” (xix). Therefore, fieldwork and consultation methods—namely those that challenge literary scholars to use non-textual methods—offer us the opportunity to consider questions beyond the text itself. Non-textual methods offer literary scholars an opportunity to develop “a meaningful interpretive relationship” with authors, their communities (however these may be defined), and lands, all of which are shaped by “specific social, cultural, and political histories” (Justice, *Sources and Methods* 26). Without the use of non-textual methods, how can Indigenous literary nationalist readings (unless the scholar is a member of the given community) ensure that they attend to the political contexts from which the literature originates?

Since the end of World War II, Greenland has undergone major changes that range from its incorporation as a province to Denmark in 1953, to the creation Home Rule in 1979, and the introduction of Self-Rule in 2009. A significant portion of the academic writing concerning Greenlandic literature and artistic production within the country focuses on employing postcolonial approaches to research questions. The editors of *The Empire Writes Back* (1989)

argue that the term “post-colonial” can be used “to cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 2), which is reflective of Greenland’s historic and ongoing relationship with Denmark. Accordingly, I initially thought that a postcolonial approach to Lynge’s text would be an ideal way to attend to the political intricacies. It would highlight both the historical colonial context, including the work of ethnographers like Rasmussen, but it would also enable me to consider the impacts and optics of shifting from a Home Rule government (which provided Greenland with greater autonomy from Denmark) to a Self-Rule government that recognizes Greenland as a nation with the right to independence.

My understanding of debates concerning the political contexts of Greenlandic literature were complicated further during my fieldwork through informal conversations with colleagues and friends: some of these conversations highlighted the greater autonomy that Greenland has achieved in recent decades, others were centered on the aspirations of young Greenlanders to build and strengthen relationships with Inuit outside of Greenland, and, finally, several conversations focused on the tumultuous relationship between Greenland and Denmark. Fieldwork—and the relationships that can result from that process—will alter a literary scholar’s ability to attend to the political contexts of the texts, as necessitated by Indigenous literary nationalism. Moreover, I consider the knowledge gained throughout my fieldwork experiences in my textual analysis to emphasize the relationships between the texts and lived experiences. Analyses grounded in relationships (particularly relationships to people and places) would not have been possible without fieldwork. Fieldwork has the potential to provide literary scholars with the ability to produce scholarship that centers communities within its analysis, as it offers the chance to build relationships beyond the texts themselves. Building these relationships helps

to attend more closely to the concerns outlined in the methods chapter, including reciprocity and the undertaking of community-based research in the context of literary studies.

Lynge's anthology itself calls for a reading that is grounded in both the context of Rasmussen's Fifth Thule Expedition and modern Greenlandic politics. Having gained a love of reading through the work of Rasmussen, Lynge was asked to be a participant and consultant to the Danish Radio (DR, Denmark's national broadcasting corporation) television program *I Knud Rasmussens Slædespor (In Knud Rasmussen's Sledge Trail)* that ran from 1978 to 1980 (personal interview, March 15, 2018). Lynge's poetry anthology was also a by-product of this television program. Using modern modes of transportation, the television program retraced Rasmussen's journey fifty years after the original expedition and Lynge was asked to write a poem for each of the eight episodes (personal interview, March 15, 2018). During our one-and-a-half-hour interview, Lynge commented that Greenlanders are connected to all other Inuit, but the establishment of international borders has significantly impacted their potential to create a "great nation" that extends beyond international borders (personal interview, March 15, 2018). Lynge's quotation directly identifies the significant impact that international borders and the relationships between different nations, people, and places have had on Inuit throughout Inuit Nunaat. Continuing our conversation, Lynge explained that:

The only solution I see is greater autonomy for Inuit in their homelands.

Wherever they live. And the international cooperation between us should help us to fight the worst ideas of influence from the South. I'm not against the influence from the South at all. We are part of the world. The global world. (personal interview, March 15, 2018)

Lynge's call for "greater autonomy for Inuit in their homelands" and increased "international cooperation" between Inuit further emphasizes the need for a reading that is grounded in political contexts. Lastly, his comment concerning Inuit being members of the "global world" necessitates a consideration of relationships beyond the Greenland/Denmark binary, especially given that Inuit Nunaat is now a "small nation that is divided into four countries" (personal interview, March 18, 2018).

My chapter is divided into three main sections: a) methodology, b) theoretical discussions, and c) close reading/direct engagement with the text. The methodology portion of the chapter provides information concerning my fieldwork in Greenland, specifically what I sought to undertake and how these experiences impacted my readings of Aqqaluk Lynge's poetry. As articulated in my methodology chapter, my fieldwork included being a guest student at Ilisimatusarfik (January-May 2018), learning as much Kalaallisut⁸⁸ as possible, and interviewing Lynge in March 2018. The overall structure of my methodology was articulated earlier in the dissertation, but this section will both speak to and address the specific approaches that Greenlandic literature required in the present case study. The methodological discussion sets the foundation to address the theoretical lenses that I employ within the present chapter, namely dominant approaches to Greenlandic literature and how my approaches align or challenge these theoretical frameworks. More specifically, I address how the dominant approach to Greenlandic literature has been through a post-colonial lens, but I elected to undertake a reading based in Indigenous literary nationalism with a particular focus on building in-person relationships through fieldwork and consultation-based methods. The methodological and theoretical

⁸⁸ While in Greenland, I wrote a language exam that was considered "intermediate proficiency" according to my graduate program at the University of Alberta, or approximately a Level 3 in the Learn Greenlandic program offered at Ilisimatusarfik.

frameworks provide a structure that supports reading *Taqqat uummammut aqquataannut takorluukkat apuuffiannut/The Veins of the Heart to the Pinnacle of the Mind*. The close reading portion of the chapter emphasizes three main poems: “The Little Women,” “The Long Journey,” and “A Curious Journey.” Each poem discusses the Great Sled Journey from multiple positions, including the experiences of Arnaraulunnguaq⁸⁹ and Miteq (Qaavigarsuaq), how the expedition was experienced by Greenlanders across time, and the strangeness of undertaking a journey in a country where people already live. I focus primarily on *Across Arctic America* (1927) within this section because of its ongoing history as a popular account of the Fifth Thule Expedition, which also resulted in 27 scientific volumes that were directed towards an academic audience. As in previous chapters, my reading of Lyngé’s text is centered on how he reframes, re-engages, and reclaims Rasmussen’s earlier ethnographic texts in order to challenge dominant narratives concerning Greenland and its ongoing history. Reading Lyngé’s text in relation to dominant narratives concerning Greenland would have been difficult in the absence of fieldwork; as such, this chapter also serves as an opportunity to—in the final case study—demonstrate how fieldwork is integral to undertaking ethical research within Indigenous literary studies.

Methods

Given the present chapter’s focus on relationships—which extend well beyond the text itself—I believe that it is important to outline some of the differences between working in Kalaallit Nunaat, visiting with Aodla Freeman during our weekly Inuktitut lessons, and interviewing crew members in Igloolik. As a guest student at Ilisimatusarfik (University of Greenland), I became part of an established network of researchers, particularly within the

⁸⁹ “Arnaraulunnguaq and her cousin Miteq (Qaavigarsuaq) are the only Inuit who, together with Knud Rasmussen, finished the Great Sled Journey (1921-1923 [sic])” (Lyngé 91).

Department of Language, Literature and Media. I received support and guidance from my host supervisor, Birgit Kleist Pedersen, the Department Chair, Jette Rygaard, other faculty members, and graduate students. Moreover, I also received a substantial amount of support from people outside of the department and university. I outlined my three main objectives for Nuuk in the methods chapter, but, as a brief reminder, the three major objectives during my tenure at Ilisimatusarfik were: 1) library research, 2) interview with Aqqaluk Lyngé, and 3) language learning and cultural immersion. The first two objectives are established methods, as library research is standard within literary studies and interviews are frequently used within other disciplines. Likewise, language learning was largely defined by the requirements of my doctoral program (namely to achieve intermediate proficiency in two languages outside of English), so I had some institutional parameters to guide my learning in this regard. However, “cultural immersion” is a hazier concept to define. Does it refer to “fieldwork”? “Participant observation”? Something else? Ultimately, my time in Kalaallit Nunaat can be summarized as operating at the intersection of all three points, as informal discussions with friends and living in Nuuk had the greatest impact on my understanding of Lyngé’s poems. Returning to Gaudet’s visiting methodology (58-59), there were ample opportunities in Nuuk to build relations with people. Several of these relations were built from “unscripted” (Gaudet 59) moments, such as kaffimik, Aliortukkersaarutit (ghost stories), and informal conversations at Katuaq (cultural centre in downtown Nuuk). Both the extended period of time within the city (five months) and being able to maintain contact with the friends that I made in Nuuk have continued to shape my understanding of Greenlandic texts, as I am able to check in and follow up on previous conversations.

Literary Readings Grounded in Relationships

Building on the discussion present in my methods chapter, Daniel Heath Justice argues in *Why Indigenous Literatures Matter* that “relationship is the central ethos of Indigenous literature” and it offers us opportunities to “consider how these works articulate existing relational concerns and offer new possibilities, fresh perspectives on existing conflicts and struggles” (158). Drawing from Indigenous literary nationalism, particularly its focus on attending to the political and cultural contexts from which the literature emerges, I advocate for a reading that blends an Indigenous literary nationalist reading with the importance of building in-person relationships outside of the text. Consider, for instance, Lyngé’s poem “Ode to the Danaides (Danish colonialism in Greenland)” in which he comments that “Danish colonialism hides itself in ministries/ (not in defense or in justice/ but in Northern Affairs)/ Inhuman humanistic imperialism/ cold war against the cold” (107). This example from Lyngé’s poem offers the reader insight into how he views the “existing conflicts and struggles” (Justice 158) between Greenland and Denmark through references to the “hidden” aspects of Danish colonialism in ministries and Northern Affairs. Undertaking fieldwork and working beyond the text is essential for understanding the “existing conflicts and struggles” (Justice 158) that Lyngé identifies within his poems. “Inhuman humanistic imperialism” is often informally discussed around kitchen tables alongside conversations about “effective export production” (107), how “the money of Greenland jumps/ out of Greenland” (108), and the list of other major concerns raised by Lyngé in his poem: strategy, economics, profits, qualifications, and urbanization.

Lyngé also offers a “fresh perspective” on the “Nordic Amnesia” (Graugaard 5), or the absence of colonialism in the collective memory of Nordic citizens, as he identifies both the

Bible and money as weapons of colonialism: “The evangelist Hans Egede⁹⁰ said: THE BIBLE is my weapon/ the king of Denmark said: MONEY is my weapon” (107, emphasis original). I speculate that most of the poem’s contents, including references to the Thule people being relocated, coalminers in Qullissat being relocated, and the urbanization of Greenlandic culture (Lyng 108-109), is not new information for the average Greenlander, but it does offer a “fresh perspective” (Justice 158) to non-Greenlandic readers, which is particularly salient when considered in relation to the translated (Danish/English) editions of *Taqqaq uummammut aqqaannut takorluukkat apuuffiannut*. Accordingly, this chapter seeks to emphasize the importance of building in-person relationships and using fieldwork to support Indigenous literary nationalist readings that are grounded in the relevant political contexts.

Speaking to the Greenlandic context more specifically, Greenlandic-Danish artist Pia Arke argues in her essay “Ethno-Aesthetics/Ethnoæstetik” that “the postcolonial discussion is not about guilt, but about relating concretely to reality in late-colonial culture, including the question of how one can become a human being (and an artist) when one is neither us or them, me or you” (8). Arke’s quote highlights the need for readers, or viewers of other artistic forms, to consider relationships beyond the binary of “us or them, me or you.” She also emphasizes the importance of moving beyond “guilt” in postcolonial discussions, which, I would suggest, does not have concrete impacts in the daily lives of people experiencing colonialism due to its focus on emotions of the colonizer. Focusing on the guilt of the colonizer re-centres them within postcolonial discussions. However, an emphasis on “relating concretely to reality in late-colonial culture” has the potential to impact people in tangible ways via a focus on the lived reality of

⁹⁰ Hans Egede (1686-1758) was a Dano-Norwegian Lutheran missionary who began mission work in Greenland following his arrival in 1721.

their lives. Fieldwork, and the experiences that come along with the method, can help scholars within Indigenous literary studies to relate more “concretely to reality” in tangible ways—although I acknowledge that this is not the same as “relating concretely to reality in late-colonial culture” on a daily basis, it can help to provide insight into the context.

Arke’s work also considers the relationships between Danes and Greenlanders; for example, her installation of *Legende I-V* in Denmark’s Louisiana Museum of Modern Art covers an entire gallery wall with a series of five collages (Gregory par. 2). These collages present layers of Greenlandic maps overlaid with sepia-toned family photographs and imported goods like rice, sugar, and coffee (par. 2). The maps are stamped with references to colonial explorers (par. 2) and offer a visual representation of the nuanced historic and contemporary relationships between Greenlanders and Danes. Arke’s work echoes Lynges’s poem “Ode to the Danaides,” as it draws attention to the “Inhuman humanistic imperialism” (107), or the hypocrisy between imperialism and the colonizer’s desire to “preserve” (107) the culture of the Indigenous peoples that it is attempting to colonize, enacted towards Greenlanders by the Danes since Hans Egede’s arrival in 1721.⁹¹ Specifically, Arke’s work re-introduces the “human” into a visual representation of the landscape through the layering of her family’s photographs onto various maps, or the pictorial representation of imperialism via the names of colonial explorers who have been stamped on to the maps’ surfaces. In doing so, Arke re-maps Greenland as a peopled landscape instead of terra nullius—a concept that Lynges addresses in his poem “Curious

⁹¹ Naja Dyrendom Graugaard clarifies that contact between Greenland and Denmark was re-established in 1721, but Greenland had technically been the possession of the Danish crown since 1380 when Denmark and Norway became a double monarchy (8). Also, since 1261 settler communities in Greenland had agreed to pay taxes to the Norwegian king (Graugaard 8). Hence, Greenland was considered by Danes to be their possession, but, given present discussions of independence and the work of authors like Lynges, it is clear that some Kalaallit disagree with these claims.

Journey” (96-97) when he highlights the hypocrisy of undertaking a journey where “human beings live and dwell” (97). Often drawing from personal archives, Arke’s work has been said to “wrestle with the colonial relationship [between Greenland and Denmark], forcing it to emerge within the cracks of the dominant history” (Mondrup 313), as she—much like Lyngé—challenges the dominant narrative most often disseminated by the colonial power.

The context of Knud Rasmussen’s Fifth Thule Expedition and Aqqaluk Lyngé’s role as the former president of the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC)⁹² also invite a reading of the texts based in politics and in-person relationships. Rasmussen had completed his primary work in Greenland by 1920, and, accordingly, he sought to “attack the great primary problem of the origin of the Eskimo race” (Rasmussen vii). Working with two Inuit companions (Arnarulunguaq and Qaavigarsuaq, who is also called Miteq), Rasmussen travelled via dogsled “clear across the [North American] continent to the Bering Sea... [He] visited all the tribes on the way, living on the country, and sharing the life of the people” (Rasmussen vii). In some ways, both Rasmussen’s and then Lyngé’s journeys functioned to challenge the imposed borders, as removing the imposed borders of nation states allows for the consideration of connections between Inuit communities, much like those connections visually represented in the Isuma film *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*. However, it should again be noted that Rasmussen’s Fifth Thule Expedition ended prematurely due to visa issues at the Russian border (Rasmussen 357-381), so his expedition was still impacted by the barriers of nation states. Moreover, Rasmussen also created his own boundaries within Kalaallit Nunaat, as he erected boundaries between Thule and the rest of the country South of Melville Bay. These relationships between Inuit

⁹² The Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) “is the body that represents all Inuit from Alaska, Canada, Greenland, and Chukotka on matters of international importance” (ICC par. 1).

communities have moved into the contemporary moment through political organizations like the ICC and the sharing of family stories, such as Michelline Ammaq's grandmother telling her family what it was like to meet Rasmussen during the Fifth Thule Expedition (personal interview, July 23, 2018).

