Akia (the other side) of *Ilinniarvik* (school) and the Inuit post-secondary student

by

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the intricacies of southern resident Inuit post-secondary student life in relation to education and the funding stream made available to them. The Inuit students are all beneficiaries of land claims areas but are not residing inside the land claims area that recognizes them as such. The post-secondary funding stream is used as a catalyst, the agent that demands action from the Inuit students which in turn creates a series of resultant events. Among these events is how Inuit in the south are perceived by the mainstream populations and the effects that the perception has on Inuit identity.

Not only are post-secondary students involved in examining their educational process, my study also examines how the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement was created through the experience of lawyer, John Merritt. Merritt has stayed with the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement before it was birthed onto the nation of Canada and throughout its implementation.

Jason LeBlanc, is a southern Inuit service provider and Executive Director of Ottawa Tungasuvvingat Inuit. He brings to light the effects that the northern land claims agreements have on the burgeoning southern Inuit population. He also focuses attention on the constraints of Canadian political processes that infringe on the supports that can be accessed.

Heather Igloliorte, a professor at Concordia University in Montreal shares some of the harsh realities of being an Inuk academic inside of what should be the most apolitical space in Canada.

This study also contains the dilemmas of two Inuit post-secondary students who are currently unable to complete their university education and the policy that surrounds their circumstances.

This is *Akia,* the other side of *Ilinniarvik* (school) and the southern Inuit post-secondary student.

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Thank you to external examiner, Dr. Karla Jessen Williamson.

To my sons and grandbabies – you are my treasures. I love you into eternity.

Ma'na – thank you.

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I started my university education when I was three months short of turning 51. I had never been to university. I didn't know what to expect. For the first time in my life I was unemployed, and I thought I would try going to university to see what it was like. I had never sat in a university classroom.

I was excited on that first day. Sitting on a city bus, a ride that would be a minimum of 90 minutes each way. I had bought a thick, green backpack, with several pockets. I had loaded it up with pens, paper, and a couple of binders. I had memorized the bus and classroom schedules, the university building names, room numbers, and what time I had to be in each. When I got off the bus, I had no idea where I was. I had no idea of how I was supposed to find my way around campus.

I realized that I was now a foreigner in the city that I had lived in for 20 years

CHAPTER 1:

Introduction to the study

I am Norma Dunning. I am a published and award winning Aboriginal creative writer. Because of my earned standing within the literary community I feel that I must state the following:

My dissertation is not creative writing, nor is it creative non-fiction. It represents an Inuit-specific truth. It is a truth that I have spent the past ten years, writing, publishing and speaking about. It is the gathering of a decade of thoughts and words. This work was not completed in haste. The words contained herein are written with the love, care, and concern I have always felt for those who are like me.

My dissertation focuses on the experiences of Inuit post-secondary students who live and educate themselves beyond the tundra. My work examines the lived realities of nonresident post-secondary Inuit students and my own post-secondary journey.

My work contains information about the creation of Nunavut; and an element that is not written onto government land claims documents. The missing element resulted in the creation of my dissertation.

AKIA (THE OTHER SIDE)

My dissertation is about the creation of non-Nunangat Inuit[1] or Inuit who live outside of their land claims area. As each northern land claims agreement was finalized and celebrated, so too did fixed borders of exclusion come into existence. As northern Inuit were being enfranchised through modern day treaties, southern Inuit were being disenfranchised based on their location. Once a land claim was signed, signaling a business transaction between the Canadian Federal Government and Inuit residents of the north, simultaneously Inuit who resided in the south were becoming less significant because of their locale. While one door opened, another slammed shut. Once all the T's were crossed and the I's dotted southern residing Inuit beneficiaries of each land claims agreement became, disregarded and unintentionally diasporic.

Home territories became places of not only far off distances and possibly places of long ago, but also places of confinement and definition. Where an Inuk lived had more meaning than it may have ever had, and as Walter Ong states, "There is no return to the past" (Ong, 1987, p. 9). What may appear to be an act of progression through the signing of a land claims agreement for one group gave birth to an act of regression for others of the same membership or family.

I am a non-Nunangat Inuit beneficiary of Nunavut, hence my doctoral work as a southern Inuk post-secondary student became my topic of choice. My story is not as an act of self-pity but an act of contributing to the understandings of nonresident Inuit student populations within post-secondary institutions globally. My work will contribute significantly to the awareness of the southern Inuk student processes and it must be remembered that, "…even for those who do qualify for a university program, there are significant obstacles. …The financial barriers and

[1] According to Tungasuvvingat Inuit, (Ottawa TI) on April 10, 2019 in reference to Bill C-92, An Act respecting First Nations, Métis and Inuit children, youth and families, non-Nunangat Inuit are defined as: **The Fifth Region – Non-Nunangat Inuit region** –There must be consideration for the Inuit who are no longer living in or members of their respective land claim. With approximately 40% of Inuit (self identified ancestry) there is a growing number of Inuit who are not connected to one of the four land claim regions, yet remain connected to Inuit culture and identity. This "fifth region" is not recognized by Inuit leadership and land claims organizations, however the Inuit fully consider themselves as Inuk with all the culture, traditions and rights inherent to that identification.

other difficulties that Aboriginal people face in attending post-secondary institutions deprive the Canadian workforce" (Library and Archives Canada [GOC], 2015, p. 199). My work is meant to bring *akia*, or the other side of understanding the nonresident Inuit post-secondary student experience.

Akia is a word from the *Paallirmiutut* dialect (Inuktut Tusaalanga, 2019) of Inuit Canadians who once lived in the Barren Lands of northern Manitoba. It is spoken as a-*kee*-a and literally means the other side of something. From the Inuktitut lessons that I have taken with fluent speakers, and my own self-reliant study through books or printed matter and through websites, I have learned that the language is very literal.

In the context of the title of my doctoral dissertation I present the other side of university or *Ilinniarvik*, spoken e-lee-nar-veek. The word which is also from the *Paallirmiutut* dialect, means school or classroom There is no direct word in the *Pallirmiutut* dialect for university.

I present the other side or the happenings inside the walls of the tall buildings, pointing to the other side of what a university campus appears to be. Inside the walls of a post-secondary institution lie the difficulties of achieving an academic degree for an Inuk student. Within the physical structure of a distinguished campus, a place that is of higher or highest learning lay stories that are rife with uncertainties and difficulties, that make the completion of a degree for the Inuk student a place of barriers.

The title of my work is filled with opposition. *Akia* looks at what lies on the other side or beyond the exterior of *Ilinniarvik*, a place and concept that was never a part of the Inuktitut language, but something that arrived to Inuit Canadians through colonization. This does not mean that school is wrong, but it does mean that inside of non-Inuit learning structures there are struggles.

When I started my PhD coursework in 2014, I was constantly asked what my doctoral research question was. That left me dumfounded and I was unable to verbalize what exactly it was that I was going to research. I knew that I would talk about Inuit Canadians and education. I didn't know how I was going to put that together. What I learned to do when asked about my research question, was to frame my answer by saying, "This week I have been thinking about…" I felt pressured to have a defined topic and specific question, while on the outside of my academic life I continued to write about the consequences of being an Inuk living outside of my homeland.

I have always been grateful for my own educational expedition, which has not been completely smooth. The bureaucratic bumps that I have learned about and from have provided me with a unique kind of education, both within and outside of the university. What I began to realize, over time, was that Inuit who reside in the southern areas of Canada, and who are beneficiaries of one of the four northern land claims areas are handled as a separate entity. I started to realize that our National Inuit leader, Natan Obed, is legally bound through the land claims to represent and speak only on behalf of Inuit who live in the north. Inuit in the south are without any formal political representation.

I needed to understand how this had happened, and if there might be a way to inform the public, politicians, the post-secondary educational institutions, and especially other Inuit. I have been fortunate to have met and been a part of other Inuit students' lives while being a student myself. We shared many communalities, and one of the intersecting points of our relationships was the uncertainties of our own educational funding. We shared the unpredictability of whether we would be funded semester to semester, we never knew for certain whether or not we would receive funding. Our lives as post-secondary students were lived without guarantees or a sense

of security. There were no promises in the funding structures made available to us as southern Inuit students. Thus, one portion of the Inuit Canadian population may feel as though their attempts at success can be made null and void at any moment. In Canada it can appear as though it is permissible to impede the ability of any member of the smallest group of Aboriginal Canadians to shake off disparity and a history of marginalization.

The students and I shared the expectations placed upon us by not only the post-secondary funding administrators, but also the institution. We shared what it is like to be an Inuk who lives in the south and the many ways in which we are perceived as people who are living outside of the norm. We are southern not northern Inuit.

At this point it would be very easy for a reader to assume that I am only another complaining Aboriginal Canadian. It would also be very easy to ask, "Well, didn't you all expect university to be difficult?" Of course, we did. For most of us we were amazed that we had been accepted into the highest level of education in our country. I am not writing about the intellectual demands of university coursework. I am writing about the demands of university life and schedules in conjunction with the demands of the funding provider and how we, as southern Inuit post-secondary students navigate our way through layers and layers of systems which are the small minefields that we walk through daily.

I have always been grateful for tuition payment but to be frank, I must also caution readers that not all education is free to Aboriginal Canadians nor are the funding dollars equal. First Nations, Métis and Inuit post-secondary students do not receive the same amount of monies individually as they work toward completing a university education. The funding varies according to the Aboriginal student's reserve or community affiliation. For myself as a nonresident Inuk student, I do not have the same access to full funding or scholarship monies

because I do not have a northern address. Post-secondary institutions are available to all Inuit Canadians however, the chasm between northern and southern Inuk students widens based on where we declare residency. Inside of this chasm, also lie the fractures of belonging and conclusive evidence that sets apart northern and southern Inuit post-secondary students through the funding stream.

For example, I have not received a cost-of-living allowance over the past five years. I worked several jobs within each semester to fulfill my dream. I do not speak this as a complaint. I had to ask myself how important it was to me to complete. It is a reality of the southern Inuk student. I received a very small book allowance each semester. It did not cover the required reading. I will say that I have accumulated approximately $40,000 dollars in debt since 2011. Some of that debt is attributed to placing required reading texts onto the one and only charge card that I keep. In time, paying for texts by using a charge card became normalized, as did working a minimum of forty hours per week in order to fulfill the costs of basic living. Yet, the way that I have managed myself through three university degrees, as an Inuit Canadian and full member of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement should never be normalized.

What should be normalized is that every Inuit Canadian be given an equal and fair chance at a university education. Ultimately what was always right in front of me, my own daily educational experience is what became my research. It does contain Inuit and education. It is meant to inform and provide insight that may lead to positive change for all Inuit students.

There are many southern Inuit who are like me. We were simply born into a circumstance that was not of our creation. We may be in the south not by choice but by chance. We were not a part of the negotiating team for the land claims area we each represent; however, we are the Inuit who are forced to deal with the aftermath and the restrictions of being a southern

Inuk. Restrictions are not always a physical border. Restrictions can lie within the perceptions that Inuit have of one another because of a physical border.

After I had achieved candidacy on March 13, 2018 one of my committee members asked me, “Why are you researching something that you already know the outcome of?” His question was a response to my posing my research question regarding how nonresident Inuit post-secondary students were managing their way through university. His words and voice haunted me throughout the summer.

It was the summer that I had moved from Edmonton, Alberta to Victoria British Columbia. It was the summer that I spent setting myself up in a new apartment and trying to figure out bus schedules because I had committed to living without a car for a full year. It was a summer that was filled with learning how to move my way around in a small tourist-filled city, a city where I felt like a tourist too, and stood in awe of the ocean and flowers and watched cruise ships come and go out of the harbor. It was the summer where I heard that one question played repeatedly in my head.

I came to realize that my understandings of how I managed my way around university may not be universal to all southern Inuit students, and the importance of other Inuit students’ stories and experiences grew. Our stories as southern Inuk students are important stories. I found myself thinking that if I didn’t research and write on this topic – who would? The many dichotomies of being a southern Inuk will always be a part of my creative work and although I have published scholarly articles specific to Inuit post-secondary funding (Dunning, 2016, p. 12) and have spoken on the topic at conferences, it was time to bring all of the information together into one manuscript.

I have been given this one opportunity, to put forward the concerns and realities of southern Inuit post-secondary students. Alongside the students are the understandings of a lawyer who has worked for the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and its implementation for decades, as well as the executive director of the longest standing southern service provider for Inuit located in Ottawa and lastly an Inuk PhD holder. I became more driven to honour my own. Inuit are people who can achieve and go forward and contribute positively to the lives of everyone.

1.2 The southern Inuk population

I begin with statistics released on October 25, 2017. Statistics give shape to a group of people, but they are not the people themselves. They are instead, a quick snapshot of a specific population. Statistics provide the silhouettes of a human population and an understanding glance of what a group of people are, in this case the Inuit of Canada.

The Aboriginal Canadian population is over 1.6 million (Government of Canada, 2017, para. 4), with the Inuit population recorded at 65,025, showing a 29 percent increase since 2006 (Statistics Canada, 2017, p. 6). The 2016 Census Program records show that 72.8 percent or 47,338 Inuit Canadians live within their land claims agreement areas. The remaining 17,687 live outside of the northern territories. The information illustrates that close to 30 percent of all Inuit Canadians reside outside of the tundra. In Alberta the total Inuit population is 1,985; of this population 1,110 live in Edmonton (StatsCan, 2017, p. 8). The highest populated metropolitan area of Inuit is 1,280 in Ottawa-Gatineau. Edmonton ranks second in Canada in terms of Inuit residents. In 2006, Edmonton's Inuit population was 590 (StatsCan, 2006, para. 9). The city's Inuit population has almost doubled within a decade.

The sketch that the statistics provide allows for the conclusion that firstly Inuit Canadians are the smallest Aboriginal population, secondly, not all Inuit live in the north and thirdly, that the population of Inuit residing outside of the territories is growing quickly in urban areas (Morris, 2016, p. 4). Therefore, there are an increasing number of Inuit who are without electoral representation, who are left in a state of liminality, a form of limbo that may carry a sense of unbelonging.

The intersectionality of the concepts of north versus south, influences the area of post-secondary funding and acts as the mechanism demonstrating what can happen to Inuit, who are making their way through university. The term used by Statistics Canada is non-Nunangat. *Nunangat* means homeland in Inuktitut. What Statistics Canada began to record in the 2017 Aboriginal Peoples Survey is the non-Nunangat or Inuit living outside of their homelands. The survey was the first time that I saw Inuit statistically as residing inside and outside of the Arctic. It was perhaps an attempt by the government of Canada to recognize that Inuit can live in polar opposition to one another. In this case polar, means as equal opposites. Inuit were being recognized as Inuit wherever they may be residing.

As accepted members of a specific land claims area, the southern non-Nunangat Inuit are the focus of this study and the processes and systems that Inuit living in the south learn to operate within as university degree-seeking students, and as residents of the southern areas of Canada.

In this study I have researched the other side of school, the silent side of post-secondary education for nonresident Inuit students and how they manage to make their way through each day that they sit in *ilinniarvik*. School, was observed in the following way for Inuit less than 50 years ago:

> Our school system is alien not only because it has been developed and is run by non-Inuit: it is alien because it is a system. There were no places in traditional Inuit culture where children were herded together for a set number of hours a day to learn how to become functioning adults. To put it as extremely as possible; the mere building of a school could be said to be an alien act of cultural aggression (Mallon, 1977, p. 66).

It is not as though Inuit did not have systems or ways of learning. There were and are systems of education and law that were always in use in the past and continue into the present day. What Inuit did not have were system practices that involved separating children from their parents. What Mallon is explaining is that a school building, can represent the removal of culture from a group, and is a form of hostility or segregation, which defines aggression. The 1960's saw schools being brought into the north with the expectation that an Inuk child would walk into an isolated building, resulting in that child being separated from his or her family. What Inuit families did, was to bring their children into established communities to attend school. They would arrive in these communities from winter or summer camps. The families of these children then set up encampments around the schools. The RCMP considered this loitering and bothersome.

A 1961 RCMP report from Clyde River states:

> [If] the camp Eskimo children started to attend school regularly there could be some trouble with loitering. The main reason for the loitering would be the parents being reluctant to leave their children in school, as this would tend to "break up" the family as the Eskimos refer to the situation. It is felt that most of the trouble would come from the Eskimo mother. (Qikiqtani Truth Commission - Themeatic Reports and Special Studies, 2013, p. 20).

I spent time walking around each building and reading what was displayed on their walls. I wanted to know what they were doing. I wanted to know if I could fit in here. My adult sons would call me at night, and they each took far too much pleasure in asking, "Have you finished your homework Mom?" I never, ever told them that I had not even been to class yet. Often, I thought that I wasn't smart enough for any of it.

The early 1960's concept of school, as a place of division from family, is unfamiliar to Inuit Canadians. When the building of a school in a northern community can be interpreted as an act of cultural aggression, attending a university may magnify that act, increasing the sense of separation, distancing, "break up," and isolation. Within the context of a university campus, buildings are much larger and more complicated than a community schoolhouse. Family may not be close by. Things that may appear simple to some are not simple for everyone. Not only is the campus alien to the Inuit student, the logistics of moving a body from point A to point B is complex. What is lying on the surface, is not what is lying beneath the surface. This study explores what is beneath the surface.

Because, "Canada is the only country without a university north of 60" (Rodon, p. 3, 2013), some Inuit students who are residents of a northern community must move south, while Inuit living in the southern areas of Canada, may not have to make a geographical transition. However, the physical location of an Inuit student prior to university entrance has bearing on how Inuit-specific educational processes are implemented, based on the word "nonresident." I start with what the definitions of the words 'beneficiary' and 'nonresident' mean in the context of an Inuk person who lives outside of their land claims area, in my case Nunavut.

1.3 The beneficiary of Nunavut

Nunavut was established on April 1, 1999 after twenty years of negotiations. It is the largest land area established in a land claims agreement in Canada, and "if Nunavut were a

country it would rank as 15th in area" (Demirdjian, Chpt. 1, 2016). Thomas Berger (2006) describes the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) as encompassing:

> 352,240 square kilometers of land…The Inuit through Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI) also received financial compensation in the form of capital transfer payments of $1.148 billion, payable over a14-year period. There is no provision for distribution of this fund to individual Inuit. It is held in trust to be used for the programs for the benefit of Inuit beneficiaries (p. 9).

According to *Tukisittiarniqsaujumaviit?* an Inuktitut word that means, "Would you like to have a better understanding," and the title of the plain English guide to the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement:

> An Inuk who is on the Inuit Enrolment list will benefit from the agreement. Another word for a person in this position is beneficiary. Inuit will decide who will be a beneficiary. Each community will choose who will have his or her name added to the enrolment list, using the rules set out in this Article (35). These say an eligible person:
>
> - Is alive
> - Is a Canadian citizen
> - Is an Inuk according to Inuit custom
> - Thinks of herself or himself as an Inuk
> - Is associated with Nunavut, and
> - Is not enrolled in any other Canadian land claims agreement at the same time (Government of Nunavut, 2004, p. 69).

Simply put, a beneficiary is an Inuit person who has ancestral ties to Nunavut and is recognized and remembered solely through family connections by community Elders and other community members.

A beneficiary is then able to access various assistances pertaining to health, education, and socio-economic benefits made available to them through the NLCA. I and my sons are beneficiaries. We met the requirements of being a beneficiary as outlined in Article 35 of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. However, the location of my residence is what disrupts my access to, and the fulfillment of all supports. Enter the word, 'nonresident, which is defined as, "a person not living in a particular place" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary). What I would like to draw attention to is the fact that the definition is a geographical positioning and is not disputing who or what the ancestry of the person is.

Dr. Eber Hampton (1995) reminds us, "No name encompasses a people, and none is truly accurate" (p. 6), and it becomes applicable to Aboriginal peoples who live outside of the expected norm, context, or what is thought to be their legal homeland, whether that is a reservation or a northern district. "It is widely recognized that over 60% of the Indigenous population now lives in urban centres" (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, para 27, 2016), meaning off-reserve or as a nonresident of a territory. Adding additional distinctions to an Aboriginal person does not reduce or lessen the Aboriginality of that person.

In keeping with this idea, the report from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1993) states that, "Crossing the city limits does not transform Aboriginal people into non-Aboriginal people; they go on being the particular kind of person they have always been" (p. 3). We are not suddenly non-Aboriginal because we are residing outside of an expected location.

However, through the use of the word nonresident, we are now examining a particular person who does not live in a particular place and the consequences of that word.

In 2018 there was discussion about removing the term beneficiary in its entirety and instead designating Nunavut members of the land claims area as a:

> Nunavut Inuit or a person enrolled under the Nunavut Agreement, to properly reflect the authority and rights of Inuit under the agreement, as well as domestic and international law…Inuit are not passive recipients of benefits. We are very much active participants and decision-makers in the negotiation, design and implementation of the Nunavut Agreement (Eetoolook, para 4, 2016).

Although the change in wording has not been amended to date, it is interesting to see how the language used in the original land claims agreement is being recognized as contentious to Nunavut Inuit living in the north, 17 years after the signage of the agreement. The same consideration does not appear to have been extended to Inuit who live outside of the territories.

Nonetheless, it is the language of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) and the result of the claim after it was brokered, that indicates that Inuit-specific assistances were not a part of the discussions and were instead directed to Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI). Article 32 of the NLCA asserts:

> Inuit originally wanted to negotiate a full package of rights and benefits (health, housing, language, justice, etc.). The federal government said they would only agree to land-based rights in the land claims. Securing a role for Inuit in Government policy and program design was a compromise solution ("Tukisittiarniqsaujumviit?," 2004, p. 62).

It appears that Inuit were pressured into only dealing with land-based issues and resources, while benefits such as education and health did not arrive to the negotiations table but were treated separately and handed off to the corporation NTI. Clearly, the Inuit who were living in the north at the time of the agreement were left in a perilous position, which in turn may have left the beneficiaries of Nunavut who were living in the south even more jeopardized. It appears to be an approach made by the Federal government during the land claims discussions, and a tactic that has long reaching effects for the Inuit populations in both the north and the south of Canada.

1.4 The paradox of being a beneficiary

The scenario that follows is an example of the how inclusiveness as a land claims member can result in exclusion as a beneficiary of Nunavut. The scenario demonstrates how Inuit in the south are invited to participate in a northern electoral process, that is of no value to their daily lives.

One of the consequences of being a nonresident beneficiary of Nunavut materialized itself to me in December of 2016. It is a result that demonstrates how existing policy has little to no positive bearing on Inuit who reside in the south. To understand how elected representation is achieved for Inuit, Natan Obed explains:

> We exercise the right by maintaining and participating in our own Inuit democracy through Inuit organizations whose functions are tailored to meet Inuit regional needs. Our Inuit democracy exists alongside Canadian democracy. The Inuit democracy begins with each and every Inuk enrolled as a beneficiary of our land claim agreements, who democratically elect leaders of the four land claim jurisdictions in the Inuvialuit Settlement Area, Nunavut, Nunavik,

> and Nunatsiavut. These four leaders in turn elect the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami president and the Inuit Circumpolar Council—Canada president, and provide these National and international leaders with their respective mandates (Obed, 2018, para. 5).

What Obed is confirming is that every Inuit beneficiary in Canada has the right to vote regardless of where they are living, once electoral representation is established in the northern regions, those elected representatives in turn vote for the leadership of ITK and ICC. Northern elected representatives are brought into power because of the needs and wants of the northern population that they represent. Southern Inuit needs are not included. In the case of Nunavut, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) represents and speaks on behalf of northern Inuit only (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2017), and works in conjunction with NTI as overseers of the implementation of Inuit social benefits according to the NLCA.

Every four years ITK holds a presidential election. On December 5, 2016 I contacted an administrative worker in Iqaluit, Nunavut via email. (See: Appendix B).

I asked if I, as a nonresident beneficiary of Nunavut had the right to vote in the December election. The Administrator for Inuit Programs and Services for NTI responded that I was entitled to vote either by proxy or via a hard copy ballot. I was aware of a mobile polling station that was at Larga House on 111 Ave and 107 Street in Edmonton throughout the week of December 10, 2016.

The irony of the situation is that I would be voting in an election that only impacts Inuit residents of Nunavut. As a southern Inuk, I had the right to vote in a northern-based election, however, because I live in the south and remain without formal representation, the ballot that I

would cast would be of no direct value to my sons, grandchildren or myself. I would be voting for a representative who works on behalf of northern Inuit residents only.

I did not vote. I could not justify voting in a formal electoral process that does not create inclusiveness for southern Inuit. The electoral process has deep colonial roots, when one considers that, “Inuit became leaders by gaining a respect from the people of their camps, not by getting elected. A respected man was someone who the people looked up to for direction and for the right decisions when they had to be made” (Arnaquq, 2015, p. 13). Inuit did not look at where someone was living, they saw instead members of their group who qualified for leadership earned through respect, not someone whose name was placed on a ballot.

The electoral process for Inuit is still relatively new. As Canadian citizens and not wards of the state, the Inuit were given the right to vote in 1948 ("Voices-expanding the franchise,"), yet:

> from 1905 to 1951 there were no representative political institutions in the Northwest Territories. Technically, Inuit could vote in territorial elections, but as there were no seats in their areas, the right was purely formal [and as far as participating in federal elections] polling stations were not established for all communities before the 1962 federal election (Campbell, 2013, p. 38).

The fallout from this situation is that, Inuit are full Canadian citizens, not wards of the state and were given the power to participate in territorial and federal elections, but were without a representative to vote for and without a place to go and cast a ballot.

The historicity of Inuit Canadians and the electoral processes one had to deal with, extending the right to vote to a nonresident Inuk, in a northern Inuit-specific corporate leadership election has become standard democratic practice. However, what history demonstrates is that

the process remains uneven. As a nonresident Inuk, I remain without a southern representative to vote for, but I did have a place to go and cast my ballot. I had the right to vote in a northern election, for an official who is without the autonomy to represent the southern Inuit population of which I am a part of.

1.5 Political representation of the nonresident Inuk

In the political arena, the work of a politician is to formally, legitimately and publicly help those they represent, and to make good decisions for them. However, the Inuit in the south do not have a political official speaking on our behalf. This is the state of the nonresident Inuk in Canada. Those of us who reside outside of our territories, live without a political voice. We are in a position of political powerlessness.

The structure of political representation of the Inuit is multi-layered in Canada. The national representative group for Inuit Canadians is ITK. The ITK slogan announces that, "We are the national voice for Canada's over 60,000 Inuit" (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, para 1, 2017), however, the deciding votes belong to the CEO's of the four corporations that represent each land claims area. They are the directors from the Inuvialuit Corporation, the Makivik Corporation, NTI, and the Nunatsiavut Government. These corporations are given the powers to represent Inuit in the north only, through each of the land claims agreements. Inuit who live beyond the tundra are without political sway, as explained by Bonesteel (2006):

> Outside their land claim settlement region, Inuit cannot access the rights and benefits derived from their land claim agreement. Inuit living in southern Canadian cities, for example, cannot hunt and fish according to the terms of their land claim. Similarly, Inuit who have lived outside of their land claim region for a year or more have experienced difficulty accessing the post-secondary assistance funding that is

intended for land claim beneficiaries (Chpt.16).

Bonesteel makes a point of publicly stating that not all Inuit Canadians are treated equally based on where they are living, yet, she does not go into the details of what happens to the Inuk post-secondary student who is living beyond the tundra. She does direct the reader's attention to the difference in hunting and fishing rights and is clear that post-secondary funding is unequal. However, she does not give any details about the inequity in educational benefits between northern and southern-based Inuit students.

1.6 The term nonresident

The Federal Government does define the word "nonresident" in the area of taxation. For tax purposes in Canada, a person is a nonresident if they normally live in another country, live outside of Canada throughout the tax year, or if you stay in Canada for less than 183 days in a tax year (Nonresidents of Canada, para 1, 2015). According to the Federal government a nonresident is someone who is not living or working within Canada for approximately 169 days of each taxation year.

Contrary to the Federal definition, the NLCA focuses on land and resource use and concentrates on the rights of Inuit who are residents of the territory as explained by Bonesteel, in Article 32 of the NLCA, Bonesteel and the administrator in Iqaluit. The word "nonresident" does not appear in the land claim itself, however in the area of post-secondary education funding under section 4.2 of the Post-Secondary Student Support Program through Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) the following information is stated and defines the restrictions of funding for an Inuk student: They are:

- Inuit who are a resident in Canada for 12 consecutive months prior to the date of application for funding but who reside outside of their territory and are no longer eligible to be funded by their territory (proof of refusal is required)[2] **and**
- can provide documentation that they have been accepted by an eligible institution into either a degree, diploma or certificate program… (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2015, figure 4.2)

Again, the term "nonresident" is not in use, however the implications of how funding is administered is clear in the guidelines concerning who can qualify for funding. The Nunavut Tourism website does make use of the word "nonresident" under the rules for fishing in Nunavut. Fishing licenses are distributed to anyone other than a beneficiary, and the word "nonresident" is described as, "a person other than a Nunavut resident or a Resident Canadian" (Nunavut Tourism - Nunavut Fishing License, n.d.).

I did contact Margaret Kusugak, Enrollment administrator for Nunavut on November 8, 2017, and asked her how the definitions of and assistances for resident and nonresident Inuit work. She allowed me to quote her reply verbatim:

> The only thing that comes to mind is the person enrolling that has no association with a community in Nunavut, [such as] when an Inuk applies and doesn't know the community their ancestors were originally from. This has come up because back in the 60's some children have been adopted or had to stay down south due to illness. Unless you are asking about benefits. There are benefits available but most of them you have to live

[2] What I must do yearly as a nonresident of Nunavut is to fill out a Financial Assistance for Nunavut Students (FANS) application form, make sure that I have written up the form completely, email it to FANS@gov.nu.ca with the request that my application is rejected in a timely manner, and the rejected application is emailed to Freehorse Family Wellness Society/Edmonton, as proof of my ineligibility to receive a student loan or any other of funding from my ancestral territory. See: https://gov.nu.ca/family-services/programs-services/financial-assistance-nunavut-students-fans

in Nunavut to apply.

- Scholarships offered by the Inuit organizations, this one you have to graduate in Nunavut to apply.
- Nunavut Harvesters Support Program, this one you have to live in Nunavut to apply.
- Compassion and bereavement travel…this used to be for everyone but has changed and it's for those living in Nunavut only.
- Non-insured health benefits-Government of Nunavut. This is for everyone who is enrolled in the NLCA (M. Kusugak, personal communication, November 8, 2017).

What Kusugak clarifies is that the benefits offered by the NLCA are limited by the home address of the Nunavut beneficiary. Essentially, some Inuit who are recognized beneficiaries of a land claims area can and do have restricted access to assistances based on the invisible line called the 60th parallel. In relation to education, Kusugak makes it clear that unless you graduated from a high school in Nunavut you will not be eligible for any northern-based scholarships.

The purpose of seeking a concrete definition of the word "nonresident" is critical to the processes that an Inuk post-secondary student must adhere to. Inuit students who live outside of the territories or who were born and raised outside of the territories, must follow a series of procedures that are contrary to the procedures followed by Inuit students who are defined as residents of Nunavut. Although the word nonresident is not written or printed in the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, there is an assumption that nonresident students are to be handled

through a separate funding stream and fall into the same category as First Nations students, as demonstrated on the INAC post-secondary website.

Inuit are not First Nations peoples. First Nations peoples are not Inuit. However, in the area of post-secondary financial support, the Canadian government places two separate Aboriginal groups into one melting pot, creating a series of hurdles that Aboriginal students learn to overcome in order to complete a university degree. My study includes how the land claims negotiations were manipulated in such a manner that resulted in almost 30 percent of the Inuit population being extended less than minimal benefits. It is the terminology, the discourse that was used, and the way it effects post-secondary Inuit students that underpins my study.

As I said earlier, the funding dollars are not equal for all Aboriginal post-secondary students, although there is an assumption within mainstream that all Aboriginal students in post-seconary are getting a free ride (Monkman, 2016). I felt jealousy towards some of my First Nations peers because their financial support dollars, were in some cases greater than mine. I felt jealousy because some of my peers did not have to spend the same amount of hours working inside and outside of the university in order to have enough money to cover the cost of living but I also would like to make it clear, that financial dollars for all Aboriginal students are generally not enough to maintain a comfortable quality of life, those dollars are not excessive. I do not think that the concept of being a 'poor student' should be acceptable in any post-secondary pursuit.

1.7 The research question & study

I based my study question on my immediate experiences. For the last nine years, I have engaged in and with processes and procedures, as well as with the expectations of the administrators of the funding program and an educational institution. I quote Elder Saullu

Nakasuk who said, “I speak what I know. I’m only telling you what I have experienced” (Oosten & Laugrand, 1996, p. 5) when I describe my educational journey. However, in saying that, I am also saying that I do not speak on behalf of the experience of other Inuit students. They must speak themselves about their experiences. Therefore, my study includes other Inuit students who are working toward, or who have earned a post-secondary degree or diploma.

My research question is: How are non-Nunangat Inuit post-secondary students making their way through university? It is a many-layered question, examining the societal systems and practices that a southern-based Inuit student is subject to, and it queries how an Inuk body is perceived by government, educational institutions, and the public outside of a northern context. The questions issued to the student participants in this study allowed them to articulate their own southern Inuit identity, and their own sense of kinship exclusion. It was through the students’ understandings that the objectives of my study were obtained.

The goals of my study were to:

(a) Draw attention to the growing population of nonresident Inuit degree-seeking students in order to increase university leadership’s awareness of the multiple barriers that exist for these students as they are completing a university degree.

(b) Inform members of government, both territorial and provincial of the policies and practices that are in place for nonresident Inuit students and the intricacies of completing a university degree.

(c) Inform the Inuit corporations ITK and NTI about the practices and policies that exclude the nonresident Inuit beneficiary students.

(d) Inform and submit my findings to INAC leaders and Inuit education representatives

When we as Inuit come together in this type of forum it is called, *piliriqatigiingniq*, meaning "working together for a common cause" (Government of Nunavut, 2010, para. 2). The common cause in my work is not intended to harm anyone, but rather to inform many. The purpose of my study is to explain the complexities of the Inuk student post-secondary experience, because I want to ignite change within the system, change that will promote positive understanding and transformation for both northern and southern Inuit students.

A beneficiary of Nunavut is an Inuk who holds ancestral ties to that specific territory and is a card-carrying, community-approved, full member of a settlement located in Nunavut. Specific to Nunavut is:

> The fact that the Inuit have never been governed by the Indian Act and have no prior experience of excluding women who "married out" which may explain why it has been possible to recognize their total autonomy in membership matters…The system in Nunavut…according to certain local committee members [states], a person is an Inuk if one of his or her parents are Inuit. There is no minimal blood quantum. Marriage does not confer Inuit status. There are no circumstances under which a person can cease to be Inuk, although an Inuk may ask to be removed from the enrolment list (Grammond, 2009, p. 134).

As indicated by Grammond, an Inuk does not have to be residing in the northern community that accepts and identifies him/her as a community member and a beneficiary, with full Inuit ranking. It is interesting to note that Grammond states that Inuit have never been governed by the Indian Act, but it is the post-secondary policy of the Indian Act that governs the funding of a nonresident Inuk university student. Further to the funding of post-secondary educational Indigenous students, Carr-Stewart states, "Because the Indian Act does not reference post-

secondary education, the federal government argues that its support for postsecondary education is only a policy initiative within the parameters of a capped financial allocation" (Carr-Stewart, 2001, p. 59), meaning that the government does not take full financial ownership of the costs of Aboriginal students enrolled in a post-secondary degree.