Nuuk's landscape also shaped my reading of Lyngé's poetry collection. Lyngé, as a Greenlandic author and politician, draws from the country's landscape in the creation of the overarching narrative for his collection. In his poem "A Curious Journey," for example, Lyngé highlights the complications involved with creating "maps of the country" (97) "where they [Danes] believed/ no human beings could exist" (96). Lyngé identifies the curiosity in the journey when he states: "What a curious journey/ and every island or fjord/ promontory or mountain was named/ to honor those back home" (97). Tagging "every island or fjord" with the names of those from "back home" demonstrates how the colonial history of Kalaallit Nunaat remains inscribed on the landscape with a bias towards the exploits of white men. In contrast, Lyngé's poem "The Little Women" demonstrates that there is more to history than what the dominant record holds, as he represents the invaluable contributions of Arnarulunnguaq during the Fifth Thule Expedition. Arnarulunnguaq successfully contributed to the labour of the men, such as the endless walking that was required during the expedition, while simultaneously doing the essential women's labour. Without Arnarulunnguaq, the men—including Rasmussen—would not have been able to complete the pan-Arctic journey. However, despite Arnarulunnguaq's contributions, it is Rasmussen who is most prominently memorialized within the dominant record: there are several busts of him in Nuuk and Copenhagen, he is honoured as the "hero" of the expedition, and he is remembered most prominently. Without living in Nuuk, and without visiting Denmark, I would not have been able to speak to the prominence of Rasmussen within

the local landscape, as it only becomes startlingly apparent once on site—something that will be expanded upon in the later portion of the present chapter. However, Arnaralunnguaq and Miteq “are remembered/ Everywhere” (91), despite no formal “memorial/ or statue or book” (91). The dominant record is reflected within the visual landscape of Nuuk, as there are several busts of Rasmussen within prominent public spaces in Nuuk and Copenhagen, including at the Red Dragon restaurant, Inatsisartut (the building for Greenland’s parliament), and the National Museum of Denmark (Nationalmuseet). However, Lynges poetry collection demonstrates that there is more to these historical narratives than the dominant narratives present. Without fieldwork, I would not have been able to see and engage with these landscapes first hand, and, without this ability, I would have lost an understanding of how Lynges literary discussions (particularly the narrativization of Kalaallit Nunaat’s history) is inscribed on the physical landscape.



Figure 4: Photograph of Knud Rasmussen bust at National Museum of Denmark (Nationalmuseet)



Figure 5: Knud Rasmussen statue in Inatsisartut (building for the Parliament of Greenland), photo by Solenn Boubour



Figure 6: Knud Rasmussen statue in the Red Dragon, photo by Solenn Boubour

Aqqaluk Lyngé and the Publication of the Collection

Aqqaluk Lyngé is a prolific author and filmmaker whose artistic work began in the 1970s and continues to the current moment. As a young Greenlander, Lyngé was a leader of the group Kalaallit Inuusuttut Ataqtigiit (Young Greenlanders Council), which began many of the cultural and political changes that resulted in the creation of the Greenland Home Rule Government in 1979 (Stenbaek 76). The poetry in the collection reflects the political activism that Lyngé has engaged with throughout his career. As Lyngé made clear in our interview, he “didn’t just write poems,” but, rather, he has been actively engaged in political work throughout his career (March 15, 2018). Lyngé was the founder of Inuit Ataqtigiit (IA, a major political party in Greenland), a cofounder of Aasivik Cultural Summer camps⁹³ (1975-1993), a Member of Parliament, and a Minister of various portfolios for the Home Rule Government of Greenland (Stenbaek 81). Furthermore, Lyngé has been actively involved with the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) for at least 34 years, serving as the President of ICC from 1997-2002 and as the Chair of the Council from 2010-2014 (Lyngé, *An Inuit Voice* 3). Lyngé’s political activism has been supported by the production of both his literary and filmic texts: for example, the text under consideration for this chapter, *Taqqat uummammut aqutaannut takorluukkat apuuffiannut/The Veins of the Heart to the Pinnacle of the Mind*, was originally produced as part of a Danish Radio television program. The program follows the path of Rasmussen’s Fifth Thule Expedition and shares poetry and other art forms throughout. Therefore, analysis of Lyngé’s text must be grounded within

⁹³ We briefly discussed these summer camps during our interview. Lyngé explains: “We had summer camps where we re-introduced the vestige of our culture. Telling all the stories and having young Greenlandic academics tell about the stuff that all the others had heard in school, but now we are telling our side of history, the one you never hear in school” (personal interview, March 15, 2018). During our verification discussion, Lyngé clarified that “all the others had heard in school” refers to the school history books advocating for the good deeds of the white colonialists and now Kalaallit are telling the story from their own perspective.

historical and contemporary Greenlandic politics—particularly the relationship between Greenland/Denmark and the rise of Greenlandic literature.

The edition of *Taqqat uummammut aqutaannut takorluukkat apuuffiannut/The Veins of the Heart to the Pinnacle of the Mind* that I am using would not be possible without the support of several people beyond the author himself, namely: Marianne Stenbaek, Ken Norris, and Aka Høegh. The English translation, which I also considered in writing this chapter, was done by Ken Norris and Marianne Stenbaek—and Stenbaek also authored the English introduction. During our interview, Lyngé and I discussed some of the challenges involved with working in translation, particularly in a language acquired as an adult. Lyngé explained how he learned English for his work with the Inuit Circumpolar Council, as English is the “business vocabulary” of the organization (personal interview, March 15, 2018). Given that English and Danish are relatively similar languages, especially in comparison to Kalaallisut, Lyngé articulated how he sometimes thinks in Danish when using English, but writing in Kalaallisut “gives... [him] more opportunit[ies] to try to find synonyms” (personal interview, March 15, 2018). Building on our initial conversation, Lyngé clarified during the verification process that when working in other languages you tend to think in those languages, but, when working in your mother tongue, you always try to be exact and correct linguistically, even in a wild poem; therefore, he feels “more free” writing texts in Danish or English, potentially because he does not have the “same sense of feeling” for those languages.⁹⁴ Aka Høegh did the artwork that accompanies both the English and Kalaallisut editions. Although the roles of the images within the text is less prevalent within my analysis, it is important to note that the artwork in the Kalaallisut and English portions of the

⁹⁴ During the verification process, Aqqaluk Lyngé provided additional information via email.

text are vastly different and the images that correspond with the poems differ between the languages. Aka Høegh is a Greenlandic artist originally from Qullissat.

Stenbaek's introduction to the collection, "Aqqaluk Lynges Poetry of Survival," provides context to the poems represented within the collection, including some brief mentions of the political and social contexts that shaped the present volume. In 1721, Hans Egede arrived and Christianity is introduced to Kalaallit Nunaat (Körber and Volquardsen 14; Stenbaek 75), but the "old hunting society adapted and persevered" (Stenbaek 75). Following Egede's arrival, Greenlanders began to be educated as catechists, which resulted in Kalaallisut becoming a written language and by the middle of the nineteenth century "all of the Greenlandic colonized population was reported as being literate" (Langgård 123). A Greenlandic newspaper, *Atuagagdliutit*, was established in 1861 to publish articles in Kalaallisut by Kalaallit; moreover, the late nineteenth century saw Greenlandic hymns being presented in a "literary fashion," and, "[a]fter 1900, national songs and other European literary genres were consciously appropriated by the Greenlanders themselves to their own needs" (Jensen 72). At this point, Greenlandic literature began to function "as one of the tools of nation building" (Langgård 126). The 1950s and 60s were marked by texts that viewed earlier times with a sense of "nostalgia—and gradually overlap with the mobilization towards Home Rule, ideas of the noble savage, and of romantic nationalism used as a political weapon" (Langgård 143). Given that few Greenlanders knew Danish prior to 1950, younger Greenlanders began to desire literature that addressed local challenges (Langgård 147-148). It is within this context that the nationalist movements of the 1960s and 1970s began to develop, as the period was shaped by young Greenlanders—including Lynges himself—who had been educated in Denmark and would return to initiate the "anti-colonial, anti-imperialistic mobilization against the Danish administration" (Graugaard 15).

As previously mentioned, World War II played a significant role in drawing Greenland “into ‘the modern world’”⁹⁵ (Graugaard 12), as the United Nations therefore provided global pressure for European countries to abolish their colonial status (13). Greenland remained a closed colony of Denmark until 1953 (Stenbaek 75) when it became a Danish province (Körber and Volquardsen 14). Greenland achieved Home Rule in 1979 (Stenbaek 76) and the processes of Danicization began, as Danes attempted to transform Greenlanders into “ersatz Danes” (Stenbaek 77) through attempted assimilation. The Danicization process arose based on previous interactions between Greenland and Denmark. Before 1950, Danish colonial policy was developed based on three major principles: “a certain degree of isolation of the Greenlandic population, a trade monopoly maintained by the Danish state, and on the fact that the Danish state had no intention of spending more money on Greenlandic development than could be gained from mining and other activities” (Poppel 697). In 1950, however, the G-50 policy departed from this, as it was deemed necessary for the Greenlandic population “to be able to exploit economic potential of the country in a more rational and intensive way” (Poppel 697). Accordingly, a reform program was brought forth by the Greenlandic Commission that was guided by two major goals, namely “Danish enterprise based on private capital should lead to a significant increase in production, and... income transfers from Denmark should ensure a further increased standard of living, primarily by using the money transferred for the expenses of public consumption” (Poppel 697-698). G-50 was somewhat successful in that it saw significant improvement to housing conditions and improved health of Greenlanders (Poppel 698). However, despite these investments, the changes did not meet the goals of the Greenlandic

⁹⁵ Use of the term “modern world” is problematic because it creates an implied hierarchy between Greenland and “Western” countries like Denmark. It also suggests that Greenland was not “modern” before the arrival of the Danes, thus further solidifying narratives of colonization.

National Council (Grønlands Landsråd), so the G-60 policy was developed with the goal of raising “the political, social, and cultural status of the Greenlandic population and to increase the standard of living” (Poppel 699). Nevertheless, the G-60 policy introduced its own problems, as Greenlanders from more remote settlements were forced to move to Nuuk, Paamiut, Sisimiut, and Maniitsoq, where the economic development was focused (Poppel 699).

The 1960s-1980s saw the Greenlandic Revolution, which “was one of the very few bloodless revolutions in the history of former colonial regions, but the human costs would remain very great” (Stenbaek 77-78). Human costs included external influences that impacted traditional Greenlandic life, including “the many suicides, the abuses, the alcoholism, the alienation and despair caused by these all too rapid changes” (Stenbaek 77). The introduction of a Greenlandic Self Government supported Greenlanders being recognized as a people under the purview of international law (Graugaard 17). When Lyngé was the vice-chair of the Inuit Circumpolar Council, he stated on KNR (Kalaallit Nunaat Radio, Greenland’s National Public Broadcasting Corporation) that Greenlandic Self Government demonstrates that “Danish and Greenlandic politicians have been able to agree on recognizing a former colony as a people with the right to use their language and culture, and proper conditions concerning the administration of resources have been established” (Graugaard translation 49). According to Lars Jensen, “Home Rule” is generally “a means by which nationalist movements could pressure imperial powers into recognising that imperial rule is neither necessarily benevolent nor to the benefit of the colonials” (80); in the case of Greenland, Danes continued to maintain influence over Greenland via block grants and foreign policy, particularly regarding defence, mineral resources, and several public institutions (Graugaard 15). At this point, Danification was replaced with the process of Greenlandification (Langgård 2008 72). The Self-Rule Act was passed in 2009 and

this gave Greenland greater independence from Denmark (Körber and Volquardsen 14). This Act granted Greenlanders control over the country's mineral and oil rights; moreover, it offers Greenlanders the ability to gain full independence in the future if they choose (Kuokkannen 46).

Aqqaluk Lyngé began to write poetry more seriously in 1976 when he returned to Greenland after studying in Copenhagen (Stenbaek 78). The original manifestation of the text was published in 1982 in both Kalaallisut and Danish, but it would be several years before the collection was translated into English. The collection under consideration here was published in 2008, or the year before Greenland achieved Self-Rule. Lyngé's use of Kalaallisut is significant when considered in relation to the history of Greenlandic literature, as Greenlanders started to call for *siumukarneq*, or prosperous progress,⁹⁶ which involved the development of Greenlanders' skills following the crisis in the sealing industry (Langgård 128). One of the skills that Greenlanders elected to develop was the creation of literary texts in Kalaallisut for Greenlanders (Langgård 130). It is important to note that the poet was involved with the translation into English, but, given the unique characteristics of both languages, each text maintains its own unique characteristics. Being able to write in Kalaallisut, Danish, and English, Lyngé commented during our interview that because Kalaallisut is his native language he has "more opportunity to find synonyms" (personal interview, March 15, 2018), and, as a result, he can write with more accuracy. The political contexts—as outlined above—provide a foundation to discuss Aqqaluk Lyngé's poetry anthology within the context of Kalaallit Nunaat's ongoing history.

Greenlandic Literature and Kalaallit

Initially, I wrestled with whether to use postcolonial theory given the specific (and diverse) ways that the distinct concepts of post-colonial and postcolonial are being taken up in

⁹⁶ This can also be understood as "going forward." Translated by Malu Berthelsen.

scholarship concerning Greenlandic literature. Postcolonial theories occupy a prominent position within the academic writing concerning Greenlandic literature; for example, Greenlandic scholar Birgit Kleist Pedersen argues that the term “post-colonialism” refers to the “era after 1953, when Greenland’s constitutional status changed from being a Danish colony to becoming a Danish administrative country” (283). Within the same chapter, Kleist Pedersen addresses the differences between “post-colonialism” and “postcolonialism.” According to Kleist Pedersen, the dash refers to the period after the “actual (constitutional)” colonialism ends, while the singular word is “synonymous with neocolonialism in Gayatri Spivak's meaning of the term,” or the continuation of colonialism, despite its formalized, constitutional “end” (284). Karen Langgård also speaks to the history of Greenlandic literature and colonialism, as she entertains terms such as “schizophrenic” and “hybrid” (121, 2011). Ultimately, she finds that both of these terms are lacking, so she suggests that “[i]t may be best to call the present culture in Greenland, *Greenlandic* [emphasis original] and thereby stress that although this culture is post-colonial and not harmonious throughout, it is more a conglomerate than many other nonpost-colonial cultures” (Langgård 121, 2011). Ulrik Pram Gad also argues that Greenlandic identity can be labelled as “post-colonial” if the term refers to “a condition in which coloniality proper has formally ended but nevertheless continues to be a seemingly necessary reference for most of society” (137). Following further clarification, Pram Gad states that he frames Greenland as operating within a post-colonial setting because it is “legally past its status as a colony,” despite colonialism remaining an “inescapable reference for society” (137). The prominence of postcolonial theory within discussions of Greenlandic literature demonstrates the importance of undertaking a reading that is grounded in the political contexts of Greenland, as is offered by Indigenous literary nationalism.

The history of Greenlandic literature, and its role in nation building, provides essential context to discussions concerning Aqqaluk Lynge's poetry anthology. Nurturing a sense of a Greenlandic nation and the beginnings of a national identity as Kalaallit⁹⁷ (Kalaaliussuseq) began long before discussions of Home Rule, Self-Rule, or independence, and can be traced to the nineteenth century. Hinrich Johannes Rink, a Danish scientist, explorer, and administrator of Greenland, began the periodical *Atuagagdliutit* in 1861 following various journeys along the West coast of Greenland. During these journeys, Rink learned that Greenlanders could read and write, but they were eager for new reading material (Thisted 254-255). In the 1720s, Hans Egede began to educate Greenlanders as catechists and Kalaallisut became a written language that the Greenlandic population was taught to read (Langgård 123, 2011). *Atuagagdliutit* began printing in Rink's office in 1861 and it played a significant role in "binding Greenland together and giving the scattered population the impression of being one people separate and distinct from other nations in the world" (Thisted 255), particularly from South Greenland to as far North as Upernavik. However, Langgård emphasizes that Greenlanders were "aware of the concepts of ethnicity and nationality and had a sense of an imagined Greenlandic ethnic-national community" prior to the establishment of *Atuagagdliutit* (124, 2011 and 1998B). Rink's primary goal was to preserve a communal past for Greenlanders with the additional hope that Danes would regard Greenlanders as more than 'primitives'; moreover, Rink aspired to have Greenlanders viewed as a nation, a notion that facilitated the creation of contemporary Greenlandic literature (Thisted 255). The ideal Greenlander in these nineteenth-century

⁹⁷ Notably, during verification, Aqqaluk Lynge emphasized that the term "Kalaallit," when used in relation to nationhood (not ethnicity), refers to both Inuit and those of Scandinavian descent. In Kalaallisut, Naggueqatigiit Inuit (people with the same ancestry) is used to refer to all Inuit within Inuit Nunaat.

newspaper articles was identified as a skilled seal hunter and devoted Christian (Langgård 126). These histories and external perceptions of Greenlanders have—in part—created the current political contexts that Lyngé engages with in his poetry.

In writing this chapter, I struggled to articulate Danish perspectives of colonialism, especially as it relates to Greenland and its modern political climate, so to unpack some of the nuances of Denmark’s colonial history, and to get a better sense of the relationship between the two countries, I turned to several sources that address different aspects of Danish colonialism. Karen Fog Olwig, for example, considers the example of Denmark selling the Danish West Indies to the United States in 1917 and how this resulted in “Deglobalization,” or the “delinking of interconnectedness” (207), and how the Danish narrative concerning the West Indies became “an exclusively Danish matter, which says relatively little about the West Indies but a great deal about how Danish cultural identity and self worth are generated through histories of Danish deeds abroad” (214-215).⁹⁸ Moreover, she argues that “[i]n the mental enclave of Danish West Indian history, ideologies that are no longer acceptable can still flourish freely” (218). A similar argument can be seen within the context of Greenland; for example, it has been argued that “Denmark has nothing to be ashamed of in its dealings with Greenland, as Denmark each year transfers large amounts of money to Greenland and its home rule government” (Poddar, Patke, and Jensen 61). Moreover, Naja Dyrendom Graugaard states that at the 2008 conference called *Rethinking Nordic Colonialism*, participants coined the terms “The Forgotten Colonialism” and “Nordic Amnesia” to describe “the absence of the colonial history in Nordic collective memory” (5). How might this “amnesia” shape our readings of Lyngé’s poetry? How does an “amnesia” of

⁹⁸ Based on the Decree of May 10, 1921, the “whole country was henceforward attached to the Danish colonies and to the Danish administration of Greenland” (Smith 154).

colonialism impact the ongoing relationships between Greenland and Denmark? Lastly, how can Lyngé's poetry help us to understand relationships within Inuit Nunaat and abroad? Taken together, this section provides essential context to internal and external perceptions of Kalaallit Nunaat—and the impacts that these perceptions have on Greenlandic literature.

Reading Alongside Ethnographic History

Lyngé's anthology aligns with the larger questions that my dissertation presents regarding the history of ethnography and how Inuit artists are reclaiming earlier texts, because Lyngé's collection encapsulates almost 35 years of poetry from across his career (Stenbaek 82), including poems addressing early ethnography, Danish colonialism, resource extraction, Greenland's goal of independence from Denmark, and global relationships between Inuit, among other topics. My reading of the following poems will demonstrate the essential contributions that fieldwork offers to an Indigenous literary nationalist reading. The poems are presented in an almost linear fashion: the first poem in the English portion of the text is "A Life of Respect," which concludes with the question "[b]ut now it is we who ask/ by what right are *you* here?" (Lyngé 88, emphasis original). This ending quotation begins to interrogate larger colonial discourses through its consideration of the roles that guests have in Greenland, which is a main subject throughout the collection, and directly tied to questions concerning early ethnography and representation. Three poems, specifically "The Little Women," "The Long Journey," and "A Curious Journey," engage directly with the legacy of Knud Rasmussen and honoring the two Inuit—Arnarulunnguaq and Miteq (Qaavigarsuaq)—who were the only Inuit (alongside Rasmussen) who completed the Great Sled Journey (1921-1924). These three poems will be the focus of this chapter; however, my textual analysis also attends to the broader collection. The linear progression of Lyngé's collection continues, as the poems "God Save Denmark and

Greenland—Separately,” “Arctic Riches,” and “To Our Guests,” attend more to the contemporary moment, despite their initial conception as a part of a Danish Radio program that ran from 1978-1980. The first poem listed concerns Greenland’s goal of independence from Denmark, the second raises concerns with resource extraction and the impacts that it may have on the land and the people, and, lastly, there is the poem “To Our Guests” that highlights Greenlanders’ hospitality towards guests in their homeland and how the guests often misuse their generosity. Together, these poems act as a commentary on early ethnographic practices that challenge the perceptions and subsequent (mis)understandings put forth by Knud Rasmussen in the early twentieth century.

The broad topics outlined above are closely connected to my dissertation topic via early discussions of anthropology and the ongoing legacy of Knud Rasmussen. Lyngé touches upon larger anthropological discourses throughout the collection; most notably, his engagement with the topic of anthropological discourses are foregrounded in the poem “A Curious Journey.” In this poem, the speaker comments how the folks embarking on the “curious⁹⁹ journey” return home (presumably to Denmark) “with maps of the country/ and tales of the people they saw” (Lyngé 97). In *Across Arctic America*, Rasmussen informs the reader that members of the Fifth Thule Expedition are “going to buy and carry back to our own country souvenirs of the daily life of the Eskimo... And we were going to make maps and pictures of parts of this country in which no white man had ever been” (6). When the harrowed explorers returned home, “they became famous, earning medals and fame/ for having explored a country where human beings live and dwell” (Lyngé 97). The honorifics bestowed on the explorers—in the form of “medals and

⁹⁹ Thank you to Birgit Kleist Pedersen for pointing out that the Kalaallisut version of the poem, “Tupigusullutik angalapput,” translates more directly to a “surprise” journey.

fame”—emphasizes the irony in the work of early anthropology, as the explorers (namely Rasmussen) were honoured for having traversed “a country where human beings live and dwell” (Lynge 97) when his Inuit collaborators do not receive the same recognition. Moreover, the idea of exploration is also troubled, as the explorer (Rasmussen) is honoured for having traversed the homeland of his Inuit collaborators. Lynge’s articulation speaks to the ways in which Kirsten Hastrup identifies how in Denmark (like many other locales) “anthropology grew out of explorers’ efforts to penetrate, to map, and to appropriate the blank spaces on the globe” (789).

The previous two poems, “The Little Women” and “The Long Journey,” highlight how Arnarulunnguaq and Qaavigarsuaq never had “a memorial/ or statue or book” (Lynge 91) that honoured their contributions to the Great Sled Journey, but the poetry within Lynge’s collection begins to draw attention to the heroic work that both Arnarulunnguaq and Qaavigarsuaq undertook. For example, the differences between Arnarulunnguaq and Qaavigarsuaq being known within the Kalaallisut-speaking world and the English-speaking world is made evident through the presence of a footnote explaining their contributions within the English version of the text and an absence of the same footnote within the Kalaallisut edition. Moreover, in writing “The Little Women,” Lynge emphasizes that he:

wanted to highlight that Knud Rasmussen himself was very famous because of his trips over there, but he was actually just travelling over there with two Inuit, Qaavigarsuaq and Arnarulunnguaq. Without those two, he wouldn’t be. Those two men without Arnarulunnguaq wouldn’t be who they are, so that’s what I wanted to show. Without women, the world is only half. (personal interview, March 15, 2018)

Lyngé's quotation highlights how Rasmussen would not be a famous explorer without the essential support of his Inuit collaborators, Qaavigarsuaq and Arnarulunnguaq. Moreover, during the verification process, Lyngé suggested that I emphasize that Rasmussen himself was a Greenlandic hero—a Danish star and an excellent dogsled driver—but, in the high Arctic, you could not travel and survive in the cold without a seamstress that takes care of the skin clothes that keep you warm in the cold. Arnarulunnguaq also supported Miteq (Qaavigarsuaq) during their travels.

Rasmussen and his texts have played a strong role in shaping external perceptions of Greenland and Greenlanders. Kirsten Thisted emphasizes how many of Rasmussen's texts could be read as short stories, despite their basis in personal experience (313) and his reference to the narratives being contained in "already existing collections" (325), but, despite these clear articulations, much of Rasmussen's work is "read and understood as science" (313). As a result, many people have gained most of their knowledge about Greenland from the works of Rasmussen and Peter Freuchen¹⁰⁰ (313). I suggest that Lyngé is engaging with this popular account—one that is known outside of academic circles—to reclaim popular accounts of anthropology, or the accounts that are well-known to the public. The danger of having such texts read—and understood—as science is that readers in the early twentieth century "read these descriptions by trained¹⁰¹ anthropologists as evidence of the certain elimination of Inuit culture from the face of the earth" (Stuhl 28).

¹⁰⁰ Peter Freuchen (1886-1957) is a Danish explorer that worked alongside Rasmussen during his Thule Expeditions.

¹⁰¹ I acknowledge that Rasmussen was not a "trained" anthropologist in the sense of a formal, university education, but his childhood in Greenland and his access to Danish resources (such as funding) enabled him to work in an anthropological capacity.

Thisted further articulates that most people can remember details about Rasmussen, including such specific facts as how he would never record a story until he was able to reproduce it himself, but fewer people can recall his Inuit collaborators and their stories, despite many of the stories having been recorded by Greenlanders themselves (325). Moreover, in *Across Arctic America: Narrative of the Fifth Thule Expedition*, Rasmussen articulates how “[t]he Eskimo is the hero of this book. His history, his present culture, his daily hardships, and his spiritual life constitute the theme and the narrative” (vii). In the Introduction to *Across Arctic America*, Rasmussen articulates that his ability to maintain “almost total excision of theories about the origins of the Eskimos... [is] a mark of strict literary discipline” (xxxv), which draws a clear distinction between this popular account and the scientific reports of the team. Based on the selective popular memory of these events, Thisted questions why Rasmussen did not always credit those who wrote the manuscripts and worked with him. She also questions why he also removed “practically all explicit references to colonial times and Christianity in the printed versions of the texts” (325)—a notion that the Isuma film *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* clearly challenges. Accordingly, Thisted articulates that these literary decisions result in “the storytellers... [being] reduced to mythical figures on the same level as the characters in their own stories” (325); thus, from a Danish perspective, “the collection of Greenlandic narrative tradition starts (and ends) with Knud Rasmussen” (325).

It is evident that the ongoing collective memory of Knud Rasmussen and his legacy continues to shape how people outside of Greenland perceive the country and its peoples. Thisted argues that the image of a writing Greenlander (and, I would argue, a reading

Greenlander), which goes back to the nineteenth century with Hinrich Johannes Rink¹⁰² and the publication of *Atuagagdliutit*,¹⁰³ “cannot fail to challenge the picture prevalent in Denmark of Greenland as a largely untouched hunting society as recently as the end of World War II” (326). Working within the contexts of these narratives, Rasmussen made substantial efforts to modernize Greenland, including the creation of The Greenlandic Literary Society and the translation of W. Dreyer’s *Naturfolkness Liv (The Life of the Primitive Peoples)* into Greenlandic, which introduced the theory of evolution to Greenland. In the first poem of his collection, “A Life of Respect,” Lyngé draws the reader’s attention to the damages that misperceptions of “evolution” and the existence of Greenland as an “untouched hunting society” did to the people of Greenland, as “Now it is as if we are under arrest/ The wardens are everywhere/ We are interrogated constantly/ In your hungering after more riches and lands/ you make us suspect/ force us to justify our existence (Lyngé 88). Lyngé highlights the hypocrisy of being “under arrest,” living under the watchful eyes of “wardens,” and the constant interrogation from guests who are “hungering after more riches and lands” (88). The poem “A Life of Respect” demonstrates that Greenlanders have always ensured that “there is a balance” (87) between themselves and the other creatures that they rely upon for subsistence. It is these same people who are demanding that Greenlanders justify their existence on the very lands that they have used since time immemorial. Lyngé’s poetry collection is situated within the context of this anthropological and literary history. It also exemplifies the ongoing and historic colonial relationships between Greenland and Denmark.

¹⁰² Hinrich Johannes Rink (1819-1893) was a Danish geologist who was involved in the creation of *Atuagagdliutit*.

¹⁰³ *Atuagagdliutit* is a newspaper that was first printed in 1861 under the supervision of Hinrich Johannes Rink to support the cultural identity of Greenlanders. Still in nationwide circulation, the publication is now called *Atuagagdliutit/Grønlandsposten*, or AG.

“The Little Women”

“The Little Women” speaks to the incredible contributions that Arnarulunnguaq made to the success of the Fifth Thule Expedition. Lyngé’s narrative poem details how Arnarulunnguaq and her male cousin Miteq (Qaavigarsuaq) contributed to Knud Rasmussen’s Great Sled Journey through their personal sacrifices, their ability to deal with the challenging conditions of the expedition, and the ongoing memory of their achievements. Given that the two travellers were the only Inuit who, along with Rasmussen, completed the Great Sled Journey (Lyngé 91), the poem seeks to re-write the narrative of Rasmussen’s harrowing expedition by highlighting the major contributions that both Arnarulunnguaq and Qaavigarsuaq made to the expedition, which likely would have been unsuccessful without their support. This narrative angle foregrounds the essential contributions that the Inuit members of Rasmussen’s expedition team—especially Arnarulunnguaq—made to the success of the expedition.

What is the effect, then, of publishing Arnarulunnguaq and Miteq’s names and accomplishments in a book of poetry that was created to “continue to be an inspiration... [for Indigenous peoples’] struggles for cultural and political survival” (Stenbaek 84)? How does shifting the focus from Rasmussen’s grand narrative to the daily essential work of Arnarulunnguaq challenge or re-interrogate Rasmussen’s earlier writings? And how does reframing the narrative of the Fifth Thule Expedition shift how these histories are discussed in general conversations? I will consider the poem in relation to the prolific narratives concerning Rasmussen’s Fifth Thule Expedition and how the work of Inuit—and Inuit women in particular—was not acknowledged to the extent that Rasmussen’s successes were within the broader, non-Greenlandic publics. Moreover, I consider how Lyngé’s poem functions as an important intervention in the broader dominant narratives concerning Rasmussen’s heroism.

In the opening of *Across Arctic America*, Rasmussen briefly acknowledges the support that he received from his Inuit collaborators when he states that “[h]ardly less important to the comfort and success of the Expedition than the work of these scientists was the contribution of our Eskimo assistants from Greenland, and those we added locally from time to time” (viii). Rasmussen’s passing acknowledgement of his essential collaborators has two major effects; first, there is the acknowledgement aspect whereby he does mention the significant impact that the “Eskimo assistants from Greenland” have had on the “comfort and success of the Expedition,” but he does not mention them by name at this point or share what was most valued in their contributions. In contrast, Lyngé provides the reader with substantial information regarding the contributions that Arnarulunnguaq made to the expedition, including the countless stitches she sewed (89), her contributions to providing food for the team through “the hunt for survival” (90), and her roles in both the “giving” and “preservation of life” (90). Turning to the Greenlandic edition of the text, the “preservation of life” is represented as “naggueqaternili inuuneq” (31). “Naggueqatit” can be translated into English as “kinsmen” and “inuuneq” as “life” or “existence” (Oqaasileriffik). The Greenlandic articulation of the poem more explicitly emphasizes the connection between family and life, especially when read in relation to “giving of life” (90). This focus on Arnarulunnguaq’s daily life draws attention to the material aspects of the expedition, including the necessity of women’s labour in the form of sewing, and begins to shift the historiography from Rasmussen as the hero to a feminist narrative that centers the contributions of a woman. Rasmussen’s brief acknowledgement appears insincere when it is read alongside his other comments, such as his statement that he is not sure if he is more impressed about the fact that he made it through the entire expedition with the same dog team or the same Inuit team members (xxxv). Later in the introduction, Rasmussen does acknowledge that

Arnarulunnguaq has a duty “to keep the fur clothing mended, to cook, and, on the journey, to help drive the dogs. The men drove, hunted food for men and dogs, and built snow huts wherever we set up new camps” (ix). However, Lyngé emphasizes that Arnarulunnguaq “participated in all the difficulties” involved with the expedition, “whether it was a man’s or a woman’s” responsibility (89). Lyngé’s articulation of the same events emphasizes the major role that Arnarulunnguaq played in the success of the expedition, as the team would not have been able to complete the expedition without her support.