Drawing attention to the educational controls and constraints that a nonresident Inuk student encounters in order to attend *ilnniarvik*, this work examines the non-Nunangat Inuit degree-seeking student. Inuit students who are studying for a trade are not included in my work. The voices of two important men, the lawyer who has been with the NLCA since its origin and an Inuit male who is the director of a service-providing agency for southern Inuit in Ottawa help to shape the understandings of Inuit life in the south. The lawyer helped to negotiate and continues to work on the implementation of the NLCA, while the service provider deals with the fall out of the decisions made through land claims.

The research and completion of my study is exclusive to a select group of Inuit students, bringing to light the educational practices, and realities of Inuit students living south of 60. My study explains how educational funding structures and schemes for nonresident Inuit students were designed, and the historicity of the policies. History is what brings us into present day and the assumptions we each carry. As stated by Mankiller, "public perceptions fuel public policy," (Haynes, 2008, p. 8), and the effect of the perceptions that an Inuit student encounters has influence on his/her educational process.

Programs may be purposed to guide students; however, an analysis of how southern resident Inuit students are perceived by majority populations is very important. I examined how the viewpoints of mainstream society effects the identity of nonresident Inuit students. Concurrently, an assessment of historic Inuit Canadian policy shows the effects on the present-

day educational journeys of Inuit student populations who are the living shadows of the antiquated imaginings of Inuit.

The National Household Survey (NHS) of 2011, showed that there were in Canada a total of 40 Inuk PhD holders. Of the 40, 20 Inuit were medical doctors. Compared with the other two Aboriginal Canadian groups, Inuit remain at the lowest end of the scale, when it comes to completing one of the highest educational degrees possible.

Highest certifica	Total - Pop	Aborigin	First Nations	Métis single	Inuit) single i
B.A.	3634425	53580	26885	23190	1075
UNI CERT	602910	7945	4330	3065	75
DEGREE IN MED	154705	1030	320	625	20
M,A,	1083840	10900	5365	4660	215
DOCTORATE	208480	1625	865	600	40

TABLE 3

PORTION POPULATION	WITH 25-64	SELECTED LIVING WITHIN	LEVELS OF OR OUTSIDE	EDUCATIONAL INUIT	ATTAINMENT NUNANGAT,	AMONG CANADA	INUIT 2011
SELECTED LEVELS OF EDUCATION ATTAINMENT				WITHIN INUIT NUNANGAT		OUTSIDE OF NUNANGAT	
				PERCENTAGE		PERCENTAGE	
POST-SECONDARY QUALIFICATIONS				28.2		53.3	
TRADES CERTIFICATE				12.4		15.5	
COLLEGE DIPLOMA				12.7		22.4	
UNIVERSITY CERTIFICATE BELOW BACHELOR				1.3		2.7	
UNIVERSITY DEGREE				1.9		13.0	

Estimates and trends from other data sources suggest that the Inuit population living outside of Inuit Nunangat is overestimated at the national level.
Comparisons with other data sources suggest that the category 'University certificate or diploma below the bachelor's level' was over-reported in the NHS.
It is recommended that users interpret the results for this category with caution.

Inuit lag behind by a substantial margin.[3]

Inuit degree holders from Inuit Nunangat (Inuit Homeland) are then compared to nonresident Inuit students. The 2015 findings,[4] show that 13 percent of all Inuit living south of sixty hold a university degree, while only 1.9 percent of the Inuit living in northern communities

[3] The 2011 date is found on Table 15 of the National Household Survey.

[4] The comparison data for Inuit living within or outside of Inuit Nunangat is from Table 3, Statistics Canada, educational attainment of Aboriginal Peoples Canada. Found at: http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-012-x/2011003/tbl/tbl3-eng.cfm

Word is out that I am an Inuk student, even though there are classes where I don't self-identify. I am always the oldest student in the room. I don't want to be singled out any further. I don't want to hear the questions. "Can you speak Inuktitut?" "Do you eat raw meat?" Questions that I hear too often. I don't want to see their faces when I say, "No," to each question. I get tired of their disappointment.

complete a degree program. The statistical outcome may be an indication that Inuit who are living in the south are better able to understand and manage university systems and policies, hence the 11.1 percent difference based on a students' locale. By appearance the southern Inuit university student is advantaged.

It is interesting to note the disclaimer at the bottom of the chart indicating that the interpretation of the statistics is to be used with discretion, and that perhaps the number of Inuit living beyond the tundra may be an overestimate.

The locations shown by by the NHS 2011 survey are not only a north vs. south division but a success vs. non-success dichotomy. The difference being presented is rooted in a government numerical interpretation of Inuit who have completed a university degree. Perhaps, it is a statistic that encourages Inuit parents to leave the north to create better opportunity for their children, an act that would decrease the government's responsibility for them. I do not believe that Inuit degree holders view one another in terms of where they convocated. I say this as a nonresident beneficiary of Nunavut and a university degree holder.

1.8 Location of the researcher

I am a southern-born and -raised Inuk woman. I am not fluent in Inuktitut. I was not raised on raw meat. I have never been to Nunavut, or to my ancestral community of Whale Cove.

One morning I am sitting at a long row of tables, the white lady prof at the front of the room mentions Canada's north. She looks towards me and says, "I would ask for your opinion Norma, but you've never been there so I don't think you'd have anything to contribute." I feel my face redden. I feel myself take a big breath. The white lady prof changes the topic. I have often asked myself why I continue the journey. I remind myself that I could always become a greeter at WalMart.

I was raised in a silent form of Aboriginality. Hushed Aboriginality thrived in my home during my growing up years. Being Inuit was not a topic up for discussion. I do not say that with anger. I say it, because I think that many Aboriginal children continue to grow up this way. I only knew one thing when I was a little girl. I only knew that I wasn't white.

I remember coming into the house on a sweaty Saturday summer afternoon. We were living on a small military base. My mom was cutting up potatoes to make French fries. The smell of hot grease filled up the house. I stood behind her and asked, "Mom, what are we?" She turned around startled. She bent down, and pointed her right index finger close to my face and asked, "Why?" When that finger was in use, it was serious business.

I told her that all the other kids on the playground were talking about being Irish, or Swedish, and how their families came from far away. I will never forget her telling me, "You tell them all you're French! You were born in Quebec, and that's all they need to know!" I did as I was told to do well into my teens.

My mother was an Inuit woman. Small built, clever hands, and always a laugh or a smile on her face. She and her two sisters survived eight full years in a residential school located outside of Winnipeg. It was too costly to send northern children home for the summer (TRC report, 2015, p. 34). What she passed onto me were her Padlei Inuit[5] ways of knowing and

[5] Padlei Inuit or the people of the willow, were inland Inuit who lived in the Keewatin District of northern Manitoba until the forced relocations of the 1950's, putting the Padlei population along the coast of the Hudson Bay.

being. Like the quote at the beginning of the paper, it is not something taught inside of a schoolhouse. She had, had her early years in the Keewatin district of northern Manitoba.

My mom and her two sisters were taken from the north when they were little girls. My Auntie Margaret was labelled, 'untrainable,' and was sent to a mental asylum. In time, she was released, and spent a quiet life working in the laundry of a Winnipeg hospital. She never married. She never had children. Auntie Francis Voisey was my Auntie, and was the last member standing from my Mom's family. She was almost 97 years old when she died last spring in a nursing home in Winnipeg.

Auntie Francis was the one who would come to visit us, and she is the one who would talk about all the things we did not. She was the one who brought up the past, the nuns, the school, the life she and her sister had before, "the convent." She was the one who broke the silence. When I was 16, she confirmed to me what I was. At age 16 I knew I was Inuit. I never admitted it to anyone outside of my house. I had been instructed to say only that I was French. I also did not know or understand what it meant to be Inuit. I could not say I was something that I could not define, even to myself.

My dad was born and raised on a farm in southern Manitoba. He fought in World War II, as a young teen. He was sixteen when he joined up to serve Canada. When dad came home from the war, he went as far north as he could. My folks met in The Pas, Manitoba. He was a good hunter and fisherman. He loved the outdoors just like Mom did, and I think they came together and tried to create the family that they each did not have growing up. The best gift my folks gave me was the celebration of their 50th wedding anniversary. It was the last time that their six children and 13 grandchildren came together. We had a night of singing and dancing

When I was accepted for funding I received $900/month as a cost of living. Tuition is paid for, and I receive a book allowance. $900/month does not pay the rent, and throughout my BA, MA and doctoral degrees I carry at least two jobs, and a full course load each semester. As I advance in my education, my funding decreases. Once I have completed the required coursework for my MA(NS) and start to write my thesis, the cost of living allowance is removed, tuition is paid, and the book allowance becomes $25 per semester. The other members of each of my cohorts do not have these same financial pressures. I now work at least three jobs per semester. I am always completely exhausted.

and celebrating two people who came from different forms of dysfunction and created their own legacy. My folks were good people.

Inside of my growing up years were many silences, not only about being Inuit but also the domestic abuse or the alcoholism that raged inside of each military house that we lived in. It took me many years to sort it all out. How we were never told what we were. How we only visited my Dad's farming family. How his brothers and sisters often treated us like dirty little savages. We were the dark-haired, dark-eyed children who were ordered by my father's family to wash our hands over and over again.

My parents each valued education even though their own opportunities had been limited. It was important that each of their kids finished grade 12, but university was never presented as an option. The mentality of completing grade 12 only, continues with many Inuk families. It is amazing to me that any Inuit complete a university degree.

For myself, I never thought I would attend university. I am the mother of three grown sons and four beautiful grandchildren. My sons' growing up years were spent in Edmonton Housing, the name for the City's subsidized housing. When my boys and I came to Edmonton in 1992, it was the place that social services moved us into. I had thought I could work our way out of there within four years, but it took twice as long. The first two years in Edmonton we were a welfare family. I worked so very hard at keeping the townhouse that we were in as clean as

clean could be. I worked hard at washing and ironing all my sons' clothes. I did not want them to look like they were on welfare, even though our address told their schools that we were.

I was like my mom, in that I never let my children identify as Inuit while they were in school. We were Edmonton Housing people, and there would be no additional layering of what they were according to a school system. They would not be segregated. They would not be coded as Aboriginal students. We were already in the cycle of poverty, but we didn't have to look it - or allow anyone to classify us further. I began cleaning at night, and during the day for various companies and families. They paid in cash. The welfare people never had to know about that income. Eventually I landed a job in a warehouse, and in time I began working in their office. My sons and I finally moved out of Edmonton Housing.

I began to learn how to transport freight around the world. I spent the next 17 years as a logistician with three different globally based companies. When my sons graduated from high school, I told them that they must now begin to identify as Inuit. It was hard for them, because they carried their father's French last name. They followed through though, and it wasn't until they each left home that I allow them to carry their Nunavut beneficiary cards in their wallets. Their beneficiary cards became their parting gift from me.

I will state that my work is not only about my own experience, and processes, it is inclusive to all southern living Inuit students who are working at attaining a university degree. I know the excitement that I felt on that first day of university. I know the hope I carried. I had a chance to fulfill one big dream. I could turn being a university degree holder into a reality. I know the many times that I have comforted myself with the thought of quitting it all.

Quitting it all would have been the easier route. I come to this research as a combination and mixing of a northern Inuk Mom and a southern farm-raised Dad. I arrive knowing how it

feels to not be sure of who you are for many decades of your life. I arrive knowing how fiercely others can question your authenticity and I arrive knowing that it is time that Inuit Canadians to speak honestly about their perceptions of one another.

Years ago, I was personally introduced to a famous Inuit man. "I'd like you to meet Norma. She's an Inuk too,: said the non-Inuit person who introduced us. That Inuk man looked me straight in the eyes and pursed his lips together. He whispered a familiar sound, "Pppfffttt." That was the sound my Mom would make when she was not in agreement to a subject or situation. It was the sound of disagreement. It was the sound of a topic being closed off forever.

Later, I had a few minutes alone with that Inuk man and I said to him then that an invisible line runs across Canada. Inuit in the north look down their noses at Inuit in the south, while Inuit in the south hold up their noses to Inuit in the north. I told him it was time that someone talked about it and that one day I would.

My words were spoken quietly, and I tell this story because as Inuit Canadians we have to think about what we do to each other in terms of identity and our acceptance or unacceptance of one another as Inuit. We have to think about our own understandings of northern or southern living Inuit and what it is that brings us to our opinions. We have to consider the harm that we are doing to each other as members of Canada's smallest Aboriginal population. Since I have had the experience of unacceptance based on outward appearance and a lack of fluency in what could have been my first language, my location as a researcher becomes broader. Inside of this work lies the hope that right across Canada, the invisible line would begin to fade.

It has taken me a long time to get here and I was more than middle-aged when I took up the highest level of education, but I think of the Inuit babies who lie within their Mother's bellies now, and those that will in the future. I think of my own grandchildren and I want them to dream

too. I want them to know that they can walk onto a university campus, fearless and confident. My work is dedicated to all southern and northern Inuit Canadians.

Inuttigut We the Inuit – we are here.

1.9 The purpose of my study

There is a mainstream myth that all Aboriginal Canadians live the "free life," whereby all our needs are supplied and paid for by the Federal government, including our education. I believe that if that were true Aboriginal Canadians would be the happiest souls on earth. Instead, Aboriginal Canadians lead all other Canadians in the statistics that no one else wants, the highest rates of poverty, suicide, poor health, poor housing, access to clean water, and the lowest levels of education (Palmater, 2012, p. 115).

Inuit Canadians, unfortunately, are the leaders amongst Aboriginal Canadians in the same disparity reflecting statistics, and the poorest outcomes in what many other Canadians take for granted-which is wellness (Obed, 2016, Simon, 2017, Government of Canada, 2012). Education has been touted as the tool that will lead Inuit Canadians down the path to parity (Simon, 2011, p. 3). It is my purpose to disclose the realities that nonresident Inuit students must deal with in order to complete a university degree. My study examines the word "nonresident" through the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, while exploring the history of the NLCA and the post-secondary third-party funders that Inuit university students must deal with.

Adding the nonresident label to an Inuit student has multifaceted results. Statistics about Inuit Canadian citizens are being differentiated through the 60th parallel line, while Canadians overall may be susceptible to believing that the only "real Inuk" is one who resides on the northern tundra, influencing the ideation of Inuit as people from the past. These perceptions need to be examined and the educational strategies that are Inuit-specific require a fleshing out.

The realities of completing a university education for a nonresident Inuk student are not as free or carefree as it may be perceived.

The illusion that all Aboriginal Canadians receive a free post-secondary education as part of either a numbered treaty or a modern-day treaty or land claims agreement, is one that has been planted in Canadian society and is generated through government renderings of the opportunities that are extended to Aboriginal Canadian as stated by the National Indian Brotherhood in 1972, "Our education is not a welfare system. We have free education as a treaty right because we paid in advance for our education by surrendering our lands" (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972, p. 15). What the government is doing, is in fact fulfilling its fiduciary obligation as per each numbered treaty or land claims agreement. The education benefit is not a gift. It is a legally bound contractual commitment.

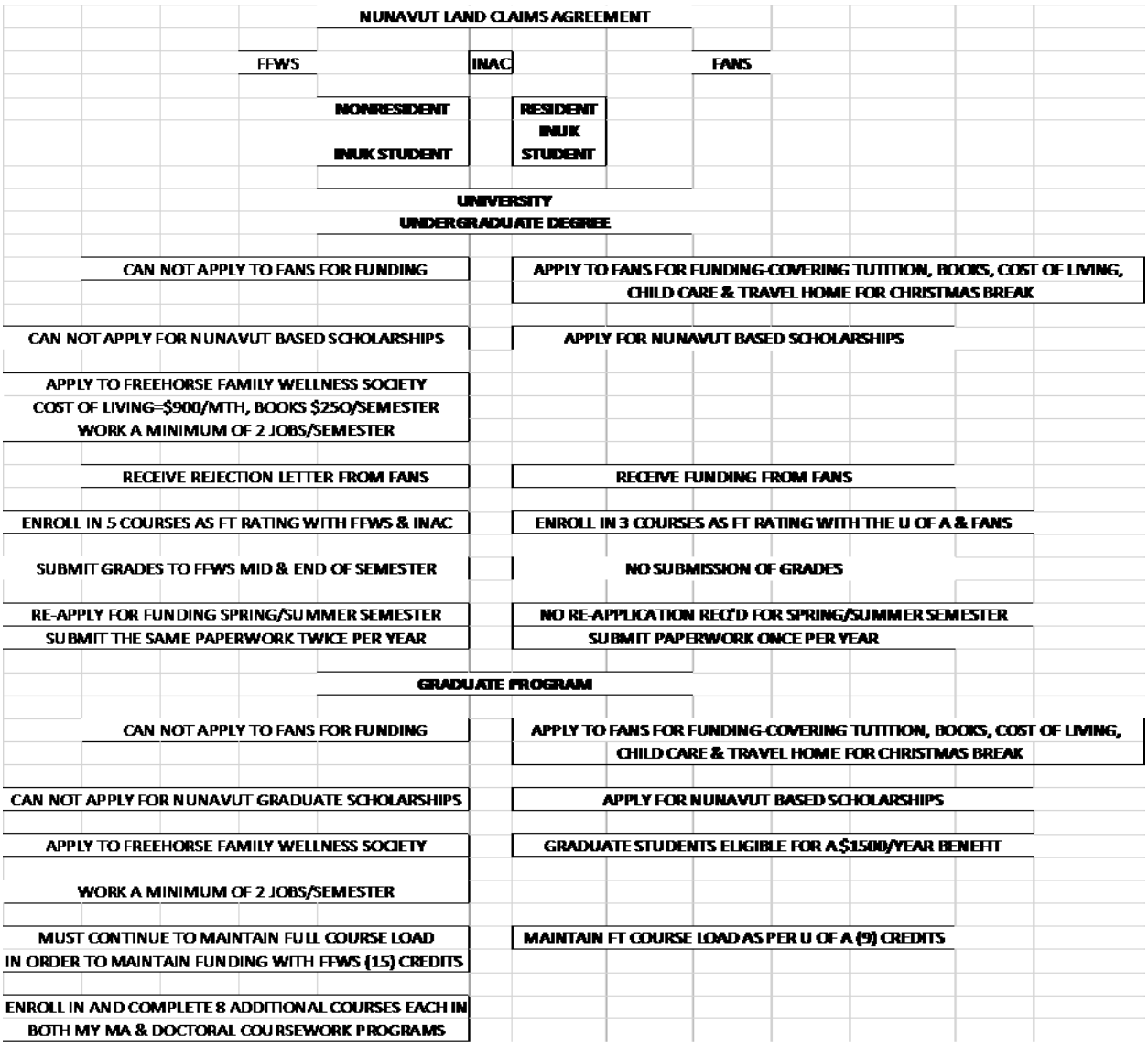
Nonresident Inuit university students may carry increased stress because of the expectations that they meet the requirements of both the educational institution, and the funder. Essentially, every Aboriginal student is placed into a more tenuous position of accountability, and transparency, making the pressure to perform academically greater. Aboriginal students literally have more at risk then their non-Aboriginal counterparts.

A part of that risk lies in the very fact that we are afraid to speak out publicly about what happens to us as nonresident Inuit students. Our funding, and what there is of it, may be threatened. Canada is a country of colonization however, for Aboriginal students the layers of colonization lie heavily within us. We often spend our lives adhering to systems in which we are forced to be an active participant to enable ourselves to give back to our own communities and create better lives for our next generations.

Thus, the significance of this study lies in informing those who are in power, university presidents, provosts, MLA's and politicians. The significance also lies in informing Aboriginal representatives in the government and corporate structures of Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, and the Inuit within the corporate groupings of NTI, ITK, and every land claims representative in Canada. The greatest significance may lie in informing all Inuit and making clear what happens to each of us through a land claims agreement.

1.10 The sponsorship stream

The next page is a simple process flow chart for the funding of Inuit students:



As a nonresident beneficiary of Nunavut, I am the student on the left side of the chart, I must deal with the Freehorse Family Wellness Society (FFWS) as the administrator of my post-secondary funding. If I do not meet the requirements of both the institution and the funder, INAC is within its rights to withdraw my funding.

> *I become a well awarded writer from the university. The awards make me realize that I am becoming commodified, and I begin to limit my interactions with all people on campus. I am sitting with a trusted white prof one day, sharing stories and drinking coffee. She asks me, "Your sons…do they all have one father?" I am stunned. I do not what to say, but I find myself thinking, "Would you ask this question to a white woman?" I put myself into a deeper form of isolation and stop interacting with most campus educators.*

The incongruity of my situation is that I am not First Nations. I am not a member of the Indian Act; however, I must abide by the orders issued by INAC (Freehorse Family Wellness Society, 2017-2018, p. 2). If I were a resident in the territory of Nunavut, I would not have to deal with Freehorse Family Wellness Society at all. The term "nonresident" is what changes the scope of my educational funding, and the funding of all Inuit university students who reside outside of their ancestral communities.

I interacted with two lawyers before I began this research, the lawyer for both the NLCA, and the lawyer for the Edmonton-based lawsuit *Kiviaq vs. Canada* which remains an active case in the Alberta Federal Law Courts, despite the April 24, 2016 death of the Inuk lawyer (Robb, 2016)[6]. Each lawyer confirmed that the added classification of an Inuit person as a "nonresident" increases the complexity of the distribution of benefits through NLCA.

Not only are nonresident Inuit not included in the NLCA which causes them to remain without representation, the Inuit of Canada remain undefined by the Federal government. As reported by Bonesteel, "Although the Indian Act continues to outline Federal responsibility of First Nations there is no corresponding legislation or policy for Inuit" (Bonesteel, 2008, p. 7), and the lack of a definition contributes to the minimal benefits that are extended to southern-based Inuit residents. Kiviaq furthered the dilemma by stating:

[66] John Merritt is the lawyer for the NLCA and has been for the past 30 years. He and I spoke in November 2016 and he confirmed that nonresident Inuit were not considered in the NLCA. Terry Glancy is the lawyer for Kiviaq's case and he supplied the initial court documents required to file the case. Kiviaq filed under the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Section 35 (2). His case asks that all Aboriginal Canadians receive equal benefits.

> We [the Inuit] need to be defined in law in this country. We don't exist in law and the government is the one thing that can make us exist. The government doesn't say the Inuit, Inuk (which is singular) or Eskimo of Nunavut, because we are not defined in law…but my dog is (Kiviaq update (2008), n.d.).

The purpose of my study is to benefit the Inuit Canadian community at large by examining how nonresident Inuit students complete a university degree when:

(a) they cannot legally seek educational financial assistance from their ancestral territory because of their geographical location
(b) they cannot apply for a student loan from their ancestral territory because of their geographical location
(c) they cannot apply for northern-based scholarships because of their geographical location
(d) they must adhere to the many rules of the third-party funding administrator because of their location
(e) their authenticity as an Inuit person is questioned because of their geographical location
(f) the universities from which they are attaining their degrees may be completely unaware of the barriers that hinder a nonresident Inuit student's ambition

By untangling how the negotiators, and current Nunavut politicians put the land claim together my study examines how some nonresident Inuit undergraduate or graduate students may be left to struggle through the highest level of

> *During the second-year of my MA degree, the year that I am writing my thesis, I receive email from Freehorse Family Wellness. In order to keep my funding, I must enroll in and complete additional coursework. The other Aboriginal members of my cohort are not forced to take on more courses. I ask my funding advisor why I have to take more classes. She tells me that if I do not take additional courses INAC will think that "You're just lying around on the couch." I need the income. I take on more coursework. I continue to work three jobs. Exhaustion never leaves me.*

education in Canada. That is not to say that all nonresident Inuit students struggle: there may be some who have more financial equability and a more balanced university/work life. It must always be remembered that Inuit students have succeeded, and there are Inuit adults who have earned university degrees.

All Aboriginal Canadians who are university degree holders should be celebrated. However, we must consider the barriers and systems that are in place that may hinder success, which in turn diminishes hope. We must ponder why certain systems are disregarded, making them the norm within post-secondary institutions.

Above all, my study is designed to inform the post-secondary establishments that may be unaware that there are structures operating within their institutions that are, silently preventing the success of nonresident Inuit students.

We all deserve to dream, and we all deserve to have our dreams become a reality.

1.11 The significance of my study

The funding and academic dilemmas of a nonresident Inuk post-secondary student is not public knowledge. My experience leads me to think that if this information were public knowledge nonresident Inuk students would be entering and graduating from universities at a much higher rate. The significance of my work is to bring to policymakers within educational institutions, and to the public at large, an awareness of the predicaments of the nonresident Inuk student. Perhaps, educational institutions will take seriously my findings, and act to facilitate

positive change that will bring fairness to nonresident Inuit students thus increasing their educational success rates.

Inuit are no longer tundra-bound northern people. We live in the southern areas of Canada too. Yet, the focus of the literature about Inuit living outside of the north, is on Inuit who have made a recent north-to-south transition (Morris, 2016, Patrick, 2008, 2013, 2015), and the reasons why (Kishigami, 1999, 2002, 2008). Generally, the literature focuses on Inuit in either Montreal or Ottawa and does not address the many Inuit born and raised outside of the north.

Patrick (2013) sums up the problem this way, "…urban Inuit are often sidelined with respect to national bodies dealing with Inuit in the North but also in the public imaginations." (p.64). According to the Nunavut Bureau of Statistics, the out-migration of Inuit from that territory averages 189 per year, between 1999 – 2011 (Nunavut Bureau of Statistics, 2010) or 2,268 Inuit in a 10-year time frame.[7] Acknowledgement should be given to the many Inuit out-migrants who have since birthed children and created families in the southern areas of Canada.

They are now like me, labelled as "nonresident." The population of nonresident Inuit will continue to grow. It is important to address what happens to Inuit who live in the south, not only from a programming standpoint but from a personal level-how are these Inuit affected by virtue of where they live? Our voices must be heard.

[7] The out-migration statistics gathered by the Nunavut Bureau of Statistics is based on the re-direction of the child benefit monthly cheques from Nunavut to areas outside of the territory. The statistic could be considered low as not all out-migrants may be parents with children under the age of 18.

I am accepted for the doctoral program offered through Indigenous Peoples Education. Again, I am burdened with additional coursework in order to keep my funding. Once I complete all the required courses, I am placed into the position of asking professors to supply one-on-one directed reading courses. The same situation occurred during the completion of my master's degree. I am fortunate that professors agree to work with me, however, it is not a solution. It is only a temporary band-aid and another way that I manage to negotiate a system that, in truth, works against me.

1.12 Limitations

In the case of my study some of the limitations had to do with me and the fact that I am one of my own study subjects. I volunteered as vice-president with the Inuit Edmontonmiut (Inuit Edmontonmiut, n.d.) group from August 2015 to November 2016. It was hard work, and I experienced what it is like to be at the grassroots of a community that was resurrecting itself for the third time in Edmonton. I eventually realized two things. One, I couldn't manage the obligations I had with the university and with the group. Both were tiring. One had to be eliminated. Second, I felt that I was not accepted by the group members because I am not fluent in Inuktitut and had not arrived from the north. It wasn't easy to let my volunteer time with the Inuit group go, but it was necessary. The feeling of rejection from my own was very difficult to carry, and I had to move on. I don't regret any of the experience that I gained from my volunteer position.

While helping with the Inuit group I became a part of the Urban Aboriginal Strategy sessions held in Ottawa and travelled there three times over the course of a year. Through this work I began to meet more Inuit who lived in urban areas. In October 2016, I spoke at the Inuit Studies Conference in St. John's, Newfoundland (Inuit Piusitukangit 20th Biennial Inuit Studies Conference, n.d.). Again, I met more Inuit who are like me, born and raised in the south, and studying at various universities. I spoke about the state of limbo into which nonresident Inuit are placed, and the difficulties encountered by degree-seeking Inuit, difficulties that ranged from

funding to personal identity. In the spring of 2017, I spoke about these same issues at University of Alberta, and at an educational conference held through the University of Saskatchewan, in Saskatoon (2017 Think Indigenous Education conference, n.d.).

What each engagement taught me, was that the issues facing southern Inuit Canadians is unknown and unspoken information. I was fortunate to have warm, kind reactions from each audience. In some cases, young Inuit wept, because they had never heard anyone speak about the difficulties that they were experiencing as southern-based Inuit students. It all sounds so good, but in truth, the limits do lie within how I think I have been perceived by northern-based Inuit, and how I perceive them.

Identity, especially in the context of an Aboriginal person who has not experienced community beyond his/her own extended family, may be a life-lived process. My own Inuk identity is the one aspect I will always be working on and with and keeping in check, by allowing other Inuit to become a part of the identity conversation with me. I cannot say that my knowledge of the southern Inuk community is limited. I know and stay in contact with many Inuit students across Canada, but it is time for me to be more vulnerable with them.

It is time for me to understand that we can all carry one truth, the truth of being made outsiders by our own peoples, and it is time to realize that it is not what our ancestors wanted or would have done. It is time to honour our ancestors and to live according to their remnant, the wisdom they afforded us. My mother used to say to me, when I was having a hard time, "There's no sweat in the Arctic Norma!" and we would laugh together. She was telling me that life will always get better, and that we each will find a personal peace. We must live through it and know that obstacles can be good.

The comfort of imagined absolute and deep structures allows us, women and men,

> to avoid responsibility for the state of the world. When we say, "that's just the way it is," when we place responsibility on some centered presence, some absolute, foundational principles outside the realm of human activity, we may, in fact, be acting irresponsibly…we [must] examine our own complicity in the maintenance of social justice (St. Pierre, 2000, p. 484).

We are living through a time of reconciliation in Canada, and many universities are wrestling with becoming more Aboriginal inclusive not only with the physical and visible structures of a university campus, but also the course content involved in each institution (Lingley, 2016). Aboriginal students overall are known to arrive to universities with barriers, but what needs to be examined are the many more barriers that have been built within the systems that are designed to bring goodness to an Aboriginal student's life.

In this study is the truth-filled information of some of the obstacles that an Inuk student must overcome. It is time for the institution and the Inuk student to come together and to focus on, "…how one might live an ethical life in relation to others in order to make one's life into an object for a sort of knowledge…to give the maximum possible brilliance to their lives" (St. Pierre, 2004, p. 338).

Applying for sponsorship for university was my first formal declaration of my Inuitness. My sons and I had our Nunavut beneficiary cards but used them for health coverage only. The beneficiary card is issued through NTI is called an NTI Enrolment Card. The cards do not bear a photograph of the holder.

Although the card does not say that I am a nonresident and does provide proof of ancestry, when describing myself I feel that I am forced to say that I am an urban, nonresident beneficiary of Nunavut with Whale Cove as my ancestral hamlet and land base. The formation

I apply for finding twice each university calendar year. I am never guaranteed funding. I am treated as a new applicant each fall and spring semester. I fill out approximately 25 pages of documentation with each application. Twice each year I initial a post-secondary sponsorship agreement form that contains 25 rules that I must abide by.

of my identity becomes multi-layered with the additional words "urban" and "nonresident" and can in effect distance me even more from being accepted as an Inuit woman. My existence as an Inuit woman literally falls into oblivion. This is the case for many southern Inuit.

There were also the concrete limitations. I did not travel to other universities to interview Inuit students, because of funding. I used email and for the telephone interviews, I used a tape-recording application and transcribed them. Once they were transcribed I sent them out for approval to the interviewees who lived in Ottawa and Montréal. These forms of data gathering make the personal touch impossible, and the professional's facial expressions were unseen. As Wolcott (2008) laments, "Emotion was the enemy" (p.236), but in my case I did not have the opportunity to see and deal with the emotion of the interviewees in the way that I would have liked to.

1.13 Delimitations

For this thesis, I have interviewed four Inuit post-secondary students, who have completed or are nearing the completion of their university degree. I chose students who are more advanced in their degree because of their experience. They have learned to steer their way through the existing systems established by the universities that they are or were in attending and the funders they have or had to comply with. As expressed earlier, this study does not include Inuit students in trade school programs.

Because of the exclusive focus of my study, the literature review reflects the establishing of Inuit Canadians who do not live in the northern reaches of Canada, and how land claims agreements affects Inuit who are southern residents. The literature also reflects on the imaging

of Inuit historically and into modern times. The way in which the Inuit are presented through literature, the formation of policy and how the results of land claims agreements filters into the consciousness of Canadian citizens. I examine how the public imagination conceives of Inuit Canadians. The interviews I conducted with the three professionals are used to supplement the literature review, as the literature on Inuit in the south is very small. The three professionals, through their work, brought to life southern Inuk living.

I studied Inuit in the south only, and did not include Inuit who came south, completed a post-secondary education and returned north. The growing population of southern resident Inuit who are recognized as land claims members are the focus of my study. Those who are land claims members who completed a degree and returned home do not experience the continued dichotomies of southern living. Framing my study on southern living Inuit post-secondary students is what makes my work unique and necessary.

As already established, the positioning of the nonresident Inuk student is distinct, and the use and understanding of "nonresident" is hidden. What requires discussion are the results of the southern Inuk student educating themselves outside of their ancestral territories, and all that this education process encompasses. What requires attention is bringing awareness of a specific body of post-secondary students to those in power, which will enable a better understanding of Inuit students' circumstances which in turn can lead to positive on-campus supports and change for them.

I had attended university for two years before I knew that there was an Aboriginal Student Support Centre. I did go there a couple of times but there were not any Inuit-specific supports when I was there. I never went back but eventually I did find other Inuit students on campus and was able to form long-lasting relationships with them. This does not mean that I did

not have good relationships with other First Nations and Métis students and professors. It does mean that on-campus representation of Inuit and obvious Inuit-specific supports were not visible. When a place that should have represented inclusivity leaves out a group of legally recognized Aboriginal Canadians, I had to wonder how that impacted the psyche of my fellow Inuit students. For myself, it made me self-identify more often, it made me speak up in class on behalf of Inuit Canadians and it made me advocate for Inuit overall. I know that I will always fulfill my obligation of gratitude towards my ancestors. The university provided a good training ground for me. However, Inuit in the south should not have to go hunting for one another in a space that is supposed to include them already.

1:14 Chapter summary

I will say that my research is very close to me. I live in the constructed injustice of the educational institution, as a southern Inuk student. I am in effect, an active participant in the policies and procedures that present obstacles to the completion of my doctoral degree. I say this because of the importance of my maintaining an ethical space as an Inuk researcher. The importance of self-check, and self-care are amplified for me. I enter my work with an understanding of goodwill towards the university and the many professors, and fellow students who have supported my work for the past nine years. I would like to extend that goodwill to all Inuit post-secondary students because, "Aboriginal students need a critical mass of peers, allies, and supporters who will help them reach their own potential and create their own success" (Battiste, 2013, p. 100).

In conclusion, I finally found what was lying right in front of me and came to realize the importance of telling the post-secondary educational funding stories that belong to all nonresident Inuit students. I finally found the work that will benefit my own.

In a separate box at the top of the sponsorship agreement form are the words: This post-secondary agreement must be signed, dated and returned to the FFWS office by (specific date). Additionally, each statement must be initialed in the space provided. (In bold) If it is not returned on the above date, I understand that my sponsorship will be immediately cancelled with no exceptions. My funding is reliant on the fulfillment of threats

Through statistics, legal word definitions, and my own positioning as the researcher and writer of this work, this chapter has described what a non-Nunangat Inuit person is and his/her access to benefits when living outside of a land claims area.

This chapter is the starting point to how a non-Nunangat student, someone who arrives at university with an Indigenous label begins to hunt his/her way through his/her post-secondary education. Chapter One sets the tone and placement of Inuit Canadians broadly and brings to the reader an understanding of what Inuit are by legal definitions assigned to Inuit from the north and from the south. It also clarifies myself as non-Nunangat Inuit person and student, and how my experience both inside and outside of the university was affected by my address.

The following chapter discusses the research methodology and the methods that were employed in this study. It is the chapter that discusses the use of an Indigenous ontology which frames the importance of my work and encourages the use of new information in the area of positive change.