The poem begins with the speaker acknowledging that the recipient (“your”) has undergone significant life changes, including having their¹⁰⁴ husband pass away, which is followed by their brother dying, and the need to make a “big decision” concerning their involvement with the journey that would become “the long sled journey” (Lyngé 89). It is soon made clear that the recipient “participated in all the difficulties/ For a woman a journey was a journey/ and work was something that had to be done” (89), regardless of whose responsibility it was to do so. Despite the exhausting attributes of the long journey, the still unnamed woman¹⁰⁵ was required to make camp, provide something warm, light the lamp, and cook the food (89). The labour required is additional hard work that requires her to bend her back (89) and sew as many stitches “as the steps of... [her] journey” (89). Arnarulunnguaq remains unnamed until the beginning of the fourth stanza; shortly after, the speaker of the poem begins to question what inner thoughts must have been running through Arnarulunnguaq’s mind as she contributed her

¹⁰⁴ The gender of the recipient has not been identified at this point in the poem. However, we learn that the recipient is Arnarulunnguaq, who is identified as a “her” within the footnote on page 91 and whose name means “little woman” in Kalaallisut.

¹⁰⁵ Given the contents of the second stanza, namely that the person the speaker is talking about is required to do labour that is often attributed to women, including lighting the lamp and cooking the food, I am assuming at this point that the speaker is talking to a woman involved in “the long sled journey” (89).

essential skills to the “long journey/ which became one man’s honor” (90), but for her it “was... just a passage/ a hunting trip/ like so many others” (90). Although the speaker does not explicitly identify Knud Rasmussen as the “one man,” the footnote reference at the end of the poem clearly suggests that the poem’s contents are referring to the glory that Rasmussen received following the completion of the Great Sled Journey, as Arnarulunnguaq and Miteq are identified as “the only Inuit who, together with Knud Rasmussen, finished the Great Sled Journey” (91). Moreover, the honour of Rasmussen is translated to “tusaamasaassutaa” and “tusaamasaaneq,” which refers to a reputation (Oqaasileriffik).

Arnarulunnguaq “helped to push and pull [the sled]/ sweat-soaked in the cold” (90) and they “went along on a hunt after food/... for survival” (90), despite “the merciless hunt after fame” (90) meaning nothing to Arnarulunnguaq who knew that “the giving of life/ [and] the preservation of life/ is far better than glory” (90). Although the contributions of Rasmussen are acknowledged, and to a lesser extent the work of Peter Freuchen, the two Inuit are remembered “Everywhere... [they] have been” (91). Arnarulunnguaq is remembered for her “good nature, ... [her] smile and laughter” (91). Yet, “No one has created a memorial/ or statue or book” to honour the immense contributions made by the two Inuit members of the expedition, while Rasmussen is memorialized throughout the world. For example, there is a bust of Rasmussen at the Danish National Museum in Copenhagen, Denmark (pictured in the present chapter at the break between the methods and discussion of Lyngé’s poetry collection). There is a second bust of Rasmussen in The Red Dragon (a Greenlandic-Chinese fusion restaurant) in Nuuk, Greenland, among others. Even without the formal memorials acknowledging the contributions of Arnarulunnguaq and Miteq, “the strength of... [their] spirit/ remains a link/ for our [Greenlandic] people” (91). Both Arnarulunnguaq and Miteq continue to act as a source of strength because

“Without... [them] the would be much smaller/and our journey unfulfilled” (91). The narrativization of the women’s contributions is continued in the following poem: “The Long Journey.”

Undertaking fieldwork in Kalaallit Nunaat supported my reading of Lyngé’s poem “The Little Women” in several ways; first, living in Nuuk helped me to understand how both Lyngé’s work and the narratives of Rasmussen’s Fifth Thule Expedition are received by Kalaallit. Lyngé’s work (both literary and political) is widely known within Kalaallit Nunaat, as Kalaallit are well aware of his literary texts, his various publications are present in Nuuk’s local bookstore (Atuagkat)/libraries (Ilimmarfimmi Atuagaateqarfik, Groenlandica, and Nunatta Atuagaateqarfia), and the April 24, 2018 general election offered ample opportunities to discuss his political activities. My informal discussions with friends and colleagues demonstrated Lyngé’s prominence within the contemporary Greenlandic literary landscape: colleagues remarked that he is “one of the fathers of contemporary Greenlandic literature” and that his work is some of the best-known Greenlandic literary texts outside of Kalaallit Nunaat. Second, living in Kalaallit Nunaat also offered an opportunity to better understand both the physical landscape of Greenland and how historical narratives are inscribed onto the land. For example, within the poem, the speaker emphasizes the difficulty of a “hard day’s travel” (89) and the importance of Arnarulunnguaq providing “something warm” (89) for members of the Expedition. Unfortunately, my travel in Kalaallit Nunaat was mostly limited to urban centres, but the regular snow and wind storms during the winter provided some insight into how treacherous travel within Kalaallit Nunaat could be, especially by dog team. Moreover, Rasmussen is widely represented on the physical landscape of Kalaallit Nunaat, as a glacier in the Sermiligaaq Fjord (Southeast Greenland) bears his name, and, as demonstrated above, there are several Rasmussen

statues in both Nuuk and Copenhagen. In contrast, I cannot recall any references to Arnarulunnguaq within the physical landscape of Kalaallit Nunaat. However, as Lynge states in his poem (“Everywhere you have been / you [Arnarulunnguaq] and Miteq are remembered” [91]), Arnarulunnguaq is widely remembered by Kalaallit, as multiple friends and colleagues mentioned her essential contributions to the Fifth Thule Expedition during discussions of the event. Together, these experiences (among others) provided additional context to my readings of Lynge’s poetry; moreover, these details, such as the reception of Lynge’s work within Kalaallit Nunaat and how Rasmussen is physically represented on the landscape, could not be garnered from textual analysis alone.

“The Long Journey”

“The Long Journey” ties the narrative events of the previous poem—namely Arnarulunnguaq’s essential contributions to Rasmussen’s Fifth Thule Expedition—to a more contemporary moment. In the poem, the speaker comments how it is her/his first-time meeting Miteq’s sons in Moriussaq (Miteq’s former settlement). Moriussaq is a settlement in Northern Greenland, close to the Pituffik Airport (American Thule Air Base), that officially closed in 2010 (approximately two years after the publication of Lynge’s poetry collection). Having come to the end of “The Long Journey,” the speaker has reached “the world’s end” (Lynge 92) where there is a deserted “heart’s old settlement” (92) that provides a space for the soul to move freely “in the middle of everything/ at the world’s end” (92). The speaker is “happy over this reunion” (92) between herself/himself and the sons of Miteq, despite them never having met in person prior to this moment. Reunited with the sons of Miteq, the speaker notes how “[t]hey look for a tombstone for him [Miteq]” that will originate “from the heart of the mountain/ at the heart’s old settlement” (92). In contrast to the grand memorials erected to entrench the memory of

Rasmussen within the popular imagination, it is Miteq's sons who make the "unreasonably hard" (93) journey to create a tombstone to memorialize their father for future generations. The stark contrast between a "tomb" and "monument" is also telling: without a tomb, future generations do not have the ability to visit Miteq's final resting place to potentially learn about the great achievements of their forefather.

The speaker of the poem also mentions how she/he "remember[s] the man/in Naajaat" (93) who, upon seeing a picture of the speaker's house stacked upon another, commented that "the end of the world has come/ You are no longer Inuit" (93). In this instance, it appears that the "end of the world" has shifted from an imaginary geographical location to the end of a cultural world, or the end of the speaker being perceived as an Inuk, because the man in Naajaat comments that "*You* [speaker in the poem] are no longer Inuit" (93, emphasis added). The invocation of the word "you" in this instance suggests that the man in Naajaat is not excluding himself from being Inuit. The speaker of the poem comments how she/he is "insulted/not by words" (93), but the thought that passes through her/his own mind: "We are no longer/ what we were/ we have become..." (93). Who is the "we" that the speaker invokes in this instance? And what have "we" become? I suggest that "we" is referring to Inuit today, as there has been a shift in the poem from the speaker addressing people from the past (such as those present on the Fifth Thule Expedition) to those in the contemporary moment (including those today who live in stacked houses, or apartments). However, it is unclear what the "we" has become. The ellipses and the page break at this point makes a clear fissure between the past and what Inuit may choose to become in the future. At this moment, Lynge is unpacking the relationships between Inuit in the past and Inuit within the future; specifically, the speaker of the poem is emphasizing how the actions of past Inuit continue to shape the lives of Inuit today. Within this space, the

speaker of the poem stands “in the middle of everything” (92) after being “pushed out from the big nothingness” (92), which (much like the work of Pia Arke) re-populates the space that has been framed by explorers as vast and empty.

There is another temporal shift following the ellipses and page break. At this point, the speaker shifts to narrating the “long journey” (94) of the Fifth Thule expedition to the journey “over ten thousand years [ago]/... towards the east and towards the west” (94), which, I would argue, is a reference to the migration that Inuit made from lands that are now claimed by Northern Canada to the Western coast of Greenland. As one would expect, these migrated peoples “parted from each other/ Families were started/ New tribes were created/ The pulse of life was secured/ Tombs” (94). In other words, the migrated people became the Inuit of Canada and Greenland who, though closely related, have secured different ways of life, including language, culture, and other traditions.

The final stanza of the poem comments how during “[t]he journey around the world/... Weakness becomes strength/ at the heart’s old settlement” (95). Remaining within the context of the Fifth Thule Expedition, the final stanza highlights how the Fifth Thule Expedition was a “journey around the world” (95), as the group traveled throughout the Inuit world that runs between Canada, Greenland, Alaska, and Russia. This poem also provides the reader with some insight into the relationships between Inuit communities within Inuit Nunaat through experiences of colonialism, as “others have laid claim to/that Inuit may not come to/for hunting or for pleasure” (95), which I argue reference the same concerns regarding hunting quotas that are addressed in “A Life of Respect.”

As outlined above, “The Long Journey” draws connections between Inuit today (such as those that live in a “house that stands on top of another” [93]), Miteq’s sons who “look for a

tombstone for him” (92), and the Inuit migration “towards the east and towards the west” (94) that resulted in new “Families,” “New tribes,” and secured the “pulse of life” (94). In addition to reading Lyngé’s poem, living in Kalaallit Nunaat helped to draw connections between historical events, like the Fifth Thule Expedition, and modern events, such as the connections between Inuit across Inuit Nunaat (those who went “towards the east and towards the west” [94]). Of course, I used various documents—such as the Inuit Circumpolar Council’s “Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic”—to gain an understanding of the connections between Inuit within lands that are now claimed by both Canada and Denmark, but there are significant limits to relying entirely on textual documents. For example, multiple friends identified that they were working to improve their English¹⁰⁶ in order to more effectively communicate with Inuit in both Canada and Alaska. These conversations, particularly when they are considered alongside other discussions concerning the relationships between Inuit within Inuit Nunaat, helped to provide additional context to my reading of Lyngé’s work.

“A Curious Journey”

Following “The Little Women” and “The Long Journey,” “A Curious Journey” unites the previous two poems to provide a larger commentary on the arrival of colonizers in Greenland and a critique of the visitors’ alien cultural practices. Each stanza (save for the final) begins with the line: “What a curious journey” (96-97). The “curious journey” refers to the strange travels that “the guests” (96) (presumably Qallunaat) took before arriving to Kalaallit Nunaat. The outsiders arrived with the assumption that the country was a locale where “no human beings could exist” (96), but “they found human beings/ who knew nothing of others/ but call

¹⁰⁶ Given that English is my first language, I acknowledge that there is likely a strong bias towards me receiving comments like those mentioned above.

themselves human beings” (96). The reference regarding Greenland being a land in which no human being can exist may be a reference to early explorers like John Davis who called Greenland “the land of desolation” (787, qtd. in Gosch 158). The opening two stanzas demonstrate several assumptions on the part of the visiting peoples; first, the visitors’ conjecture that there could be peoples using land that has not been claimed by a European nation, especially considering that the land in question was regarded by Europeans as a harsh environment, as seen through several popular culture references, including descriptions of the Arctic in films like Robert Flaherty’s *Nanook of the North* or the work of contemporaneous anthropologists (Hastrup 789). Second, there is surprise on the part of visitors because there are people in this space that see themselves as human beings, yet they “knew nothing of others” (96).

The speaker of the poem highlights that the guests are overly greedy—despite the “hospitality” (96) of the Kalaallit. It is “impossible to satisfy the guests/boundless greed” (96), even if “in such a big country/ they [the guests] hardly have enough heroes/ to give their names to places” (96) and “every island or fjord/promontory or mountain was named/ to honor those back home” (97). Although it is never directly stated, the speaker introduces curiosity into the once common cultural practices of colonizers arriving and taking with “boundless greed,” whether the removal of physical resources or cultural knowledge, a point that will be discussed shortly, the guests claim the space as their own. The guests learn upon arrival that there are people living in this place, but they nonetheless use their terms to refer to places and as a result they lay further claim to the spaces in which they are guests.

The improper behaviour of the guests extends beyond the re-naming of physical spaces, as the guests “examined the people/ and took their clothes, sleds and equipment” (96). The

“examination” referenced within this passage likely refers to the common practice of Danish¹⁰⁷ anthropologists to “examine” the local peoples; more specifically, anthropologists used to scrutinise the cultural practices of local peoples and physically study their bodies using biometric measurements. These measurements were often used when the anthropologist returned home to make claims about the “superior” biology of Europeans. Moreover, there is the examination of “clothes, sleds and equipment,” that the colonizers “took” when they arrived in Kalaallit Nunaat. The speaker’s use of the word “took” highlights the stolen nature of historic ethnographic practices, including those of Rasmussen. The culture that the Kalaallit chose to share with the guests is brought home to Denmark in the form of “maps of the country/ and tales of the people they saw” (97). These maps and tales are then mobilized in the pursuit to become “famous, earning medals and fame/ for having explored a country where human beings live and dwell” (97). These maps are the same maps that artists like Pia Arke use to challenge colonial notions of the relationships between Greenland and Denmark.

Living in Kalaallit Nunaat demonstrated that similar narratives, particularly those that frame Greenland as a vast, empty landscape, continue to exist today. For example, while preparing to travel to Kalaallit Nunaat, I called my bank to confirm that I would be abroad in Greenland and they should not put a hold on my credit card. In response, the tele-banker questioned whether or not Greenland was a real place; in fact, he narrated that he was googling it to confirm that I was not prank calling him. Moreover, I have a sticker on my laptop that has a map of Kalaallit Nunaat and the words “Kalaallit Nunaat / Grønland / Greenland” overtop of the image. As a result, I have been stopped several times to ask what the map depicts and if it is a

¹⁰⁷ I assume that the anthropologists were likely Danish within this example, because the region was largely closed to foreign scientists during this period, but the practice was common across the discipline.

real location—including someone asking me if the image was from World of Warcraft (a fictional video game). During follow-up conversations, these same people were shocked to learn that Kalaallit Nunaat is a real place, with real people, and real institutions (such as Ilisimatusarfik, Katuaq, etc.). Although these conversations happened outside of Kalaallit Nunaat, they demonstrate that some of the narratives identified by Lynge during the era of Rasmussen’s travel continue to permeate today.

How These Narratives Continue to Shape the Current Moment

The previous three poems challenge the dominant narrative of Knud Rasmussen as the single hero of the Fifth Thule Expedition, especially considering that other scientists contributed to the larger academic volumes that resulted from the expedition, while later poems within the collection provide the reader with a sense of how these past narratives continue to mould the present moment. Rasmussen is framed as a hero through the recollections of his travels, including the harrowing account in *Across Arctic America*, and the memorialization of his accomplishments in monuments. Capturing the public’s imagination was essential for Rasmussen, as he relied on public support to finance his expeditions. “God Save Denmark and Greenland—Separately,” for example, highlights the contradiction in Denmark arguing that the relationship between Greenland and Denmark is one based on equality. Specifically, the assertion that Denmark’s financial support of Greenland is “all a deficit” (Lynge 106), but Lynge points out that if Denmark does not wish to make money from this relationship, then why are they present in Greenland? Other poems in the collection, including “Easing In” and “To Our Guests,” both of which provide a Greenlandic perspective to the constantly shifting relationship between Greenland and Denmark. And the title poem “The Mountain of the Heart (Knud Rasmussen’s Country Today)” brings discussions of Rasmussen’s expeditions into the

contemporary moment through its invocation of Rasmussen looking out “over the ice pack” (117) in the form of a statue from the Pituffik Airport (Thule Air Base), a location that is now filled with Americans and Greenlanders have been “chased away to distant regions” (117). The original location of Rasmussen’s trading station site is no longer part of the Pituffik Airport (Thule Air Base) defence area; rather, it has been returned to the municipality and is regularly used by hunters from Qaanaaq, which demonstrates an example of how the reclamations can move beyond the text itself. Simultaneously, the recreation centre at the Pituffik Airport (Thule Air Base) is called the Knud Rasmussen Community Centre, which functions as another example of a contemporary memorialization of Rasmussen.

Returning to the idea of Danish colonial “amnesia” (Graugaard 5), or the notion that Denmark’s involvement in colonialism has been forgotten, I turn to Lyngé’s poems “Easing In” and “To Our Guests.” In “Easing In,” Lyngé identifies the less overt approaches that Danes took in colonization, as “‘Easing in’ has always been your best weapon/ It does not leave open wounds/ it does not amputate our limbs/ nor does it kill” (98). Instead, the colonizers came to “survey the land,” arguing that there is too much, then they “count the animals/ and say there are too few” for themselves, they “impose laws and quotas... [,] import illnesses” and “spoil our [Greenlandic] way of life” (98). Lyngé argues that the “hand-outs” (98) that are often used as evidence that Denmark has supported Greenland are really used to “appease...guilt” (99), as “[t]he hand-out/ is a prayer for mercy/ either from heaven/ or from the betrayed” (99). And “[y]ou need mercy/ but we do not want charity/ We want the land that was always ours” (Lyngé 99). Lyngé’s appeal to the reader is clear: he is calling for an end to the colonial “amnesia,” or the assumption that the monetary contributions of the colonizer is in support of the “betrayed,” when it is clear that it is being used to “appease... guilt.” Moreover, the conclusion of the poem,

or the assertion that “[w]e want the land that was always ours,” is a call for independence, as such a political move would enable Greenlanders full use of their land. The later poem “To Our Guests” clarifies any ambiguity that may remain for the reader, because Lyngge asserts that the colonizer “did not thank us for our welcome/ because you were too busy talking about/ the country being too large/ for so few people as we were then” (115). The notion of “vastness” may be the partial result of texts such as Rasmussen’s publications from the Fifth Thule Expedition and shifting the focus to members of the expedition—especially Arnarulunnguaq—helps to populate the “vastness” through the re-narration of these spaces. Much like “Easing In,” the conclusion of this poem is also clear, as it states that “[y]ou have overstayed your welcome” (Lyngge 116), which I read as a clear assertion for Greenlandic independence.

Potential reasons for Denmark’s continued investment—financially and otherwise—in Greenland is clarified in the poem “Arctic Riches.” Lyngge sates that “you use a method/ that does not, in itself, / annihilate life/ but diminishes our strength” (111). The method does not require the use of “cannons and war” (111), but, rather, “those who dig in our earth/ empty its veins/ change our foundation/ There are those who limit the hunt/ take away the good food/ that sustains us” (110). Although Greenland regained subsurface rights in 2010, the text was published in 2008 and therefore spoke to a desire to enact sovereignty over decisions regarding the use of Kalaallit Nunaat’s “foundation.” In the process of draining the natural resources from Kalaallit Nunaat, “you pretend/ it is us you are serving/ not yourselves” (111). The “you” invoked within the poem, both the “you” who is employing a method and the “you” who is pretending to serve Kalaallit, is most likely referring to Danes, as the poem begins with a reference to the “Centuries of the white man’s colonization” (110). The same “you” also “threaten[s] us with extinction” (111), because they are not listening to the Greenlanders who

know that the incoming European power is not aware of “our [Greenlandic] arctic riches” (Lyngé 111). The assumed knowledge on the part of the visiting Europeans is later challenged through the imagery in “The Wind From the South”: this wind “mostly... blows from the south/ and it has been strong lately... Some call upon it/ Some have the strength to resist/ Others give in/ and they are many” (Lyngé 113). Not much can stop the force of the wind, save for the presence of “Courage and strength” (Lyngé 114), but “The wind from the south shall soon be driven away/ Our life shall be re-created/ we all agree/... and there are many of us” (114).

Lyngé’s poem “The Mountain of the Heart (Knud Rasmussen’s Country Today)” is the title poem of the anthology, as he mentions “The veins of the heart/ to the pinnacle of the mind” (117) and returns to some of the major discussions that have occurred throughout the anthology. The poem opens with the statue of Rasmussen looking out over the ice, but instead of seeing animals and sleds, he sees a ship coming over the horizon and a plane coming under the clouds. It is significant that it is a statue of Rasmussen looking over the space “where all has commenced” (Lyngé 117), because it again highlights the memorialization of Rasmussen, especially when read in relation to the graves of Miteq (117) and Arnarulunnguaq (118). The space is vastly different from the 1920s, as “white and black Americans” (Lyngé 117) have been welcomed as guests with “big smiles” (117) from the Thule Inuit, but “[h]umans... [have been] chased away to distant regions” (117). A significant amount of time passes— “the elders die/ Humans are chased away to distant regions” (Lyngé 117)—and the guests are still present on the Thule Air Base. Miteq is buried looking out towards Thule mountain and Arnarulunnguaq, “who in her youth/ travelled all around the Inuit-homeland” (Lyngé 118), can see the radar of the Pituffik Airport (Thule Air Base). Together, these different aspects of the poem provide the reader insight into how the Thule area has changed within recent years and how it might continue

to change in the future, as the poem's conclusion is likely to raise some concerns for the reader regarding relationships between Greenlanders/Danes and the use of Kalaallit Nunaat in both the past and present. The final lines of the poem ask the reader if “darkness [is] about to descend/ over our country?” (Lyngé 118). What is this darkness referring to? Could it be referring to the future prospects of the country? Or the potential future if the extraction of the “arctic riches” continues? Although this is not entirely clear, Lyngé's poetry does offer the reader a variety of narratives that challenge or reinterpret Greenlandic/Danish relationships by re-narrating Inuit back into the narrative about Rasmussen and his team.

Conclusion

Together, Lyngé's poems re-centre the contributions of Arnarulunnguaq and Miteq to challenge the dominant memorialization of Knud Rasmussen. The poems challenge perceptions of “Nordic Amnesia” (Graugaard 5), or the erasure of colonialism from the collective memory of Nordic citizens, by providing the reader with narrative details that they might not be aware of. For example, “The Little Women” shares the major contributions that Arnarulunnguaq and her cousin Miteq (Qaavigarsuaq) made to Rasmussen's Great Sled Journey (1921-1923). Lyngé's poem questions why Rasmussen—who would not have been able to achieve his incredible feats without the support of his Inuit teammates—is the one who gets memorialized in statues, books, and the collective narrative memory of people outside of Greenland. The lack of memorialization for Arnarulunnguaq and Miteq continues into the contemporary moment, as Miteq's sons struggle to locate a tombstone to honour their late father and to strengthen his memory for future generations. Additionally, Lyngé considers the hypocrisy of having explorers being honoured for traversing his homelands where Inuit have thrived since time immemorial.

Lynge's poetry also exemplifies the present impacts that these historical narratives continue to have within Kalaallit Nunaat, as they shape contemporary discourses within Greenland, the use of natural resources, or "arctic riches" (Lynge 110-111), and their relationships with Denmark. Without the support of fieldwork, and the ability to live in Kalaallit Nunaat for several months, I would not have had the opportunity to hear informal accounts of the same discourses that Lynge exemplifies within his collection. The relationships built during fieldwork provided a framework for engaging with Lynge's poems, because consideration for the myriad of potential relationships across Inuit Nunaat enabled a reading of the poems that considered the nuances outside of the text itself, including the use of land within Greenland, the financial agreements, and the American military presence within the Thule region of North Greenland. Overall, fieldwork offered an opportunity to better understand how Lynge's literary works and politics were received within Kalaallit Nunaat, how the physical landscape of Kalaallit Nunaat might have impacted members of the Fifth Thule Expedition, how these stories are inscribed on the physical landscape, and the connections between Inuit across Inuit Nunaat. The poems also offer the reader tools to combat colonial amnesia, as the poems share information that intercept the dominant narratives put forth by Rasmussen, namely Rasmussen being the only person to accomplish the great feats of the Fifth Thule Expedition, the emptiness of the terrain, and the relationships between Greenland and Denmark—something that continues to be reflected on the landscape of Kalaallit Nunaat.

A Call to Indigenous Literary Studies for the Incorporation of Non-Textual Methods

“We [Inuit] are very creative people, we have musicians, we have composers, we have everything, and I see the art is moving... The young people, the new generation will continue the hard work that is in front of us.”

Aqqaluk Lynge, personal interview

In writing this dissertation, I aimed to demonstrate the absolute necessity of incorporating non-textual methods into Indigenous literary studies. Without working directly with artists, their communities, and land, our discipline risks missing essential connections between textual representations and lived experiences. In particular, I believe that literary scholars need to start to think beyond published documents and archival sources—to move beyond our comfortable offices, our cozy libraries—to build real, corporeal connections with the peoples and communities that our scholarship *must* serve. Other disciplines, such as Indigenous Studies and anthropology, offer us models that we can draw from in re-developing our own foundational practices beyond the restrictive bind of “close reading” and other text-based modes of literary analysis. Fieldwork and consultation methods offer us the opportunity to consider questions beyond the text itself, as they both facilitate opportunities to develop “a meaningful interpretative relationship” with authors, their communities (however these may be defined), and lands, all of which are shaped by “specific social, cultural, and political histories” (Justice, *Sources and Methods* 26). Although some literary studies methodologies—such as Indigenous literary nationalism—have encouraged scholars to attend to the ongoing histories of Indigenous peoples, they have not pushed for scholars to build tangible connections beyond the texts that we often, in the words of Gregory Scofield, overtake “like a land lord” (l. 8). How can we move beyond this “coexistence of sorts” (Scofield l. 13) to a disciplinary practice that is more ethical, accountable, and transparent?

If we begin to think beyond disciplinary parameters, what opportunities might there be to work alongside communities to support their goals for a better future? And how can our work as literary scholars be in service to the communities that made many of our careers possible? Thinking with these questions, I argued that ethical research is not possible without consultation that is both relevant and appropriate to the communities and people to which our research must remain accountable. The question then becomes: How is non-textual research possible within the context of literary studies, especially considering its reliance on individual research and text-based methods?

Continuing Legacies of Ethnography

This project demonstrated how different Inuit artists—from Canada to Greenland—have reclaimed turn-of-the-century historic ethnographies to re-narrate their past and to shape their future. I was surprised by the responses of some artists, as several, including Michelline Ammaq and Aqqaluk Lynge, responded favourably to the ethnographic accounts of Rasmussen. Ammaq stated that she would like to see a republication of Rasmussen’s journey to share with her grandson (personal interview, July 23, 2018) and Lynge shared how he enjoyed Rasmussen’s publications as a child (personal interview, March 15, 2018). Both responses demonstrate the significant positive impacts that ethnography can have; although this is not always the case, the early ethnographies—the same texts that were used to support damaging policy in both Canada and Kalaallit Nunaat—are now being used by Inuit to shape positive futures.

I was also surprised by how many interviewees perceived me as an “ethnographer.” I was initially disappointed in this reference, but further reflection resulted in me agreeing that I am (to some extent) undertaking ethnographic research. Drawing from Martyn Hammersley’s discussion of “ethnography” in “Ethnography: Problems and Prospects,” I did undertake social

research that was supported by first hand experiences observing what “people do and say in particular contexts” (4). Following Susan MacDougall’s lead, I suggest that I am using “ethnography” as an adverb to capture my attempts to reflect on moments of cultural significance (par. 4) and to produce scholarship that requires “attention, care, and correspondence” (par. 8). I did not, however, produce an “ethnography”—in Tim Ingold’s understanding of the term. Moreover, I did not employ seminal anthropological methods, such as “participant observation.” Instead, I used fieldwork as an opportunity for relationship building that then shaped my understanding of the texts under consideration for this dissertation.

My research demonstrates how Aodla Freeman’s memoir, *Life Among the Qallunaat*, was originally modified and mischaracterized as a form of reverse ethnography. This mischaracterization by Hurtig Publishers resulted in Aodla Freeman’s text being misrecognized by Southerners as a commentary on Southern life from the perspective of an Inuk woman, which is problematic given that the author created the text for other Inuit, and this mischaracterization re-centres qallunaat within the narrative. The chapter about Igloodik Isuma Productions’ film *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* challenges the term “reclamation.” Instead, following the lead of Atuat Akkitirq, I consider how the terms “re-learning” and “re-teaching” emphasize that the knowledge never left communities; rather, the film acted as a catalyst whereby elders could “re-teach” cultural knowledge to other community members. The final chapter, which is concerned with Aqqaluk Lyngé’s poetry anthology (*Taqqat uummammut aqqaannut takorluukkat apuuffiannut / The Veins of the Heart to the Pinnacle of the Mind*), questions how scholars in Indigenous literary studies can incorporate in-person relationships and being in place into its methods.

Current Challenges of Indigenous Literary Studies

1. Returning to the “National Inuit Strategy on Research,” where Natan Obed (President of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami) identifies the “exploitative relationship” that continues to exist between Inuit and researchers, how can our work as literary scholars fulfil all five goals of the strategy? Specifically, how can we: 1) Advance Inuit governance in research; 2) Enhance the ethical conduct of research; 3) Align funding with Inuit research priorities; 4) Ensure Inuit access, ownership, and control over data and information; and 5) Build capacity in Inuit Nunangat research? In accordance with this call-to-action, scholars in Indigenous literary studies must work with communities to co-create research that serves their needs. This will require consultation with artists—and their respective communities—during all stages of research. We must ensure that we adhere to and exceed the ethical requirements of our academic institutions, and, most importantly, the communities that our research aims to serve. We can accomplish these aims in several ways, including: using our research to build capacity, ensuring that communities always have access to the research, and centering artists’ voices within our scholarship.
2. Our discipline is grounded in independent research, so how can we begin to collaborate with Indigenous communities? Scientists? Other scholars in the arts? This collaboration would require a substantial disciplinary and institutional restructuring. We could draw from the sciences and begin undertaking work in teams; teamwork, carried out over the long term with communities, would help to develop relationships with communities, support junior scholars to learn ethical research methods in-situ, and ensure that the networks are maintained beyond the individual researcher. But, if we are to employ non-

textual methods, then we must also be prepared to support students and their mentors throughout the process.

3. In most cases, we do not have the necessary training and or institutional support to undertake this kind of work. What is required to reach a point where community-based literary scholarship is not only possible, but expected? This process must begin with individual researchers taking the initiative—and risk—to reach out beyond their comfortable methods (like close reading) to embrace other non-textual options.

Several Inuit-led organizations, including Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) and the Nunavut Research Institute (NRI), have produced documents that aim to guide researchers in undertaking work with Inuit communities. The Executive Summary of the “National Inuit Strategy on Research” states that “colonial approaches to research endure in Canada that prevent Inuit from making decisions about research activity in our homeland, such as setting the research agenda, monitoring compliance with guidelines for ethical research, and determining how data and information about our people, wildlife, and environment is collected, stored, used, and shared”

(4). Drawing from this document, how can literary scholars involve communities at all levels of research (from setting the agenda to determining how/if the results will be disseminated)? And what is “community” within the context of literature?

I grappled with these questions as I worked through my doctoral research. I was frequently frustrated by what I perceived to be the limits of my discipline, as I learned from Indigenous Studies and anthropology about community-based methods, which (much like the “National Inuit Strategy on Research”) call upon researchers to undertake responsible work with and for communities. Future researchers might consider the possibilities that Cindy Gaudet’s Keeoukaywin (or the “visiting way methodology” [47]) offers to literary studies, as I learned

more about Mini Aodla Freeman's memoir from visiting with her during tea and language learning than from any academic publication. Likewise, visiting with artists in Nuuk, Greenland and Igloolik, Nunavut facilitated insights that would not have been possible without speaking directly with artists themselves and living in the respective location for as long as was possible.