It may be considered unconventional to place the methodology chapter before the literature review. However, the importance of Indigenous Research Methodology (IRM), and the strong contribution that IRM continues to make to academia is what encouraged me to place the methodology chapter where I have. It made sense to me as the researcher. I want my audience to understand why the use of IRM held a greater sense of responsibility to me as an

Inuit researcher, and therefore it was written first because of my own sense of responsibility to Inuit Canadians.

CHAPTER 2 - Research methods, methodology and theory

2.1 Research methods

Chapter one explained the complexities of what it means to be an Inuk who is living south of 60 while carrying an identity that is authorized by a northern territory. The geographical setting of an Inuk body limits not only the benefits extended to him/her but also their own sense of self as defined through land claims agreements. My research topic concerning the effects of living in the south as post-secondary Inuit students is a needed exploratory investigation. I received ethics approval via the University of Alberta's Research and Ethics Online (REMO) system on April 4, 2018 under the study ID number: 00080966. All the persons quoted in this work have given me permission to use their names.

I used a qualitative method for my study. I did not send out surveys or gather numerical data, nor was there a deductive result. Also, the research question started with the word "how" as opposed to "when, what or where." The tools consisted of a recording device, pen, paper, electronic storage devices on my cellphone and laptop, and a Universal Serial Bus (USB) stick. I am the human instrument, "whereby the data was mediated" [through me] "rather than through inventories, questionnaires or machines" (Simon, 2011, para. 2) or as stated by Wolcott (2005):

> As with most qualitative researchers, there is an impact equation in my mind: The realness of my settings compensates for the lack of a laboratory that might otherwise validate my claim. I conduct my inquiries in the real world, a world that the laboratory researcher attempts to manipulate control, and even replicate…I study in real reality; my efforts are devoted to describing and understanding the world just as it is. And yes, that is research (p. 217).

As the emic insider within this work, I am as much a participant as those who interviewed as I also included my own interactions with a post-secondary institution and the existing relationships that I had with the interviewees. I did intentionally make use of a homogenous purposive sampling, targeting five Inuit post-secondary students, including myself, as well as two Inuit professionals. All of us live outside of our northern land claims areas. I targeted a specific ethnic group who had two qualifiers: all the Inuit in my study had to be living outside of the Arctic circle and had to be recognized as beneficiaries of a land claims area.

2.2 Qualitative overview

Post-structural theory, dramaturgical coding and my own Indigenous Research Methodological (IRM) use of Inuit Quajimajatuqangit (IQ) as my own ontological understanding of the data results were used to complete my work. My study in effect, made use of three different but complimentary approaches to bring to light the struggles and successful navigations of Inuit post-secondary students inside and outside of a university.

I used post-structural theory as the lens for examining Inuit Canadian history and how that history affected the building of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) which in turn created limitations for southern Inuit. Post-structuralism was beneficial in that a genealogical understanding of the NLCA became more evident as did the concepts of north and south; the northern 60th parallel; and the roles of the institutions, the university, and the funder. I used post-structural theory to illustrate how the demands made through various institutions equaled forms of discipline imposed upon the post-secondary students:

> The concept of discipline is even more interesting when we think about it, not simply as a way of organizing systems of knowledge but also as a way of organizing people or bodies. Foucault has argued

> that discipline in the eighteenth century became formulas of dominations which were at work in schools, hospitals and military organizations. The most obvious forms of discipline were through exclusion, marginalization and denial. Indigenous ways of knowing were excluded and marginalized. (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012, p. 71).

Tuhiwai Smith points to a time frame: the 18th century. However, the use of discipline within institutions remains salient today. Also, post-structuralism as a theoretical lens allowed for the geographical and physical division between the northern and southern areas in Canada and the conceptions of Inuit as being people from long ago demonstrated further in this work. Tuhiwai Smith (2012) wrote, "Space is often viewed in Western thinking as being static or divorced from time" (p. 55), which in theory adds to the rationale of Inuit Canadians as being non-progressive people who are unable to be academics or thrive in modern day ways of life. The literature review that follows this chapter shows that Inuit become topical when either near death or having died.

Dramaturgical coding of the data forced me as the researcher to re-examine what was said many times over. I have spoken to researchers who have said they never use any form of coding because they don't like the sense of herding or categorizing people and their emotions and histories in a way that appears to be devoid feeling (Saldaña, 2013, p 38-40). Nevertheless, what I found was, that I had to focus more on what was spoken. I had to review and reflect on what the post-secondary students were expressing through objects, and tactics as well as the emotional energy needed to get through their post-secondary education. Saldaña (2013) stresses that "Dramaturgical coding, [sic] attunes the researcher to the qualities, perspectives, and drives of the participant" (p. 124).

Once the dramaturgical coding was assembled into its categories, the results were then interpreted ontologically through IQ. I used IQ because it is the unique Inuit understanding employed in my study to honour my Inuit ancestors and the seven Inuit participants in this work. I would expect nothing else of myself as an Inuit researcher. Inuit inherent knowledges and worldviews emerged through the use of IQ. IQ is my ontology and a demonstration of my natural understandings. Indigenous knowledges and worldviews are distinct and essential to all Aboriginal peoples globally.

2.3 Indigenous knowledge and worldview

Indigenous knowledge and worldviews lie in opposition to Western forms of knowledge and worldviews. "For Indigenous scholars, empirical knowledge is still crucial, yet it is not their only way of knowing the world around them" (Wilson, 2001, p. 58). I will state that I appreciate the many teachings of the university and the schools I attended while completing grades one through 12. My family moved every two years because of my father's military career but when I think of Indigenous knowledge, I think of it as something that is not printed in a book. I think of Indigenous knowledge as important knowledge that arrived to me through my own Inuk mom, through her blood, through her milk and through the way in which she influenced my lifelong values.

When I was a very small girl my family never had enough money to buy each of us six kids a bike. I received my first bike in grade three. It was an assortment of other broken bikes that my Father had pulled apart to create one new bike. It was green and had shiny silver fenders. I loved my bike. I talked to my bike. At night when I would pull her up the stairs of the porch, I would bend over and kiss her good night and whisper the promise of seeing her first thing in the morning.

That story sounds like a simple story and perhaps someone can say that every child remembers her first bike and that every child loved her first bike. Does every child talk to her bike? Does every child kiss it good night? Does every child promise to see her bike first thing in the morning? Does every child want to shelter her bike and keep it safe while she is away from it? I think there are very few who did or do.

Within Inuit knowledge and worldview, is the understanding that everything has a spirit. Nothing is inanimate; therefore, all people, plants, water, land and material objects are treated with the understanding that they are real, living objects that are to be respected and treated with importance.

> Traditional knowledge trains us in the art of survival. Treating everything with respect (as though it were a living thing) was key to fulfilling this expectation. People, land, rocks, water, wildlife, weather and the environment were all thought of in this way. This requirement for living respectfully meant understanding and being very conscious of people and one's surroundings (Kalluak, 2017, p. 43).

What has been passed down for many generations, simply hasn't stopped because of colonization. "The indigenous identity continuously confronts the colonial/imperial order and it is through such a perpetual confrontation that a sense of "indigenousness" is acquired" (Sefa Dei & Asqhar Zadeh, 2001, p. 302). In other words, I am grateful for the dichotomous understandings that I hold because in truth one challenges the other and my understandings of Indigenous knowledge and worldview are only strengthened because of the Western ways and understandings that I have learned through books.

Our Indigenous knowledge and worldview understandings continue inside of every Aboriginal person. The example of a little girl with her bike is just one of the many ways I was

taught but the teachings would not have been written down and published within a Western book. They are teachings that I learned through the examples of how each of my parents lived and how they taught me the importance and care that I must give back to the world.

Little Bear wrote, "S/he is a person who is adaptable and takes the world as it comes without complaint," (Little Bear, 2000), meaning that Indigenous peoples can and do make use of their Indigenous knowledges and worldviews daily, and do so with dignity. Indigenous knowledge and worldviews are in practice within this work. It is like my bike, something that is alive and treasured. "We must use our traditional knowledge and heritage to force a paradigm shift on the modernist view of society, self and nature" (Youngblood Henderson, 2000, p. 31) and this research pushes the norm. The results align with an Inuit worldview created through Inuit knowledge and through the Inuktitut terms and language that are used.

The Inuktitut language in the area of IQ emphasizes the understandings of Inuit and adds to and supports the Inuit characteristics and understandings of the Inuit post-secondary students interviewed and me as the Inuit researcher. Inuktitut is the language that lies within each of us. Although none of the participants including myself are fluent in the language, we are worthy of its use within this work.

2.4 Participant selection and data collection

My study participants consisted of seven Inuit and one non-Inuit lawyer. The study was broken into two parts. The first four interviews were conducted with the Inuit post-secondary students who represented the NLCA and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR), which are separate land claims agreements and regions in the north. The sampling is small. Although a total of seven Inuit students were invited into the study only four followed through, which can also be seen as an indicator of how few Inuit post-secondary students there are.

The second group of interviews involved three professionals, two of whom are Inuit and represent the Nunatsiavut (Labrador) agreement, a third land claims region. The interviews were semi-structured, and the participants had the questions well in advance of the interview. "Semi-structured interviews are conducted with a fairly open framework, which allows for focused, conversational, two-way communication. They can be used to both receive and give information" (Simon and Conradin, para 1, 2019). In each case the interviews lead to more conversational topics that had not been included in the interview questions but enhanced the study. At the time of the interviews what was not planned as a topic is what became the most important outcome of this work.

The Inuit post-secondary students are people with whom I share a friendship and a personal history. They are people who willingly gave of their time. I sent the students the interview questions for the interviews when they signed their consent forms. They were each given a month to prepare their responses. I flew into Edmonton from Victoria to conduct the student interviews. This study was conducted without specific research dollars or funding.

The interviews with the students ranged from 25 to 50 minutes with the average being 35 minutes. Two were conducted in a private office on the University of Alberta campus, as this was the location that was most convenient for two of the interviewees. Two were conducted in the home of one of the students. The chosen setting was what was most comfortable and convenient for each interviewee.

As stated earlier, not everyone requested to interview followed through. This was a surprise as three people had given a verbal commitment and choose to back out. I had to find at least two other Inuit post-secondary students. This was not easy as there are so few of us.

Also, one of the participants knew the subject of the study and upon interviewing choose not to discuss it as he/she did not want to speak of his/her funder in a negative way. Again, this was an unexpected event. I did ask that interviewee if he/she had an alternate subject to discuss and he/she did. Their interview did stay on track as the participant discussed his/her university experience. One professional I approached for an interview, simply did not respond although I had emailed him more than once. He is a government official and I choose not to pursue interviewing him. However, I do not feel that the integrity of my study was compromised because he had no input.

By flying into Edmonton, I was able to interview the post-secondary students face-to-face. This allowed me to observe their reactions to the questions, and the body language they each displayed, and to gauge their level of comfort. Of the four, one student did appear uncomfortable and did not sit close to me. I did ask if he/she would like to move closer but that was not an option for the student at the time.

Although there was an appearance of discomfort with one interview, I had a good friendship with each of the student interviewees prior to the interviews. It was important to me that my participants were Inuit who I had grown healthy and helpful relationships with. They are all people that I know well. I see the student interviewees as not only my peers but my friends not one of us is better than the other although we are each at different levels of education. The University of Alberta campus is not loaded with Inuit students and the students I interviewed were and always will be a part of my life inner circle. I chose them because I have faith in them. I chose them because I love them.

2.5 Use of Inuit protocol

Inuit do not smudge, nor do they consider tobacco a form of medicine or a gift. I feel that I have to say this because often, what is First Nations protocol is assumed to be Inuit protocol. I did ask an Inuit elder once, what I should do when I am in the room where smudging is occurring. I asked if I should step away. The response that I was given was that it is always important to honour other cultures and to participate in the smudging ceremony. There is no harm in prayer.

For Inuit having a kudlik or qulliq lamp burning in a room is a tradition because the qulliq is a lamp,

> that provides light and warmth to the Earth. The lamp is made from soapstone and is shaped like a half moon to hold oil for burning. It was generally made by the husband for his wife. This symbolized that she was the flame keeper of the home. On a deeper spiritual level, it also honours that women are life carriers ("Quilliq," 2017, para. 2).

I did not have a qulliq lamp burning in the room when I interviewed any of the participants, but I wish I could have. I did pray for each of them and I did make use of IQ.

As an Inuk researcher I am expected to put into practice the same IQ values that the post-secondary students did and which I used to finalize my data. I knew that it was important to be respectful (innuqatigiitsiarniq) to a participant who did not want to move closer. I also knew to maintain the IQ value of being open and welcoming (tunngararniq) towards the student who did not want to share the story of his/her own funding experience but had another experience to discuss that did focus on with his/her post-secondary education. The objective of my work was to serve (pijitsirniq) every participant because we were all working together (piliriqatigiingniq)

for a common cause to generate results that would help all post-secondary Inuit students no matter where they live. A change can only be made through consensus (aajiiqatgiingniq).

I knew to be patient. I knew to not interject once a question was asked. I knew to let the participants steer the conversation to where they were comfortable, but also to gently guide them back to the topic. One participant gave a very long description of the career he is now employed in and I thought it was important to let him speak his thoughts completely, although I did not use all those thoughts in the write-up that he eventually approved.

I had wanted to have a balanced number of male and female participants because I felt that a fair ratio would produce fair data. This study is not a gender comparison study, and in the end the number of Inuit males to females was higher. The research question, "How are non-Nunangat Inuit students making their way through university?" was addressed by each participant thoughtfully, and that is what mattered most.

The second group of three people I interviewed are the professionals who are working in various fields that support and sustain Inuit Canadian life. Because of distance, I interviewed them by phone. The questions I asked them were quite different from what I asked the students as the professionals had already each completed their post-secondary education and had spent several years each working within fields that are Inuit-specific. I used IQ with each of the professionals. One of the professionals I knew on a more personal level, one I had spoken to two years ago about my topic and one is someone I have had some contact with, and whom I admire for her valiant efforts within academia. Each of these interviews lasted a minimum of an hour.

I sent each interviewee a copy of the transcript and once the transcription was approved, I sent a copy of the written interview. When they returned the interview to me, I addressed their edits and changes. Chapters Four through Seven contain their approved interviews.

All of the participants are good people and their contribution to my study only increased the importance of the topic and made our relationships stronger. Had the relationships with each interviewee not existed, the integrity of this study may have been harmed. "If we step outside the community of Indigenous scholars, we can see the importance of relationship building in the everyday lives of most Indigenous people" (Wilson, 2008, p. 84). This statement applies to all relationships with all people, Indigenous and non-Indigenous. Therefore I am also grateful to the non-Indigenous lawyer who contributed to my work. Our entire lives are built on relationships and the importance of growing good ones.

2.6 Discourse and dissemination

This study is written in the language of academia and the colloquial. To those who are not used to it academic language can become a foreign language within its own right, and I would like my audience to be able to have a good grasp of my work and be able to draw on the findings in a way that is relevant and familiar to them. Making use of both forms of writing allows for that understanding. However, this does not mean that I do not expect those in academia and positions of government to read or think of my work in terms of simplicity. I think of my audience as a mixture of academic and non-academic readers.

I plan on sending my thesis to a broad audience ranging from northern and southern government and educational institutions in Canada including university and college libraries and northern community schools as well as the Inuit organizations, Inuit Tapirit Kanatami (ITK), Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. (NTI), Makivik Corporation, Tungasuvvingat Inuit Ottawa, Qikiqtani Association and the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation.

In post-structural theory:

Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. It is

> important to note that the concept of discourse in this usage, is not purely a "linguistics" concept. It is about language and practice. It governs the way that a topic can be meaningfully talked about and reasoned about (Hall, 2001, p. 72).

The importance of writing this work in the language of the everyday is that it allows me to make use of daily discourse that creates knowledge according to post-structural theory.

2.7 Post-structural theory

Post-structural theory is necessary to decipher the way in which Inuit Canadians are positioned within Canadian society. Post-structural theory allows for and makes use of historical texts, examining the unexamined, while framing and forming our present-day understanding in opposition of what is the norm or expected norm of mainstream societal values. In this study, the evolution of the NLCA is the central focus because the document has reshaped Inuit understandings of who we are in the world and more importantly who we are in relationship to one another because of our geographical locations.

"Poststructuralist researchers go beyond an interest in the working of particular 'discourses' to focus on the all-encompassing nature of discourse as the constructor not just of 'reality' but also our 'selves' (Strega, 2005, p. 237). Post-structural theory allows the researcher the freedom to move through time within a set of policies or concepts, and to shed light on how it is that we have arrived at what we consider to be our expectations of one another in today's world. By deconstructing *what is*, based on *what was*, post-structuralism does not present a "how-to-fix-it" approach. It instead allows the researcher to bring together results with a more informed understanding, and a more informed movement into the future of the topic and the subjects involved. In my work, Inuit who do not reside on the tundra are brought into the

conversation in terms of how land claims agreements directly and indirectly involve that specific population.

The structure of this study was informed by Michel Foucault, focusing on post-structural theory in the area surrounding enclosure or the concepts of space as created through discipline and discourse.

> It is the work of Michel Foucault that the poststructuralist principles of the plurality and constant deferral of meaning, and the precarious, discursive structure of subjectivity are integrated into a theory of language and social power which pays detailed attention to institutional effects of discourse and its role in the constitution and governments of individual subjects. Foucault has produced detailed historical analyses of the ways in which power is exercised, and individuals governed. Foucault's theory insists on historical specificity (Weedon, 1987, p. 104).

My work required an examination of the historical negotiations of the NLCA, and a close examination of the minutiae within it. The intricate details lie both inside of and outside of this published document that was the result of 20 years of negotiations.

Minutiae lies within policies and practices that were directed towards the Inuit prior to the notion of the agreement itself and have existed since the beginnings of the implementation of the claim. Post-structural theory became a tool of practicality in that it provided me as the researcher, with the lens that defined who was the subject. The discourse of each are and continue to be produced and placed against and within Inuit Canadians. Post-structural theory allows for marginalized populations to be understood and to have credibility within their circumstance; it is about examining how circumstance comes to position each person.

The positioning of persons is fluid and in a constant state of change within our society. Post-structural theory brings to light how "Feminists and other marginalized groups have explored complex relationships that exist among power, ideology, language and discourse…[and] maps the discursive processes through which the marginalized unintentionally participate in constructing their own subjugated identities" (Strega, 2005, p. 216). It is the use of a post-structural theoretical lens that has brought both clarity to the understanding of Inuit marginalization and the workings of it within Canada. Post-structural theory examines how the Inuit themselves have taken an active role in the permission of separation from one another because of the perception of an invisible border that exists only within geographical maps. Spivak (1993) offers:

> Foucault, and others have given us analyses with which to examine existing conceptions of the subject and to open up that category to re-inscriptions. Foucault (1982) writes that the goal of his work "has been to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects" …this work is always about employing deconstructions and the ethical imperative of practicing a "persistent critique" of "what one cannot not want" (p. 284).

Post-structural theory is about thinking of why and how we think in the terms that we do and being able to reconcile our knowledge in a way that is good.

An assumption could be that Inuit did not start out as people who looked upon one another with difference by reason of where we lived, and we must think of what makes us do this today. There are structures and rules that we live within that influence our thinking and may justify our making use of colonial measures of one another despite our knowing that those same measures created incredible harm for our ancestors.

Post-structural theory is critical of the creation of institutions and structures and the genealogy of how this has occurred. It is not meant to solve this or any other problem that Inuit suffer under, but it does provide the theoretical lens required to analyze how it is that Inuit have arrived at very real and persistently negative life circumstances, including what may influence how we appear to one another..

Inuit are placed into outdated imaginings of what we each look like, act like and smell like. As such we are not permitted into the present-day as modern people and are held prisoner to the images of long ago which are reborn and kept alive through various programming. The constant renderings and thoughts of Inuit as non-progressive peoples who are stilled in time drives not only my creative work but my academic research. As described by Prado (1995):

> In offering philosophical descriptions Foucault aspires to be what Harold Bloom calls a strong poet-a thinker who redefines himself or herself in new terms, who invents new metaphors, and so provides a new vocabulary for the rest of us. Strong poets are the creators of new logical spaces wherein fresh thoughts can be thought and familiar things redescribed. They are the innovators who enable us to accomplish things not previously imaginable in our old vocabularies (p. 49).

One of the aims of this work through post-structural theory is to provide the reimagining of Inuit Canadians as we are today, and to give certainty to our futures, a future in which we do not place judgement upon one another, a future that is inclusive and abundant in the celebration of being Inuit first and only, no matter where we stand. As Aboriginal Canadians we must remember that:

> Western knowledges, philosophies and definitions of human nature form

> what Foucault has referred to as a cultural archive and what some people might refer to as a "storehouse" of histories, artefacts, ideas, texts and/or images, which are classified, preserved, arranged and represented back to the West (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012, p. 47).

I needed the linear guidance that post-structuralism provides. Post-structuralism closely examines the language in use within institutions that society has created and provides a linkage to our own behaviors and how our behaviors are shaped and influenced.

The 60th parallel, is an imaginary border, influences how northern and southern Inuit think of one another. It is a humanly constructed line that manipulates our behavior towards one another. Through post-structuralism I could see how an undetectable border creates difference between northern and southern residing Inuit, firstly, through enclosure, which leads to separation and initiates an analytical space with segregated populations. The result is a space of isolation in which both northern and southern Inuit live and work and educate themselves.

The southern Inuk student arrives at university already operating in a space of isolation and is more susceptible to docility or passiveness through the threats or punishments of both the funder and the institution. The Inuk student, who is already isolated by an enclosed space is now easier to scrutinize or surveil resulting in a post-structurally based unit or ranking of them..

The use of post-structuralism is mapped out as follows:

Post-structuralism via the 60th parallel
CREATES BEHAVIOR/DIFFERENCE
↓
CREATES ENCLOSURE OF N vs S
↓
CREATES AN ANALYTICAL SPACE
↓
RESULTING IN SEGREGATION/ISOLATION

Post-structuralism via southern Inuk student
CREATES DOCILITY THROUGH PUNISHMENT
↓
SOUTHERN INUK STUDENT ARRIVES ISOLATED
↓
MORE SUSCEPTABLE TO SURVEILLANCE THROUGH INSTITUTIONS
↓
EASILY TARGETED AS A UNIT/RANK

2.8 Inuit as defined through enclosure

> Foucault writes in *Discipline & Punish* (1978):
>
> …discipline proceeds from the distribution of individuals in space. To achieve this end, it employs several techniques. (1) Discipline sometimes requires *enclosure,* the specification of a place heterogeneous to all others and closed in upon itself. It is the protected place of disciplinary monotony (p. 141).

The word enclosure is defined as, “an area that is sealed off with an artificial or natural barrier ("Definition of Enclosure," 2018). In Canada the north/south divide is expressed as the 60th parallel. It appears as such ("60th parallel north in Canada," 2018):

This simplified mapping demonstrates the points of enclosure between the northern and southern reaches of Canada and positions all Canadians on either one side or the other of a humanly constructed line within our geographical imaginations. It is clear that Nunavut, the Northwest Territories and the Yukon lay above the 60th parallel while British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario lie underneath. An effective space of enclosure is created through mapping. The space of enclosure created through invisible borders, also allows Canadians to distinguish whether they are northern or southern people, thus creating difference.

In Canada the sense of geographical difference is extended to our understandings and conceptualizations of the environment in each area. Our perceptions of the climate, terrain, and animals that inhabit each area of the north or south are blended with our understandings and visualizations of the people who occupy each enclosure. Each enclosure allows us to create an understanding of the people who we think would normally live within a northern or southern confine. We are thus creating not only difference but separation.

The definition of the word "enclosure" includes a "manmade or natural barrier." Recognizing the ways, in which we are influenced through curriculum it is fair to assume that we can as Canadians see difference in one another based on location, and we may see difference in one another as Inuit Canadians living on either side of an intangible line when we are each recognized beneficiaries of Nunavut. Enclosure as a form of population distribution opens restrictions and redefines how Inuit may view one another. As stated by Donald:

> Ethical relationality is an ecological understanding of human relationality that does not deny difference, but rather seeks to more deeply understand how our different histories and experiences position us in relation to each other. This form of relationality is ethical because it does not overlook or invisibilize the particular historical, cultural, and social contexts from which a particular person understands and experiences living in the world. It puts these considerations at the forefront of engagements across frontiers of difference (Donald, 2009, p. 6).

If we as Inuit Canadians take the time to understand how we internalize our imposed differences of one another, and stop qualifying one another based on our location, we could in fact become a stronger, more cohesive group of Aboriginal Canadians, and a force to be recognized no matter where we live. Enclosure, as a form of discipline and distribution works against us.

2.9 Inuit living within an analytical space

Not only does the 60th parallel create a border representing a controlled space of difference and population distribution, it also creates a space of surveillance. Surveillance is a term that is normally thought of as a way to watch a person who is within a locked, limited or closed space. However, this term can be used to think of Inuit who are in the south or north as

being secured in a penitentiary of sorts. A space that is confining and whereby Inuit are locked away from one another while being scrutinized.

A controlled space creates surveillance, including the way in which, "the mechanisms of power that frame the everyday lives of individuals; an adaptation and a refinement of the machinery that assumes responsibility for and places under surveillance their everyday behavior, their identity, their activity, their apparently unimportant gestures" (Foucault, 1978, p. 77).

The NLCA states the requirements for becoming a beneficiary of Nunavut:

"Inuit" means:

(a) …references of a general historical nature, all those members of aboriginal people, sometimes known as Eskimos, ***that has traditionally used and occupied, and currently uses and occupies, the lands and waters of the Nunavut Settlement area*** [emphasis added] but does not include persons enrolled in any other Canadian aboriginal land claim agreement (H.R. Doc. No. Agreement between the Inuit of Nunavut settlement area and her Majesty the Queen in right of Canada, 1993).

The allusion of the word, "nonresident" lies in the original document of the NLCA, however the actual use of the word "nonresident" is not stated outright. Adding the words, "currently uses and occupies, the lands and waters of the Nunavut Settlement Area" suggest that if you are not an Inuk residing in Nunavut, you do not fall under the definition of what the word Inuit means according to Federal Government of Canada. The NLCA is the inception or starting point of difference between Inuit who live in the north and those who reside in the south.

The word usage in the original land claims agreement places into practice a disciplinary measure within the document, stating that through federal or non-Inuit language that, "Discipline organizes an analytical space" (Foucault, 1978, p. 143). In effect, according to the document

Inuit who are not currently making use of the lands and waters of Nunavut become non-existent. The interpretation here could be that, you are only Inuit if you reside in Nunavut.

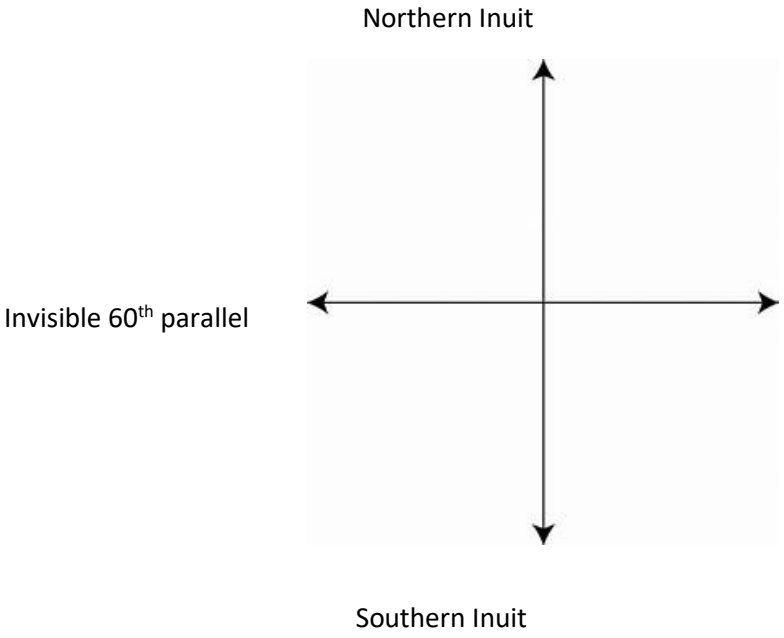
2.10 Inuit as a unit of ranking

Following the original NLCA document, a second document was produced in 2004, *A Plain English Guide to the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement*. Under Article 35 of that document, which addresses enrolment, "A beneficiary of the agreement does not need to live in the Nunavut Settlement Area." According to a sidebar, "Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated enrolment manual was last updated in 2003. It sets out the guidelines of who can be added to the enrolment list when the rules in Article 35 are not clear enough" (Nunavut Tunngavik incorporated, 2004, p. 70). I emailed a NTI employee on November 7, 2018 asking for a copy of the guide. The response was, "We don't give out our enrolment manual. It is for office use only. What did you want to check out?" (personal communication, November 7, 2018). I thanked the employee for his time and instead brought this issue up with the lawyer, John Merritt. The answer to why the guide was updated is in his interview chapter.

I was curious because what is not stated is why there was, over the course of a decade, from 1993-2003, a change in whether or not the Nunavut beneficiary was, 'making use of the lands and waters" of Nunavut in order to be Inuit as per the original definition stated in the NLCA. This demonstrates that:

> The unit is, therefore, neither the territory (unit of dominations), nor the place (unit of residence), but the *rank*: that one occupies in a classification, the point at which, [sic] a line and a column intersect, the interval in a series of intervals that one may traverse one after the other. Discipline is an art of rank, a technique for the transformation of arrangements. It individualizes bodies by location that does not

give them a fixed position, but distributes them and circulates them in a network of relations (Foucault, 1978, p. 146).



The ranking of Inuit bodies according to a definition of the word Inuit by the Canadian Government as, “The Inuit people are the Aboriginal people of Arctic Canada” (Library and Archives Canada [GOC], 2018). This creates a ranking of Inuit by virtue of a geographical location. Inuit in the southern areas of Canada are not included within the Government definition making location one of the distinct definitions of an Inuit person as, “Aboriginal people of Arctic Canada.”

The ranking is created by an invisible line and does not include the inherent ways of Inuit, the ways of knowing and being, the memories that lie within our blood no matter where we are living. It is for these reasons that I have chosen IRM as the data collection filter used within my work.

2.11 Indigenous research methodology (IRM)

I will admit that making use of IRM, as the interpretive guide for the data that I gathered did enhance the understandings and as evidenced by Tuhiwai Smith (2012):

> A research methodology is a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed. Indigenous methodologies are often a mix of existing methodological approaches and indigenous practices. The mix reflects the training of indigenous researchers, which continues to be within the academy and the parameters and common-sense understandings of research which governs how indigenous communities and researchers define their activities (p. 144).

In the case of IRM, I will say that it is not essentialist. It varies by the Aboriginal understandings of the Aboriginal researcher. In my study, the way in which I interviewed Inuit subjects, and the interview questions I used, were based on my understandings as an Inuk researcher. Therefore, the way I approached my work, is unique to this study. However, I do realize that as an Indigenous researcher that:

> the question of how researchers work with and select research methods is complex. For Indigenous researchers, the complexity takes specific forms, usually forms that are embedded with the values and beliefs about human interaction. These values and beliefs are inherent to the culture implicated in the research, and if the researcher is a member of that particular cultural group, the challenges can be even more complex. Many, if not most, Indigenous scholars engage in contemporary research for the explicit purpose of bringing benefits to their communities and their people (Weber-Pillwax, 2004, p. 78).

I used that quote to demonstrate that my work is not work that I do solely for myself, as an Inuk researcher, I have the understandings of an Inuk and can bring good to my own people. It is not a burden, and the work I completed deserved an Inuk researcher.

I have a strong sense of obligation towards Inuit, and must remember what Shawn Wilson (2001) says about the relational accountability:

> to me Indigenous methodology means talking about relational accountability. As a researcher, you are answering to *all your relations* when you are doing research…rather than asking about validity or reliability, you are asking, "How am I fulfilling my role in this relationship?" (p. 177).

I must always remember that when I research, what I speak, write and produce will be representative of all my relations. For myself the words, "all my relations" symbolizes all my family members, past, present and future. My job is to honour each of them. I know that without each of my ancestors, I would not be where I am today.

However, IRM is not only about our relations with one another, whether through blood or through history, it is the very fact that:

> as individuals, we are taught to be responsible for ourselves, we are reminded that we must never think of ourselves in isolation. Everything we do, every decision we make, affects our family, our community…the idea of kinship is based on the concrete observation that each of us is totally dependent on everything else (Steinhauer, 2002, p. 77).

We do not, as people function in a world without affecting everyone and everything around us. We can operate, and often think that we are operating as a singular being, carrying a certain

amount of power in the world around us, but in truth as Aboriginal peoples we do not operate on an individual basis. We recognize that our place in the world is to produce good, on behalf of every single human being and all life forms that surround us. We are dependent on one another whether we are a person or a rock.

Natan Obed, the national leader representing Inuit in the north only, is quoted as commenting at the Inuit Studies conference 2016:

> I often try to educate whoever I'm talking to on the differences in the way that we come up with our evidence (Western versus academic tradition). The respect for Inuit traditions and Inuit knowledge has to be parallel to and not subservient to Western knowledge or academic knowledge (Obed, para 4, 2016).

What Obed is making clear is that Indigenous knowledge, specifically Inuit knowledge is as valuable as Western knowledge. It should be given the same weight in terms of what knowledge is in a Western institution, and he places importance on Inuit as the researchers of Inuit. I am not revolting against the system when I make use of an Indigenous research methodology, I am enhancing and contributing to it. One does not supersede the other.

I spoke earlier about the fact that I'm not fluent in what could and should been my first language – Inuktitut. I spoke about never having left footprints in Nunavut, or Whale Cove. I spoke about silenced Aboriginality in a home where my folks worked hard for their six kids. I know that I may be seen as not real or authentic enough. I may be the inauthentic Inuk. The "almost Eskimo." These labels are not new to me. This is my daily existence, as it is for all Aboriginal Canadians who are marked and measured by colonial understandings of what

1.I understand and agree that this agreement is for the current sponsorship period only. I must reapply for every following sponsorship period.

2.I understand and agree that I will submit a copy of my grades by: in order to avoid a hold being placed on my sponsorship.

This yet another example of the constant threat my funding is under. I try to tell FFWS that the university does not have official grades ready by the date they require. I cannot fulfill item 2 on time. I ask if FFWS would move their date back. They tell me that the university should move their date ahead.

Aboriginal people are. I have felt this from other Inuit, and from every non-Inuit person I know when I identify. I often wonder if I wore a sealskin vest and walked into a room carrying a bowl of muktuk, would those around me think of me as the "real Inuk."

I write all of this because I know I must justify being a non-fluent Inuk, born and raised in the south, who dares to make use of IRM because some may think that I am not authentic enough to employ it. Some may think that it is not inherent to my being and therefore, I should not use it, let alone, own it. To those who question me, I say, "It is mine, and below is written how I know it is, and yes, I own it."

2.12 Blood memory

Blood memory was a concept that I was introduced to during doctoral coursework through the specialization of Indigenous People's Education (Hampton, 1995; Steinhauer, 2002; Holmes, 2002; Weber-Pillwax, 2009; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). It was something that made sense to me, but only after I had given it a great deal of thought. I had to think about why I have always found it easy to relate to and recognize all Aboriginal people. I have always been more relaxed around Aboriginal people as compared to non-Aboriginal people. The sound of a drum still brings me comfort.

I thought about the Inuit and First Nations women and their children, that my mother befriended as I was growing up, and their presence within our household. My mother did not give of herself freely when it came to others, and very much limited her contact with other

military wives. There were Aboriginal women who entered our house, and I had to think of why I was like my mom in that same way of extending friendship to a select few.

I also had to think about why it is so easy to write northernly located short stories. I do write about a place that I have never been to. As I am writing I can see the ancestors, and other Inuit characters so very clearly. I have said that when an idea comes for a short story, or a poem, the people I am writing about and to are living in my apartment, and they stay until the writing is complete. Publicly, I will say that in jest, but in truth I know that they are with me while I am writing. In truth, I know I must tell their story in an honourable way. They won't leave, until I do.