I would like to return to the possibility of undertaking team-driven research. What learning opportunities might be available if we partnered with communities and other researchers undertaking work in Inuit Nunaat? What supports would this offer to both students and mentors who are working with new methods or entering the "field" without established networks? Interviewing cast members in Igloolik, Nunavut demonstrated the importance of working in community, as I heard directly from various cast members about their experiences creating the community-produced film *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*. These conversations would not have been possible from the South, as it would be difficult to impossible to connect with most interviewees in the absence of community support. Our lack of training and institutional support should not function as a scapegoat to avoid implementing these methods.

Lastly, what opportunities become available when we live and build connections in a place for an extended period? My readings of Greenlandic literature were moulded by the daily conversations that I had with friends, colleagues, and mentors in Nuuk, Greenland, as I heard stories about Kalaallit Nunaat's ongoing relationship with Denmark, the possibility of an independent future, and the potential of working with Inuit across Inuit Nunaat.

Indigenous literary scholars have a responsibility to

I contend that scholars in Indigenous literary studies have a responsibility to:

1. Consult with artists directly wherever possible.
2. Create scholarship that is truly community-based.

3. Ensure that our scholarship is reciprocal, especially in relation to the “National Inuit Strategy on Research.”

We need to do better. And we can implement these essential methodological changes if we are willing to work outside of our institutions and alongside other disciplinary communities. Researchers must ask themselves and their networks what future a discipline has that limits itself to text-based methods.

Next Steps

Future research may wish to consider how Inuit artists are engaging with contemporary ethnographic texts, especially with the present rapid expansion of Inuit art. Moreover, future research may wish to inquire into what reclamation occurs in the absence of ethnography; for example, in a community like San Clara, Manitoba, where some Métis chose to hide their identity for fear of reprisal, what reclamations are taking place today? And what documents, relationships, and other methods are currently being used to facilitate this reclamation?

Significant consideration and action will be required to implement the tangible changes that are required for Indigenous literary studies to fulfill the calls put forth in the “National Inuit Strategy on Research.” If Indigenous literary studies is to become a community-based discipline that is grounded in non-textual relationships, then the discipline—and the institutions that support it—will need to make major changes to their status quo.

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Michelline Ammaq's Interview

Date: Monday, July 23rd, 2018

Location: Isuma Office, Igloolik, Nunavut

Shaina (S): I thought we could maybe start by talking about what your personal role was in the creation of the film *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*?

Michelline (M): In acting I was Mrs. Shoofly, Nivisinaaq, but, in the production, I had researched the costumes. What they were wearing. I found a picture of her amauti. Her beaded amauti, because we wanted the beads to be accurate. I enlarged the pictures and we counted the beads. The beads are in my office.

S: Where did you find that photo?

M: Bernadine had gone to the museum with, I think, Zacharias. Zacharias went along.

S: Do you remember which museum it was?

M: No.

S: No? Okay. Because when I was talking to Zach he mentioned that a few elders had gone to the New York Museum of Modern Arts, one in Philadelphia, and one in Ottawa. When I was talking to Atuat she mentioned looking at an old photo to make the clothing. Was it the same?

M: Yes, it was the same. She was my head. I was working with her.

S: Did she make the design? Or how did that process work?

M: No, we got the design from the original photo of Mrs. Shoofly. She has a picture with that amauti.

S: Sorry, Bernice was her name?

M: Bernadine. She took the women to. It was in one of the tapes that I think Zacharias had shot. I think when they were down there.

S: So, you got a still from that film as well?

M: Yes.

S: Okay, that's really cool. What kind of responsibilities were involved in your role of costume designing and acting?

M: In acting, all I had to do was just stand there, so it was easy. [Laughter]. But in costumes, Inuit clothing didn't change much all of those years, so it's simple. Igloolik area they have this big amauti for the baby to feed in. Their pants are always the same, so it's simple.

S: So, you knew how to make the costume and everything already?

M: Yes. We were using most of the costumes from *Atanarjuat*, the film. Up to now we still use them, because they're still around.

S: Makes sense! And you were involved with the costume design for *Atanarjuat* as well?

M: Yes.

S: When you were looking at the photo were you mostly using it for, as you mentioned, to count the beads, or?

M: Yes, yes.

S: So, it was more for the design than the actual structure of the amauti?

M: The beads. Yes, we got that from the old pictures, which I think are in the museum. They had taken a picture of it from the front and the back, so that's how we knew how it would look.

S: That's really cool. Did you do that with any of the other characters, or?

M: No, she was the only one with a beaded amauti. And the rest were just wearing regular clothing.

S: Ah, okay, so you didn't have to look at photos for those ones?

M: No.

S: Okay, cool. Did you follow the pattern exactly? Or did you re-design or re-interpret the pattern? Or any of the outfits that the various characters were wearing?

M: For the edge of the amauti, we were supposed to make it white, blue, and red. With lots of white. We didn't have that much time, so we just took white material, and we just put in the coloured beads, like the red and the blue.

S: Okay.

M: But we cheated with the white.

S: Atuat had mentioned mixing furs and modern material, like cotton, that kind of thing. Is that an example?

M: Yes. And she, that lady, had material to sew in her beads. I don't know what year she made it, but way before we had materials.

S: Yeah. It would have been 1920s, but who knows how long that took.

M: Yeah, I wonder how long. She didn't just work on her beads constantly, probably, because she had other stuff she had to do. She had to make water, she had to make fat for her qulliq, her light.

S: Did you look-up anything else about this person, beyond what she was wearing?

M: No.

S: Nice, that's really cool. When I talked to both Susan and Atuat, sorry you're one of the later interviews, so I have all of these different conversations that I'm trying to think through. Susan had mentioned working with paper patterns and Atuat had mentioned using hands and a rope. So, how did you go about making each costume individually? In terms of size, in terms of pattern, deciding who was going to wear what?

M: Whenever we get the people who are going to act, that's the time when we know what to make. I mean, we know what to make, but not knowing who is going to play we don't start the costumes, because...

S: It would have to fit them?

M: Yes.

S: Another thing that Atuat had mentioned was this big pocket.

M: The pant pocket?

S: Yes, that's how Jason [Kunnuk] described it. He just kept doing this [motions to show how big the pocket was]. She said that she had to look at a photo to figure it out. She said that she had seen it before, but she had to look at it to see exactly how it went. Were you involved in that at all?

M: We sort of knew how it was. But not very much, so we had to look for pictures.

S: And most of those photos were found in the museum, then?

M: I think. I knew that my great grandmother, Ataguttaaluk, had a picture somewhere with her pocket. I've seen my late uncle's wife wearing hers. But, because we don't see them yearly, we were sort of seeing how they would look. How high it would be and all of that.

S: Makes a lot of sense. Susan had also mentioned, going back to the journals, what Knud Rasmussen had actually written, Zach said the same thing. Did you go back at all to the written text?

M: Yes.

S: Okay. And what was that process like?

M: I was translating the script. First of all, I just read the script, then Zach had a book, I had to read that book. It was a must that I read it.

S: When you say translate are you translating from Inuktitut to English or English?

M: English to Inuktitut.

S: Oh, okay, so the script was originally written in?

M: English.

S: Then you translated it?

M: Yes.

S: Okay. In doing that you had to go back to Knud Rasmussen's text?

M: Yes, I had to get a picture in my head of the trip that they had from Repulse to here.

S: And had you heard of Knud Rasmussen before?

M: Yes. Yes, I had.

S: And what did you think when you started to do a feature length film about him?

M: I was sorry that we didn't do it sooner, when my grandmother was around. She met him when she was a child.

S: No way?

M: Yes. And she had passed away recently when we had started the film. I was very sorry, if she had been around I could've gone and asked her more.

S: Wow. And did she ever talk about meeting him? Or what that was like?

M: The only thing she mentioned was when those guys were visiting they were having a shaman contest, or something. Because they had visitors. I don't know if it was him or not, but she remembers one of the Greenlanders' helper was a little dog team. The person was watching and the little dog team was following behind.

S: A little one?

M: A little dog team, yes.

S: Oh, wow. That's really cool. I wonder what that would've been like meeting people who had gone all of the way to Nuuk from here? That would be really cool.

M: The way she said it seems as if they were travelling from the East. From the West.

S: Ah, okay, because in his book he talks about coming from Nuuk, which I guess would be East of here. And then coming up towards Alaska. That's really cool. So, she talks about them coming from the West?

M: I don't know. She saw them in Repulse and then they came here. From another community to here, which seems to be traveling eastward instead of westward.

S: The first time she met them they would've been out at a camp? Or?

M: I think that they were, yes.

S: Because in the book he talks about a shaman contest, about Avva going back, and because there were visitors. That's so cool!

M: Yes.

S: Did she talk at all about her clothing that they were wearing at the time?

M: No.

S: That's really cool.

M: The Greenlanders brought their own costumes. They had made them over there and they already had costumes when they came, so we didn't have to make costumes for them.

S: Did you have to make any alterations? Or?

M: No, they already had them.

S: Were they different from?

M: Yes, yes.

S: How so?

M: Even the women were wearing man-like clothing. They didn't have a pouch for the baby, whereas even though we don't always have a baby to carry we always have a pouch.

S: Even if there's not a baby in there?

M: Yes.

S: That's really cool. What about the different materials? The polar bear pants are a really big part of the book and you see them in the film as well. Was anything like that different?

M: Yes, because we don't make polar bear pants.

S: Cool. One of the things that I had been talking about with different folks is that Zach had mentioned doing, he called it a sewing apprentice program, so people who were very experienced in sewing would work with people who are younger or maybe less experienced? Were you involved with that?

M: Yes. Softening a skin is hard work and my elders get tired easily now, so I chose Atuat and I chose the elders first, and then matched them with younger people to help.

S: So, the younger folks were mostly involved in the manual labour?

M: Yes. And at the same time they're learning, like how Atuat would measure with her hands, or just how they got twine and measured you like that [shows measuring across the shoulders].

S: Were they involved with the actual sewing as well?

M: Yes.

S: And what did that process look like? Did they work together? Or?

M: Whenever a person had already cut-up a sleeve the younger girls would start sewing it. It was faster that way.

S: That's really cool. Was it always the same younger person matched with the same elder? Or did they move around?

M: We were all in the same building, so they just worked together. It was not an elder with a youth. They were just there working together.

S: So, if they got stuck they could ask for help?

M: Yes, whoever is closest. We're all sitting around and doing something. I'm not supposed to pleat it, but it's getting pleated, so I would ask whoever was closest to me, an elder.

S: There was the apprenticeship program, but I've been thinking a lot about the role that the film itself might have played in terms of teaching? I mean, there are a lot of scenes with long culture shots, I guess. The qulliq, or there are moments where people are just sitting there sewing. Do you think that people learned from the film in some ways?

M: I hope so! [Laughter]. When we first started *Isuma*, Zach was shooting short, what did we call them, I forgot, I learned a lot from those, because I went to a boarding school at the age of seven when I should have been learning around the camp, so I got robbed. I wanted it back, but not knowing how. When we were doing the short stories there was an education for me, so they were probably like that with our children, too. Even with this sewing it's very good for the younger ones. For this new one, *One Day in the Life of Noah Piugattuk*, we didn't do any, well, we did one set of caribou clothing and all of the rest were man made material.

S: Are you still using the clothing from *Atanarjuat*?

M: No, we hardly did. Only the girl's pants, the caribou pants. Because we hardly had any kamiks left. We had to borrow kamiks from town. After we did *Atanarjuat*, Zach and I made a

room in the old Isuma, we cut up Oki's costume and wall papered. I know, we shouldn't!
[Laughter].

S: You cut them up and used them for wallpaper?

M: Yes, we nailed them to the walls.

S: The Isuma building by the beach? As decoration?

M: Yes, which wasn't very smart.

S: It happens. What do you hope that people have learned from the film? Either Isuma more generally, or *The Journals* in particular?

M: I don't know.

S: That's okay. You mentioned that everybody was working together in that space and that there were quite a few younger folks. Did people ever just stop by?

M: Yes. They would drop-in and say "ah, how good." And we would have hot water, so they would drop by tea, fresh water, tea.

S: Did they sit around and chat? Or?

M: They would just visit for a while and then just.

S: Really cool. That sounds really cool. What are some of the things that you might've learned from your involvement in the film *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*?

M: There was one thing that I learned. If we're thinking of making a movie, start making the costumes a year ahead [laughter]. It's always last minute, last minute!

S: How long did you have to make the costumes for the film?

[Break]

M: I had something in my throat.

S: Are you okay?

M: Yes.

S: Never good when that happens.

M: Where were we?

S: Just talking about how long you had to make the costumes.

M: Maybe three months? This is her own [points to the middle spirit on *The Journals* promotional poster]. That was from *Atanarjuat* [spirit on the left]. We made her [spirit on the right] one piece clothing.

S: One of the spirits?

M: Yes. And we made his costume.

S: Avva's?

M: Yes.

S: How did you come up with the designs for the spirits, because they all have different ones, like the woman with the hood and all the little pieces coming down. How did you come up with those designs?

M: Children used to wear one-piece clothing. Some of them had attached hoods, but when they did they always had the attached fringes to keep the cold away from the two piece.

S: You went to children's patterns to create them?

M: Yes.

S: That's really cool, because Susan had mentioned different ages, like teaching from toddlers to kind of pre-teen, I guess.

M: Whenever they would be about maybe 7/8 they stop wearing one piece, because those one piece you have to have it open to squat down. That's why when I was living out on the land and

in the winter when you have to pee it's so cold. I want to have a one piece when I'm an elder.
[Laughter]. Then I don't have to undress in the cold!

S: That must've been really cold.

M: We just wanted her to be different as a spirit. We're just talking about how we make her different. Either Atuat or Susan said that we should use winter caribou and then make it into one piece.

S: Both the center one and the one on the left are also Avva's helping spirits, right?

M: Yes.

S: How did you come up with theirs? They both have two piece, I think.

M: Yes. This is an elder duck [left spirit], which we used for *Atanarjuat* the film, because the helping spirits had to be different we just borrowed that. Those were Oki's own.

S: Ah, okay.

M: Her own clothing from *Atanarjuat*.

S: Okay, what about the woman from the middle?

M: She's wearing her own clothing.

S: The real person's own clothing?

M: Yes.

S: That's really cool.

M: Yes, she was wearing her own clothing, yes.

S: That's really cool.

M: And she was the oldest person in Igloodik and they made her walk, walk, walk.

S: The final scene?

M: Yes, yes!

S: Oh, no! How old was she in the film?

M: I don't know.

S: Wow, that's crazy. Did you notice revitalization, because so many people had been involved with the sewing, did you notice that more folks after the film were sewing or doing different things as a result of the film's production?

M: No. I mean, yes, because I see my daughter often, I know that she was making beaded purses.

S: And she wasn't doing that before?

M: No, because she did one of the pieces. And she got the idea of how it should be.

S: Did you notice after the film was screened, or after the production, that there was any changes in terms of community impact? Or in Igloodik?

M: Igloodik? No. Igloodik is never, ever proud of Igloodik people.

S: When I was talking to Zach, because he was the first person I talked to, was there any other kind of research that you guys did? You mentioned the museum, the book, was there anything else?

M: I don't think so. I don't know.

S: My last question is about, you went back to Rasmussen's book, you looked at all of the images from the museum, did any of this process change your opinion about ethnography? Or about Knud Rasmussen? Or did it make you think about it in a different way.

M: No. I'd like to see a newer edition of his journey.

S: Okay, what do you mean? A republication of it?

M: Yes.

S: Actually, something that might be really cool, because this was done 60 years later, because Aqqaluk Lynge from Greenland, he's a politician, he has a book called *From the Veins of the Heart to the Pinnacle of the Mind*, and it was translated into English in 2008, sorry, I had to think about that. He had that and he retraced Rasmussen's steps, because he grew-up reading these texts and engaging with that because that's what they had in their school library. Also, in the 80s, DR, the Danish Radio broadcast, they did a film series about Rasmussen and about that journey, so in order to do the poetry and stuff they actually had to follow his journey. And they went to all of the communities and stuff that he went to as part of that. I mean, it's the 80s, but it's more recent than the 20s. Would you like to see Knud Rasmussen's book republished?