When I think about my use of IQ, or what I have always known, I must think about how I connect to the land that I am on. I know that it is important to me to be respectful towards the land, no matter where I am. I also have to think about if I can connect to a place that I have never been to and a place that distinguishes me as an outsider.

It's not that I don't want to go to Nunavut, it is simply that I have not had the opportunity to make the trip. I would like to see the places that my folks and older siblings have left their footprints on. My family left the north because of my father's first military posting, and because my oldest brother and oldest sister were placed into day school. There are reasons why Inuit leave their homelands.

However, I am here in a city-therefore I am classified as urban. That does not mean that I am less than, it means that I am in this specific spot, for a specific reason. I do relate to an urban scape, by acknowledging the ancestors who brought me here, by paying attention to what is around me, people, buildings, and the wind. These are important elements of my daily life and how I live and survive. By going for walks and giving thanks to the trees that are still standing.

By knowing that I am not in control, and that I am placed in this spot to bring goodness to who, and what I can.

> In a country where "authenticity" is always demanded of Indigenous subjects, we do not have to justify our mixed-bloodedness…our bodies tell us who we are. The concept of blood memory also reassures us to our cultural survival…blood memory promises us a direct link to the lives our ancestors made manifest in the flesh of their descendants. …blood memory promises us we can claim our ancestors' experiences as our own, we can recreate our cultures based on what we carry in our genes. …blood memory is also something that is impossible to deny. In deep ways our bodies do have a knowledge all their own (Lawrence, 2004, p. 201).

Blood memory, to my way thinking isn't always about being a victim of intergenerational trauma. Blood memory brings with it, beauty. Blood memory brings graciousness, not all our ancestors' memories are bad memories. Aboriginal peoples are born skilled. Aboriginal peoples are born strong.

> We do not start life as a blank disk. Rather, in all of us, certain talents, skills and even inherited knowledge are embedded genetically at birth. To use Gazzaniga's (2000) terms, "The brain comes loaded." …And I would include "remembering things, we have never learned" in that more subtle lexicon of things that can be inherited and transmitted genetically (Treffert, 2010, p. 60-61).

Treffert's work demonstrates not only that Aboriginal people believe in the power of genetics, and the composition of each person's genes, but that genetics also entails a myriad of other elements, one of which is, a brain that arrives with memories that lie in wait for us to make use of them.

Cora Weber-Pillwax (2009) states, "…blood memory is tied to your own people. The theory is if you have the blood of Cree ancestors, you have the Cree memories connected to those ancestors. But it's really your choice as to whether you use that or let it go" (p. 339). In short, I have explored and given thought to what blood memory is, and I have made the choice to make use of it by connecting dramaturgical coding to IQ.

2.13 Connecting dramaturgical coding and IQ

For myself words are everything. As a writer I work with words everyday and words are literary the tool of my trade. Everything that we write or speak, or think is bound and created through the language of ourselves. How we express our concerns, conflicts, realities and thankfulness lies within our language and our individual way of speaking, writing and thinking it. Language is the song of us and each other.

Therefore, the data that was gathered through the Inuit post-secondary interviews was first coded through dramaturgical coding. Dramaturgical coding allowed for the emotive parts of each student's narrative to be reconsidered and thought through in a deeper manner. What each student expressed in each interview was a series of objects (barriers). Each gave tactics (ways that they manage through difficulties) and each used a variety of emotion-based words. Certain portions of each interview were set up in an Excel spreadsheet representing the unique, and individual way each Inuk student spoke.

Once the first-round dramaturgical coding was set-up the difficulties or barriers, the tactics or ways of managing a problem, the emotive words that were said were then connected to IQ, or inherent understandings of Inuit. The goal of applying a western method of coding to inherent or ontological Inuit understandings was to demonstrate that Inuit students are exactly what and who they say they are. They are Inuit.

Dramaturgical coding acted as the bridge between western thinking and methods and Inuit thinking and methods and was used as a way to demonstrate a balance in overall outcomes of the data. It was used to help connect a western method to an Inuit way of thinking and reacting.

2:14 Inuit Quajimajatuqangit

IQ is the interpretive guide to the research data gathered. Quajima is the verb "to know" and in the context of IQ it means, "things which Inuit knew about all along" (Owliijoot, 2008, p. 7). IQ can be described as the Inuit ways of knowing and being, or "what Inuit have always known to be true" (Tester & Tagalik, 2017, p. 1).

I have stated that I am not fluent in Inuktitut, and that I was not raised in the northern parts of Canada, but I am now and forever my Inuk mother's daughter. It is from her that I learned the ways, the distinctive, learned values, and understandings of Inuit. It is critical for Inuit to carry, and pass onto future generations, the understanding and use of IQ.

IQ is necessary to my work. I think of the future Inuit graduate students who will make use of IQ as an integral component of their research. My work is something that future Inuit graduate students can build and improve upon. I look forward to their success. Inuit knowledge is valid knowledge that can and should be explored and rated as such by western educational institutions.

> The Inuit demonstrate the principle of the totality of knowledge…the Inuit define their traditional knowledge as practical teaching and experience passed on from generation to generation. Their knowledge is a total way of life that comprises a system of respect, sharing and rules of governing. It comes from a spirit in order to survive and give credibility to the Inuit. They assert it is

> a holistic worldview that cannot be compartmentalized or separated from the people who hold it. It is using the heart and head together in a good way (Battiste & Youngblood, 2000, p. 43).

IQ is defined through several components and is fluid. "Traditional knowledge is not something that is abstract or separated from the context in which it is produced but is always related to the present" (Nakasuk, Paniaq, Ootoova, & Angmaalik, 1999). I have commented on how others may question my usage of IQ, but I would also like to offer IQ to all researchers, regardless of their own ethnic backgrounds. IRM and IQ are not exclusive to Aboriginal peoples. Each has the potential to offer a great deal to the future canons of university knowledge, and as such should be shared.

> I am powerfully stuck by the complexity and richness of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit. Although it is a philosophy and set of values that is uniquely Inuit, it offers much to all peoples. IQ offers not only a holistic way to understand and relate to the world…I believe that all other peoples of this planet, Indigenous and non-Indigenous can learn much from studying and understanding Inuit Qujimajatuqangit (Greenwood, 2017, p. 220-221).

Knowledge keepers do share their knowledge, and IQ is not mine to keep. Indigenous scholars demonstrate our ways of knowing and being throughout every day, whether we are in a classroom or walking down a street. Therefore, I encourage all researchers to take up IQ, and use in a good way that benefits all people. I watch for this kind of ripening of knowledge in

3. I understand and agree that FFWS will determine how many courses/credits will be considered as full time. It may not necessarily be what my institution considers to be full time. Rule number 3 is the hardest one for me to initial twice each year. INAC decides the definition of a full-time student, the university does not. If there is one rule that every Canadian university president, provost, and vice-provost should be aware of it is this one. It is the rule that I had to adhere to in order to keep my funding. The educational community should revolt against it in support of all Aboriginal students and take INAC to task. Why can INAC trump the university?

scholars. I have heard non-Indigenous scholars say that they have taken up IQ, but the fruits of that knowledge lie in how the researcher gives back, and does not take away from the people. It is critical to examine not only the work being studied, but the lasting effects and the goodness that arrives from it, whether that is seeing a true change in a scholar, or whether that is seeing institutional changes that benefit a specific body of students.

For the purposes of my study I used the following elements of IQ:

Innuqatigiitsiarniq, is a component of IQ that concerns respecting others. Respect is what we must carry in all our interactions. Respect continues beyond a face-to-face conversation. *Tunnganarniq* is being open and welcoming. I am this way in all of my dealings, and being this way helped me to understand the subjects whom interviewed. I did not present any barriers to them through my body language, or facial expressions or in the way I dressed or spoke. I was never better than or less than the Inuit that I had the good fortune to interview. *Pijitsirniq* is the concept of serving that Inuit use at all times. What I must always remember is that I am serving my people, I am not interrogating or forming a research work that will be shaped by me. I am doing work on the behalf of others, not myself.

Piliriqatigiingniq is working together for a common cause. It is a component of IQ that is reliant on *aajiqatgiingniq* or consensus in decision making. I did not create or complete a work, without understanding that I was working with other Inuit students in not only kinship but collectively for the common good of all Inuit, and that this could not be achieved without

consensus. The components of respect, kindness, serving, working together, and consensus are the basics of IQ. They are the elements that have been passed down to Inuit as survival techniques and remain necessary in our modern lives.

I was raised in a home where I was taught to never put myself first (*pijitsirniq*). I was raised to respect all physical things, and to view each item in the world around me as containing and carrying a spirit (*avatittingnik karnatsianiq*). I was never forced to sit and learn something alongside either my Mother or Father (*pilimaksarniq* – skill & knowledge gathering), but I was expected to learn the basic life skills necessary to me when I left home. The house I grew up in was a house that welcomed everyone, regardless of what time of day or night it was (*tunnganarniq*), and it was a house where I was taught to never react through angry confrontation (*innuqatgiitsiarniq* – respecting others). I carried the understandings and ways of my mother into my work because she would expect it, as do all my ancestors.

2.15 Chapter summary

The importance of this work is to bring the southern-Inuit voice to the public, in a way that influences educational institutions and the understandings of the Inuit post-secondary process in a realistic and thoughtful manner. The methods, methodologies and theory used in this study created the resultant data which will contribute towards future post-secondary practices. An Indigenous ontological understanding adds weight to the data that was collected.

This chapter examined how a non-Nunangat Inuit post-secondary student is viewed through the structures of society and asked if being a non-Nunangat student is a consequence of an imaginary geographical border and questioned why we as a society put faith into unseen structures. The ontological workings of myself as the Inuit researcher were fleshed out as not

only a data filter but these same IQ understandings apply to the Inuit student participants. How the students are making their way through university is explained.

The following chapter examines the current literature that is available concerning southern-based Inuit. This is an area that has received some, but very little, examination. The literature review is reflective of how Inuit in the south are perceived by not only themselves but by those who are looking in at us, as Inuit who operate in a southern context.

Chapter 3

Literature Review

3.1 Literature gaps

The previous chapters presented the research question and the need for the southern Inuit population to be given recognition because of who we are within Canada, instead of being ignored or silenced because of where we live in Canada. We are Inuit no matter where we stand in the world. The methodology chapter explained how I understand what IRM is, and why it was important to me to have made use of it, and the methods that were used to gather data for the results of this work. This chapter begins with an assessment of what has been published to date about Inuit who are living in the southern areas of Canada.

There is a growing population of Inuit Canadians residing outside of Canada's north. The statistics for Edmonton alone determined that the Inuit population had doubled between 2006 and 2011 (StatsCan, 2017). Other major cities in Canada have also shown an increase in Inuit populations. As the numbers grow so has the need to addresses issues facing the southern-residing Inuit. There is a burgeoning population of nonresident Inuit in Canada-who remain recognized as Aboriginal peoples, but, neither federal, territorial nor provincial governments have ever acknowledged that these people arrive, and survive in the south with marginal benefits, as negotiated within each northern land claims. It is as though Inuit in the south are being punished for having left the north, and for setting up roots in a southern location. As summed up by Bonesteel after the 2005 "Our Voice" meetings with urban Inuit, "the ineffectiveness of the federal government's "pan-Aboriginal" approach to programming does not meet the needs of Inuit [or] the feelings of isolation experienced by Inuit living in southern Canada," (Bonesteel,

2006, para. 6) This pan-Aboriginal approach shines a spotlight on those who continued to be left out, southern Inuit populations.

The absence of acknowledgement through by various government institutions is extended into other forms of institutional settings, such as education. There is a need for all forms of socio-economic structures to be made available to all Inuit no matter where they live. The primary purpose of this review is to demonstrate the lack of evidence, through scholarly literature that recognizes southern Inuit as Inuit Canadians. The lack of scholarship on this issue supports the need for work that specifically addresses how non-Nunangat Inuit post-secondary students are making their way through university. At this point in time, it appears that as the southern Inuit population grows, so does their invisibility in Canada.

3.2 Non-Nunangat Inuit absence

A statistical profile by Morris (2016) of southern Inuit addresses the growing numbers of this group and asks how policy will be directed to Inuit in the south. The article does not provide a definitive answer. Instead, it points to the need for attention to be given to southern Inuit and does warn that this lack of care cannot be continued. Morris does ask that more thorough research be completed on southern Inuit as she feels there are gaps in the statistics provided in the National Census/National Household Survey (2011), the Aboriginal People's Survey (2012), and the General Survey on Victimization (2009), all of which she used to form the southern Inuit profile.

The lack of detail within urban Aboriginal statistics is also identified by Andersen (2013):

> Governments-all governments-officially gather information pertaining to specific categories for one main purpose: to facilitate administrative policy intervention in

> population segments of interest. This information, gathered primarily through the census, is utilized in a wide variety of policy contexts, and as urban issues increasingly come under the federal gaze, effective policy intervention will require effective data. Such data does not currently exist (p. 63).

Both Andersen (2013) and Morris (2016) direct attention to the lack of specific detail on urban Aboriginal populations and the need for more specific questions in a census; however, one of the statistical gaps that Morris points to is the Inuit homeless populations that exist in major cities across Canada. Homeless Inuit are not represented because as with most homeless populations the statistical data produced is often difficult to obtain, and often not accurate ("Inaccuracy of Edmonton homeless census," 2017).

The Inuit group in Montréal, the Association of Montréal Inuit which formed in 2000 (Edgar, 2017), recently reformed itself. It is now the Southern Quebec Inuit Association (2017), in the past, for several years, it was able to focus on the homeless Inuit population in that city and on Inuit southern identity (Kishigami, 1999, 2002, 2008). The voluntary group that reached out to the homeless Inuit population, produced research on the life of the Inuit who live on the streets. The Association of Montréal Inuit received financial support from the Makivik Corporation (Makivik Corporation, n.d.) which handles the land claims for Nunavik. The Association hired researcher Kishigami, to produce the articles describing the life of Montréal's Inuit (Rogers, 2013). However, the information is Montréal-specific and although it can provide a general idea of the disparity of homeless Inuit in a city, it does not account for the southern Inuit who do participate in the economy of urban life.

Researchers Morris, and Andersen do point to the fact that statistics provide an outline of a population but do not present a clear picture because of the questions used in a census.

Andersen (2013) adds that a population's statistical needs are not clear enough to enact a policy that can be implemented to fixing a problem (p. 63). Kishigami, on the other hand, targets a specific population that is not entirely representative of all Inuit who reside in the south, leaving out the Inuit who do make contributions to society through their working lives.

3.3 Southern Inuit identity

Kishigami (2002), says that Inuit identity in the south is tied to outward symbols of ethnic difference, such as the wearing of sealskin, and writes that, "The Inuit themselves do not recognize the subtle difference between cultural and ethnic identities" (p. 185). However, when placed into the context of urban life, distinguishing who each of us is becomes important: thus the wearing of sealskin. The need or the requirement to demonstrate an Inuit ethnicity, in a multi-ethnic setting is made visible.

I would like to add that when we are living in a place, such as the far north, that our clothing, footwear, and our jewelry represent a practical association with the land on which we are living on. Once we move away from an area of extreme cold to an area of moderate temperatures, we no longer need our northern clothing. However, the outerwear is symbolic of where we are from historically, and our culture. That history and culture are items passed down to us from our ancestors and are demonstrations of what our ancestors continue to give to us. We continue to wear items that not only stress that importance to others, but honour our own and our commitment to our ancestry. For Inuit Canadians it is a generational honouring of our past and future. It is normal to wear the items that express who we are, no matter where we are living.

However, an Inuk wearing an outward symbol representing their Inuit ancestry in the south continues to be troublesome. There is scholarship that points to the difference and

animosity between Inuit subjects based on where they are living (Patrick, 2008, 2013, 2015). The study group for these articles are southern Inuit residents of Ottawa, Ontario. I appreciate that the subject has been published but again, its focus is on one city only.

Patrick (2008) makes use of the lack of Inuit identity, once Inuit are living outside of the tundra. Her writing continues to attach Inuit identity to the symbol of the Inuk hunter positioned over a seal breathing hole. She often laments that the Inuit are becoming a vanishing breed as more and more generations move south, adopting the southern life. The work that Patrick puts forward deals exclusively with one city-bound group of Inuit, who were born and spent part of their upbringing in the north of Canada.

Her work does not focus on the generations of Inuit born, educated and working in the south. The Inuit symbols of the north do imprint onto the next generations of Inuit regardless of where they are living. In other words, it is not a foregone conclusion that Inuit in the south lack an Inuit identity. The gap in the research, especially in the area of Inuit born and raised in the south adds to the importance of my work, and the unique dimension it provides.

Each of the current scholars working on Inuit southern identity, (Patrick, 2008, 2013, 2015: Kishigami, 1999, 2002, 2008) is writing from a starting point of identity disadvantage which they trace to a physical move from the north to the south. They are not presenting Inuit identity as it is grown and nurtured when an Inuk is born and raised in the south. The authors point to identity disparity, and do not bring to light identity parity.

3.4 The historic production of Inuit imaginings

Meanwhile, the on-going image of Inuit in public spheres is that of a people stuck in time, an image that has been generated for several decades. Historic documents provide the evidence and the underpinnings of the impression that every Inuk is a hunter at the seal breathing

hole an image supported into the present-day. An understanding of the social production of Inuit through discourse is needed. Current writing about Inuit could describe who we are now, in both the north and the south, but the research has not been completed to contradict the constant image of Inuit as peoples from long ago.

3.5 Inuit through discourse (1931-1949)

As an example of an early document, the *Eskimo Book of Knowledge* (Binney, 1931) contains three parts: "The British Empire to which you belong, Part II: Health, Part III: Work." Please remember that the work was translated into Labrador Inuktitut and spread throughout the north, less than 100 years ago. The opening pages of the book state:

> This book-the *Book of Knowledge*, is the light of the sun: it will show your path through the difficult places in life: it will provide you with further knowledge of the White Man: it will show you by what means you can make yourselves and your children more happy and prosperous (p. 12).

The opening suggests that Inuit were assumed to be incapable of handling life's difficulties. In order to better themselves and their children, they needed the knowledge that the non-Inuit could provide. Considering the harsh climate in which the Inuit had survived for generations and the success that their inheritance as Aboriginal Canadians demonstrates, the opening remarks of the book are not written by an informed author. I must ponder if the image of Inuit as archaic peoples, in need of direction has changed, despite the fact that we are in 2019.

The book goes on to say that, "All the Eskimo have gained the reputation throughout the world of being a dirty people" (p. 136). It describes the wooden houses that Inuit live in as being, "unlike the houses of White Men…you do not clean the floors and the walls as the White Men do…the air is heavy with the smell of uncleanness" (p. 152). The Inuit are told of the

importance of handwashing, and the need for mothers to stop breastfeeding their babies at nine months. This book shows the ways in which the White Man is superior, and the need for the Inuit to conform.

And, one book was not enough. In 1949, *The Book of Wisdom for Eskimos* (Ford, Wingnek, & Kosior, 1949), which like *The Eskimo Book of Knowledge* was written in English and translated into Labrador Inuktitut. The Labrador Inuit were the only Inuit to form a treaty in 1765, *The British-Inuit Treaty*. The treaty pertained solely to resources and not land or waters. It was written to reach peace between the Inuit of Labrador and non-Inuit fisherman ("NunatuKavut an ancient land," 2013). It becomes a point of interest that the only Inuit to form a treaty were spoken to directly through these writings, while the other Inuktitut dialects were left out. We must consider the influence of writings that published in recent history.

The Book of Wisdom for Eskimo (Ford, et al., 1949), speaks to Inuit concerning their use of Family Allowance monthly payments, which were given to the Inuit in the form of store credits, not cheques. "A few Eskimos seem to think that because they have credit on Family Allowances, they do not have to work anymore. The police have been instructed to stop issuing Family Allowances to anyone who uses it to lead a lazy life" (Ford et al., 1949, p. 20A) This sentence implies that:

(a) Inuit do not understand commerce

(b) Inuit do not understand the concept of money, and

(c) If given the opportunity, Inuit in 1949 would fall victims to "a lazy life"

(d) Inuit do not have the capacity to take care of their lives without the intervention of the police, who are the sole judges of whether or not an Inuit family is deserving of a benefit that was extended to all Canadians, Inuit and non-Inuit

Inuit were described in published works, only 68 years ago, as dirty simpletons who require authority figures to decide whether or not they were entitled to a social benefit. That was less than two generations of ago. In that context we must consider how that influence is extended into the social imaginings of Inuit living in the present day.

Early writings set the roots of how Inuit are perceived as unable to function in a modern world. It is from these roots that the same idea of Inuit as a people in need of direction and aide flourishes today. Each of these books influence present-day Inuit identity and adds to the grim picture of Inuit Canadians. I do not mean that the disparity of Inuit Canadian existence is not real. It is. What is not set into print are the successes and abilities of a specific group of Aboriginal Canadians, and how early renderings can manipulate current and future policy for the southern Inuit population.

3.6 Present-day images of Inuit Canadians

As articulated by non-Inuit the historic description of Inuit as needy or unable to survive remains active today in the news articles (Nepton, 2013). The only time that Inuit headline stories are when those stories support the narrative of the helpless Inuit, homeless Inuit children and the body of Inuit artist Annie Poogootook (Adams, 2016), washing up on the shores of the Ottawa River. It is during times of crises or death that Inuit make national headlines. There is a continued projection of Inuit as not being successful or thriving, and what is not focused on in the literature, or the media is the reluctance of those in authority to accept responsibility for Inuit citizens.

3.7 Historical policy treatment of Inuit Canadians (1922-1971)

Canadian history demonstrates that Treaty 11 was signed in 1921 (Government of Canada, 2010). It was the last numbered treaty in Canada and is situated in the Mackenzie

District of the Northwest Territories. After the discovery of oil in the area the Federal Government had an interest in that northern territory. In 1922, a year after the signing the last numbered treaty in Canada, the government created an Eskimo Affairs Branch through the Department of the Interior, which administered the Inuit living in the NWT, excluding the Treaty 11 area. Legal responsibility and reluctance by the Canadian government is shown at the beginning of the 20th century, and it is only after First Nations Canadians have been dealt with that Inuit become a concern.

It must be remembered that Inuit were never invited or negotiated into the numbered treaties. Therefore, dates and what was happening at the same time to other Aboriginal Canadians demonstrate how Inuit Canadians were treated as an afterthought.

The reluctance of Federal involvement with Inuit Canadians is seen again in the mid 1950's:

> A further agreement for federal administration of Inuit education was made in 1955 between federal department, the NWT Council, and the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches. Under this agreement, the federal government assumed responsibility for all schools, but agreed to partially fund church-run hostels that housed students while they attended school. Hostels were similar in purpose to residential schools but required fewer staff to operate and could be dispersed through more communities, allowing children in some cases to remain closer to their parents while they attended school. Nevertheless, hostels and residential schools removed children from their parents' care for up to ten months of each year, and, as is now well documented, created cultural alienations between Inuit parents and children (Anderson & Bonesteel, 2013, p. 149, 167).

By 1948, the residential school system in the south was preparing to shut down (Milloy, 1999, p. 190). But, in the north in 1955 the residential schooling was just beginning. Inuit children were moved into hostels, which were the equivalent of residential school dormitories.

The greatest and most visible act of reluctance by the Canadian Federal Government is the Supreme Court of Canada case dated 1939 titled, RE: Eskimo, "Reference whether "Indians" includes "Eskimo" (Supreme Court of Canada [SCC], 1939). Seventeen years after the Canadian government had accepted responsibility for Inuit in 1922, the Supreme Court of Canada is being asked to provide a ruling to the question, "Are Eskimos, Indians?" (Bonesteel, 2008, p. 5). According to August Desilets, one of the lawyers representing the Crown:

> He was prepared to concede that 'Eskimos' differed from 'aborigines in their clothing, food, fuel, winter dwellings, and hunting practices. However, if one scrutinized the main characters of their life, Desilets insisted, it was clear that 'Eskimos' were exactly like Indians. "Both groups exhibited," stated Desilets, "the same dependence upon fish and game for subsistence, the same lack of any organization for agriculture and industrial production, the same absence for exchange of wealth by way of money, the same poverty, the same ignorance, the same unhygienic mode of existence" (Backhouse, 2007, p. 41).

It is because of the decision by the Supreme Court of Canada that the Federal Government is forced into "recognizing a special federal role in relation to Inuit" (Government of Canada, 2001, para. 3). The court case shows the reluctance through policy that the Federal Government went to in order to avoid responsibility for Inuit Canadian citizens. When I think about it, the Federal Government accepted responsibility for the health of Inuit Canadians

approximately 88 years ago. My late Inuk Auntie Francis, who died in 2018 was older than the government's official relationship with Inuit Canadians upon her death.

To have a government form an Eskimo branch only after having completed the last numbered treaty in the north, to have a government accept federal responsibility for an Aboriginal group only after a Supreme Court decision, and to have a government that instituted a dying model of education, (i.e. residential schools), in the north while in the south the system was shutting down, demonstrates the ways in which Inuit were treated as an afterthought. It is as though the northern reaches of Canada were an area that was "just there" and had to be dealt with when the government was forced to.

Reviewing the policies that existed prior to the NLCA, is imperative to understanding how the history of the territory influenced the claim settlement. For my master's thesis I researched and wrote about the Eskimo Identification Canada system (Dunning, 2014) which officially operated in Canada from 1941-1971. A. Barry Roberts (1975) writes about the way in which the policy was imposed upon the Inuit, and how a group of nomadic peoples was placed under surveillance. The disk number assigned to each Inuk was used in all transactions, allowing the Inuit to be tracked through their purchases while the fur trade was in practice. Along with the disk number, Inuit personal finances became transparent, as did their location. Their medical records were also handled through the disk number, while in school the disk number logged the attendance of Inuit children. Because Inuit names were singular and non-gendered, those who first arrived into the north struggled to learn and maintain records on Canada's northern most population. It was easier to administer the Inuit through a system that involved the replacing of personal names with a numbered tag. Inuit were described as people who:

lived their lives in almost total isolation from the rest of the world. Indeed, apart

> from their occasional brushes with whalers and explorers, most did not enter into permanent contact with other societies until the Twentieth Century when the spread of trading posts and the establishment of RCMP posts across the Arctic brought once and for all the white man with his institutions, his bureaucracy and his passion for order (Roberts, 1975, p. 1).

The eliminating of an Inuit name is an example of how historic policy creates and enables erasure. Erasure through a modern-day treaty, the NLCA which does not include the southern Inuit population is then easily furthered through the absence of inclusion within post-secondary institutions. Perhaps Inuit erasure in Canada, is an ongoing affair.

Past policy does shape the perception of Inuit as people in need of direction, and how, through policy, the Inuit become quietened, and quieter. The historic documents, their use of language, and the policies of days gone past, are reflected in the treatment of Inuit who live beyond the normalized borders of existence. In the next section I look at how Inuit have arrived into the southern parts of Canada, a place where policy renders us invisible.

3.8 Inuit ethnicity through Canadian law

Inuit, or any Aboriginal Canadian group are not pristine peoples. We are people, who like everyone else, are not perfect. However, it seems that mainstream Canada holds tight to the concept of Inuit as docile, happy people, who continue to live in a time frame of the past. Aboriginal identity or racial ethnicity and authenticity are issues that Aboriginal people wrestle with daily. I always feel that my own Inuitness only comes into question when I leave my home, or the contentment of family and friends. The Canadian court system has decided that:

> It is true that some physical characteristics, such as skin colour, may be transmitted genetically. However, it is now almost universally accepted that

> it is impossible to relate such physical characteristics with behavior, temperament or moral qualities. Attempts to give a legal definition of races have led to insoluble problems and have now been abandoned. Therefore, racial conceptions of ethnic identity, i.e. conception that focus exclusively on descent or physical characteristics are now rejected (Grammond, 2013, p. 8).

This statement demonstrates that the Canadian court system no longer bases ethnicity on the appearance of an Aboriginal individual. Since the courts have eliminated the physical markers on Aboriginal bodies, we should as Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people adopt this same position. The expectation of physical characteristics forms barriers not only with non-Aboriginal peoples, but with one another.

I am often told by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people that I don't look Inuit, and that my own sons look white; however, physical indicators are not what makes a person Aboriginal under Canadian law. What can become a point of contention is how the lack of pre-conceived physical markers adds to the southern Inuit residents' conceived lack of Inuitness. In effect, not only can some Inuit not "look it" but are adding to the mainstream confusion by not "living it." Grammond (2013), states, "There are no "pure" cultures…it is a vain endeavor to try to isolate culture's "essential elements" (a tendency called "essentialism") in order to provide a concise definition" (p. 11). Not all Inuit have coarse, black hair and slanted dark eyes. Physical markers do not validate Inuit existence. Grammond (2013) continues the explanations by asserting that:

> One may reasonably assume that culture is mainly transmitted through the family. Parents teach their children language, the values of society, the beliefs and founding myths of their Nations. Given that children are not always raised by both parents

> we must allow for other ways of identifying to an Indigenous group
>
> (Grammond, p. 11-12).

Grammond presents the notion of ethnicity as being a consequence of the values and ways of knowing that are transferred generationally by one or both Aboriginal parents. In short, he is making a valid point that Inuit living in the south are not an oddity.

3.9 The building of the southern Inuit population

To gain an understanding of the movement of Inuit populations, what must be asked is, "Is the relocation of Inuit from north to south a new event?" Historically, Inuit first came south en masse, for medical treatment during the tuberculosis epidemics in the north in the 1940's and through to the 1960's (Grygier, 1994), or for educational purposes. However,

> Other reasons drive Inuit from their home communities: high cost of living in Nunavik; high levels of poverty, food insecurity, housing crisis, physical and sexual abuse, marital problems, etc. Other Inuit arrive in Montréal when they leave detention centers. Inuit migrate to Montréal after completing penal terms in federal or Quebec detentions centers. Some of them are forbidden from returning to their home communities by the order of the courts, or they are simply no longer welcomed in the North (2012).

The northern areas of Canada do not have the infrastructure required to house Inuit offenders, and there is a lack of medical facilities and rehabilitation centers handling drug and alcohol cases. There is also a lack of educational institutions. Inuit from the north must come south to complete prison sentences, seek certain forms of medical treatment, and to educate themselves.

Many Inuit have left the north through marriage, as "most urban Inuit women tend to live together with/marry non-Inuit men who support their life financially" (Kishigami, 2008, par. 11).

Leaving the north or giving birth to and raising Inuit children in the south is not new; moving out of the north is on-going and the needs of this group must be addressed. However, there is minimal literature about what happens to Inuit in the south as nonresidents. Because of the lack of information about southern Inuit, it can be perceived that Inuit in the south have no issues. It can appear that they are unimportant. The invisible north/south border becomes the adjudicator of who can and cannot be decreed Inuit.

According to out-migrant statistics generated by the Government of Nunavut, the territory lost a total of 20,046 residents or an average of 1,055 per year between 1999 and 2017 (Government of Nunavut [GN], 2017). With a total population of 38,456 (Government of Canada, 2018), a logical conclusion could be that Nunavut will be a zero-population territory within a generation or within the next 40 years.

With an out-migration rate that is high is compared to a low total population, the need for southern Inuit inclusion in land claims agreements becomes crucial. However, the Canadian Government's fiduciary obligations as stated through the NLCA agreement will be greatly reduced. The out-migration of Inuit Canadians to points south of 60 will reduce the financial and socio-economic benefits agreed upon through the land claims agreement and will in effect benefit government financial ledgers. This is not an outrageous statement. It is a hard reality.

On January 22, 2018, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami created an Inuit-based report focusing on poverty reduction strategies for Inuit Canadians. The report makes small mentions of southern Inuit and addresses some of their living situations. For instance, under the heading of *Livelihoods*, the report states, "Canada should work with Inuit organizations to analyze and respond to the labour force development needs of the growing Inuit population that resides outside of Inuit Nunangat" (2018, p. 8).

Two things are important within that sentence. The first is the recognition of southern Inuit made by a corporation that can only represent and speak on behalf of Inuit living in the north. The other is that any help for southern Inuit in the area of employment is deferred to southern Inuit organizations, who are mainly funded through provincial or private monies (Tungasuvvingat Inuit, 2018, p. 20)[8]. This confirms the inability of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami to represent southern Inuit.

The difficulty in my work is the lack of literature about Inuit who do not live in their ancestral homelands. Most literature, whether a study on health, education, climate change or food security is about Inuit who live in the north. The same studies do not address Inuit in the south unless they are homeless.

As summed up in a recent publication by *Canadian Geographic* (2018), Inuit Canadians feel that,

> Unfortunately, until now, most of the research on our culture and history has been done by individuals who come from outside our culture. Since the information that these individuals collected was seldom made available to us, the image held by much of the outside world about who we are is usually someone else's creation, not ours. It will take time to change this situation and we, as Inuit, are certainly prepared to work cooperatively with those who have devoted their professional lives to studying our culture in meaningful and respectful ways. In the meantime, we will reinterpret the information gathered by others to help us speak about ourselves (Canadian Geographical Society, 2018).

[8] Tungasuvvingat Inuit (TI) had a budget in 2016/17 that demonstrates the above statement. ITK did donate a little over $100K to the budget, the year previous (2015/16). The Government of Nunavut did donate $1 million dollars to TI's budget. However, the yearly budget for TI averages just over $4.5 million making that one donation of 2.5 percent or less when compared to the total annual budget. The GN contribution was a one off at 25 percent

The information in the previous paragraphs is very honourable and noble sounding paragraph. However, what is not being directly addressed are images and portrayals of the southern Inuit Canadian population. According to the above statement, Inuit in the north are feeling mis or underrepresented. Therefore, it may be assumed that the impact of those same feelings for southern Inuit is much more intense.

This also shows how even into 2018 a very esteemed publisher, with a beautiful publication, sought out and received information from ITK. Seeking out only one source basically means that 30 percent of the Inuit population is not included and are not represented in the literature concerning Inuit Canadians.

3.10 Filling the gaps

I would like to express that Inuit, time and again may always be a people who are grateful for what we each have, we are not materially driven people. By appearance Inuit who live in the south are not represented in a full or balanced way in the literature, and not at all in their own homeland agreements. I cannot in all fairness blame post-secondary institutions for their ignorance. Since so little information exists concerning nonresident Inuit students, it is not the fault of the institution and their absence of understandings can be acceptable, but only to a degree. If information does not exist about non-Nunangat Inuit it does not mean that I can allow ignorance to be a continued excuse for overlooking an Aboriginal post-secondary population. I do expect educational institutions to take on the responsibility of understanding the Aboriginal students who through enrollment are under their care.

The next chapter is the heart of this study; the Inuit post-secondary students speak about their experiences in university and how they are managing their way through the institution and their lives outside of the institution. The interviews, both of the post-secondary students and the

professionals contain the information that contributes to filling the literature gaps about southern Inuit life. Their words very much supplement the lack of literature on southern Inuit Canadians.

When I read the existing literature concerning the southern Inuit population, I have to say that it is my dream that Inuit, north or south, recognize, support, accept, and care for one another in the way that our ancestors expected us to.

It is my dream that all other people recognize Inuit as Inuit only and first, no matter where we stand, and it is my dream that the words of the Inuit students and the professionals open the door to all of these possibilities.

CHAPTER 4

The Inuit post-secondary student interviews

Chapters One, Two and Three shaped how this work came into being through not only my personal experience but also through discourse concerning statistics, post-structural theory, the use of Inuit Quajimajatuqang (IQ) and definitions of the words beneficiary and nonresident arising from the question: How are non-Nunangat Inuit post-secondary students managing their way through university.?

The post-secondary Inuit students now tell their truth. This chapter, the presents the Inuit post-secondary student findings.