M: Yes, I would.

S: And what would you want to see?

M: I would like to read it to my children, to my grand boys.

S: So they can learn about it?

M: I just read them their baby books, but I'd like to read them a book. That is what I would want.

S: That's really cool. Is there anything that you'd like to see changed from the earlier editions?

M: No, but make it more understandable for children.

S: Ah, okay.

M: All of those big words.

S: And it's also a huge book, so a child would...

M: Yes. [Laughter].

S: That's all of the questions that I have. Unless there's anything you'd like to add.

M: No, I don't think so.

S: Okay, I'm just going to turn this off. Thank you!

Mini Aodla Freeman's Interview

Date: Tuesday, September 5, 2017, 9:00 AM

Location: Mini Aodla Freeman's residence, Edmonton, Alberta

Shaina (S): I thought we'd start by maybe talking about what motivated you to write your book in the first place back in 1978.

Mini (M): I was always telling stories to my husband about our life in Cape Hope because there were so few of us in Cape Hope. Eight men, counting my two grandfathers, ten of them. And all were married with children. They're all children of my Grandfather. I was telling him all these stories about it and then one day he just said: "why don't you write a book?" [Laughter]. I sat down and wrote a book. That's how it started. At that time, I didn't realize that anybody can write a book. Anybody. The mentality in my mind was "an Inuk write a book?" was a question in my head because since I was five years old in school and at work with the government it was always "you don't do this, you do this, you don't do that" kind of attitude towards Native people, so I had that mentality in my mind and because of that an Inuk write a book was always a question in my mind. You know? Because of that government telling us "don't do that, you do that, don't do that." [Laughter]. So I sat down; wrote a book. I wrote it on [laughs]... When my husband left England, his brother gave him his old type writer, one of those old, you know, old black ones. Yes, I wrote it on that.

S: Oh, wow.

M: Yes, the first copy was on that [Mini laughs].

S: Wow.

M: And later on, as time went by, I went and bought a second hand electric type writer. That was much different. Why I wrote the book: I wrote a story about Cape Hope Island and the way they lived, moved around to Old Factory, did trading in East Maine, Old Factory, and Moosonee. And when I was growing up that's how we lived. It's all in the book. How we lived in Cape Hope.

S: Awesome. Something I've been thinking about in writing my chapter is the differences between the 1978 edition of the book and then the 2015 edition that you published with Keavy, Julie, and Norma. I was just wondering how the different revision processes between the two editions were different. In 1978, when you gave Mel Hurtig your book, the typescript you typed on the typewriter, what kind of process did you go through before you saw it as a printed copy.

M: You mean after it was published?

S: No, before it was published.

M: Oh. One of the things I had to think about before putting it on paper was "how do I start?" the middle, and the end. To make it understandable for me when I read it again and the process that we went through in Cape Hope had to be there and what people did, and what our daily lives involved around me. And that's how I thought of it.

S: Oh, okay.

M: Yeah, I didn't just put it down; you can't just say "I'm going to write a book" and you type away. There will be no understanding in that. You need to think about it first. What process and what kind of middle and end it will have. When I finally finished it, it had 68 pages. 68.

S: Oh, wow.

M: 68 pages. Yeah, 68. Or was it more than that? It's more than that.

S: Yeah, it's really thick.

M: Oh, yes, it's really thick [motions with hands].

S: Oh, wow.

M: The original.

S: You mailed the original to Hurtig?

M: The first one that was published was only published half. But the second one was fully published.

S: And did you find it was different working with Keavy, Julie, and Norma because the other half of the text was also published?

M: Yeah, there was a lot of difference because we lived in Ontario at the time and Mr. Hurtig, who published my first book, was living in Edmonton, so anything I had to ask I had to phone long distance to ask them. It wasn't exactly that I wanted to hear the answer [laughs]. But in my mind I finally made-up my mind how it would be and I sent it to Mr. Hurtig and they published half of it.

S: And have you found that since the second printing of the book—so the 2015 edition—having the other half of the text that people have responded to the book maybe differently as a result of having that extra material there.

M: I find it more. You know when you're explaining about Inuit on page one and it's cut off. You know some of the explanation is not there. This is just an example. And it disappears. It doesn't read very well like that.

S: Oh, okay.

M: Yes.

S: In the new introduction to the second printing, so the most recent edition, you said that Mr. Hurtig wanted to “fight back,” I think this is the word you used in the interview with Keavy and Norma against Bernhard Adolph Hantzsch's *Life Among the Eskimos*. I have a copy of the book. I think this is the book you were referring to. Careful, it's [*Life Among the Eskimos*] really heavy.

M: I've never seen this.

S: You've never seen it?

M: No.

S: Because this book was actually published the year before your 1978 edition.

M: Oh, okay.

S: So this was published in 1977.

M: There's so much that I haven't seen this one [flips through book]. I don't even know what it's all about.

S: Yeah, it's about this explorer guy from 1909-1911. He is not in the James Bay area, but the title is somewhat similar. Because in the interview with Keavy and Norma you mention that Hurtig suggested changing the title of your book?

M: Well, I had four titles. He asked me to send him four titles that he could choose from.

S: Oh, okay.

M: And he chose none of them.

S: What?

M: But he phoned me back and said to me “you know that *Life Among the Qallunaat*?” By... what's his name? The one who wrote the book on Greenland, *Life Among the Inuit*, *Life Among the Eskimo*, by, what's his name...

S: Is this the one you're talking about? [points to *The Life & Work of E.J. Peck Among the Eskimos* on Mini's shelf].

M: Yes. Yeah. He said to me “you should reverse that and put *Life Among the Qallunaat*.”

S: Yeah?

M: And that's how it became with that title.

S: And how did you feel when...

M: I didn't because I didn't have experience about writing a book or getting published. I didn't argue with him. I just agreed with him.

S: Yeah?

M: Yeah.

S: You kept the title for the second printing of the book. Was it any particular reason?

M: I think Keavy liked it. Liked the *Life Among the Qallunaat* so we kept it for the second edition, yeah.

S: Oh, okay. Do you feel that your text, because you described how you went about writing it, but given that Hurtig asked you to change the title, do you feel that your text does engage with...

M: As I said, I had no experience whatsoever, so I just agreed with him.

S: Even though there wasn't really any correlation.

M: Yeah, and that mentality "do this, don't do this" kind of back in my mind. Yes.

S: I guess the two different editions of the book are talked about very differently. The first 1978 edition, in reading different peoples' responses to the text, reviews, of it, a lot of people are calling it "reverse ethnography," so reverse ethnography about Southerners, but in the most recent publication of the text it has been called a memoir, which makes sense. Or the University of Manitoba Press, who most recently published your book, called it "Fiction/Indigenous Studies." How would you, in terms of genre...

M: Laughs...

S: Yeah...

M: The first publication of that book had a really bad time. A really bad time. I think Mr. Hurtig was asked by the government to send all the books, 3000 of them to Indian Affairs. And Indian Affairs kept all of the copies in the basement. Never distributed it.

S: No?

M: Yeah. And when I went to book stores I'd look for it and I couldn't find it. And at that time I was still traveling for Inuit and I ended up in Iqaluit. I looked for it in a bookstore in the airport and there was one copy, one copy sitting there. Somebody, I don't know who it was, said to me "did you know your books are sitting in the basement of a government building? 3000 of them." And that period made only \$500.

S: Oh, wow.

M: Yeah, that's what Mr. Hurtig sent me at the end of another year. They send you a cheque every year and Mr. Hurtig sent me \$500. That's what I made.

S: Do you think the current book...

M: See at the time I was thinking maybe the government thought that I wrote bad things about them. I don't know which. I mean, talk about guilty, you know. [Mini laughs] So that's how that book went. The first publication.

S: Then the current, 2015 edition it has been all over. I live by a bookstore and it has been in the window...

M: Oh, yes. The second one, yes. I've seen the copy everywhere and it has run out somewhere else. Some bookstores. And it has won two awards.

S: Congrats!

M: One in Canada and one in the states. Yeah.

S: That's amazing.

M: They had a problem to send money from the States so they sent me a blanket, which was really nice.

S: Nice, that's awesome.

M: Yes. [laughter]

S: Have you found that readers have responded to the second edition differently because they have been able to access it?

M: They what?

S: Have you found that readers have responded to the second edition differently because they have been able to...

M: Much more. Much more! There's more response this edition than the last one. Apparently, they did the same thing with Alice French. They did the same thing with her book. They kept her copies in the basement. Crazy.

S: That is crazy. [Mini laughs] Do you find that people, given the most recent edition, you said that people have been reading it, are they giving you any comments on it?

M: They didn't seem to have interfered this time. You know the government just accepted it. The Minister of Indian and Northern affairs told Keavy that she's promoting it in Ottawa. [laughter]

S: So how do you feel about that?

M: Talk about guilty.

S: I saw her post, her being the Minister of Indigenous and Northern Affairs, post something about it online, she was like "check out this book, it's fantastic." I took a picture of it and was like "okay."

M: Oh, dear [laughs].

S: The first edition, the 1978 edition, opens with an introduction by Alex Stevenson.

M: Yes, Alex Stevenson worked in the Welfare Division where I used to work as a translator. I guess Mr. Hurtig asked Northern Affairs if anybody knew me and Mr. Stevenson knew me at that time.

S: And how did you feel about him writing the introduction?

M: He didn't know me that well. And it shows in the...

S: Intro?

M: Where he describes it. He didn't know me that well. I saw him every day. We had the same area office. But he knew me as Mini Aodla. I knew him as Steven[son].

S: And then the current edition you have an interview with Norma and Keavy. How do you feel the two might be different?

M: The difference between what?

S: The difference between Alex Stevenson, he didn't know you well, you said it showed, versus the current edition opens with an interview with you, so you have some investment in how that turns out. So how do you feel the two different openings...

M: Having had very bad experiences with the first one, I didn't believe Keavy when she came over that my book would be published. Whatever she said, her and Norma came the first time to ask me to publish the book because I didn't know them. I didn't believe them that it would be published because my first experience with the book. I just agreed with whatever they were saying. I would just say "yes, no, yes, no." I never made any comments whatsoever. They just happened back in my mind. We'll see if they publish it. That's what I had in my mind. And then, I guess a year later, Keavy phoned and said she was coming over to show me that book. And she came with six copies of the book [Mini laughs]. That's when I really believed it.

S: And how did you feel when you saw her carrying that stack of books?

M: That was nice.

S: Before Alex Stevenson wrote the introduction, did you know he was going to write it? Or did Hurtig...

M: No, I didn't know. I didn't know. Mr. Hurtig didn't tell me that somebody had to write. He never told me that. I saw it when it was published.

S: If you were to go through it again, would you do a different introduction? Or would you have done it differently?

M: I don't know [laughs].

S: Fair enough.

M: I really don't know [still laughing].

S: In the opening of the current text, sorry, going back and forth gets confusing [Mini laughs], the most recent one, you say during the interview that Hurtig "cut a lot" from the original edition and today you were saying that he cut half of it, which reading the two editions side-by-side it's very clear. Do you think that Hurtig's revisions effected the outcome of the book? Or the book itself?

M: No, I think it was Northern Affairs. Mr. Hurtig had to get money from Northern Affairs to publish the book. That's how Northern Affairs came to know that the book was going to be published, written by an Inuk. That's why they kept it in the basement.

S: Who do you think did the removal of passages? Do you think it was Hurtig, Northern Affairs, someone else?

M: I think Northern Affairs asked Hurtig to send the books. I don't know which.

S: Yeah, but was it Hurtig who changed the original typescript as you had typed it out? Or?

M: I really don't know how that happened. I really don't know.

S: That makes sense. Earlier you were talking about how before you wrote the book you knew how you wanted it to begin, middle, and end. Something that I thought was really striking as I was reading your book was that it was written as a series of smaller stories that obviously worked together as a whole. But how did you decide to write the text as a series of small stories?

M: It's not that I decided, it's because I know the life of the Cape Hope Islanders. That's what made me write it. Because I know that life. The life of Cape Hope. Re-living it through time of writing it made me write it.

S: And what made you decide to write it starting in Ottawa and then going back and forth in the narrative.

M: Yes. I don't know which. Maybe I was trying to compare it. See the life in Ottawa, to me, it was cold. Cold, you know. Because life at home was, to me, very close to relations. And I was trying to compare that. Even when we have a best friend it is never the best. It's just a friend. It's not close relations that you had when you were growing up. I was trying to compare those two.

S: And then the smaller stories linking them together was...

M: Yeah, yeah...

S: Okay, awesome. Something else that I thought was really cool was in the second edition you have a bunch of photos at about the mid-point.

M: Yes.

S: So what made you decide to include them?

M: I didn't [laughs].

S: You didn't?

M: I didn't decide that. Somebody else did, either Julie or Keavy. Yes, I just saw them. They came and showed them. They said: "we decided you could have these photos in."

S: And did you pick which photos?

M: And I just agreed.

S: Yeah?

M: Yes.

S: How did you decide which photos to include? Because there's photos of you when you're a teenager and...

M: I didn't.

S: Oh, you didn't?

M: I didn't. They just decided right there. And I said okay. [laughs]

S: Makes sense. And another thing, and this is kind of like... Wait, I have a copy of the other one. We were talking about the introduction, but another thing I was thinking about was the book sleeve. Do you know who wrote that?

M: This one?

S: Yes.

M: Hurtig. I think the people in Hurtig.

S: And did they ask you about it at all?

M: No, they just read the book.

S: The two different covers: Did you decide on either of them?

M: No. [laughs]. Mr. Hurtig, when I saw that to me it looked like I was really mixed up with the white man's city [laughs]. Right there. And tall buildings were amazing to me. I think Keavy decided on tall buildings.

S: And how do you feel? I guess the buildings on this one are all crooked and suggests—as you said—confusion. How do you feel about this one [the 2015 edition]?

M: That looks okay. Looks fine to me.

S: I have just one more question. In the introduction to the second book you mentioned that you went on a speaking tour in the North with Alice...

M: Alice French and Daphne. Daphne Odjig. She's dead now. She was an artist. Indian woman artist. Did you know her?

S: No.

M: She lived in Vancouver, but she used to come to Edmonton to speak, so there were three of us speaking, taking Northern parts of provinces, small towns. People were very enthusiastic. We flew in little wee airplanes. And there were four seats, so I would sit with the pilot and the other two would sit at the back with two chairs. [laughs] Yes, we flew, I think, I came to Edmonton. We met in Edmonton and then we went North of Edmonton, Winnipeg, Saskatchewan, and Ontario. Little Towns. Flin Flon, others, I can't remember them.

S: And what was it like, especially given that the book...

M: The people were very enthusiastic and somebody would ask something that you never thought they would ask [laughs].

S: Like what?... Just random questions? Or?

M: Yes, and I looked at everything that we did. Hotels we stayed in, some of them you didn't get service. You had to carry your own suitcase, go upstairs with it, pull it yourself, go upstairs with it. No elevators! [laughs]

S: Just have to be really strong!

M: Yes.

[Laughter]

S: Awesome. Well, those are all my questions for now.

M: Okay.

S: Well thank you for talking to me, I really do appreciate it.

M: You're welcome.

S: I'll make a copy of this form and I'll bring it back next time I see you.

M: Yes.

S: And then I'll type up the conversation and then can I show it to you? Just to check to make sure you're comfortable with it.

M: Okay, sure.

S: OK, cool.

M: Don't forget this [Hantzsch]. I've never seen this.

S: Can I look at that book that you were pointing to?

M: Which one?

S: This one. Can I look at it?

M: You want to borrow it?

S: Can I just look at it?

M: Yes, just bring it back. My husband gave me that.

S: You think this might have been more of what Hurtig was thinking of as a title?

M: Yes, that's the book that, what's his name, Hurtig, thought of: *Life Among the Eskimos*. And he said to me: "you know there is a book called *Life Among the Eskimos*." We had all Northern books and I knew what he was talking about. And he said to me: "how about *Life Among the Qallunaat*?" [laughs]

S: I've never seen this book before.

M: No?

S: I was thinking this book [Hantzsch] because it was published the year before yours was. Well, re-published the year before, so that's why I was thinking of this one, but I hadn't thought of that one. Is Arthur Lewis also an anthropologist? Or?

M: I have articles in every book in there. When my book came out people asked me to write an article so that they could publish it.

S: Wow.

Zacharias Kunuk's Interview

Date: Monday, July 9th, 2018

Location: Isuma Office, Igloolik, Nunavut

Shaina (S): Alright, so I'm going to start recording now. I'm just going to put it in between us, so we both can hear. Today is July 9th, 2018. I thought we could start off with kind of a general question: Could you please tell me about your role in designing the production *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*? The more specific parts. I mean, obviously, you're one of the directors, but more of the specific parts that were involved in your role.

Zacharias (Z): After we did *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner*, which is a legend, an international legend, which is known all the way from Alaska to Greenland, we wanted to do something more historical. And we knew that Knud Rasmussen had his Fifth Thule Expedition and encountered Avva. And we wanted to do something with the journals, with the Knud Rasmussen journals. We wanted to do that. We knew at the same time, listening to oral history, that the Christianity movement was just coming into this area and we wanted to do that, so at the end of *The Journals* it's all oral history. We knew that Umik, who couldn't read or write Inuktitut, so he would put it on his chest to read it. He's a shaman, so he can do that. We wanted to do that. And we did do that, we tried it. In some ways, he played the religious guy at the end, but the journals, we knew that they were passing through here and we wanted to do something. And we knew that the other guy used to walk a lot, so we tried to make him walk a lot. This was the first co-production with a Danish company, because we were having Greenlanders involved in this film, so it was a co-production.

S: Awesome. Something that I'm really interested in for my project, you were mentioning Knud Rasmussen quite a few times, as well as the Danish co-production company, Greenlanders, etc. I was curious: did you consult any historical or anthropological sources in the creation of the film, or did you turn to elders, or who did you turn to in the creation of the film?

Z: We turned more to the journals from Knud Rasmussen.

S: The actual written account, then?

Z: Yeah.

S: What was that process like, going through the journals?

Z: Because when you can understand the two languages, because a lot of them are misunderstanding, sometimes, but if you know both languages you know what is happening. We were researching like that. We know what was happening from the other side.

S: When you're talking about the two languages are you talking about how Rasmussen wrote it in both Danish and Greenlandic? Or are you talking about the Inuktitut side and being from Igloolik?

Z: Inuktitut side and the English, because we were following the English journals, not the Danish or the Greenlandic.

S: Did you ever look at, because I was recently at the Danish National Museum, for example, and there's quite a few bits of clothing that are very similar to the film. Did you go to the museum? Or did you ever look at or consult older photographs to help create the more visual aspects of the film?

Z: The beauty of this culture is that the style of clothing never changed. The dialect of the Inuktitut language never really changed until we started mixing, so I'm more relying on the elders, because the elders knew. They were on the land. People were coming into the community who stitch our clothes and who still know how to make them, so for the style I'm just depending on the elders of this area.

S: One of the things that I think is really cool about Isuma is that you make the films as a community. You mentioned that the elders had the knowledge and were sewing. Did you get youth involved in any way for them to learn some of the skills that were involved with making the outfits?

Z: Some of the things we don't know because we grew-up without some of our history. Some of our history was erased by Christianity. A lot of it we're re-learning, we're having the costumes made with women, with their apprentice helpers, learning the trade. We're also depending on hunters, who drive dog teams, and who know how to make harnesses, the sled, so we got all of that from them. We just try it. Filming you just try it. You look at your rushes after and you get the best shots.

S: One of the things you mentioned was the re-learning process, so when you were working with elders and having that apprentice process. Did the written account shape the narrative in any way? You mentioned Christianity and Christianity plays a major role in the film. How did you work these two perspectives together?

Z: In Christianity, part of what we were trying to show was how they were turning to the new belief by the holy communion, but, in our case, in our culture, before Christianity there were taboos that women had to follow. Certain parts of the animal that they can't eat because it was like that forever, but when Christianity came it was breaking those taboos, so they would slice a little bit of animal hide, so the woman would have a little slice, so that was what we were trying to portray.

S: Some of the scenes I noticed quite clear that, Mathiassen, for example, was sketching in the notebook. And when the film opens it says Arctic Canada, January 1912, I believe. Then it shifts from the entire family, like Avva and his whole family, and then it becomes this still shot. Is this any reference to the record you were working with? Or?

Z: What do you mean? At the end?

S: No, at the very beginning. It opens with an ajja song and there's Apak sitting by the qulliq at the bottom there and I believe her Mum is to her left shoulder. It starts in colour and then it fades to black and white. And then it freezes for a moment, almost as if someone is taking a photograph. I found that there were several references, in some ways, to the work of ethnographers. Mathiassen, as I mentioned, is shown sketching. Or, even, a recorder.

Z: We had those. We had all those props. We tried them out and we tried to record them. I'm not sure if it ever got into the film. I'm not sure if all of the shots at the start made it into the film. I know some of the shots made it in to the beginning of the film. I know that Knud Rasmussen's crew was plastering faces and tried that.

S: What do you mean they were plastering faces?

Z: They would put mud over somebody's face and then take it out, so it has a mold. It was trying to create their actual faces.

S: The real Knud Rasmussen?

Z: Yes.

S: Okay, because at the end of the film there is an image of—I think it’s Avva’s face, if I was guessing—of the kind of clay mask. Do you think having these images or having these shots is a commentary on that relationship of working with elders and going back to...

Z: No, that part we went to New York Museum of Modern Arts. Where they have, these actual clay faces in the museum. We went to museums to study our own culture. That was one of the things that we found—these clay faces of Avva. We found a lot of clothing preserved. We went to New York Museum of Modern Art, we went to Philadelphia, we went to Washington, we went to Ottawa, just going through museums. Tons and tons. It’s not visible, but they have it. In the vaults, in the basements.

S: What was that whole process like, of going across North America and visiting different museums to create the costumes and things for the film?

Z: We’re just re-learning, because we know what we see and what they are, so the old one when we see it they say “oh, this is how they made it.” When we wanted to see shaman necklaces and belts in the museum, they have it, it was really a big learning experience for me because they would use the claw of the bear and how they were stringing it was totally different to the Indians I have seen down South where the claw is out. But what we were finding was that the Inuit were drilling it through the claw.

S: The bottom part? The pointy part?

Z: Yeah. And then they string it, so it’s the other way around. That’s also what we were learning, and we copied those. Every time we’re making a feature film you have to know it, so we do a lot of research. It’s fun.

S: That’s good! Did crew members come with you? Or did you go on your own for that whole process?

Z: Because we’re independent, we’re very independent, one of the projects we had was visiting from museum to museum. Documenting what they have. We learned from that. A lot of the clothing in *The Journals* we tried to show spirits. But when you’re watching you don’t notice it. They’re there. Hanging around with the people. When Avva sends the spirits away you finally realize that these are spirits that are walking among us. That’s what we tried to show. It’s one of the saddest scenes in the film. Crying spirits as they walk away. We tried that!

S: Yes, and I think viewers notice that, because one of them is sitting when they’re making an igloo. The first time I saw it I was like “why is she just sitting there?” It took a little bit. You mentioned that there was quite a bit of collaboration between the Greenlandic cast and crew and yourself, or Isuma. Did they also go to museums and do a similar research project? Or?

Z: The Greenland part they provided us with actors. I even had to go to Qaanaaq from here. I chartered a small plane from here to Qaanaaq. Spent two hours in Qaanaaq, picked up the actors, the props, flew them back to Canada. Since we don’t have any customs up here we had to fly through Iqaluit, everything has to go through customs before they fly back here, so it was time consuming.

S: So, they had everything, like the polar bear pants worn by Rasmussen were already made in Greenland? And then you had to bring that back?

Z: Yes. I think some of them of the pants were made here.

S: What impact do you think *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* has had on the community of Igloolik?

Z: Not as much of an impact as *The Fast Runner*. *The Fast Runner* had more impact than *The Journals*, because in *The Journals* we had a six-million-dollar budget, but in *The Fast Runner* we had a two-million-dollar budget, so it was not as successful, I thought, as the first one, but we

had a lot of people working. Every time we're in production we put a lot of people to work. In *The Journals*, we had more money to do what we want, so we built a whole camp up there, we built a set out there, it could have been here, just driving distance from here. We were trying. We had Danish actors, we had Canadian actors. We were portraying this famous shaman, Avva. We wanted to show what he said. And Pakak, who played Avva, he had to memorize all of those lines.

S: Do you think some of the skills, you mentioned the apprentices and you mentioned people going out to camp, do you think that some people might have kept them and then continued to use them in different ways? Or?

Z: Of course, of course. When you take kids out of the school to be in a film project, we always do that, and you put costumes on them, traditional costumes, and just let them play outside. You see sometimes when kids are just playing around you just film them. It's not in the script, but it gets into the film. It's just the way the costume and what they're doing is so interesting.

S: And what about the people who apprenticed the seamstresses? Or maybe the people who built the igloos themselves. Do you think that the people who were involved in those processes might've taken those skills back as well?

Z: Yes, of course. We have master builders that are training to be igloo builders. Of course, everybody benefits and gets paid at the same time. And, yeah, it works. In our culture, we have to watch to learn, so if you're cutting your block the wrong way and it doesn't fit, well, it has to fit. The master builder will teach and build at the same time. We're watching, how do you harness these dogs, load up the sled and go? How do we do this? Somebody has to know this.

S: Do you think the film, in terms, of, well, watching, there's lots of long shots of harnessing the dogs, or building the igloo, or there are these long culture shots. Do you think that maybe Inuit in other communities, or maybe Inuit living in the south may be able to watch the film and learn? Maybe not in the same tangible ways.

Z: Yes. The reason why we do that is because there's a lot of things happening in a frame. You just let it roll. There may be something happening here, but there might also be something happening in the back. We're focusing on this, but, in the earlier days when we were filming and Norman, who doesn't understand Inuktitut, I would just turn him around, because this is the action that is happening, but with feature film it's already planned. Everybody knows what to do. Yeah, we do that. We do that a lot. We never know what will happen. You stop your camera and something might happen. Sometimes it's beautiful to just let it roll, roll, roll. Because every time you make a cut it shows that the next cut could be the next day or two hours from now. It could show that, so when you show it'll become more real.

S: What impact do you think the film has had on the Inuit community outside of Igloolik, for example?

Z: This is the new medium. We've never had this technology in our hands. It was even scary holding a camera. You might break it because it costs so much, but it's just a tool. If it breaks have it fixed or get another one. When you go, and pick these cameras they keep changing. When we started with 3/4 inch format, then 8mm came, then digital came, then now we're only shooting on cards. There's no more moving parts and it's perfect for our climate in the cold. But when we did *The Journals* I believe it was betacam that we were using. But it was the state of the art at that time.

S: There was a lot of collaboration between Inuit in Canada and Greenland as well, and we've talked about this a little bit, but what impact do you think these bonds have had on yourself and other members of the cast and crew?

Z: I don't know because I'm working on this project and as soon as this project closes I'm on to another one. I've been doing that for 30 years and I started a small production in '85, so I've been jumping from project to project. It's the only way you can get paid. You have no project, there's no money.

S: Did you find that it impacted later films, for example? Did you reach out to some of the actors again? Or some of the members again? Or was it more for this because of the Fifth Thule Expedition and Rasmussen coming from Greenland and then across?

Z: It was mainly for that, yeah. It takes like three years to be on this. You want to get out of it to do a new one.

S: You mentioned going to the museums, you mentioned doing the process of research, but did it work the way you envisioned? Or did it require some changes? If so, what kinds of changes did you undergo in research?

Z: We're just trying to follow the story. One of the Knud Rasmussen guys has his little handbook and he draws, sketches, and that's what we're trying to film. Him, doing that. Another one, the big guy, we're trying to concentrate on him too. We're trying to concentrate on the camp. And, also, in 1921 the music at that time. You hear this from Europe, some opera singers singing, and we have that actual recording in there, so we tried to do what was happening in that year from the world.

S: Something I've been thinking about as well is how comparing Rasmussen's writings, for example, to the film itself it seems to me at least, as one of the viewers of the film, that it's almost a switch in narrative, so, for example, the film itself focuses a lot more on Avva and his family than the original Rasmussen did. I think it also focuses a lot more on Igloodik, as well. Was that a deliberate choice?

Z: Yes, because I'm watching out for a dialect. A dialect changes really fast up here. We have our own dialect, Netsilik people have their own dialect, the Copper Mine area, the Cambridge Bay area has their own dialect, further down south in Arviat, Rankin, they have their own dialect. Iqaluit, Pang, they have their own dialect, so I'm watching, I'm not trying to mix too many dialects.

S: What about the focus on Avva? I understand the dialects and the focus on this region, but was there a decision as to why to focus on Avva and his family in particular?

Z: Yeah, because we were trying to show the changing of beliefs. The old beliefs and the new beliefs. Avva is in the old belief. The new belief is coming and we're concentrating on Avva because they brought these two guys with them to this area. When they got here the new religion was happening and in order for you to congregate with us we have the food and if you guys want to eat congregate with us. It was that attitude. Avva comes out and all of those guys are singing Halleluiah and we're out of food, but they have the food, so we were trying to portray that.

S: Reading reviews of *The Journals*, as well as *Atanarjuat*, because you had mentioned that there was more uptake to the first film—despite the budget difference, for example—and they're obviously very different narratives and very different plot points. Historical narrative versus a more contemporary conversion and the resistance to the incoming of Christianity. Why do you think that there might've been a different uptake for each of these respective films?

Z: *Atanarjuat* we heard when we were children. About this naked man running on the ice, which we had never seen in our lives, to 1921 and these Greenlanders who were almost like us—they drive dog teams, we drive dog teams. We speak Inuktitut, they speak Inuktitut. New things are coming: the introduction of tea, sugar, flour, biscuits, was coming. Yeah, that's what we were

trying to do. We're trying to do that. We're also following the journals, but we're also trying to portray what is happening at that time, so we're trying to do a lot of things at the same time.

S: Yeah, there's a lot going on in that film for sure. This is kind of returning to an earlier discussion as well. You mentioned going to different museums across North America, so what normally happened when you went to the museum? You said you looked at clothing, you said you looked at masks, for example, but did you, you said some of them were in vaults, so did you go to the museum and ask? Or how did that whole process and engagement with those materials go?

Z: I was lucky to film this with other filmmakers, because one of our friends had a project bringing elders to museums. We just happened to be there filming it. It's interesting because we know a lot of the stuff is taken out. I didn't go to Copenhagen to see. I heard that there were lots of artifacts there. I had no time, but we already know how to build these artifacts.

S: Was the elders visiting the museum part of the film or was it a completely different film?

Z: It was separate, but part of our learning. Separate, but still about this culture.

S: Did the elders go and look at the materials? And then did they talk about it?

Z: Oh, yeah. A lot of them put more information on the card of the object because there was hardly any information. And we were seeing so many things to see. They were putting more information on the object. That's what I noticed.

S: Were they talking mostly about how it was made? Or what kind of stuff were they talking about as they were going through these different collections?

Z: When they see an object, they have to know what it is. They would describe what it is. They would know what it is. I had that opportunity.

S: That's really great. Did elders go through the written material with you at all?

Z: The film industry is in English, so all of the scripts and the proposals have to be in English, but when we get the funding and we have to make the film, then we translate it into Inuktitut, so the elders will understand. If we make a mistake they will correct us. We try to get it as right as possible. Costumes, tattoos, hair style.

S: Did some of this come from Rasmussen's writings? I know in Rasmussen's writings there are often a lot of images. There's often images of tattoos, hair designs. Did anything come from those images? Or maybe elders looking at them and then talking about them?

Z: We looked at a lot of photographs from the Fifth Thule Expedition. We're looking at the journals of Knud Rasmussen. Trying to compare what's happening. I mean, what they're writing. We're trying to compare that to the bigger picture and what's happening. What are they doing?

How come they're moving to this area? And then we try to shoot that. I mean, that's what it is.

We try to recreate from nothing. Just from nothing, just the journals.

S: That's all of my questions. Thank you!

Z: Alright.

Appendix B



Part of *The Journals* set is in this box.



Props from *The Journals*.



Inside *The Journals* set.



Image of the kamik that Atuat Akkitirq asked to be included. Front view.



Side view of kamik.