4.1: The questions

The questions I choose to ask each of the participants were thoughtfully crafted. I did not want a participant to feel threatened or uneasy in any way. It was also important that I remembered to allow each student to speak comfortably and without hesitation, meaning I could not interrupt or in any way shape his/her answers. Performing in this way as the researcher was how I demonstrated *Inuuqatigiitsiarniq*, the IQ trait of showing respect, care and the importance of my relationship with each student. They are each very important people with strong potential in their chosen fields.

The first question asked was where and when each participant was born. This question factored the historical context when each came into the world and whether they were born in the northern reaches of Canada. As an Inuk researcher, I am aware of the difference between having and not having a northernly location on my birth certificate, especially when applying for enrollment as a Nunavut beneficiary. Inuit identity may be heightened or reduced within the

participant and their confidence in who they are as an Inuk may be affected based on their place of birth.

The second question: How do people react when you tell them you are Inuit, allowed me to observe the ease with which the participant was willing to share that information. It also allows for how the physical expectations of an Inuit person is perceived by others. This question allowed me to gather data to examine how the general public thinks Inuit should look and behave. It focused on the physical markers of an Inuit person, even though as explained by Grammond, it is no longer legal to use physical markers to define ethnicity in Canadian courts.

Question three: Do people confuse you with being First Nations? – again pointed to public understandings of Inuit Canadians. Specifically, to the concept of pan-Aboriginality in Canada and could yield information to demonstrate the absence of information the public has concerning Inuit. The fifth question, how do you tell people you are not First Nations was a natural follow up. What I was seeking was information about how Inuit in the south explain themselves as a separate and unique grouping of Aboriginal people, who share many similar inherent understandings (e.g. kindness, respect for the elderly, and the joy that babies bring) with First Nations and Métis people, even though we are not all the same people. We each hold different protocol and ceremonies and ways of approaching the world.

Often one of the ways in which the general public measures an Aboriginal person's "authenticity" is whether or not that person speaks what should have been their first language. The sixth question allowed each participant to demonstrate whether they were fluent in Inuktitut. The sub-question was if the Inuit students were questioned on their fluency in Inuktitut when they were introduced to others. That question addresses the expectations made by the public of southern Inuit people.

The seventh question was blunt: I wanted the participants to explain what happens to them in daily life when they identified to being Inuit. That was what I wanted to understand better and I think it is an issue that needs to be brought forward to the Canadian public in general. In the context of a post-secondary institution, we like to think the playing field is equal and students are without barriers, however racism becomes a very important topic that requires exposure. This focus of this study is not racism, but it does factor into the perceptions of Inuit in the south.

The final question was, have you experienced barriers during your post-secondary education? I did not prompt the students to speak directly about their post-secondary funder. I framed the question in a way that would allow the participants not only to discuss post-secondary funders but also to raise anything else that they wanted to share.

I was able to interview four Inuit post-secondary students. Of the four, one had completed his university studies somewhere other than the University of Alberta (U of A). Of the remaining three, two were completing undergraduate degrees at the U of A, while the third was completing a master's degree at the same institution. Three were male, one was female. They ranged in age from 28 to 49. All were mature students, meaning they did not enroll in university directly upon completing high school and all were over the age of 21 when they started to their degree programs (Undergraduate and Admissions Program, n.d.).

One asked to not be identified through the use of their name in the writing of the research findings. That request is honoured in my work.

The Inuit student's responses were honest and true. I am grateful to each of them.

4.2: The Interviews

Jordan Carpenter

"We're still here and I'm not going anywhere.

All of the participants in my study are card-carrying Inuit beneficiaries of Canada. Of the four students, the only one born in his home territory, was Jordan Carpenter. Jordan was 28 years old at the time of our interview, a third-year Education student at the U of A and an Inuk whom I have known for nine years. I have often called Jordan, "my northern sun" because of the love that I carry for him. I met him while he was a transition year student in a class called Aboriginal Literature 125. He was born in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories.

Jordan does carry the physical markers of an Aboriginal person, with his tan skin and long black hair. I asked him how people reacted when he told them he is Inuit. "Some act surprised," he replied. "A lot of them think that I'm an Asian person. Some will speak their language to me. Then I tell them I'm Eskimo." It is interesting that Asian people will identify Jordan as being one of their own and will automatically speak their language with him. This can be interpreted as an acceptance of him because of his appearance but when the word "Eskimo" comes into the conversation, according to Jordan, "They assume I'm First Nations, Cree or Metis," This supports my findings about a lack of public understanding about Inuit. In this case two things are being misunderstood. The word "Inuit" and the assumption that Jordan is saying that he is First Nations or Métis.

Jordan did clarify his understandings about the reaction that others have to the word Inuit, "I don't know what they understand as Cree or First Nations or what the difference is," he said. "It's pretty rare that they get it on the first try." We both laughed, because what Jordan was explaining is perhaps the social stigma attached to Inuit and the pan-Aboriginality that exists in

Canada. Hearing Jordan remark on a common Inuit experience, that being the expectation that the general public will not immediately understand that you can be an Inuk in the south, is what made us both laugh. I believe this is a shared experience for may southern Inuit.

Jordan said that in order to point to the difference between First Nations and Inuit he will define Inuit as, "People in the igloos." He explained his patient response this way: "I have to. A lot of these people have no idea. It's hard for them." Once he introduces the word 'igloo' Jordan said he sees that, "There's a kind of mild understanding that I'm someone who is from the north and yeah, it's a weird interaction."

Jordan does not speak Inuktitut fluently. When asked about his experience having people question his use of a first language, he say, "…they know that the language that I would speak is different, but they don't know what *Innutiutt* (all Inuit dialects) is. They just assume that it's some kind of different language, but I don't know, they just well…they're just really nice about it."

Jordan did say that he has experienced racism but that, "it's not as pronounced…because I'm more Asian passing. It's not white passing which makes people question what I am in the first place but enough that they assume that I'm Asian. So, nothing overt but definitely people have said things around me not knowing that I was Native." He went on to describe what he meant: "When they hear Inuit, it's just generic, ignorant statements like, "Does everything get paid for? Do I have no taxes, healthcare, dental, glasses…everything?"

Jordan presents as a young man with a great deal of patience and I asked him how he works around these common statements and perceptions made by non-Inuit. He indicated that if, "…my job isn't in jeopardy" that he will continue to do the work of enlightening the person he is engaged with. He explained how he handles misperceptions from non-Inuit: "If it's a random

person that I'll never see again then I don't give a shit. For co-workers I try but again I don't see them often enough to justify it and the people who make those kinds of statements, they don't make sense to me." Jordan's fairness towards others lies in the last portion of that sentence, indicating that the ignorance of others is what is most confusing to him.

When I asked Jordan to explain the barriers, he has experienced during his post-secondary experience he said, "I would say the biggest one is funding, not being able to secure enough of it because the options are restricted to people who live up north." His statement verifies what is common to Inuit who live outside of the tundra; if we are living outside of our homelands than we are not eligible to receive northern funding or scholarships.

This led me to ask Jordan how he survives financially. His answer, "Not well." He works full time hours at his job, "but almost all of it goes towards paying bills and debt or at least it should. And any other extra money has to go to debt. And with the school and the funding options that I had..." Jordan explained that his funder was Freehorse Family Wellness Society and said, "…they're good as long as you get all your papers in and make sure you do well enough which is easier said than done because they need a lot of paperwork every year. Every time you apply, I apply, and it gets tiresome and there are some other funding options up north, but they seem to be geared towards students who live up there."

I asked Jordan to explain what he meant by doing well enough, "Usually you need a 2.5 GPA," he replied. You can't withdraw, and you have to take a minimum of three classes to be full time and the funding that you receive, depends upon your needs." Jordan has "a pretty decent job" which means that he is at the lowest tier of funding because of his earnings. "Between the need to study and school and the reduced number of hours, it means that I will get some and it kind of evened out and the only difference is that the tuition is paid," he said. "It

means that (there is no) extra funding for textbooks or the monthly funding. So, it's pretty minimal. The last time I tried I think the textbook funding was $400 and the monthly was $500 for me and of course you only get the textbook funding once."

Jordan went onto tell me that he, "used to be working 20 hours per week between three classes and usually four days a week because you can't do the full eight-hour shift. It becomes an extremely tiring juggling act of working and studying in the morning and I don't know how I managed to do all that but there's time in traveling." He closed by saying, "I was relatively lucky because I don't have any other things outside of school, but I can't imagine what it would be like for a single parent and working. It would be a lot of pressure."

Jordan had about another 1.5 years left to complete his degree. I asked if he felt welcomed by other Inuit. "I do," he said, "I don't have any misgivings with other Inuit as far as I know." He and I laughed together, but he did say that he has very few interactions with other Inuit whether they are family or not.

I asked what the one thing was he would say to the public about being an Inuk in the south. "We aren't as isolated as people think we are, although it feels like it," he said. "We're still here and I'm not going anywhere. It's troubling how much ignorance there is about Inuit in a sense, it's upsetting but it makes me do the work to actually educate people, which is nice, but I would ask that people educate themselves." Showing his humour again Jordan said, "They can talk to me. I got my Inuit parka on! Otherwise people won't know and it's a weird kind of line to ride. You want to look white enough to be approachable but Inuit enough to be interesting." Again, we laughed together, and Jordan ended our conversation by saying he "would ask people that, if your first reaction to seeing an Inuit person is to be astounded that we exist – it's probably not a good sign…but at least people are learning – slowly."

Jordan Carpenter is a fine Inuk man whose talents and abilities will bless every classroom where he teaches in the future.

4.3: A1

"We want a good life for ourselves and our loved ones"

A1 is the master of arts student who did not want his/her name used in this study. I respected the decision. Because my recording equipment did not fully capture all of A1's words, I emailed A1 the portion of the transcript that I was able to hear. A1 than typed more details into the interview.

A1 was born in Edmonton and said that the reaction from those who are told of his/her Inuit ethnicity was dependent on whether or not that person was Aboriginal. A1 felt that most people were "cool" with it while some Indigenous people are "not cool." A1 felt that the Indigenous people who were not as accepting felt "like a wall" and that over time A1 has "come to expect it," meaning the resistance to and acceptance of A1's southern Inuk identity.

A1 did express regret. "Sadly, I've come to accept that a segment of Indigenous people have issues with ethnicity," but that, "it's not worth wasting life energy on that small segment of society." When asked if people confused A1 with being First Nations, A1 replied, "Yes" and that he/she simply "just tells them I'm not." However, A1 also felt that in general "Canadians tend to understand who and where Inuits come from" while in the United States (US) "they know "Eskimo." A1 also felt that, "Americans who asked me my heritage tended to romanticize or see Inuit in an exotic light," We laughed together when A1 added, "But then there is a higher percentage of Americans who think all Canadians live in igloos."

Because A1 had brought up the small sector of First Nations who are not open to A1 being Inuit, I asked for a more detailed explanation of how that group appears to understand an Inuit person. The response was:

> Most First Nations people don't have an issue with me being Inuit. However, as like with any group of individuals, there will always be a sector that find fault with not being the same ethnicity. Their attitude can be interpreted as, "you're not one of us" and some take it a step further and tell me they think they see a mix of European and Aboriginal. It's with this sector that everything changes. I get the sense of "you're not First Nations but you're white." They don't want to have anything to do with me (A1, Nov 27, 2018).

A1 attributed the non-acceptance behavior to historic differences between northern Aboriginal groupings and stated that, "Western Arctic Inuit did not get along with Copper Indians[9] and it goes back to when the world didn't have much travel, migration or mix of ethnicities as it does now."

When asked if A1 spoke Inuktitut the response was, "I'd like to!" and we both laughed. A1 speaks Cree as well as French, some Ukrainian and Russian and is learning Spanish. I found it very interesting to be with an Inuk who can speak Cree but not Inuktitut but A1 said that, "each language has beauty and shows how a culture sees and lives in the world." A1 is a schoolteacher and has taught Cree to Kindergarten to Grade Nine classes.

A1 talked about how the parents of the children A1 has taught. They assumed that A1 was Cree. A1 encountered a few parents who were upset with an Inuk teaching Cree. A Cree

[9] Copper Indians were later called Yellow Knives, Dene, and Dogrib. They resided on the northeast shore of Great Slave Lake and northeast into the Barren Grounds. Ref: https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/yellowknives-band

Elder staff member also felt it was not right to have an Inuk teaching Cree. According to A1 the Elder "never got over it." The parents who were initially upset over having an Inuk teach Cree to their children, spoke with the school principal and eventually things settled down. However, A1, "didn't expect that kind of behavior" and was shocked by it. The parents in this case did ask A1 where she was from and A1 told them Edmonton which A1 said seemed to add to their confusion.

A1 said that "non-Indigenous people have been accepting and fantastic" and that as an Inuk A1 doesn't have "a close relationship with the Indigenous side of the family." This is based on A1's father being placed into residential school "when he was very young, and communication was cut off" but A1 does have "acceptance and love from the non-Aboriginal side of the family" and feels "accepted with the wider non-Aboriginal community."

A1 reiterated that only a small portion of the First Nations community has been unaccepting and made a point of saying that, "some of my dearest friends are First Nations." A1 did go one to say that although we are living in times whereby racism is easily expressed, we are also living in a time that demonstrates "that people are the same. We all have the same needs and wants. It's not all about, "us versus them."

A1 found the technology required at university, after a 14 year break from post-secondary to be "trial by fire." Learning how to register for classes, and setting up email took time to learn and A1 did express gratitude towards the funder for tuition payment and spoke about the paradox of being a southern Inuit student:

> The north refuses to fund me because I have never lived there. I have a beneficiary number. I do receive funding from Freehorse, and I won't be able to return back to university without their assistance. There is a downside in order to qualify for funding

> at Freehorse, I have to prove that the north rejects me. The other issue Freehorse has is they determine what a full-time schedule looks like. They don't go by credits, but by the number of courses. That makes finances tight. Thank goodness for scholarships and awards (A1, Nov 27, 2018)..

A1 explained that a cost of living allowance is not part of A1's monthly income. However, A1 does receive $25/semester for both books and photocopying as a master of arts student. A1 states:

> Some First Nations they get a few thousand a month and they don't understand that I'm not. I was in a grad class and students were saying how much they received from their bands. They were shocked that I didn't get what they were receiving. Plus, they were shocked that I didn't have a treaty card. I had never seen a treaty card, so they pulled theirs out. We all had a laugh about it, but they were earnest and since then they told me to talk with my home community and convince them that western Arctic Inuit should get cards. They tried to help by being supportive (A1, Nov 27, 2018).

A1 closed the interview by saying that if there was one thing that A1 could say to the public about being an Inuk who lives in the south it would be, "we are all human, we have the same wants and needs, we want a good life for ourselves and our loved ones. Live life with an open mind and heart."

4.4: – Nathan Levesque

"Tradition can be anywhere."

I interviewed Nathan Levesque in the comforts of his home on November 28, 2018. Nathan is the father of three small children, who at that time were all under the age of four. His house was a busy house with the sound of children in the background.

Nathan was born in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan in 1984. He said that when he tells people that he is Inuit that, "they're kind of confused. People don't know what it is, so then you tell them, "'I'm Eskimo.'" He felt that people generally don't understand the word, "Inuit" but they do understand "Eskimo." He went on to say that he also feels that when people hear the word, "Inuit" they assume it is "Indian." He laughed when he explained, "Some of them, you got to keep it pretty simple and say "'it means north'" and I'm not an Indian and they're OK."

Nathan said that no one has ever asked if he speaks Inuktitut. When asked if he had experienced racism he said, "I would say not really. No." Then he went on to tell this story:

> But there was this one time when I was working at the International Airport and this lady asked what my ethnicity was, and I said, "Well, I'm Inuit" and she freaks out because she had never seen an Inuit before, and she has to take my picture. I felt like an animal in a zoo, like everyone is coming to pet me, to fawn over me and to stare at me. So, I let her take my picture. Then she was, "Oh, you're the first Inuit I've met!" (N.L. November 28, 2018).

In Nathan's words, "She was just blown away. She had never seen an Eskimo." Nathan went on to say that in his university classes, when he did identify his Inuit background that people were, "cool, it wasn't a huge deal, or a highlight and we just moved on." He said that he never felt as if he was singled out or the token Aboriginal person in the room.

When I first asked Nathan about barriers in university, he initially responded that he didn't feel that there were any, but he did go onto to speak about the cost-of-living allowance that he received. "It wasn't enough. I still had to work fulltime and go to university fulltime and at one point I worked three jobs and was going to university fulltime." He went on to say that, "It just took the crap out of you. I never had time to really study myself." When it came to getting assigned papers in on time Nathan said, "I only ever asked for an extension twice and I got shut down right away. It was like it was unacceptable that I needed more time on a paper, so I just never asked again." Nathan had a 3.0 GPA but said that, "it could have been a lot higher, but I just never had the time."

Nathan did go onto to say that, "Freehorse has always been great," and that one employee has proven to be exceptional with him and any of his queries. He is grateful for the funding that he has received but has yet to complete his degree. When asked if there was one thing that he could say to the public about being an Inuk who lives in the south, Nathan issued a two-word reply, "Be Proud."

He went on to complete the statement by saying, "It seems there's this differentiation between the north and being in the south, like we're outcasts.: When Nathan tells people that he's Inuit, people ask, "From up north?' When he indicates that he was born in Prince Albert, he often is questioned again about his origins. His response has been to explain that, "I am still Inuit and there is really no huge difference in the way that I look, walk or talk from the Inuit up north and tradition can be anywhere." Nathan ended our conversation with a strong statement, "Your location doesn't question the integrity or strength of who you are."

4.5– Vincent Levesque

"It's rare to come across an Inuit person. I like to tell them I'm an Edmonton Eskimo."

Vincent Levesque completed his post-secondary education at Grant MacEwan University in Edmonton in 2014. He was born in Fort McMurray and he is the older brother of Nathan Levesque. He was interviewed at Nathan's home on November 28, 2018.

Vincent indicated that when he identifies as Inuit, people generally do not believe him. "I guess it's so rare that they come across an Inuit person. I like to tell them that I'm an Edmonton Eskimo and that I'm related to the football team and those guys." He said he felt that when he mentioned the team name with usage of the word "Eskimo" that people had a better understanding of what he was saying about his own ethnicity. He felt that once the word "Eskimo" was used over the word "Inuit" a lightbulb was turned on inside the person he was talking with."

Vincent did say that people have in a few instances confused him with being First Nations but are more likely to assume that he is Métis because of his French last name. He said he has tried to explain that Inuit and Métis are different in "culture, food and history." When he is asked to explain the differences he has found it to be a very difficult question. It's not until he is confronted with trying to explain the difference between First Nations and Inuit and Métis peoples that he "didn't realize how heavy that question is." Vincent did say that he has never been asked if he is fluent in Inuktitut. However, he did indicate that if he makes use of an image like, "Nanook of the North" that people have a better understanding of what he is saying.

Vincent said that he has not experienced overt racism but that he has experienced what he calls an "underhanded comment like, "He's an Eskimo!" and even though he may feel insulted he does not "go looking for conflict." Vincent made it clear that he does not "want to waste my

time and energy on something that I probably can't change." Vincent appears by nature to be a very calm and easy-going personality.

When I asked about barriers during his post-secondary years, Vincent said that the barriers he experienced were not about identity or concerning "who I am.' Rather they had to do with "keeping up with all the paperwork." In his words, "I'd study my ass off. I'd write all my papers and then I have to get this other piece of paper from another tribe or funder to deny." In other words, as with myself and other southern Inuit Vincent had to be rejected from the Financial Assistance for Nunavut Students program in Nunavut in order to have clearance to apply through Freehorse.

Vincent had to complete the same paperwork every semester of his post-secondary career. He described the process as, "You have so many balls to juggle" at all times. He had to work a minimum of 24 hours per week, "I was going to school fulltime, Monday to Friday and in between there I had to study for post-secondary while having a baby." Vincent became a father in his second year of studies.

He said that he has limited contact with other Inuit in Edmonton, but he did have a colleague at work who was also Inuit. Vincent said he felt that his workmate, "was like my brother even though I only worked with him" and over time they lost touch with one another but when they did encounter each other during the year before our interview Vincent said, "I gave him a big hug." Knowing another Inuit person in Edmonton gave Vincent the freedom to "just say who I am," even though Vincent is "not too shy about who I am and my own history and my family history."

I asked Vince if he would have pursued post-secondary without a funder and he said yes. While he was in university he kept thinking, "just get it done and it's a lot of work, work at night

and at school but it's getting things done so you can focus on everything else and I had a child and completing is challenging but I won't change anything because of where I am now and without it [post-secondary] I won't have been able to go forward but it was hard."

Vincent demonstrated determination and even though he had the added responsibility of a child, he pursued and completed his dream and has found work in his area of study, law enforcement.

4.6 An unexpected turn

I did not go hunting for additional work. I wanted to make known the circumstances of Inuit who reside outside of the north and the post-secondary funding stream that is meant to allow Inuit students to advance and complete their dreams. I felt that I was on a solid course to completion. I did not know that my work would bring me to the point that I have now arrived at. Again, I did not go hunting for it.

While speaking with both Jordan Carpenter and Nathan Levesque, each student told me of circumstances that had befallen them. Neither have completed their degrees. They are each third-year education students. They were each forced to leave their university studies due to illness.

When I asked Jordan, "How much longer until you complete your degree?" he replied, "I have a year and a half, but I can't currently get funding…because I withdrew from a semester in which they provided funding. So, I basically have to pay them back before I can get more funding from them." Jordan owes approximately $3,800.00 and feels it will take another two years to pay down a debt that has been placed against his student ID.

Jordan indicated that he had talked with his doctor, but the university in-house computer system has placed a financial hold on him, and he is unable to pursue coursework. He has

spoken with both the university and the funder and provided medical evidence for leaving his studies when he did. However, he has been locked out of the university system. In Jordan's case he had been diagnosed with depression and a broken ankle. Jordan stated that, "I couldn't work and getting to school was a nightmare. It was a bad term. Completely."

In Nathan Levesque's case he had to leave university due to, "vomiting and illness." He was diagnosed with giardia, a form of E. coli. He had lost close to 40 pounds in 30 days. He sent email to all his professors. Like Jordan, he had to drop out of his classes.

Nathan describes his experience as:

> Messy. The university kept telling me I had to pay back my tuition and I sent them all the documentation indicating that I had withdrawn before the withdraw date. I forwarded all my emails. My transcripts and all the information on BearTracks, (the U of A in-house computer system) indicated that I had withdrawn, they were saying, you still have to pay tuition. And I told them to just talk with Freehorse and said that I can't mediate this mess…it's still unfinished business (NL, November 28, 2018).

That happened five years before I interviewed Nathan. He has spoken to and dealt with the university, and Freehorse. He has spoken to debt collectors. "I'm at the point where no matter what I do [they] are going to say that I am wrong," he said, "I just ran out of gas on the issue." In Nathan's words, "Being a teacher has always been my dream. That's the only job I want."

4.7 Now what?

As a researcher who knows that Inuit in the south are without representation and as a PhD

candidate who studies social systems I felt first anger and then obligation towards each of these young men. I would not sit quietly and let their futures lay in peril. What I had to do was to initiate a discussion between both the university and Freehorse, but I didn't know where to start.

What each of these students needed was an advocate. I was not trying to be a hero. I was the person who had information that needed to be dealt with. Both Jordan and Nathan had "run out of steam" I understand the position of an undergraduate who only wants to complete a degree and move into the world as an educator. I sat on this issue for about a month before speaking about it to my doctoral supervisor Dr. Evelyn Steinhauer. Her advice: "You have to advocate for them."

I initiated contact with Freehorse Family Wellness on December 5, 2018. The following are the email exchanges between me and the head liaison officer for Freehorse:

Norma Dunning <dunningl@ualberta.ca>

Dec 5, 2018, 10:49 AM

Good morning:

> I hope you are well. I am writing to find out an answer to a question that has recently come up through my doctoral work. What I would like to know is:
>
> If a student withdraws, they are held accountable for repayment to Freehorse for the tuition monies. What I would like to know is why the post-secondary institution or university is not refunding the monies back to Freehorse? Is this a federal directive and if it is please direct me to the policy that this was decided under?

I'm asking so that I have a better understanding of what happens to Aboriginal students who are dependent on post-secondary funding. I have not encountered this situation myself but have been dealing with students who have and would like to know how this was decided.

I've tried finding something that references how tuition monies are directed on the U of A website and have not found any information.

Thank you for your time. I have always been very appreciative of the funding I have received and remain grateful for it. N.

I received a reply back from Freehorse the same day:

HI [sic] Norma,

Post-secondary institutions will only refund tuition if it was both paid for and withdrawn from before that terms [sic] add-drop deadline. Once the add/drop deadline has passed, usually 3-4 weeks after the start of each term, there is no refund given if a student withdraws from a course. Some schools will have a second add/drop deadline a few weeks after the first one and if a student withdraws after the first deadline but before the second one, a partial refund will be given. In those cases, we only make the student pay back the portion that wasn't refunded by the school.

As for post-secondary policy regarding refunds, I do not know if it is a federal directive or not. You'd have to find out through the school in question.

Hope that helps.

I waited until Christmas break was concluded and emailed a request for time with the vice-provost of undergraduates at the University of Alberta, David Eggen the Minister of Education in the Alberta at that time, and Carolyn Bennett, the Minister of Indigenous and Northern Affairs, at the time. I received email back from the vice-provost saying that he would have someone look into the options for each student. David Eggen's office asked for my phone number before they would investigate, and Carolyn Bennett's office moved the issue to Jane Philopot's office on Indigenous Issues. Jane Philopot has since quit her position with the Federal Liberal government, but I did receive the following response on January 28, 2019:

CNAP / NACC (AADNC/AANDC) <aadnc.cnap-nacc.aandc@canada.ca>

Jan 28, 2019, 9:57 AM

Good morning, Ms. Dunning

Thank you for your email.

Unfortunately, this situation falls outside of our mandate.

To address your questions, I would recommend contacting the University to obtain a copy of their policies regarding medical leave and tuition repayment. If the University is following their procedures, these individuals should consult with the Freehorse Family Wellness Society to find a solution.

National Allegations and Complaints Coordinator, Assessment and Investigation Services Branch, Audit and Evaluation Sector Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada and Indigenous Services Canada

Tel: 819-934-1576 / Fax: 819-934-2325

What I could gather is that Freehorse pointed at the university and the Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AAND) representative. I sent a copy of the email to the vice-provost's office and requested to know the status of each student's request for an investigation into the holds placed onto their Campus Computing ID's (CCID) at the University of Alberta.

By the second week in February each of the student's had signed off on a form allowing me to be their advocate. The form was sent from the vice-provost's office and is a requirement due to the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act. As I am writing this thesis in early 2019, the University granted me permission to advocate for each student, and the U of A registrar's office has re-opened their files. Although each student had provided medical evidence as their reason for withdrawal, both they were told in early 2019 that they had to wait for their doctors to provide timelines of their illnesses and that they would again have to submit medical proof for their leaves of absence.

I will pursue the circumstances of each student until their situations are resolved. They each deserve to finish. Neither should become just another statistic. Another demonstration of Inuit failure. They need someone to rattle the cages of academia. Most importantly, what each of these Inuit men need is to know that they are not alone.

4.8 The Stats

Table 3
Proportion with selected levels of educational attainment among Inuit population aged 25 to 64 living within or outside Inuit Nunan at, Canada, 2011(Government of Canada, 2011)

Selected levels of educational attainment	Within Inuit Nunangat Percentages	Outside Inuit Nunangat Percentages
Postsecondary qualifications	28.2	53.3

Selected levels of educational attainment	Within Inuit Nunangat Percentages	Outside Inuit Nunangat Percentages
Trades certificate	12.4	15.5
College diploma	12.7	22.4
University certificate below bachelor	1.3	2.7
University degree	1.9	13.0

In 2011, Statistics Canada provided a chart with a percentage comparison of Inuit who live in the north and have post-secondary education, and Inuit who live outside of the north. What the table clearly shows is that Non-Nunangat Inuit have almost double the post-secondary qualifications, carry a post-secondary degree at double the rate of Inuit who reside in the north and are therefore more likely to complete a university education.

What I heard from the young Inuit men was another story, one that suggested that one institution is not speaking with the other. Each institution has its own set of guidelines that do not take into account the whole student. On the Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada website under educational programs for Aboriginal students the following is stated:

> **Do I have to pay back the funding I receive?**
>
> If you withdraw from studies or change from full-time to part-time status, you will be required to pay back all or part of the funding you receive. It is important to let us know if you are going to change your course of study (Government of Canada, 2018).

Neither institution is thinking of the circumstances of the whole student, and what I found most surprising is that each institution was ignoring letters and recommendations from medical doctors. I have always felt that in Canada, a medical doctor's words carry more weight than an in-house computer system or the rules of a post-secondary institution and a post-secondary funder.

At this point, I will allow all the people I have approached time to respond.

The following chapters Five, Six and Seven contain the interviews with the three professionals. The Fifth chapter is the interview with John Merritt, a lawyer for the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. He is a supporter of Inuit and details the 20-years of meetings he was been a part of as the legal representation for the Inuit. He continues to work on the implementation the NLCA. His relationship with the NLCA has lasted for over 40 years.

Jason LeBlanc has worked for Ottawa Tungasuvvingat Inuit for two-thirds of the life span of the longest standing support organization for Inuit in the south. He provides information about what it is like to have to work with the results of each land claims agreement. LeBlanc discusses what not only himself and but what Ottawa TI wrestles with daily as southern Inuit service providers.

Heather Igloliorte tells a story of success and strength. She is one of the few Inuit Canadian women to hold a doctoral degree. She is rare and her insights are honest in the understanding of what it is like to be an Inuit woman who was born and raised in the south and has achieved so very well.

Like the students, the professionals are making their way through southern Inuit Canadian life complete with the barriers and joys they each experience.

CHAPTER 5

"How do you create hope?"

John Merritt

5:1 The history of negotiations

John Merritt is the lawyer who has worked with the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) since its inception, and 40 plus years later he remains with Nunavut Tunngavik Inc (NTI) as a policy advisor and overseer of the implementation of the NLCA. In 2009 Merritt was presented the John Tait Award for his many decades of service in the public sector (John Tait Award, 2009) and he remains a man who has devoted his legal career to the betterment of Inuit lives. Merritt began our conversation by stating that he was presenting his opinions and none of his statements were by any means meant to reflect on NTI. The following interview expresses his personal views.

I asked Merritt why there is no mention of post-secondary funding within the NLCA and Merritt referred to the lack of policy concerning post-secondary funding for Inuit students as result of the precedents set in the James Bay Quebec Agreement of 1975. Merritt said, "that NTI…tried to actually negotiate what would have amounted to a kind of charter of social rights, social cultural rights" that were a part of the James Bay Agreement but because of "the primary role played by Quebec…post 1976 the Feds regularized their rules in terms of coming up with more detail and stricter land claims policy" and essentially said, "we're not negotiating that stuff." Merritt stressed that what is written into the NLCA is what NTI was able to include. In other words, when the agreement was drawn up the Federal government saw, "modern treaties

were really treaties about land and resources. Initially they were intended to have no element of Aboriginal self-government." Merritt went on to explain that in:

> modern treaty policy today there's an overt willingness to negotiate self-government and self-government by definition touches on all kinds of social/cultural topics…the big political investment was the Nunavut territory government [which] would give Inuit real power in terms of law-making and access to real money and institutional capacity in terms of bureaucracy and…people could use that as the kickoff for radically changing social and cultural policy programs (JM November 27, 2018).

In other words, at the time that the Nunavut agreement was negotiated, the James Bay Agreement had cast a long shadow, the Feds had learned from that experience to not negotiate social benefits. Article 32 of the NLCA reiterates that sentiment with the opening statement that Inuit wanted to negotiate but were forced into a comprise solution:

> Inuit originally wanted to negotiate a full package of rights and benefits (health, housing, language, justice, etc.). The federal government said they would only agree to land-based rights in the land claims (ref. page 13).

The Inuit and the Federal government conferred and negotiated, and eventually, the Inuit of Nunavut successfully brought about their own consensus style of governance.

The positions within the Nunavut government were filled by Inuit who were nonpartisan, meaning they were not affiliated with any political party. The thinking here was that Inuit were than able to create their own socio-economic policy ("Fact Sheet," 2015). "Nunavut the territory, Nunavut the government became the hope for the alternative, to a set of more particularistic provisions that would result in more commitments in relation to the areas of health etc.," Merritt confirmed that post-secondary funding would have fallen under Article 32 of the NLCA and that

the Federal Government literally refused to fully negotiate about that article, leaving post-secondary funding for Inuit students in a liminal space.

Merritt concluded that during the pre-1993-time frame in which the Nunavut Agreement was being negotiated, “modern treaties were really treaties about lands and resources” and “hunting rights, land management, resource management”. He went on to say, “they are not intended to be charters for the rewriting of fundamental social injustices and initially they were intended to have no element of Aboriginal self-government.”

5:2 Understanding the political climate

When asked if the numbered treaties influenced modern day treaties Merritt did said that within the numbered treaties there was mention of education, schooling and the medicine chest but:

> The Feds interpreted that in the absolutely most minimal way that they can and in terms of what was at stake there’s limited references but nonetheless it signaled wider responsibility and the Feds will turn this on its head and essentially said that they are obliged to do what they are compelled to in the most literal way possible, there were obviously huge chasms of interpretation that contributed to a Federal preference to just close down any negotiation on any of these topics (JM, November 27, 2018).

What we must remember is how history shapes present day circumstances, and the Inuit of Nunavut had to work with several Federal Governments over the course of negotiations. The Inuit worked with Pierre Trudeau (Liberal), Joe Clark (PC), John Turner (Liberal) and lastly Brian Mulroney (PC). Yes, past experience did teach the Feds to arrive to the table with only land and resources in mind. Social policy making was left in the hands of a third party, enter

Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, handlers of social policy for Inuit Canadians.

Merritt's tremendous experience with the NLCA caused him to reflect that:

> To me you can't participate in those negotiations and not pick up a very profound realization that the Feds do everything possible to make sure they are not signing onto open-ended expenditure obligations, and social policy by definition is messy and unpredictable (JM, November 27, 2018).

Merritt, described himself, as someone who at his 'gut level' sat at the bargaining table over and over again and stressed that, "There's a kind of nervousness that animates all federal activity that whatever we are doing we better not be signing onto open-ended cost obligations and if we do have cost obligations let's make sure they are time-limited."

In light of the influence of previous negotiations and the many intersecting points that impacted both the Federal and Inuit negotiators I asked Merritt why Inuit who live in the south were never taken into account and why the Inuit who spent two decades of their lives setting up the NLCA appear to have not given any forethought to the Inuit southern population, a population that will only continue to grow. Merritt framed his response by saying, "I'm not Inuk and I am very respectful of that fact. I participated in the negotiations mindful of Inuit upbringing and values and as an outsider I can only give you observations."

5:3 Reflections on the driving forces of the NLCA

Merritt continues with the topic of southern Inuit by saying, "I don't think my own experience was by way of such that Inuit individually and collectively were unaware of the significant number of Inuit living outside of the traditional area of homeland" and stresses that the Inuit who sat at the table were younger Inuit who had gone out [left the Artic for a period of

time] and were not burden by familial obligations. The negotiators in Merritt's view were "People who had more education than the previous generations and had language [English] skills" and many "had gone to residential school in Inuvik or Yellowknife or Churchill" and were people who were aware of the "experience outside of the Arctic." Merritt felt they were people who had "a great deal of interest as well as awareness [of] what the future would hold for them." Merritt said he felt that what drove the talks at the time was the need to "create a set of circumstances more favourable in Nunavut for young people in Nunavut…I think the hope was if you build a better Nunavut than fewer people will necessarily be compelled to go out. …building hope is obviously a big project."

The discussions leading to the Nunavut Agreement were in fact lead by young Inuit with mobility, and education who had lived in the south and returned home. The fact that southern Inuit were not transparently factored in per se is more understandable when the goal of the agreement was to secure Nunavut as the home of choice for future Inuit generations. Clearly the Inuit who would have discussed and debated the NLCA focused on Inuit Nunangat, meaning the Inuit living in the homeland. Considering the mood of the Federal Government and their very strict process one can see how Inuit living in the south were not factored in even though the Inuit negotiators were aware of their southern populations.

Merritt furthered that understanding by saying, "it was all about who owned what in the traditional homeland and from the Federal perspective there was an element of legal risk." Merritt says:

> There is no Aboriginal group in the country that would say that any Aboriginal people have a realistic chance of getting traditional recognition of the right to hunt outside of their traditional area so when you go into the negotiations realizing that whereby the Feds

> are very confident that whatever we are negotiating here is going to be territorially defined (JM, November 27, 2018).

Merritt makes a very important point starting with hunting rights. I know that my hunting rights as an Inuk do not automatically apply to Cree territory in Alberta. My hunting rights are limited to Nunavut. I do not have hunting rights extended beyond Nunavut. This same logic can then be extended to Inuit who live outside of Nunavut and what rights belong to them outside of Nunavut. I am not saying that this is a correct way of thinking. I am saying that there is a certain definitive logic that makes the thinking at the time of negotiations clearer.

Based on past experiences the Federal Government representatives arrived to the bargaining table self-assured and are not budging on socio-economic policy and work only with land-based options, meaning nothing beyond the borders of Nunavut.

5:4 Educating Inuit Canadians

Understanding the time frame and state of mind for both the Inuit and Federal Government from the 1970's, up through 1992 the foundations of the NLCA become clearer. However, Merritt added that not all of the objectives of the claim have been met to this day. He touched on the post-secondary funding stream available for all Inuit students.

> Inuit students who have a northern residence are undoubtedly at least eligible to tap into what appears to be more generous financial support arrangements, but that's pretty small in the context of what gets spent on education from top to bottom (JM, November 27, 2018).

Merritt used the example of an Inuk attending school in Coral Harbour NU versus attending school in Toronto and stated that, "the quality of the education at the primary level is

going to be a lot higher according to any objective testing in terms of literacy or numeracy" for the Toronto Inuk.

He said that if Inuit in the south wanted education dollars extended to them and "you're looking for graphic inequalities, the biggest inequality is in our kids going to school in Nunavut, [they] are the ones with the poorer education." He reiterates that northern political representatives can only represent northern Inuit populations and closed the subject by saying, "You would be a brave politician to stand up in the territory assembly in Nunavut and say, "Out of reasons of solidarity among Inuit we have to take a slice at the current budget and devote it to more generous subsidies to Inuit students who are nonresidents and who are living in Ontario." Merritt feels strongly that any extra educational dollars within the territory of Nunavut should be used towards creating better outcomes for the Inuit who live there to increase literacy and numeracy rates. It is the right thing to do politically, he added, "that if you're a politician and you want to get re-elected that you are most conscious of the people who are on the voters list."

Merritt presented hard realities. Inuit children in Nunavut have the lowest educational outcomes in Canada. Nunavut continues to have an attrition rate of 74 percent (Obed, 2016). Educational dollars should be evenly allocated to every Inuk allowing for an equal chance to a post-secondary education. When educational funds are limited what is more important, getting an Inuit child through high school completion or through a university degree?

Merritt referred to the 1999 program whereby a four-year Inuit-specific law degree was made available through the partnership of the University of Victoria and the Akitsiraq Law Program in Iqaluit, NU. Students in the program received a student allowance of $52,412 per year (Gallagher-Mackay & Wright, 2001-2005, p. 16). Not everyone was enthusiastic about the program. "I bumped into people who would say, why are this little group of privileged students

getting better deals than anybody else in the country?" Merritt's experience of a north/south division between Inuit is sadly, all too common. It's not only non-Inuit persons questioning why one select group of Inuit students were privileged over other post-secondary students.

He states, "Why do a group of lawyers constitute some overriding societal need and part of the justification for it is that you want to make sure that you got your own, you come up through your own ranks and generate your own lawyers." Merritt sums up this point by saying that, "societies have to make painful choices." The first offering of the Inuit-specific law program did graduate eleven Inuit lawyers (Younger-Lewis, 2005). The program has since partnered with the University of Saskatchewan and launched once again in September of 2017 (Shewaga, 2018).

5:5 The evolving definition of the word "Inuit"

I had seen what I felt were discrepancies in the writing and re-writing of the NLCA. The original agreement stated that the word "Inuit" was defined as "those who make use of the lands and waters of Nunavut" while the 2004 Plain English Guide to the NLCA included a sidebar that read, "You don't have to live in Nunavut to be a member of the land claim." I asked Merritt if there had been a change in the qualifications to become an enrolled member. He felt that the 2004 plain language version is too detailed to provide a summary " and "has limited value." He said, "I think it's been true from the beginning, since '93 that you don't have to be living in Nunavut under the Nunavut Agreement." Merritt broke down the wording in the Nunavut Agreement as:

> a two-part definition. There's a pre-agreement world [part A]
> where you don't have a set of rules that says who can be enrolled
> and who couldn't be. You're essentially looking at the agreement

> of the Aboriginal people currently using and occupying the lands and waters and the B part of that definition says, "*and forever afterwards."* (emphasis added) (JM, November 27, 2018).

"It's not as though you have a class A Inuit who are living in Nunavut and class B Inuit who are living outside of Nunavut." Merritt breaks down the eligibility of enrollment into a pre- and post-agreement phases. "How do you put together the first enrollment list in the absence of having an enrollment list?" The initial lists were made up of both Inuit who resided within and outside of Nunavut. Merritt reviews the agreement and laughs at Section 35.3-1 which states that you must be alive. The agreement also requires that applicant, must identify as Inuit and that you must identify with a community within Nunavut. According to Merritt, the enrollment process "was intended to give a bit more hope for a person who was one or two generations down the line and had lost intimate family connections with a particular community" but he also cautioned that over time what was expected was there would be "a considerable group of peoples who live outside of Nunavut" who "considered themselves Inuk." That group would consist of Inuit whose "connections to community begin to fray," meaning that several generations later that identifying with a Nunavut community would not be recognized due to a generational disconnect.

What must be remembered in the Inuit application for enrollment into the beneficiary program of Nunavut is that there are no Federal Government guidelines or interventions. The application process is community driven and is a result of the remembrance of family ties and connections by the Elders within each specific community. The enrollment system within Nunavut according to Merritt as:

> Inuit conversations and they are not looking for outside people to

> make decisions for them, so this is an interesting part of the negotiations because the Feds had such a bad track record to sort out issues under the Indian Act. The Feds are very happy to have negotiators say that we want these enrollment tests and these enrollment processes within our hands, we don't want you involved. So, they were happy to get out of the game (JM, November 27; 2018).

Merritt closes the topic of enrollment by saying :

> [It] was good thing because it's better to have these people be the ones who have to deal with them but the other thing about it is that there's not an absolute biological descent test…I know that there were some Inuit who were nervous about that. The fear that some fast-talking guy would come in and marry-in and take control…there was a fear that this would leave Inuit open to exploitation from people with bad agendas (JM, November 27, 2018).

However, that has not happened, and the Inuit of Canada remain in control of who does and does not carry a beneficiary card.

5.6 Should southern Inuit have their own political representation?

We were nearing the end of the one-hour period allotted for our conversation and I had to ask:

> Do you think John, because you know that our southern population will just continue to grow and grow – Do you think that we should have some sort of political representation because the way I understand Natan Obed's role is that he can only represent Inuit in the north? I had seen a report that was issued through NTI and in

> that report there's mention of Inuit in the south and that was the first time I had ever seen that southern Inuit were included in anything or made mention of in a report (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, p.8, 2018). I think that there's a need for southern Inuit representation. What do you think? (ND, November 27, 2018).

When I asked that question, I had wanted John to agree with me. I had wanted him to say that, yes indeed there is a need for southern Inuit to have representation, a political figurehead who would speak out on our behalf. I wanted him to say that because I have always felt that our voices don't count unless we are a part of a statistical profile or census. I have often felt that I only matter as a number in the statistics recorded about Inuit Canadian populations. I do not matter as a southern Inuk with a unique set of circumstances.

> Merritt's response to the question surprised and confused me. He said:
> I won't say representation. I think there is certainly a need for advocacy.
> As you say there are Inuit who everyone accepts as Inuit and they encounter all sorts of problems and it may be different in terms of nuances and subtleties but nevertheless, some of the same problems. I take the fundamental point and I get your point: A people is a people even if there is historically a tight geographic basis for that definition. Nonetheless, we live in a world where people move around. People shouldn't lose identity because they went from place A to place B (JM, November 27, 2018).

Merritt's response initially confused me but, I've had a couple of months to mull it over. I had to reflect on the small size of Canada's Inuit population. I had to think about how as a people we would not intentionally inflict harm upon one another. I had to remember the way I

was taught growing up. That anger accomplishes nothing. Lashing out simply does not produce good. To work quietly and steadily on a subject to completion. To always remain patient.

Merritt built on his response by saying, "One would hope that Inuit organizations that have representation responsibilities are also mindful that there are Inuit outside of that area and their circumstances and well-being have to be a topic of active interest and consideration." Merritt may have been alluding to the need for balance within the organizations that represent Inuit (ITK and NTI). I do know that reading about the inclusion of non-Nunangat Inuit on a statistical profile did make me feel like I am being included in some way. I am hopeful that I am seeing the beginnings of greater inclusion in the future.

Merritt did say that advocacy is a:

> moral issue. If you celebrate your identity as a people and
> you [do what you] can to support those people who celebrate
> the same way. You don't want to be indifferent to their fate.
> I think there is a huge dimension of practicality. I can see why
> priorities have to be struck (JM, November 27, 2018).

Merritt also said, "You can see why you can always expect a people in the core Inuit parts of Canada, in the traditional areas, in the homeland areas, with all circumstances get first attention."

Moral issues in this example are also in need of balance and the logic presented by Merritt is sound. As an Inuk in the south I know what it is like to have people assume that I am a recent arrival from the north. That perception that Inuit only reside in the north can then be filtered through the formula that the greatest Inuit populations lay in the northern reaches of Canada.

Merritt acknowledged that we do live in an age of great mobility. Travel for Canadians is much more accessible than in other parts of the world. "That's part of traditional Inuit life, moving around," he said. "So, it is important to make sure that Inuit living outside of the Arctic aren't out of sight, out of mind." Merritt eases my earlier surprise and confusion by saying:

> I can certainly understand your starting point. There are different organizations, and different Inuit leaders have shown lots of interest. I know there have been times when some of the leaders try to show up at Inuit events in Yellowknife or Edmonton or Ottawa partly just to make that point, that people aren't forgotten (JM, November 27, 2018).

Merritt made me remember a meeting that I attended in Ottawa where Natan Obed had spoken to the Inuit who had gathered to discuss non-Nunangat Inuit initiatives and community building. I remember the warm response that Obed received and how grateful we all were to have him talk with us and remind us that as Inuit we are important people.

My final question to Merritt was: If you could change or add to the NLCA – what would it be? I asked that question because hindsight gives us insight when we least expect it. Hindsight makes us wish for things that could have or would have been spoken or accomplished. Merritt explained that at one point, the research group that he was a part of had a:

> notion of land ownership in Nunavut. Then rather than let's follow the traditional treaty way, where the Crown will own this land and the Inuit will own that land, we were mindful that in a place like the Arctic that was kind of geographical roulette because it's not like the Arctic is a homestead… Rather than trying to divide up Nunavut where areas were owned by the Crown and those by the Inuit and those would be kind of exclusive entitlements to all the benefits (JM, November 27, 2018).

Merritt is describing the divisions of land whereby plot X belongs to the Inuit and plot Y belongs to the government. That would be the traditional way of cutting or dividing land into certain small plots with ownership of each part assigned to a specific party. The research team declared, "Let's say all of Nunavut is jointly owned by the Inuit and the Crown! Let's just have a giant joint title…it's not a concept that is unknown within Canadian law," declared Merritt.

In theory joint ownership between Nunavut Inuit and the Crown could have been amicable. But that's not how it worked out. The attitude of the government was:

> We won't divide up the land. Let's say that we own it together,
> the Crown and the Inuit as a permanent partnership and then the
> root becomes, the name of the game is: how do we make decisions
> together? How do we divide up benefits to development? (JM, November 27, 2018).

A very soothing sounding idea, one of balance and joint ownership and partnership is struck with the realities of business and the dividing of dividends. A great idea could have resulted in a very messy formula for equal sharing of profits. The idea was never developed into policy.

"We had a number of very early ideas but that idea, we never got the greenlight to go ahead and test that out as to the receptiveness of the Government of Canada." Merritt said, "I suspect we would have been pretty quickly rejected as it is falling way outside of their policy." In the end, the way in which the Government of Canada was doing business trumped a positive possibility..

5.7 Summation

I was very honoured to have spent one hour speaking with John. He made me think of being an Inuk in the south in a different light. A light that has a broader reach. He also gave me an understanding of what the negotiators had to deal with during their 20-year process. I have a

better understanding of the constraints that were placed onto them through the Government of Canada. John made me realize that advocacy is a north and south process. As Inuit we should not divide ourselves into separate people because of a line called the 60th parallel.

John Merritt is a brilliant man who has maintained his focus with the NLCA from its inception, to negotiations and to its continued implementation. There are few people on earth who have devoted their careers and their hearts to the betterment and recognition of Inuit Canadian rights and lives.

Acknowledging the need for advocacy the next chapter explores the work of an Inuit group in Ottawa and their work over the past 32 years serving Inuit in the south. The next chapter explores the daily workings of Ottawa Tungasuvvingat Inuit, and the director of this Inuit service providing organization, Jason LeBlanc, who is the person who putting NLCA policy into action.

CHAPTER 6

"There is no population in the world where you cannot correlate levels of education to levels of wellness," Jason LeBlanc.

Jason LeBlanc is the Inuk executive director of Ottawa Tungasuvvingat Inuit (Ottawa TI), an organization whose Inuktitut name translated into English means, "a place where Inuit are welcome" ("Ottawa TI," 2017, p. 5). As of 2019, this Inuit-specific service-based organization was in its 32nd year of operation in Ottawa. LeBlanc has acted as the executive since February of 2012 ("Ottawa TI," 2012) but has worked for Ottawa TI since 1999. His 20 years of experience providing support and a voice for Inuit in the south is why I interviewed him. He is the person who does the hard in the trenches work of Inuit policy and understands the complexities of organizing and delivering support to non-Nunangat Inuit.

Ottawa TI provides programming in the areas of pre and post-natal care, Elder support services, trauma and addiction, housing, employment, youth services, health promotion, community support, cultural and family services (Government of Canada Department of Canadian Heritage, 2018, p. 64) I first met with LeBlanc four years ago when I was volunteering with Inuit Edmontonmiut and attending the Urban Inuit Strategy Planning sessions that were hosted in both Ottawa and Edmonton.

6:1 Ottawa TI and Inuit post-secondary students

Ottawa TI provides support to Inuit post-secondary students. In LeBlanc's words:

> I think for us we have always supported the students. We've got some funding for our students and we've always been providing navigational support and creating a space of community for people to come together and fight off some of those things like isolation. We've gotten some money from the province, specifically the

> Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities. They were looking at how we can provide more explicit, more direct support to Inuit post-secondary students (JL, December 19, 2018).

Through the money provided by the provincial government of Ontario, Ottawa TI was able to create an employment counsellor/liaison officer position. The liaison position brought an Inuit presence into the Indigenous Student Resource Centers at Duncan College and Ottawa University, ensuring that Inuit students were aware of Ottawa TI and the resources available to them. Those resources consist of an employment lab, computers, advice, guidance and support in applying for bursaries and scholarships. However, the funding for the position "is tenuous in that it is provincially funded and there are changes happening with Ontario," says LeBlanc.

Ottawa TI is the longest-standing southern Inuit organization in Canada and has succeeded and sustained southern living Inuit for several decades. I understand the persistence required for an organization to flourish to the point that support on a provincial level is achieved. Ottawa TI as an organization has demonstrated its longevity and continued presence within the province of Ontario. I say this as a grassroots organizer of Inuit Edmontonmiut. I know how difficult it can for a small group to obtain funding and how a solid track record of successful support services influences any possible funders.

LeBlanc gave examples of how funding has been put into use in addition to the liaison officer position, Ottawa TI has invested money in care packages, backpacks and school supplies at the start of the semester. They held a Thanksgiving dinner and training for self-defense to address the exposure of urban life for the students who are away from home. LeBlanc did say the training was taught in a, "Inuit-specific group way." Providing a place for Inuit to gather is the

most important component of Ottawa TI, especially for Inuit students who have come south to educate themselves.

On the Ottawa TI website there is mention of the Ottawa group becoming the distributor of post-secondary funding dollars for Inuit students. LeBlanc said that:

> It's still in process. Post-secondary funding is applied for with Mississaugas New Credit First Nations. That's the entity that have the funding allocation for Ontario. We continue to work with Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) to be the delivery agent for the funds (JL, December 19, 2018).

It would make sense to have an Inuit agency dispense the funding dollars to Inuit students. However, according to LeBlanc, "one of the delays …is that there's a lot of politics around it." LeBlanc explains, "INAC, at the federal level is reviewing post-secondary education broadly. They are reviewing a 10-year plan with post-secondary education on all fronts and in our distinction-based world that we live in, the Federal Government says they are working with ITK on all the needs for Inuit."

LeBlanc's statement supports my findings. The Federal Government will deal directly with an Inuit organization that supports and speaks on behalf of northern Inuit only and are not including an Inuit service organization that works directly with southern-based Inuit or almost 40 percent of the Canadian Inuit population. Only one part of the Inuit population is contacted, and the Federal approach is not inclusive to all Inuit Canadians.

6:2 The continued absence of Inuit non-Nunangat

LeBlanc summed up the Federal Government's way of thinking:

> There's certainly some different approaches because the needs of Inuit in Nunavut are distinct and different from Inuit away from home.

> That process has made it a little more time consuming for us, because the government is looking to take its lead from the representative organizations as opposed to the service organization (JL, December 19, 2018).

Again, how the Federal process is executed takes priority over getting full information from all Inuit no matter where they are living. Ottawa TI is a well-experienced service organization that has served Inuit for over three decades, yet the national government approaches only a national organization.

6:3 Advocacy for Inuit in the south

Question Four on the list for LeBlanc was the same question posed to Merritt: Do you think Inuit in the south need some kind of representation? I asked the question earlier than expected because of the situation that LeBlanc had described whereby a southern Inuit based organization working on behalf of southern Inuit was not being included with Federal entities but instead is being bypassed. LeBlanc drew from his own experience and responded that:

> Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) language and literature states that they represent all Inuit. My experience working in Ontario is that, whether or not they represent all Inuit, they take their direction from the leadership of the four regions. In essence their priorities and their awareness of needs of Inuit away from home are not as fulsome as the needs of Inuit in Nunangat. It's not their priority (JL, December 19, 2018).

LeBlanc pointed to the lack of information about Inuit in south as something that was not driven by the ignorance of the Inuit national corporation, but that through policy has been left off. This situation can be interpreted as having leadership whose hands are literally tied up and unable to help. LeBlanc took a gentle approach when addressing the question.

> I think that you will recall the work we have done with the Urban Aboriginal Strategy project when you were in Edmonton. Invariably across all the cities that we went into we would hear different levels of dissatisfaction or disenfranchisement or elements of feeling left behind or not a part of. I've always advocated that the best way to connect is within a unified body. I still think with only 70,000 some Inuit, the only real chance for changing the governments perspective is with a more unified approach but I have also over the last three, four or five years have seen the continual frustration building for the lack of or the rate of change for supporting the needs of Inuit away from the north and it is very slow compared to what people would like (JL, December 19, 2018).

Advocacy on behalf of Inuit in the south is what both LeBlanc and Merritt recommended because of the small Inuit Canadian population. He supports the concept of not fracturing or disrupting the Inuit by creating a southern Inuit representative position. Instead LeBlanc encourages Inuit Canadians to work together as a unit that supports each other no matter where we are living.

LeBlanc continues the conversation concerning population growth patterns and says that, "60 or 70 percent of population growth rate is in communities away from Nunangat and the rate within home communities is 15 to 16 percent." Indicating a highly disproportionate population growth rate, migration and a high birthrate by non-Nunagaat Inuit.

Speaking from his own experience LeBlanc said, "When you put those realities onto the table, I have said to the Federal government that if you have the Inuit to Crown partnership committee, that they are basically giving you the Inuit Nunangat policy for all Inuit views." LeBlanc has asked Federal representatives, "What are you hearing from 30-40 percent of the Inuit population? What is your non-Nunangat policy framework?"

LeBlanc stressed that the continued growth of the southern Inuit population which appears to be quadruple the population growth rates in northern communities indicates that a large portion of the Inuit Canadian population is not being included into policy. The policies being created fit a northern framework. As for southern Inuit representation LeBlanc states:

> Representation as an elected body is problematic to me. Representation as a service advocacy, as a place that is saying, "Here are their needs. Here are their gaps in service. Here are the areas that Inuit need support with, in order to thrive in our non-Nunangat communities. Yes, I think there needs to be a much stronger role to represent the service needs and realities of Inuit away from home then there currently is because it has not been effectively moving the needle on the Federal government (J.L. December 19, 2018).

LeBlanc does not support having a representative for southern Inuit. He does support the Federal government hearing more than one side of the issues that affect Inuit on a daily basis. He goes onto to explain:

> If you ask me to look at my gut on the crystal ball, people will only tolerate, and will only accept the level of service representation to the point that it effects political change too. When I say that, here is the reality of Ottawa TI working in Ontario. We're dealing with the provincial government and our counterparts in the Indigenous world have band councils or chiefs and in the Métis world there is self-government. The government is trying to deal with Inuit in Ontario comparably, but they don't have a counterpart to that, so they keep coming back to ITK vis-á-vis the four regional Inuit orgs and saying, "What's the position here? What's the role here? How do we garner your political strength for pushing what we are informing from the service expertise as an advocate and the needs of Inuit in Ontario? (J.L. December 19, 2018).

By pointing out how the Federal Government treats Inuit differently from First Nations and Métis, LeBlanc shows how the Federal Government is familiar with dealing with First Nations and Métis through their forms of governance meaning a chief and council structure. Inuit do not have this kind of structure. As stated earlier the government in Nunavut is made up of community representatives who are without a political party affiliation. Issues debated in the Nunavut legislature are resolved through a consensus style of government.

Although Inuit are not members of the Indian Act; the Federal Government appears to want to work with Inuit through the forms of governance imposed upon First Nations via the Indian Act. This can lead to frustration.

> It's a difficult kind of road to navigate and I think that at a certain point in time we will see if things don't move and it may come time for people to say, "I don't know why this organization represents me when they don't hear me in any way, shape or form (J.L. December 19, 2018).

6:4 The fall out of modern-day treaties

LeBlanc does not support singular representation for Inuit in the south. However, he is the person who through Ottawa TI has had the opportunity to speak directly to the Federal Government about southern issues. "When I have conversations with the Federal Government representatives I keep saying there's no homogony, no consistency, there's no singular approach taken to Inuit away from home because you have four different legal modern-day treaties." This adds yet another layer to how Inuit in the south are heard or how their needs are met.

I shared with LeBlanc my feelings on having the ability and right to vote in elections in Nunavut. I told him that even though I can vote I would be voting for a person who cannot represent Inuit in the south. As a result, I choose not to fulfill my right to vote as an Inuk.

LeBlanc shared that he has a ballot mailed to him during election times in Nunatsiavut and that the Inuit of Labrador have two Inuit members in their legislature. However, because of the structure of the land claims in Nunatsiavut he must vote for the representative of Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA), just as I would vote for the representative of Nunavut Tunngavik Inuit (NTI). Neither of us have a vote that would go towards the member of our home communities that would represent us in the legislature but again this is based on how each land claims is structured. Again, neither of us can vote for someone who would represent Inuit in the south.

6:5 Northern land claims and Inuit identity

When we think about the structure of political representation, we can see the differences in modern day treaties as opposed to numbered treaties. How does this difference transfer to Inuit who reside in the south? How are Inuit who are members of different land claims perceived by Ottawa TI? In LeBlanc's words:

> For us in the south -are they even on the registry? Have they self-identified? We [Ottawa TI] don't really care which region you are from. If you're Inuk, you're Inuk whether you have lived here your whole life or if you've moved down here yesterday. If you speak it – fine. If you don't – fine, and if you have your culture or if you don't which are generally a product of choice, yet people seem to get labelled or get limited by them - fine. We just say: No. That doesn't matter to us. We come in and try to deliver services to those folks (J.L. December 19, 2018).

Ottawa TI does not differentiate between the land claims area Inuit represent and does not request an Inuit beneficiary card as proof to receive services. LeBlanc drew attention to First

Nations leaving the reserve and how, “70 to 80 percent of that population not living there whereas in the last 15 years we have seen an exponential growth rate of Inuit living away from home. We are eclipsing 30 percent and as high as 40 if you look at the 2016 census.” What LeBlanc is comparing is the lack of community and power that both First Nations and Inuit may feel once they are outside of their home territories. The 2017 census asked, “Are you Inuit or Are you of Inuit ancestry?”

> The Aboriginal Peoples Survey 2017 indicates:
>
> Although both surveys cover the "identity population" by design, the 2017 APS, like the 2012 APS, did not cover the "ancestry-only population". (Census respondents reporting Aboriginal ancestry-only were part of the APS sample because they had a non-negligible probability of reporting identity on the APS, and these respondents only remained in the APS data set if they actually reported Aboriginal identity in the APS.) (Statistics Canada [StatsCan], 2018).

LeBlanc continues:

> If you look further that includes ancestry and we don’t know how
> that’s defined in a conflict-ridden self-identification politically charged
> environment. We have Inuit who are definitely Inuit but maybe they feel
> that because they were raised in the south or that because their mother or their
> grandfather lived in the north, they were Inuk, but they have never lived in
> the north and maybe don’t speak the language and they say “ancestry. T
> hey are Inuk (JL, December 19, 2018).

LeBlanc is describing is the personal confusion that many Inuit in Canada may experience. Aboriginal Canadians remain a people who are marked and measured by fluency in

an Aboriginal language, as well as by their skin and eye colour, and a perceived connection to traditional hunter-gatherer and spiritual lifestyle. Canadians of a mixed European descent do not experience this. For instance, do all Dutch Canadians wear wooden shoes?

Southern Inuit populations may be much higher than what statistics show. Many Inuit may not identify because of perceived racial expectations that are not in practice by the Inuit themselves, and are not qualifiers on the application for Inuit beneficiary enrollment..

LeBlanc questions, “How many people across Canada claim Inuit ancestry or multiple ancestry that is inclusive of being Inuk? Then it’s up to forty percent and that’s going to keep climbing.” LeBlanc is alluding to the fact that the southern Inuit population is continuing to grow yet the Federal government continues to deal directly with Inuit national representation while leaving the southern Inuit service provider out of the equation. How completely can the needs of Inuit Canadians be addressed when only 60 percent of the population is at the table and the other 40 percent are not invited into the room?

6.6 Barriers of southern Inuit post-secondary students

When asked what barriers the post-secondary students experience LeBlanc said, “Definitely language as in Inuktitut vs English and down south there’s French but there’s also comprehension in reading and language . Things like homesickness and isolation, adaptation challenges to living in the city, cultural loss, cultural shock, and childcare support.”

Inuktitut remains among the strongest of Aboriginal Canadian languages still in daily practice. According to the 2016 census:

> Among Inuit between 15 and 24 years old, 57 per cent reported
>
> Inuktitut as their mother tongue; 58.3 per cent of Inuit aged
>
> 25 to 64 said Inuktut was their mother tongue; and among

> elders, 65 and older, 60.6 per cent reported Inuktut as their first language (Murray, para 7, 2017).

It is understandable for Inuit in Canada to have English as a second language. However, the comprehension levels for Inuit entering post-secondary are troubling. LeBlanc comments on Inuit having graduated from high school in the north without the same standard of education as people in the south. He is commenting on the lack of educational equality in Canada. The attrition rate in Nunavut is over 70 percent, and those who are graduating from the north struggle once they have entered post-secondary. These students must complete extra coursework to be on par with their peers. Along with the many adjustments to post-secondary life, Inuit in the south also face racism.

6:7 Racism

> In terms of racism and discriminations that Inuit face, often the system is so racist and so discriminatory that it can't even discriminate against us specifically. We get discriminated against based on First Nations, it's like welcome to the marginalized within the marginalized. They can't even call you by the right slur or they can't even understand the difference between First Nations [and us] (J.L. December 19, 2018).

LeBlanc and I laughed at his analogy of racism but there is a reality behind that humour. So often non-Inuit Canadians assume that we are First Nations and not a separate group of Indigenous Canadians who are recognized as such by the Canadian Government in Section 35 of the Canadian Constitution Act, 1982. Perhaps we are laughing at the ignorance of other Canadians, or perhaps we are laughing because Inuit are prone to laughter.

> Because the conversation has touched on racism, I asked him how he handles it. His response, "I don't have all the dominant Inuit features, unless I'm in the summertime. I

> get a lot darker and people will say, "You look really Inuk now!" LeBlanc says that when he identifies:
>
> They are generally surprised by a couple of things. (A) They really don't know what that is or (B) I thought you were Caucasian but maybe a little bit darker skin tone then some. I'm not a visible minority and that's obviously attributed to my mixed blood lineage and my Francophone family side and being from Nunatsiavut (JL, December 19, 2018)
>
> LeBlanc also described what it is like when he meets other Inuit:
>
> To Inuit, they are often surprised, and you get that secondary look of, "Oh really?" It cuts both ways; you can't escape systemic racism and still be entirely embraced by your own population every time. I think the reaction by some people is they are generally happy to hear that and then will ask, "Who is your Mother or your Father? They will want us to trace it back and if it's another Inuk it's playing the game to find out if we are related or not (J.L. December 19, 2018).

It's very interesting that LeBlanc presented the Inuit side of what is systemic racism. His description demonstrates how strongly the concept of what is Inuit resonates with not only non-Inuit but with Inuit themselves.

6:8 Ottawa TI's interactions with ITK

Ottawa TI keeps its annual fiscal records online. Its budget, both intake and spending is transparent. Over the course of 12 years, Ottawa TI's fiscal record showed funding from ITK amounting to just under $1 million. I had to ask LeBlanc how the money was allocated as ITK is a national entity while TI is not. The money would have ITK who would have distributed it to Ottawa TI.

> Explaining the money from ITK, LeBlanc said it was for the:
>
> pre-commission work for the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMWIG). We were in the field doing community consultation and because of our work history, we had asked, "How do you intend to get the voice of urban Inuit into your consultations? To their credit they asked, "How would you do it? (JL, December 19, 2018).

Because Ottawa TI had engaged with several urban Inuit communities across Canada it was asked to follow through on the MMIWG meetings. "Over the years that has been primarily the nature of how we get money, if there is a specific piece of work that they need done and they are looking at a way to engage with or incorporate the Inuit voice that is away from home." Aside from its involvement with MMWIG, Ottawa TI was also consulted on the health of Inuit in the south and ran meetings to discuss those needs. Ottawa TI is slowly and surely making small inroads with the Federal Government in terms of being able to provide "some technical agreement and support to try to bridge and bring onstream [southern Inuit issues] to where they have a more wholesome representative role concerning the needs of Inuit."

6:9 The wish for all southern Inuit

Ottawa TI has been around for a long time and it continues to grow and be successful. I asked LeBlanc if he could make one change for the southern Inuit population, what would it be?

> I wish that every Inuk would have food in the fridge. A roof over their heads and an equal education and someone to share it with. Be free of racism and discrimination. And to be whoever they are and whoever they want to become.
>
> I wish there would be equal opportunity for every Inuk in Canada to thrive and succeed in how ever they see that work within their own personal interest,

> regardless of their job or their residency or any treaty or lands claim agreement
>
> We can aspire to the values of Inuit Quajimajatuqangit whether or not we live
>
> in our home community (J.L. December 19, 2018).

Jason LeBlanc is a hard-working Inuk who has served Inuit in the south for two decades. Those of us in the south are fortunate to have him with us.

The next chapter highlights an Inuit PhD and professor who operates within the world of academia and is leaving a very large footprint through her work.

CHAPTER 7

"From unilingual Inuktitut to almost no Inuktitut all in one generation."

Heather Igloliorte, PhD

Heather Igloliorte is an Inuk professor of art history, the research chair in Indigenous Art History and Community Engagement, and the co-director of Indigenous Futures Cluster, Milieux Institute for the Arts, Technology and Hexogram-Concordia at Concordia University in Montréal. She is a well-educated and successful Inuit woman who was born in Corner Brook, NF and raised in Happy Valley/Goose Bay, Labrador. She is also a much published academic and is currently the principle investigator on a Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada partnership grant titled: *Inuit futures in Art Leadership: The Pilimmaksarniq/Pijariuqsarniq Project.* She is a unique Inuk woman who has achieved a great deal in her academic career and someone within the Inuit community who has traversed the workings of academia and the day-to-day complexities of being a well-educated Inuk.

7:1 Home use of Inuktitut

Because of Igloliorte's last name people have sometimes thought she is Italian and occasionally try to speak to her in that language. However, Igloliorte thinks that there is a growing awareness of Inuit and what that word can represent. She felt she feels that ignorance about the Inuit as a people is a result of how mainstream society does not have as much contact or interaction with Inuit as with First Nations people. Igloliorte hasn't experienced as much confusion, on a personal level regarding whether or not she is First Nations.

Igloliorte said, “I get asked frequently if I do speak Inuktitut, but I know about as much as I know French which is to say not very much.” She goes onto to explain that:

> My Father was sent to Hopedale to attend Yale school in 1960’s and maybe early 1970’s. He was born in 1955. The school was a residential school in Happy Valley–Goose Bay, where I grew up. Even though I had other Inuit family, my Aunt and Uncle and a bunch of cousins around when I was growing up, my Father never spoke Inuktitut at home. I think from my Father’s experiences in residential school and later in his own university education in the 1970’s, that he thought it was just something that would not help us get ahead in the world. It was a different world in the 70’s and 80’s, and my parents did what they thought was best for us (H.I. February 1, 2019).

As explained by Dorais, the non-transference of what should have been a mother tongue, or first language is based on the thinking that the language would not hold an advantage to future generations:

> In Canada, up to the end of the 1960’s, Inuktitut and Inuktun did not enjoy any official protections. On the contrary, they were generally considered obstacles to the modernization of Arctic populations. In the eyes of the federal government, monolingual education in English was the only way to bring Inuit out of the Stone Age and transform them into average Canadians. Thus, during the 1950’s, a network of anglophone federal day-schools was established across the Canadian Arctic (Dorais, 2010, p. 246).

Inuit Canadians’ assimilation processes happened much later and at a faster rate than those for other Aboriginal Canadians. Igloliorte is describing what was common for most Aboriginal Canadians in the past and present through the residential school system, the loss of a first

language, in this case Inuktitut. In Igloliorte's powerful summation, what her family experienced was going, "from unilingual Inuktitut to almost no Inuktitut all in one generation." Igloliorte touches on the fact that she grew up in Happy Valley-Goose Bay:

> Goose Bay is not an Inuit community. It's a community that has Inuit and Innu First Nations there as well as a lot of military personnel when I was growing up. My grandmother didn't speak hardly any English and when I was a little girl, I got to know her only when she was very sick, because, " she moved from Hopedale to Goose Bay to stay in the Paddon Home for Seniors and then the hospital. We spent time together near the end of her life and we communicated with facial expressions basically and I know she loved me very much, her face would light up when my brother and I visited (HI, February 1, 2019).

Inuit often communicate using facial expressions instead of words:

> There is no real word for "hello" in Inuktitut. When Inuit greet someone, they just smile. One must always return a smile, or risk developing a reputation for being self-centered, grouchy or unfriendly. Communicating through facial expressions and other body language is also, very common. For example, when one raises their eyebrows, it means "Yes" ("Culture," 2018).

Inuit communicate through body gestures and eye contact. Perhaps, Igloliorte was taught an important form of the Inuit language through her *anaanatsiaq* (grandmother):

> It is often misunderstood when an Inuk does not say hello verbally. Quite often people think that Inuit are rude by not saying hello. In

> actual fact, people are being acknowledged by the other by smiling/not smiling or by using body language. Moving quickly/slowly indicates the mood/state of the person. Eye contact/no eye contact is extremely important to watch. People may know you are present but not make eye contact if something is not right. There are other things that Inuit are misunderstood for (Tigullaraq, 2008, para. 3).

7:2 Structural racism

Igloliorte has triumphed the storms of academia. She is strong and she is a person who has experienced racism in one of its more subtle forms. Structural racism is defined as, "racism that is imbedded in the social process of an institution; non-random and not overtly rude or violent. Also known as "denial of opportunity" or "everyday racism" (Eisenkraft, para 13, 2010). Igloliorte recounted several stories that are academe-related, beginning with her early days in graduate school. She had presented a paper at a conference and was having dinner with her future husband. While she was in the bathroom, an older non-Inuit Indigenous male scholar approached the table and told her date, "that if I ever cheated on him that he should forgive me because Inuit women are naturally promiscuous."

Is there anything worse than lateral violence extended by an Indigenous scholar and the colonialist imaging of what Aboriginal women are? The workings of, "[t]he misogynistic European stereotypes of Native women as uncivilized and promiscuous became a rationalization for indoctrinating Native peoples with Christian law and doctrine" (Phillips, 2007). The thinking that promiscuity amongst Indigenous women can remain in present-day academia. However, and more importantly that incident demonstrates the many unexpected barriers that Igloliorte has successfully broken through.

Igloliorte explains how:

> I've had a few [experiences] of what we might think of as microaggressions. Microaggressions seem minor but they come from a place of what people are really telling you is what they think about you all of the time. They don't realize it because they are making these assumptions. It's just how it comes out because that's how they think of you (H.I. February 1, 2019).

Igloliorte went on to describe a time when she was asked to speak at a university donor recognition dinner. She had been told to say whatever she wanted; she was not asked to speak on a particular topic. She prepared a "very neutral, short and peppy speech meant to hopefully attract donor dollars on the subject of how Indigenous academics attract Indigenous students." As she was preparing to take the stage, the master of ceremonies for the evening, an upper level university administrator, introduced her as a young Inuk who would tell her "incredible story of struggle and triumph." In Igloliorte's words, "They had assumed that since they had an Indigenous person there, that I was there to share pain with them and put my Indigeneity on display." She was completely "thrown off and shook and stammered through the whole speech because what I was saying was not what they expected to hear." The introduction alone, the stereotypical thinking and the verbal microaggressions of an administrator towards an Inuit academic is what was clearly on display. Universities are commonly thought of as places of inclusion, however, Igloliorte said:

> Most of the racism that I've experienced in academia is the racism of lower expectations and the idea that there's a level of competency that isn't there because you're Inuk or that you're in the room as a token.

> People tend to think that way…or people think that there's a competency that I don't have and I'm usually able to navigate that and then they're surprised that I am not what they expected me to be! (H.I. February 1, 2019).

In a sense Igloliorte gets to disappoint people twice, once by being Inuit and again by being a well-educated and well-spoken Inuk. As an Inuit PhD holder, Igloliorte states:

> I think I'm finally at a place in my career where I think that my reputation has superseded [me] and usually when I'm in a room it's because I've been invited and people know who I am already and also that I've published enough and have earned my spot in academia (H.I. February 1, 2019).

However, "according to the 2006 census, about fourteen percent of all faculty positions are held by visible minorities, whereas twenty-four percent of all PhD holders in Canada are visible minorities. About two percent of all faculty posts are held by aboriginal professors" (Eisenkraft, 2010).

That two percent alone makes Igloliorte a very unique example of Inuit success in the realm of academia. There is so much more of her yet to come to us all.

Heather Igloliorte is an example of Inuit hope and success, but she does not shy away from what words can exemplify in terms of personal struggle. The road to academic achievement is not an easy one but it can be achieved.

The next chapter begins the analysis portion of this work. I will use post-structural theory and Inuit Quajimajatuqangit (IQ) to gain a stronger understanding of the institutions within which each interviewee works. I will also examine how, for some Inuit Quajimjatuqangit is in constant play as Inuit subjects operating with a different worldview.

CHAPTER 8

The three professionals

Discussion of findings

The interviews with John Merritt, Jason LeBlanc and Heather Igloliorte where conducted approximately a month apart from one another. Each have work schedules and travel that affected when they were available for an interview and each participant allocated approximately one hour of their time for the interview. Each interview was audio-recorded through an application on my cellphone, Call Recorder, and an audio file was created. The interviews were saved to my laptop and a USB device. As with the students, each professional participant received first a copy of the transcription of our conversation and was given the option to edit if he or she desired. Once the interviews were written out in full, I sent out to each participant for approval and edits. Each of the participants acted in a timely manner and respected the timelines that I had to adhere in order to complete my study.

I did not code these interviews, nor will I reinterpret the data through the use of Inuit Quajimajatuqangit (IQ) in this writing. I begin with the lawyer, John Merritt.

8.1: John Merritt

The questions posed to John Merritt, as seen in his interview write up were different set of questions from what I asked the students.. I was aware of Merritt's longstanding association with the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) and had spoken to him two years prior to the beginning of this study. I was very impressed that he remembered our previous conversation. Our first conversation was limited to 15 minutes.

Merritt's interview was very rich in information. My understandings of the negotiations and continued implementation of the NLCA grew enormously because of his lived experience and knowledge. Being able to include the views of the lawyer who has spent decades with the NLCA was a high point for myself as the researcher. His contribution elevated my work.

I issued questions to John Merritt in a packet of information that included the spreadsheet comparison of resident vs nonresident funding options. I was dealing with a lawyer. I had to be on target.

1. How was the NLCA negotiated in the area of post-secondary funding?

2. Are you aware of the difference in benefits between northern and southern-based Inuit?

3. Do you think that Inuit who live outside of Nunavut should have the same access to the same educational benefits as those who live inside of Nunavut?

4. If you could make a change to the NLCA, or its implementation, what would it be?

5. The initial agreement states that Inuit is defined by those who make use of the lands and waters within Nunavut, when compared to the plain English guide to the claim there is a notation that indicates, "You do not have to live in Nunavut to be a member of the land claim." What happened between 1993 and 2004? I had read of Makivik Corp making changes to the Nunavik land claims around that same time concerning enrolment – did the changes with the Nunavik claim influence the change with the NLCA?

6. Why were Inuit residing in the south never taken into consideration when the claim was being negotiated – was this a federal constraint placed onto the claim?

> How was it that distinctions could be made between resident and nonresident Inuit populations and the benefits available to them? Was it simply neglect?

What I appreciated most when dealing with Merritt was being able to talk with someone who had a stronger understanding of the NLCA than I did. I have spent many hours reading the NLCA, a 292-page document that consists of 42 articles. I have spent hours trying to find the word "nonresident" or the implication of the word "nonresident" in the agreement. I have spent hours trying to figure out why Inuit residing in the south were left off, not acknowledged, and not written into the NLCA in any form. Merritt answered my questions and I am very grateful to him.

Merritt's explanation of how the NLCA was negotiated and in many ways manipulated by the four different Federal Governments the Inuit had to deal with during the 20-year negotiation period, gave me a new understanding of the NLCA. He is the one person who has stayed with the claim throughout its lifetime.

I especially appreciated hearing about the negotiators who were young Inuit who had gone out and had been educated in the south and then returned home to create the largest land claims agreement in the history of Canada. Merritt enabled me to re-evaluate the positions they were put into, and how they wanted to create hope for future generations. As Aboriginal Canadians, future generations are what matter most to us.

Merritt made me reassess my idea of creating separate leadership for Inuit in the south. He emphasized the importance of advocacy and the importance of not dividing a very small group of Aboriginal Canadians. He also made me think about the education budget that is extended to Nunavut through Ottawa's transfer payments. He was not afraid to say to me, how do we take money away from a group of people who are dropping out of high school at a rate of

74 percent and put that money into southern Inuit enrolled in university? That sentence stayed in my bones. I would like to see every Inuit Canadian earn and receive a high school diploma.

Merritt was forthright in his responses and he was prepared for the interview. He is someone who made me rethink what being Inuit is, and what being one of "The People" truly means.

8:2: Jason LeBlanc

Jason LeBlanc, as indicated earlier, is someone whom I have known for approximately four years. It was important for me that I had his input because he is the service provider who has to deal with the policy and the offshoots of policy as initiated and implemented in the NLCA. He is the person who must deal with the results of the agreement. He is the person who tries to make things work for Inuit in the south. He is the person who works on a daily basis in the area of advocacy for southern Inuit. His group provides supports that creates a sense of home and security for southern Inuit. He is the person who recognizes the importance of southern Inuit lives.

I had expected LeBlanc to be on board with me in the area of creating political representation for Inuit in the south. I was surprised that he and Merritt arrived at the same answer; as far as I know these two men do not interact with each other formally. Therefore, I was amazed that a second professional said that advocacy is the answer, that the is answer is not to split up of a very small population by using a policy of southern representation.

LeBlanc was very clear in expressing how the process with the Federal Government is difficult. It was interesting to me to hear how the Federal Government turns to Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami first for its queries concerning Inuit Canadians. I was impressed that LeBlanc makes a

point of bringing in the southern Inuit voice and concerns when he is given the opportunity and is included in dialogue concerning Inuit initiatives as generated through the Federal Government.

I also enjoyed that he spoke candidly about the confusion about what an Inuit person is and he mentioned the many Inuit who don't apply for land claims enrollment because they believe that they do not have enough Inuit identifiers. I had to think about all the Inuit who are in the south who think that because they have never been in the north, like myself, they cannot apply to enroll. Using information from the 2016 census, LeBlanc provided important insights about what the southern population truly could look like and the possibility of having 40 percent of the entire Inuit Canadian population living outside of their land claims areas.

The work that Ottawa Tunngasvvingat Inuit has been doing in its 32 years of operation exemplifies how long Inuit have been living in the south while being served by a group of southern Inuit. LeBlanc's concern for post-secondary Inuit students and the importance of their success was impressive. The possibility of having Ottawa TI being given the opportunity to handle the funding for Inuit post-secondary students is one that I hope comes true.

There are always new supports being created and maintained for southern Inuit residing in Ottawa. There are always new goals to reach. What I see in LeBlanc and in Ottawa TI is determination.

8:3: Heather Igloliorte

There are so few Inuit PhD holders in Canada. I brought Igloliorte into my study as an example of hope. She is someone who, through her work, gives back to Inuit. She is an important figure in the world of Inuit art and is making the world of Inuit art more important to the rest of the world.

Igloliorte was very frank in her description of structural racism and the microaggressions that she has encountered within academia. I appreciated her raw honesty. What I take away most from spending a brief amount of time with her, is her confidence in who she is as an Inuit person. She was very clear in saying that she does not speak Inuktitut fluently. She was very clear in saying that she looks more like her non-Inuit mom as opposed to her Inuit father. She was very open when telling me how people react to her, but she is also someone who in her words, "has made peace with that." Making peace within your own spirit that you are an Inuk, fully and without hesitation is something that many Inuit never attain. Igloliorte is Inuit first.

Igloliorte was straight forward when admitting how the Inuktitut language has disappeared within her own family, as a result of residential school. As an Aboriginal Canadian I am often expected to speak Inuktitut and I feel that the Canadian population still does not understand how first languages were removed and hidden from future generations.

Igloliorte is an example of strength and success and is a strong Inuit woman. She is the example of the potential of all Inuit Canadians.

8:4 Summation

I am grateful to the three professionals who participated in this study. Each of them reshaped my thinking and contributed generously to my work. They are people who are well educated, well-spoken and in my view, fearless. They each demonstrated an attitude that anything is possible. Because of that thinking they have each completed what may appear to be the impossible. The two Inuit professionals had each completed their university degrees and have gone on to give back to Inuit in the north and south. They demonstrate what is required to make it through university; tenacity.

The words of the professionals are important as they support the findings of the post-secondary students in the following chapter and help to provide an understanding of southern Inuit life that is not yet available in literature. The students are people who are in some way finding out what the professionals may already know and work within in terms of political structures and climates. The professionals like the students are still making their way through in each of their own professions. However, the students are also the ones who are breaking new ground as the next generation of educated Inuit. They are the hope for future Inuit generations.

CHAPTER 9

The Analysis of the University Student Interviews

This chapter demonstrates how the lives of the nonresident post-secondary Inuit students are lived out through the methodologies used and the practical outcomes and results. This chapter reinforces the sense of solitude that each student has learned to manage through his/her academic pursuits.

9:1 Post-structural theoretical findings

Through a post-structural lens, the information provided by the students demonstrated how they deal with both the University of Alberta and Freehorse Family Wellness Society and how those two institutions deal with one another. What became evident to me as the researcher, was how the institutions did not appear to communicate with each other, and how each had a set of guidelines within which the students worked that are not conducive to the student's continued learning and degree completion. By all appearances each institution operates within its own corporate silo and neither is student focused.

As stated previously the southern Inuit population is created through an intangible, yet accepted geographical line named the 60th parallel. It is a divide that we cannot see, touch, hear, smell or taste but we nonetheless accept its existence. We recognize it on maps of Canada. We see it as the divide between north and south. Through this divide we create northern and southern Canadian populations and believe the imaginings of the people and the landscapes we ourselves create through the understandings of scholars, anthropologists and cartographers. In doing so we have enclosed each population that lies on either side of the invisible line. The line

separates the populations that live on either side, thus ensuring that each population is segregated, enclosed and inclined towards disciplinary measures.

Since, "discipline sometimes requires enclosure" (Foucault, 1991, p. 141), it can be said that the students within the southern populations have been geographically captured and enclosed via the 60th parallel and are disciplined through the institutions that they must deal with, the university and the funding provider. Southern Inuit student populations are not represented in Canada, thus confirming a reality that supports the second requirement of Foucault's (1991) creation of docile bodies.

> Its aim was to establish presences and absences, to know where and how to locate individuals, to set up useful communications, to interrupt others, to be able at each moment to supervise the conduct of each individual, to assess it, to judge it, to calculate its qualities and merits. It was a procedure, therefore, aimed at knowing, mastering and using. Discipline organizes an analytical space (p. 143).

In effect, the Inuit students' bodies have been positioned in such a manner in southern Canada that the institutions know where they are, and how they can be located. The information that each institution extends through required reporting creates an analytical space that each Inuit student functions inside of. The creation of a docile Inuit student is now 50 percent complete.

The created analytical space then becomes a useful space, "The rule of functional sites…particular places were defined to correspond not only to the need to supervise, to break dangerous communications but also to create a useful space…out of discipline a useful space was born" (Foucault, 1991, p. 144-145). When an Inuit student is inside a classroom, sitting in a row of desks, the physical placing of an Inuit body becomes akin to that of an assembly line or

workshop in that, “it was possible to carry out supervision that was both general and individual, to observe worker’s presence and the quality of their work, to compare workers to one another, to classify their skill” (Foucault, 1991, p. 145). Supervision is a form of surveillance and once the Inuit student is seated within the institution, surveillance naturally follows. Add to the physical surveillance of the Inuit student, the amount of reporting and paperwork that each student mentioned in his/her interview. A useful space of discipline has been created. The Inuit body becomes more docile and less resistant to the institutions that it must deal with and report to. The Inuit body adheres to the rules and standards of each institution, whether it is the university or the funder who each demand reporting of, midterm or final grades, attendance, the semester course list or the yearly educational plan. Always there is the required grade point average (GPA) that is needed to move forward in completing a degree. The transformation is complete. The Inuit body has now become the unit which in turn creates a rank:

> In organizing “cells,” “places,” and “ranks,” the disciplines create complex spaces. It is spaces that provide fixed positions and permit circulation; they carve out individual segments and establish operational links; they mark places and indicate values; they guarantee the obedience of individuals…
> (Foucault, 1991, p. 148)

Southern Inuit students balance the demands that lie within and outside of each institution-a constant juggling act. There is no sense of security. There is no fixed position. There is a sense of isolation. An Inuit students’ ranking is therefore not only lowly it is one whereby more time is spent playing “catch up” to all the demands of daily life.

It is exhausting to focus on your studies while dealing with the constant threat of funding being removed because one piece of paper was not submitted on time. This situation was best

described by Vincent who said that the biggest barrier he experienced during his time in post-secondary studies had less to do with being Inuit, or the "barrier because of who I am," he said, "the biggest barrier was the amount of paperwork." It may be easier to say you're Inuit than it is to complete all the paperwork that ties in with southern Inuit identity. All of the dealings with the university and the demands of midterm and final exams and final papers remain in the forefront of Inuit student life while in the background are the demands of family and work outside of the institution.

UNIVERSITY

STUDENT

FUNDER

The university and the funder do not speak to one another, but instead place the student under their distinct forms of discipline and punishment. The above depiction of worry by the Inuit student as understandable. With the constant pressures and demands within the Inuit student the above visualization of being in a perpetual state of anxious worry is not unrealistic. When the funding that is a government fiduciary obligation is under constant threat, as in the following example, anxiety is only heightened.

Fall 2018 Midterm Progress Report

If you are unable to view your midterm grades online or your name/ID # is not present, please use this form to list the classes you are registered in for the Fall 2018 term and the midterm grade(s) you have received for each class.

If you do not have a midterm exam for any class, please list the class and state in the "Comments" section what you have instead of a midterm (i.e. essay, project, etc.) and any grade you have been given.

Please sign, date and submit this form to our office by November 15, 2018 to avoid a delay to your December 2018 deposit and/or your sponsorship being placed on hold. Additionally, please be aware that providing false or incomplete information is considered fraud and will result in the immediate cancellation of your sponsorship.

Note: This form should be either emailed to your funding officer or faxed to 780-944-0176. Please remember to sign and date at the bottom of this form!

I received this correspondence in the fall of 2018. I completed my doctoral coursework in 2017. However, I did have to print off the report form, fill it out and sign it. The funder was in a position of authority and could request mid-term or final marks that were not yet available on the in-house university system, all the while employing the threat of reducing or complete cutting my funding. It is amazing that an Inuit student completes any degree. The student is the person left in the middle to maneuver through unrealistic demands of the two institutions who never communicate with one another. The funder's directives come from Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC). The university has its own governance and appears to not consider the circumstances of the Inuit student body or mind. Inuit student life is fraught with emotion and obstacles. Through dramaturgical coding, the bridge to the Inuit Qujimajatuqangit (IQ), the way in which the students navigate their way becomes clearer.

9:2 Methods in practice - Dramaturgical coding

Dramaturgical coding, according to Saldaña, "approaches naturalistic observations and interview narratives as "social drama." in its broadest sense. Life is perceived as "performance" with humans interacting as a cast of characters in conflict" (Saldaña, 2013, p. 123).

I do not take the circumstance of the Inuit students lightly and I do not think of their lives as a performance in a theatrical way. I used dramaturgical coding because it enabled me, the researcher to take in the transcriptions of each student and put them together in a way that made me think more deeply about their objectives (OBJ), conflicts (CON), tactics (TAC), attitudes (ATT), emotive responses (EMO) and the subtexts (SUB) of meaning within their responses. A

sample of the Excel spreadsheet used to break down each student's responses is on the following page.

On the surface, the basic data broke out this way:

Three Inuit males, one Inuit female participated in this portion of the study. Their ages ranged from 28 to 49; the female was the oldest. The lowest level of post-secondary education was third year undergraduate. The highest level of education was the student completing a master's degree. Only one student was born in his land claims area. The other three were born and raised outside of their land claims area. Each is a member of either the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement or the Inuvialuit land claims agreement. As nonresident Inuit students each had to deal with the third-party funder.

The above information allowed for the following information:

All of the students had interacted with both the guidelines of the university and their funders for a minimum of two years. They were all mature students, (i.e. over the age of 18) and did not arrive at university immediately after completing Grade 12. They each had ample life experience and as such, their responses to my questions were well thought-out and well spoken.

	PARTICIPANT	GE	EDUCATION
Q1: WHERE & WHEN WERE YOU BORN?	A1		MA
	JC		3RD YEAR B'ED
	NL		3RD YEAR B'ED
	VL		COMPLETED PS
	RESP(	CODING/DL/IQ	SUB-DETAIL
Q2:HOW DO PEOPLE REACT WHEN YOU TELL THEM YOU'RE INUIT?	A1	CON/	INIDGENOUS PPL MORE LIKE A WALL
	JC	CON/	TALK TO ME IN THEIR LANGUAGE
	NL	TAC/WEL	TELL THEM I'M ESKIMO
	VL	TAC/WEL	RARE TO SEE AN INUIT PERSON
Q3: DO PPL CONFUSE YOU WITH BEING FIRST NATION?	A1	TAC/	CANADIANS UNDERSTAND INUIT BETTER THAN AMERICANS
PART 2: HOW DO YOU TELL THEM YOU'RE NOT?			
	JC	CON/	PRETTY RARE THEY GET IT RIGH ON THE FIRST TRY
	NL	CON/	
	VL	CON/	
PART 3: HOW DO PEOPLE REACT TO THE WORD INUIT?	A1	TAC/WEL	US PPL ROMANTICIZE, CDN UNDERSTAND
	JC	TAC/WEL	IT'S HARD FOR THEM/WEIRD INTERACTION
	NL	TAC/WEL	
	VL	EMO/SER	I NEVER REALIZED HOW HEAVY
Q4: DO YOU SPEAK INUKTITUT?	A1	ATT/RES	I ALSO SPEAK FRENCH, SOME UKRANIAN AND RUSSIAN
	JC	ATT/RES	THEY ASSUME THAT IT'S A DIFFERENT LANGUAGE
	NL	O	
	VL	O	NOT LIKE THEY ARE CALLING ME OUT
Q5: HAVE YOU EXPERIENCED RACISM?	A1	ATT/	SECTORS OF INDIGENOUS POPULATION HAVE PROBLEMS
	JC	ATT/SER	NOT OVERT BUT PPL HAVE SAID THINGS AROUND ME
	NL	ATT/WEL	I FELT LIKE AN ANIMAL IN A ZOO, PET ME, FAUN ME STARE
	VL	ATT/	I DON' MARK THAT AS RACIST, JUST ASSHOLES
Q6: HAVE YOU EXPERIENCED BARRIERS IN POST-SECONDARY?	A1	CON/	TECHNOLOGY WAS INTENSE. TRIAL BY FIRE
	JC	CON/	OPTIONS ARE RESTRICTED TO PEOPLE WHO LIVE UP NORTH
	NL	CON/	I HAD TO WORK FT AND GO TO UNIVERSITY FT
	VL	CON/	I HAVE TO GET ANOTHER TRIBE OR PERSON TO DENY
HAS THE POST-SECONDARY FUNDING STREAM CONTRIBUTED TO BARRIERS?	A1	CON/	I HAVE TO PROVE THE NORTH REJECTS ME THEY DETERMINE FULL TIME
	JC	CON/	FUNDING OPTIONS UP NORTH GEARED TO PPL WHO LIVE THERE
	NL	CON/	HANDED IN ON TIME BUT NEVER ASKED AGAIN JUST TOOK THE GRADE
	VL	CON/	FUNDING PPRWK CUMBERSOME AND TOO MUCH
Q7: ARE OTHER INUIT WELCOMING TO YOU?	A1	CON/	OTHER THAN THE INUIT MEETING I THINK THEY WERE WELCOMING
	JC	CON/ATT	I DON'T KEEP IN CONTACT/INUIT SOCIETY OR INUIT RELATIVES
	NL	CON/	
	VL	CON/	BUT I FEEL A CONNECTION WHEN SOMEONE ELSE SAYS THEY'RE INUIT
Q8: IF THERE WAS ONE THING YOU COULD SAY TO THE PUBLIC ABOUT BEING INUK IN THE SOUTH WHAT	A1	ONE/N THE	OURSELVES AND OUR LOVED ONES LIVE LIFE WITH AN OPEN MIND & HEART
	JC	M/UICAUSE	ITS TROUBLING HOW MUCH IGNORANCE THERE IS ABOUT INUIT
	NL	O S/'SSOUTHERN	BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH I AM STILL INUIT AND THERE'S NO HUGE
	VL	CON/	

With dramaturgical coding the concepts of IQ were included. *Innuqatigiitsiarniq*, Respecting others (RES), *Tunngararniq*, open and welcoming (WEL), *Pijitsirniq* serving (SERV), *Piliriqatigiingniq*, working for a common cause (CC) and *Aajiqatgiingniq*, consensus (CON). By using a western diagnostic tool and IQ, I was able to filter the responses, bridging

both methods together allowed me to create a more refined overall understanding of the Inuit students and the experiences that they live both inside and outside of academia.

Jordan, Nathan and Vincent said that when they identified as Inuit, they were met with confusion. A1 made a point of stating that the reaction to identifying as Inuit was not a consistent one, it depended on who A1 was speaking to. A1 was resigned to expecting resistance from other Aboriginal people, while the other participants accepted the confusion of others as the norm. All four of the participants said that there was an immediate assumption that being Inuit meant First Nations.

All of the participants used the word "Eskimo" as a way to lighten the confusion of the people they initially engaged with. Jordan would use the term "people in igloos" while Nathan would say, "people from the north." Jordan, Nathan and Vincent said that they had not experienced overt racism, while A1 had experienced lateral violence. None of the participants are fluent in Inuktitut. However, they all said that nobody had ever asked if they were. All also stated that they had little-to no interaction with other Inuit whether extended Inuit family members or Inuit who reside in Edmonton. None sought out other Inuit locally.

Post-secondary school barriers were the greatest area of conflict for the participants. All stated that the paperwork they had to generate for their funder was extreme and constant. They had to apply for funding twice a year. They each worked evenings and weekends with their hours totaling between 24-40 per week in addition carrying a full-time course load because the cost of living allowance was not enough to live on or even cover their rent with. Jordan and A1 spoke of the tier system now in use by the funder. The student's budgets must be reported along with their place of employment, hourly wage and the number of hours worked per week.

Jordan, has kept a well-paying job, said that he could not risk losing that job as he is relied on that income through summer holidays. If he were to request reduced hours from his employer during the university calendar year, he risked losing his job. This placed him and two of the other students in paradoxical situations. None of the students could risk losing their jobs but at the same time it was their work that reduced their cost-of -living allowance. All stated that they were very pleased with the funding officer that they dealt with, and not unexpectedly all stated that they were very grateful that their tuition was paid for.

The tactics used by each student varied when it came to following through with the funder or their schoolwork. Each spoke of their constant state of fatigue. Vincent, Nathan and Jordan were disappointed with the grades that they received and wished they had had the time needed to truly invest in their studies more diligently.

The emotive words each student used were subtle descriptors. They were words that alluded to emotion, however, the words themselves are generally used in a different context. For instance, A1 made use of the word “cool” several times. The way the word was used was a descriptor for a sense of acceptance and understanding by the people A1 dealt with. Vincent and Jordan swore and their use of the swear word was fitting and made us both laugh. The word “nice” came up in the context of something going smoothly and was not used as a descriptor of a person.

As a literary artist I was attracted to dramaturgical coding. The coding is designed to create an artistic type of classification of the data. However, Saldaña does state, “These options reinforce the principle that coding is not a precise science, it is primarily an interpretive act” (Saldaña, 2013, p. 193). I had to spend more time with the data and reassess what the participants were each saying. Had I not used this coding technique I would not have zeroed in

on the word choice or meaning of what each participant was expressing with such detail. The coding enhanced the overall outcome of my findings with the students.

Interpretation through IQ will now take the findings into the realm of the Inuit values and understandings.

9.3: Inuit Qujimajatuqangit interpretations

AT ONE POINT I HAD THREE JOBS	TAC/SER
I HAD TO DO THE PPRWK EVERY SEMESTER	OBJ/SER
(NO COST OF LIVING) $25 FOR BOOKS/PHOTOCOPYING	ATT
NEED 2.5 GPA, /CAN'T WITHDRAW/FT/FUNDING DEPENDS ON NEEDS	ATT/SER
IT'S LIKE HE'S MY BROTHER	EMO/WEL/RES
YOU WANT TO LOOK WHITE ENOUGH TO BE APPROACHABLE BUT INUIT ENOUGH TO BE INTERESTING	TAC/RES/SERV
DIFFERENCE IN HOW I LOOK WALK OR TALK AND TRADITION CAN BE ANYWHERE	TAC/RES/SERV

Sample of using both dramaturgical coding and IQ interpretation

Using IQ for this study allows me to illustrate the ways in which the Inuit student participants work through their own educational processes. It doesn't stand in opposition of Western theories, concepts or expected outcomes. It isn't used in this study as a form of demonstrating superiority over Western understandings. IQ is used to enhance the understandings of the educational administrators, political representatives and those in charge of

policy creation. IQ is used as a form of trust in building a bridge to one another and gaining a broader understanding of each other.

I assume that there may be readers of this work, who may be asking why Inuit post-secondary students have not told others about their situations already or why they are not demonstrating publicly and rallying to improve their own circumstances. I would expect that reaction from the public in light of often-misinformed expectations that are placed upon all Aboriginal Canadians. I would like to remind the readers of this work that:

> IQ is more than a philosophy. It is an ethical framework and detailed plan for having a good life. It is a way of thinking, and connecting all aspects of life in a coherent way. Western European culture and science by contrast, tends to divide aspects of life into pieces that can be dissected, isolated and studied (Tester & Tagalik, 2017, p. 3).

Keeping that explanations in mind, I will now show how the Inuit students demonstrated their inherent understandings of IQ. I also believe that they were unaware of their Inuitness during the interviews. IQ lives inside of Inuit and makes its appearance more often than most people, including the student participants recognize.

All of the students spoke in calm tones. None exhibited anger in their responses. I must note this because Inuit do not indulge anger, hence as a people we would not expect ourselves to rally or form a loud demonstration over an issue or raise our voices to make a point:

> To show frustration or anger is considered a childish response. An adult would be expected to either solve the problem or if the problem was insolvable, accept it as such. Inuit also feel that tact and humility are important qualities in adults" (Bolt, 2006, p. 32).

This aspect of Inuitness is why the students have not confronted their funder or the university administrators. However, as a people with inherent IQ values and ways of being we won't approach an issue in an anger-fueled, argumentative manner. As Inuit we would remain tactful and humble.

To address the second issue raised earlier, Inuit post-secondary education is not a free ride. It is a fiduciary obligation that is fulfilled by the Federal Government at its absolute minimum. For example, the $25/semester allotment for books and photocopying hardly covers for the amount needed to purchase required readings texts for even one university course nor does a cost-of living-allowance cover all expenses for an Inuit post-secondary student.

What I found to be both beautiful and humbling was that each student expressed her or his gratitude for having tuition paid. "Having a positive attitude enables each person to become contributing members of their family and their community" (Government of Nunavut, 2007, p. 36). Expressing thankfulness or a positive at the beginning of a conversation is a normal and expected jumping off point for an issue.

All the students demonstrated *tunngararniq*, being open and welcoming to others, especially when explaining that they are Inuit and what that means. They used humour and remained calm and did not display outward frustration with those around them when explaining their ethnicity. They have come to expect confusion and ignorance from those around them when it comes to how others understand the word "Inuit." Their use of *pijitsirniq* (serving) and *piliriqatigiingniq* (working towards a common cause) were displayed time and again. Each of these IQ traits requires extreme patience and clearly spoken responses. The students did not hesitate to try to explain what Inuit are in the grand scheme of Canada, and in doing so are

working towards a common cause and serving not only the people to whom they are speaking with but all Inuit Canadians.

The students recognized when their explanations were fruitless and unproductive. They each did not push the issue with people who were demeaning. They each had a sense of *innuqatigiitsiarniq* (respecting others) and left the conversations without demonstrating anger. They left ineffective conversations in a peaceable manner. Inuit are not known to be confrontational people overall.

9.4 The most important student conclusions

The students are brave people. Two desire to return to post-secondary, one completed his pursuit within the walls on a university and the fourth is moving into a doctoral program. Each of them want or have been successful in a place without Inuit-specific supports. Inuit post-secondary students may represent the most insecure student population.

The students had no direct connections with one another or with their Inuit relatives or communities. That could very well be because there is nothing in place within the university that is Inuit-specific for them to attach to. The students are in effect much like those who wandered in the desert in biblical times. They are drifters within a sociological structure that places high expectations on them.

When A1 says, “I have to prove that the north rejects me,” those words hold a deep and double meaning. I understood what was being spoken about because I have had to have Financial Assistance for Nunavut Students reject me too each year. There is a sense of harm or damage that is being played out when Inuit students must fill in every part of a form requesting student financial aid from their inherited homeland, a land that they may have never traveled to, a homeland that has excluded them already through a land claim.

First there is the physical act of filling out the form, including the beneficiary number from the community that accepts you as a recognized member. Secondly the sense of not belonging is nurtured by having to scan those sheets of paper with a notation that says, "Please reject this application ASAP and fax this document to my funder." Having to request exclusion in your own handwriting from a homeland that can and does not offer support is an example of how structural or institutional violence extends itself into the everyday life of a southern Inuk student.

It is a physical act of refusal from the land claims agreement area that as a southern Inuk you were never factored into. It is a sense of rejection that can become even more amplified through the formality of a required document. A document that once again reminds you that your membership to your Inuit home community and your allegiance to said community may be superficial only. You can produce a beneficiary card, but as a southern Inuk you are still not eligible for northern financial aid because of where you live. You are excluded.

This physical act of rejection through pen, paper and the scanning of a required document is hurtful. It is a reminder of all the things you are not as a southern Inuk. It is a very clear reminder that as a southern Inuk student you are not eligible for a student loan out of your home territory and you will not be taken into consideration as an applicant for a northern scholarship. It is an act of continued erasure. It is erasure that is contained through what can be equated to structural violence because of a land claims policy and the institutional violence that every Inuit student must adhere to in order to receive funding. It is belittlement.

I have often thought that my Inuit head counts statistically only. The request for denial for financial support from the homeland my mother gave to me is an act that I think of as shameful. The shame does not reside within me as a southern Inuk. The shame resides in the

land claims agreements that were signed off without consideration for Inuit who do not live within their territory and the continued exclusion of southern Inuit as the land claims agreements are in the daily process of implementation. It is their shame to carry, not mine.

There is a word in the Padlei Inuit dialect, meaning there isn't anything one can do about it, it's destiny, that's life. The definition of *ayornartok* is what came into each conversation that centered around the use of the word "Eskimo" and how racism was handled by each participant. A1 mentioned that there continues to be a romanticism that surrounds the word Eskimo while Vincent had a completely opposite understanding. He said, he had to say he was an Edmonton Eskimo and followed that with, "I don't mark that as racist, just assholes."

I wondered if A1 and Vincent were each expressing *ayornartok* – "that's life" or whether they were each expressing their own sense of not belonging to any one group. I had said earlier that I did not identify as Inuit when I was very young because I didn't know what it meant to be Inuit. Perhaps both A1 and Vincent were expressing the same sense of being peerless and grab onto what mainstream produces before their eyes. Vincent expresses this feeling in a way that sees a reaction of surprise or confusion that is only understood by referencing a football team name and A1 may see a look of romantic wonderment. Nathan's experience just as easily falls in a sense *ayornartok*, or that's life.

When an Inuit man is at his place of employment and is asked what his ethnicity is and he suddenly becomes a place of exoticism that requires a photograph to mark the moment, the sense of being an oddity is intensified. Within five-minutes Nathan became a freak. A specimen whose photograph would be shown off to the tourist's family members back home in the United States. They too may examine him in detail, taking in his face, the slant of his dark eyes, the colour of his skin, whether his cheekbones are high enough, whether or not he has the look of a

savage from long ago. When Jordan identifies and is rejected by the swimmers at his place of employment because he is not Asian and cannot speak Cantonese, it becomes obvious that Inuit living their normal, daily work lives in the south are a social curiosity and a phenomenon that is not broadly understood.

I have in the past spoken to this sense of peculiarity and there have been times when I do not identify simply because I do not want to deal with the reaction. During several conversations I have had with people who are near strangers, it has become commonplace for me to be asked, "But your dad was white right?" indicating to me that I truly am not a whole Inuit person in the understandings of many. Where I live confuses them or perhaps, they may think that I am a better person because the blood pumping through my veins is not fully Inuit. The perceptions of the everyday man, the ideations of Inuit as being out of place because we do get up in the morning and go to work and buy a coffee and read a local newspaper and attend university remains something to be grappled with by the public. We are people and we are here.

In saying that we are here, being here in the south also means that we are the drifters, the wanderers who go about our lives with goals and the belief in ourselves as Inuit. It is not about where we live. It is about who we are. None of the students denied that they are Inuit. They never made their responses to others softer, or easier by adding in another layer of identity. They stood tall. They are who and what they say they are. They are Inuit.

I had asked the students if there was one thing they could say to the public, what would it be? They each answered in caring and generous ways, demonstrating once more their own sense of kindness and patience towards the world around them. After the work was done, and the transcripts and interviews approved by each of them I found myself wanting to tell each of them one thing. I wanted to tell them that they are each Inuit and that they should each be confident in

who they are as Inuit people. I write this because I sensed an insecurity in each of them when they spoke about identifying as an Inuit person in the southern areas of Canada.

I felt that the students doubted their own inherent Inuitness. For instance, when Jordan says to me, "when you and me are not in the same room, I'm probably the only Inuit within 50 km," and when A1 said that when identifying, "I get the sense of, "oh, you're not only First Nations, but you're white." As southern Inuit we do operate in a world that doubts us and challenges us and makes us feel like less-than on a daily basis.

Being in a constant state of having to prove who you are whether on paper directed to an institution or in a casual conversation is emotionally tiring. Nathan said that when he identifies himself as Inuit their reaction is often, ""From up North?" and I'll say, "No I was born in Prince Albert." And they're like, "Well, what are you?" He is aware of his how his Inuitness is under question.

When others constantly question what we say we are, it is easy to begin to question ourselves. I have known other southern Inuit who have said to me that they feel more white than Inuit. I have to question our own understandings of who we think we are as Inuit residing in the south.

If I have one talk back that I could give to the Inuit post-secondary students it would be that you are Inuit and it's not about looks or language, it's about owning who you are and never allowing an inch of doubt to enter into your consciousness. Walk it. Talk it. Stand tall in it. People can question you but never allow their ignorance to make you question yourself.

However, this must be spoken too. As Inuit post-secondary students, they are alone. They cope in their daily lives without other Inuit to stand next to or to endorse their existence. Therein lies the sadness of what an unseen line across the north can do to a growing population.

Therein lies the sadness of land claims agreements that are inclusive to some and exclusive to others. We all have a need to belong to something. A need to be recognized and not scrutinized for who and what we say we are.

To the students in this study, I say that we do belong. We belong to one another.

CHAPTER 10

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

My study question was; How are non-Nunangat Inuit post-secondary students making their way through university? I investigated the study question in three areas, the processes that the Inuit students must adhere to as set forth by the funder and the post-secondary institution, their own sense of community within the city where they are studying and how perceptions of others impacted their lives. Similar concepts were addressed by the professionals who contributed their thoughts and emotions to this work.

10:1 The Funder

Each of the students felt that the amount of paperwork that must completed before, during and after each semester was laborious. Each student was also determined to continue, complete and put their education to work. I felt that they had each resigned themselves to the fact that the paperwork was a part of their process and was something they simply had to follow through with a good conscience. Like the students, I always followed through on the demands of the funder. I respected that there were dates to be adhered to and I would submit my paperwork in advance. This was not an easy task.

When the funder requested official final grades that were not yet posted on the university in-house system, I would send unofficial grades with the explanations that the official grades would not be available for the next three weeks. I would follow through with not only an email but a phone call to my funding officer. My funding officers changed often during my time in university, but I learned that keeping a good relationship with them was important. They are the people who are following the directives of Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), they are not INAC.

There were times when I was told that many requests for funding had arrived to my funder and I might not be receiving funding for the full academic year. I thought nothing of going to the funding office, without an appointment and waiting for a funding officer to see me. My question would be, "How many Inuit are you currently funding?" and after I had received a blank stare or a shrug in return, I would say, "Me. I'm it." I don't like behaving in that manner, but I also felt that I had to make a point. The point being that so very few Inuit make it to a post-secondary educational institution, and it would be in the best interests of the funder to be aware of that. I was always reasonable. I never showed anger. I always thanked the funding officers for their time.

Funding officers are a small cog inside of a much bigger wheel. They are only doing their job and they carry some authority in the post-secondary funding scheme, but they are not the people who can direct or make immediate change. The paperwork is what they must deal with, and I would advise Inuit students to take the time to know the person who is working for them and is in fact helping them. It is too easy to target the messenger.

Because the funding dollars for me were small I became scholarship dependent, along with working several jobs per semester. I applied for and received many scholarships but that also meant that I had to maintain a high GPA. When we are students all we have at the end of each semester are our grades. Grades matter and experience taught me to work hard and get the good grades. It's not easy. It also meant that I did not have an active social life, but I told myself that university was a very small window of time within the scope of my entire life. It was not forever.

Reporting good grades to my funder also mattered. I wanted to show the funder that I was a good investment. I wanted to show that I was serious. I knew I had to maintain that GPA

because that number mattered when I applied twice a year for tuition payment. I did not want to risk being refused because of my GPA, that was something that I was determined to never have happen to me.

At this point one could ask me why I did not interview my funder. My response is that this work was student-focused, and the students were the priority. I wanted the students to be the ones whose voices were heard, and I felt that they deserved that opportunity. My study was their space to explain the dilemmas that they each had worked their way through. It was time for them to talk to the results of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and the three other land claims. I would like my future work to be the bringing together the funder and the university administrators and professors in the context of a public forum. I will say, at this point that I would gladly put together that meeting and that may be a future endeavor. It is needed.

I will also continue to advocate for the two Inuit students who have financial holds against their accounts. I will stay on those cases because I sense that there has been miscommunication between the university financial administrators and the funder. I will stay with the students until this is resolved but overall what nonresident Inuit students need is:

Considerations for the third party post-secondary funder

- More financial support especially more than tuition payment.
- Adequate and realistic cost-of-living allowances.
- Book allowances that cover the cost of required texts.
- Realistic reporting dates to the funder that align with the in-house university system.

10:2 Community

The students created their own supports. Most were family-based, not extended but immediate family members. I see this as a traditional norm. Inuit never lived in large groupings. Inuit travelled often and were family focused. Perhaps this tradition has stayed with us and demonstrates itself in present day southern communities. Inuit in urban areas don't congregate and live together in a specific area. This tradition can make it difficult to find each other but I also believe we have always kept our contacts small and our relationships cherished.

We each found ways to cope and we knew that others were out there but we didn't call on or meet with one another as a group. When Jordan and Nathan came up against illness and had no one to advocate for them, that was an obvious demonstration of the lack of Inuit on-campus supports.

I created my own small community of supportive people, the many unnamed people within this work. I knew who to trust but that also means I knew who not to trust. I trusted the students I have presented in my work and a very small number of professors.

I would like to see post-secondary institutions provide Inuit specific supports because Inuit are not First Nations. Having another Inuit student in a classroom or being able to talk about university life with another Inuit student is important and is needed. Inuit are often put in with First Nations and Métis people, but each Aboriginal group is distinct.

Post-secondary institutions should take on the responsibility of creating Inuit student groups. Inuit students are worth the time and attention from the institution that exists in part because of Inuit educational dollars.

One of the greatest lacks, one the biggest gaps that I have experienced in my near decade of post-secondary education, is that Inuit are not presented in coursework. I have studied in an

Aboriginal focused faculty and specialization. Inuit are nowhere in the curriculum. Our visibility as a distinct Aboriginal group is not included or recognized in any way. Yes, Aboriginal-based coursework must include Inuit. We are here.

10:3 Perceptions

I have spent many years advocating for Inuit through my writing and publishing of both prose and poetry. I have been interviewed repeatedly on the name change for the Edmonton Eskimo football team many times and have published articles on that subject and the word, "Eskimo." I sat as a volunteer vice-president with the Inuit Edmontonmiut group for two years. I was contracted by I Have A Chance Success supports (IHAC) in Stony Plain, Alberta to teach a six-hour Inuit Awareness program to more than 140 employees who provide support to Inuit who need care that their home communities cannot provide. The IHAC clientele is 98 percent Inuit. I have devoted the last 10 years to speaking about and writing on behalf of Inuit Canadians.

Unfortunately, though I know what it is like to be thought of as someone who is different. I know what it is like to feel commodified. I know what happens when I choose to identify. As expected through Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit for me and for the students we do not exhibit anger about the way we are perceived by others. Instead we see that the ignorance of the general public as an opportunity to help others gain a greater understanding of Inuit. The students were each kind and patient people. They used humour when someone reacted oddly. Their resilience was clearly on display.

Humour is a mechanism of survival and I am happy that the Inuit students are filled with it. "When a people can laugh at themselves and laugh at others and hold all aspects of life together, without letting anyone drive them to extremes then it seems to me that, that people can survive" ("Deloria, Vine Jr.," 2014, para. 1). Humour keeps Aboriginal Canadians alive. We

have an inherent ability to laugh our way through the toughest of times and to make our lives work. Next to the bad things in our lives, lie the good.

I was proud of the student's responses. They are thoughtful people who only want the best for others first and themselves second. Each interview contained much laughter, but it was not malicious laughter.

I have no idea if the public can ever rid itself of its perception of Inuit as only northernly located people standing at a seal hole hanging onto to a harpoon. I'll keep writing against that imagery and speaking against that imagery and I know one thing, I know that out there in this world, there are seven other southern resident Inuit who will be working against and living against that stereotype.

10.4 Considerations for Post-secondary Institutions

I would like universities to consider the following:

- Include Inuit Canadian history and present-day circumstances into coursework in every faculty. What I see happening right now is a pan-Aboriginal context of Aboriginal Canadians. However, I came through one Aboriginal faculty and one Aboriginal-based specialization and Inuit content was absent. I said early in this work that I wonder what happens to the Inuit student psyche if Inuit are not represented through coursework. If we are only Inuit artistic renderings on the walls or in the showcases of academic hallways but not in print in required reading, the concept of inclusion is absent in the one environment in Canada where inclusion is applauded.
- Hire an Inuit liaison. When LeBlanc stated that Ottawa Tunngasuvitt Inuit brought in an educational liaison to go to various Ottawa universities to distribute information about their organization, he was also speaking about the need for Inuit students to know that

there are other Inuit out there because time and again First Nations students are the on-campus focus. It's time to change that.

- Hire an Inuit Elder. I've been blessed to have had the opportunity to not only do this work but to interact with First Nations and Métis Elders. They helped me when I least expected their help and their words and voices return to me on hard days. However, the Elders were not Inuit. I wanted the company of one of my own for guidance, support and wisdom. If I had, had an Inuit Elder I would have felt as though I was in the company of my mom and all the Inuit ancestors that stand next to her. I wanted that.
- Hire Inuit professors. Aboriginal professors do attract Aboriginal students as stated by Igliorte. There are Inuit students on every campus who look for and want to sit in with their own. There are Inuit educators out in this world who want to aid to Inuit students. When I met Jordan, he was a student in a transition year program Aboriginal Literature class. We had each other at that time, and we still do. Good things happen when Inuit come together.
- Invite the post-secondary funders to meet with university provosts and professors. Have an open forum that allows nonresident Inuit students to speak publicly about the paperwork and deadlines that are required. Have the funder explain the funding cycle and where the funding agency's directives come from.
- Inuit do not Pow-Wow. We do not Round Dance. Inuit students will participate in both because it gives them a chance to be near Aboriginal others and being with someone who understands our shared history and some of our worldviews. When events are planned for a Round Dance, the planners could include Inuit-specific food, an Arctic game such as the High Kick, Inuit drumming and throat singing. They could include Inuit students.

- Hire an Inuit on-campus advocate. I am and will continue to query the university regarding the two Inuit students who have been forced out of university because of illness. I took up that role because I understand the frustration, they have felt. I saw it on their faces. No Inuit student's face should ever have the look of failure.
- Hire an Inuit course writer and presenter. There are many Inuit writers out in the world who do go to schools and present, and I know I would gladly write an Inuit specific course.
- Bring in Inuit-specific gifts for both students and Elders. When I graduated first from my Bachelor of Arts degree and later my Master of Arts degree, I was offered the opportunity to have an eagle feather presented to me on the convocational stage. I refused the eagle feather each time because it does not represent anything within my culture. I know that eagle feathers are sacred and involve ceremony and I did not want to take a feather that could go to a First Nations graduate.

  I did receive a very small Inukshuk soapstone carving on convocation day with my MA degree and I was so very grateful for that. When I interact with Inuit Elders, I bring tea to them and tea mugs and flowers or a plant.

Inuit students work hard at being independent and I would ask that universities look upon Inuit students as people who are working towards self-reliance, "It is this loss of self-reliance that may be the most egregious aspect of poverty…it is how it is linked to Inuit culture and the traditional way of life-it erodes both-that really hurts" (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami [ITK], 2018, p. 19). Inuit believe in the importance of self-reliance. Post-secondary Inuit students are working towards that concept and belief every day that they are on campus. I would ask that the institution believe in the possibilities of Inuit students.

10.5 Quviahuktunga (I am happy)

I don't think my work is ending. I think it is only beginning even though I have been writing and speaking on behalf of Inuit for a decade. I've had a great opportunity and honour to put my study into the public's imaginations and perhaps my reader's will examine their own thoughts about Inuit Canadians.

When I started my study, I knew what my experiences were. I knew what barriers I was up against semester after semester. I also knew that the university was ignorant about that information and that the funder works within their own guidelines. I knew that I wanted educators and administrators to be more informed. I will circulate my study to as many post-secondary institutions as I can.

I also was very driven by the belief that Inuit in the south should have their own political representation. I felt that there was a need for southern Inuit to have leadership that spoke only on our behalf. Merritt and LeBlanc made me rethink that idea. I understand better the need for advocacy. I understand better that it is wrong to divide the smallest Aboriginal population in Canada into smaller bits and pieces. I understand better the intent of the negotiators of the land claim and how they had to work with the Federal Governments they encountered. I have a new sense of appreciation for their decades of hard work. I no longer think that they intentionally left off the southern Inuit population. I think they did their best for all Inuit during that time and the demands they had to adhere to.

Merritt's question, "How do you create hope?" stayed with me. When LeBlanc said, "Advocacy and not representation," he aligned with what Merritt had presented. We are a small group and we can't afford to break off into separate entities. We are "The People."

I worried a great deal about honouring the people who are the heart of this study. I wanted each of them to shine. I wanted their generosity and good spirits to come forward and stand tall. Like they do. I wanted the perfect words for each of them. Inuit matter.

In all of my decades on earth, I have spent my time searching. Searching for my own. When I wrote my MA thesis on the Eskimo Identification Canada system, I wrote that I had the name of one of my grandfather's three wives.

> I had only her name. It was Angaviadniak. She was a Padlei Inuit woman.
>
> All of my ways of knowing, the ways that lay inside my blood were thrown aside as the search for her number became something of incredible importance, something that would matter on an application, something that made her 'real' to the governments of Canada and Nunavut. If I could find her number, then perhaps, I would be 'real' too (Dunning, 2014, p. 5).

I know that I will look for Angaviadniak's name every time I have an Eskimo Identification disk list in front of me. She will remain one of my searches for the rest of my life, but in saying that I also have to say that I have been searching for my own nunalik. My own community. This sense of searching is what has carried me into my own doctoral research and the path I continue to create along life's way.

The strongest influence on my search was the Indigenous Peoples Education specialization where I was taught that I had to depend on me. I had to depend on who I am. But before I could do any of that I had to know me better. Knowing me better meant I had to know my own ancestral history and gain a strong understanding of my Inuit ontology and epistemology, I had to know how to express what being Inuit means. Indigenous Peoples

Education gave me the time and space to think all of this through. Wilson (2008) offers a useful description of this Indigenous way of being:

> Identity for Indigenous peoples is grounded in their relationships with the land, with their ancestors who have returned to the land and with future generations who will come into being on the land. Rather than viewing ourselves as being *in* relationship with other people or things, we *ar*e the relationships that we hold and are part of (p. 80).

Indigenous Peoples Education and the teachings in my doctoral coursework made me face who I am when I say I am Inuit but instead of finding connections, I found disconnections first. I was all the things that people do not think of when they think of an Inuk.

I was born and raised in the south. I do not have a northern birth certificate. I am not fluent in Inuktitut. Most importantly I did not know any other Inuit when I first lived in Edmonton. I spent the first two decades in Edmonton assuming that I was the only Inuk because inside of me lay a longing. A longing to belong.

According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary the word "belong" is defined as: "(a) to be suitable, appropriate and advantageous (b) to be in a proper situation and (c) to be the property of a person or thing" ("Belong," 2019). The definition of the word belong, shows clearly that I as a southern Inuk, do not belong. I do not conceive of my southern location as being suitable, appropriate or advantageous to myself, and because I am in the south my situation is far from proper and finally, I do not belong to any one person as a group member nor as a thing. In effect I do not belong, but I am not alone.

Longing to belong lies within the participants in my study. It is my works greatest finding. It is the most honest finding.

I spent last summer with one question running through my head, “Why are you doing work that you already know the answer to?” I could justify my work by telling myself that it was time for Inuit post-secondary students to tell their stories, that perhaps they were not all like me. It was time for institutions and governments to know what Inuit students specifically must go through and jump through and dance through to make it to a convocational stage. I’m glad that I could think that way but to ignore the most true and honest outcome of this work would be my own act of complicity. I would be falling in line and not addressing a truth.

The point of research is to disrupt, to bring discomfort, to make us each think differently even for a very short while. It is not a happy thought to call out yourself or your own. It is not fun. It needs to be examined.

> Being honest within the family and being open is very important. This is the key to maintaining peace. We need to confront problems right away. We need to seek out and be careful to sense when someone is having difficulty or the family harmony is slipping away. How Inuit looked after each other and how they practiced caring for each other led to contentment. Individually we cannot stand on our own, that has always been the Inuit expectation. It has always been recognized that we must help each other (Tagalik & Ituksamajaq, 2018, p. 100).

That reality that does not apply to the days before European contact only. Those words apply to today and every day of an Inuit person’s life. We must consider how we help one another, especially when as southern Inuit students’ we have no idea of how to reach out to one another. The words, “Individually we cannot stand on our own,” ring so very true.

Because of the structures that we participate in as Inuit Canadians and the thinking of long ago, when Inuit were first recognized as people that the government bore responsibility for,

we have to acknowledge the discourse, the language that was written into Inuit policy. Now, in modern times it appears as though Inuit have been so very influenced by the social structures and historic renderings of ourselves, or the works that were written and printed by the Other, (i.e. non-Inuit) that we too mark and measure one another with a colonial measuring stick. Through that measuring we become the victims who victimize one another. That is not good.

LeBlanc made a very clear point when he discussed the number of Inuit who have not registered themselves as Inuit Canadians because we live in the south without the black coarse hair and think that being Inuit is a characteristic that only belonged to our grandparents who lived in the north. We must stop thinking that way. Grammond makes it clear that in Canadian law physical appearance is not how a person's ancestry is determined. Somehow, we cling to the imaginary, as Inuit ourselves, we think we must look a certain way in order to belong:

> Elder Louis Angalik explained the difference between holistic and non-holistic thinking through the analogy of giving directions when travelling. We Western thinkers tend to travel off towards a destinations with a specific direction in mind. If asked how to get to a place, we narrowly describe a directional route or use GPS points. Louis presents directions from the perspective of looking down on the ground to be travelled through. He describes geographical features, including links to unusual land forms, flora, snowdrift patterns, animal trails and atmospheric conditions. …His directions create a mind picture that enables the traveler to build relationships with an environment. Once connected in this way these relationships will last through a lifetime. For Elders, the loss of this holistic perspective leaves one disconnected, with a diminished sense of belonging and wellness. The

> holistic perspective is understood to be a protective factor of Inuit well-being (Tagalik, 2018, p. 94).

Because we are in the south, it does not mean that we have lost a connection to the land. Think about how we give directions to someone who is lost in the city. I know I tell people to go down one street or another and to look for a landmark of some sort, whether that landmark is a tree or the colour of an unusual house. I don't think we have lost our inherent ways of looking at or understanding the land and how we connect to it, but we may have lost our way of how we connect to one another.

Jordan stated near the end of the interview, "…we are not as isolated as people think we are, although it feels like it, " and A1 stated, "I really don't know other Inuit" and Vincent stated that he had not actively sought out other Inuit, it made me think about their sense of aloneness and isolation, as post-secondary students within their academic and non-academic lives. As I stated earlier, as Inuit we do live within social systems that first create difference, and second create separation and a sense of ranking.

> Some Inuit city residents, such as students, found they were able to expand their job opportunities once they had completed their education and therefore postponed returning to the North. However, none of the Inuit living in urban centres were able to develop or create an Inuit culture and identity. The lack of a strong social network and the paucity of Inuit in any one locale prevents the development of Inuit organizations, the continuation of the Inuit language and the maintenance of Inuit culture (Frideres & Gadacz, 2012, p. 201).

That quotation makes it appear as though Inuit continue to be portrayed as unable to gain ground in a southern setting, in the same manner that Inuit were portrayed as in need of

organization and help through early political discourse, as described by Roberts (p. 87) and Binney (p. 82) in the mid-1940's.

If we as southern Inuit are persistently portrayed as a people who are unable to come together and a people who are unable to continue our culture in a southern setting our own sense of belonging will continue to be harmed by the non-Inuit Other through their published analysis that has global circulation. This harm is an example of how we as southern Inuit are being told that we "cannot" instead of we "can." It is an example of how broad statements in educational resource books tell us that we have no sense of belonging in the south because there is no organization available for us to belong to. Most importantly, the quote is an example of lingering hopelessness and conceivably a sense of shame for not living in the north like the majority of Inuit Canadians. If we were north instead of south, we may have a stronger assurance of belonging, according to the underlying tones of Frideres blanket statement.

On the other hand, Ottawa TI has been standing and aiding southern Inuit for over 30 years. Frideres has not brought their good, supportive work to southern Inuit populations into print, but he has made a point of reminding readers that we do live with systems that measure us. LeBlanc asked, "Can we get to a place where the aspirations and goals of Inuit living in the south are not limited by external structures?" His words are powerful and point to the constant influence and frustration that southern Inuit live and move in and how we can still be barred from a sense belonging as a result of the systems we live within each and every day.

I had said earlier, I asked the students if they spoke Inuktitut and like me, none are fluent. A1 however has enough fluency in Cree, the Aboriginal language dominant in the Treaty Six area, to teach the language to school children. The 2016 Edmonton Census showed that there were 2,005 fluent Cree Montagnais speakers who used their language at their place of

employment, but only 65 showed as Inuktitut speakers who used their language at workout in a city of over one million (Stats Canada 2017). Perhaps learning and teaching the Aboriginal language that is most dominant in an area helps to create a sense of belonging to an Aboriginal community, although it may not be your own.

> We all belong to some sort of culture and identify with that culture in varying degrees. Our understanding of our own cultural identity begins at birth and is developed by the environment in which we grow up. It may be a loose affiliation or the guide that directs our daily activities. Whatever the connection, our cultural identity provides a sense of belonging ("ICT," 2018, para. 1).

I may carry the longing to belong throughout my lifetime, and we must remember that as southern Inuit we do still identify and call ourselves Inuit. We do try to inform the people around us that we are Inuit, we are card-carrying beneficiaries and we see ourselves as people who operate in the world in the best way that we can. What systems and processes do to us is to make us feel as though we are less than, but we are not.

And therein lies the hope of this work. Each of the Inuit post-secondary students demonstrated their own Inuit ways which lay on top of Inuit Quajimajatuqangit (IQ) and which they show to the world every day in their own Inuk manner. If there is any hope in this work it lies with them. For who they are. For who they will become. For the beautiful ways in which they each contribute to the world daily.

John Merritt asked a very key question, “How do you create hope?” but he was asking it in a very legalistic and literal way. The way that a negotiator must ask that question. That same question can be asked to the Inuit post-secondary students in this work and the hope they give to everyone around them. It is not an idealistic musing. It is a reality. The Inuit post-secondary

students in this work get up and face the barriers that a university presents to them and they are still making their way through. They have not stopped. They have not walked away. They have not given up.

What they each do is operate in the world as Inuit. When we look at respect and being open and welcoming, at wanting to serve others first and working with consensus towards a common cause, we can clearly see the lived definitions of IQ through each of the Inuit students in this study. They have not lost hope. They continue to create it. They continue to live it. IQ, at its very roots is about harvesting hope.

I am my mother's daughter. I know the importance of transferring Inuit worldviews and understandings to my grandchildren and how important it is for me that my grandchildren know who they are and where they came from. They hold our future Inuit possibilities. Young Inuit carry our future Inuit energy. The energy needed to be able to say *atii*, come on, let's go, go ahead!

What my study revealed to me is that Inuit in the south do operate and live as Inuit only, no matter what any other Inuit or non-Inuit say. We are each Inuit first. Singularly. And together.

Inuit
Inuit breathe in two worlds.
Past and present.
Yesterday and today.
North and South
We are one in two ways.
We live on in our Old Ones
Ancientness blankets our young
Whispers of tradition
Are carried by soft winds
From the tundra to city sidewalks
Inuttigut – We the Inuit
We are here

GLOSSARY

Aajiqatigiingniq - consensus

Atii – come on, let's go, go ahead!

Ayornartok – that's life, it's destiny

Beneficiary – member of a northern land claims agreement

FANS – Financial Assistance for Nunavut students

FFWS – Freehorse Family Wellness Society

Ilinniarvik - school

INAC – Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada

Innuqatigiitsiarniq – respecting others

Inuit Quajimajatuqanit – Inuit traditional values, teachings, and ways of being

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami – National group representing Inuit Canadians in the north only

Inuttigut – We the Inuit

IRM – Indigenous Research Methodology

NLCA – Nunavut Land Claims Agreement

Nunangat – Inuit Homelands

Non-Nunangat – Inuit outside of their homelands

Pijitsirniq – the concept of serving others

Piliriqatigiingniq – working together for a common good, consensus

Quviahuktunga – I am happy

Tukisittiarniqsaujumaviit – title for the plain English guide for the NLCA

Tunnganarniq – being open and welcoming to others

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APPENDIX A

ETHICS APPROVAL

April 5, 2018

Ethics Application has been Approved

ID:	Pro00080966
Title:	Ilinniarvik (school) and the Inuit University student
Study Investigator:	Norma Jean Dunning
Description:	This is to inform you that the above study has been approved. Click on the link(s) above to navigate to the HERO workspace. Please do not reply to this message. This is a system-generated email that cannot receive replies.

University of Alberta
Edmonton Alberta
Canada T6G 2E1

APPENDIX B

Communication with NTI admin

Email exchange with NTI admin
14 of 39
NTI Election
Inbox
Norma Dunning <dunningl@ualberta.ca>

12/4/16

Good morning:

My name is Norma Dunning and I am a beneficiary of Nunavut. My NTI enrolment card number is: - 3116-214216, Whale Cove is listed on my card as my community.

I saw a posting on the Inuit Edmontonmiut Facebook page concerning the upcoming December 12, NTI elections. There was a voter listed posted for each community. My name was not on the list for Whale Cove, NU.

I live in Edmonton, AB and would like to know if I am unable to vote because I am a nonresident of Nunavut? Are the NTI elections open to only residents of Nunavut?

This request is a general information question. I am very proud and honored to be a beneficiary and grateful for the benefits that have been extended to me.

I thank you for your time.

12/5/16
to me

You're eligible to vote. You can vote by proxy or mail in ballet. Here is the Chief Returning Officers office address below and phone number you can call

Managing Director
Ayaya Communications Inc.
PO Box 8
Iqaluit, NU, X0A 0H0 Ph: 867-979-1484 Cell: 867-222-1484

APPENDIX C

Freehorse Family Wellness Society

2nd Fl. 5333-91 st. Edmonton, T6E6E2 Phone: (780) 944-0172 Fax: (780) 944-0176
Website: www.freehorse.org
E-mail: gg-uu-@. fzgg-en.zgug

Post-Secondary Sponsorship Agreement

This post-secondary sponsorship agreement must be signed, dated and returned to the FFWS office by August 15, 2018. Additionally, each statement must be initialed in the space provided at the end of each statement. If it is not returned by the above date, I understand that my sponsorship will immediately be cancelled, with no exceptions.

1. I understand and agree that this agreement is for the current period only (September l, 201 8 to April 30, 2019). I must reapply for every following sponsorship period.

2. I understand and agree that I must submit a copy of my current Fall registration, with a print date of no earlier than my post-secondary institution's Fall 2018 add/drop deadline. I understand that my funding officer will email me this deadline _____which I must meet in order to avoid a hold being placed on my sponsorship and a delay to my next deposit.

3. I understand and agree that I must submit a copy of my Fall 2018 midterm grades, with a print date of no earlier than November, 2018, by l 15, 2018 in order to avoid a hold being placed on my sponsorship and delay to my December 2018 deposit.

4. I understand and agree that I st submit anu dated Winter 2019 course registration AND Course Summary form on our website), with a print date of no earlier than December 1, 2018, by D er 15, 2018 in order to avoid a hold being placed on my sponsorship and a delay to my January 2019 deposit.

5. I understand and agree that I must submit a copy of my Fall 2018 Transcript r Statement of grades by ____2019 in order to avoid a hold being placed on my sponsorship and a delay to n. February deposit.

6. I understand and agree that I must submit a copy of my current Winter 2019 registration, with a rint da of no earlier than my post-secondary institution's Winter 2019 add/drop deadline. I understand that my funding of Icer will emai me this deadline i which I must meet in order to avoid a hold being placed on my sponsorship and a delay to my next deposit.

7. I understand and agree that I st submit a copy of my Winter 2019 midterm grades, with a print date of no earlier than March 1, 2019 by March 15, 2019 in order to avoid a hold being placed on my sponsorship and a delay to my April 2019 deposit.

8. I understand and agree that FFWS will determine how many credits s will be considered as full time. It may not necessarily be the same as what my institution considers as full time.

9. I understand and agree that repeat courses will not be paid for by FFWS will count toward my full-time status.

10. I understand and agree that if I decide to withdraw from my program of studies or from any classes during a term, I must immediately notify FFWS and my institution. I am expected to know my institution's withdrawal without penalty deadline.

I l. I understand an ee that if I withdraw after my institution's withdrawal without penalty deadline and FFWS is not reimbursed for tuition paid, an overpayment for tuition will be assessed. Additionally, I understand that I may be for any d placed into an overpayment deposits given and that I will not be eligible to apply for sponsorship with FFWS for a minimum of one year.

12. I understand and agree that if I have an overpayment with F WS and I am no longer a funded student, my overpayment must be paid back in full, before I apply for future funding.

13. I understand and agree that if I have an overpayment with FFW but continue to be a full-time funded student, all of my overpayment will be taken from my next deposit(s), until my overpayment is fully recovered.

14. I understand and agree that if I have an overpayment with FFWS but continue to be a funded student, all of my overpayment must be paid back within 30 days of my overpayment being assessed.

15. I understand and agree that any pay made in error, even though on the part of FFWS, w recovered through the assessment of an overpayment.

16. I understand and agree that submitting doctor's note or death certificate will be taken into consideration, if an overpayment is assessed due to withdrawal or failure following a medical issue or death in the family. However, this does not automatically mean that the overpayment will be reduced or waived.

17. I understand and agree that if I spend more for mandatory books and supplies 201 8-2019 academic year than is allocated to me, I may be eligible for reimbursement if I submit all of my original re ipts and a mandatory book list or course outlines from my institution by November 15, 2018 (for the Fall term) and by February] 5, 201 9 (for the Winter term). i understand that I will not be eligible for reimbursed if I submit my receipts and books list/outlines after this deadline or if I am in a Level 3 or 4 level of sponsorship.

18. I understand and agree that a book and supplies adjustment will be made to courses that are withdrawn from or failed and are repeated during the Winter 2019 or Intersession 201 terms.

19. I understand and agree that at the end of the first term (or part of the academic ar, as defined by my institution), financial support for the following term will be subject to receipt ofa statement om the institution confirming the successful completion of the first term. More specifically, that an unsuccessful completion of the first term i.e., grade of failure, failure withdrawal, and /or withdrawal for all courses, will result in immediate cancellation of sponsorship for the following term, regardless of original sponsorship approval terms.

20. I understand and agree that I am responsible for opting out of all non-mandatory fee plans. This may include, but are not limited to, health and insurance plans. I understand that if FFWS is invoiced for any non-mandatory fees, they will not pay for them.

21. I understand and agree that I must immediately notify my funding officer if I feel that any of this information is incorrect and of any changes to my personal circumstances my sponsorship period, such as address change, change to marital status, change in number of dependents, etc.

22. I understand that if a deposit is returned to FFWS because I have changed my bank account and I will give timely notice to FFWS, I will be charged a $20.00 fee to reissue the returned deposit with my next deposit.

understand that if a deposit is returned to FFWS because I have changed my bank account and failed to give
otice to FFWS, I will be charged a $20.00 fee to reissue the returned deposit with my next deposit. ___

understand that if I give any false information, it will be considered fraud and my sponsorship will be autom
ancelled. ___

24. understand that if I receive duplicate funding from any other government organization, it will be considered
y sponsorship will be automatically cancelled. ___

25. I understand that I will not be issued any tax form, as I am not able to claim the tuition that is being paid for m
s chooling by FFWS. ___

Name (printed) Signature Date July 25 2018

Appendix D

INFORMATION LETTER and CONSENT FORM

Study Title: *Ilinniarvik* (school) and the Inuit University Student

Research Investigator:	Supervisor:
Norma Dunning	Dr. Evelyn Steinhauer
304 6210-101 Ave NW	Department: Indigenous Peoples Education
University of Alberta	University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB, T6A 0H1	Edmonton, AB, T6G 2R3
dunningl@ualberta.ca	evelyn@ualberta.ca
780 918 3777	780 492 7625

Background

- I would like to invite you to be a part of my doctoral research which examines the post-secondary funding structure of nonresident Inuk students and what it is like to be a nonresident Inuk student living outside of the north.
- I am requesting your input as I am aware of your experience and knowledge in this area of study as a nonresident Inuk
- The results of this study will be used in support of my thesis for my Doctoral degree with Indigenous Peoples Education at the University of Alberta and will be sent to various key people who are involved in the policy making for Inuit students
- The results of this study will be furthered to other universities and government officials in Canada, and portions of the information gathered may be used for publication in scholarly and educational journals

- Purpose
- The purpose of my study is to promote positive educational policy change for nonresident Inuk students who are attaining a post-secondary university degree.

Study Procedures

- My study will involve interviewing six nonresident Inuk post-secondary students who will describe their university experience to date through the post-secondary funding stream and will discuss how they are perceived as Inuit who live outside of the north. The participants are to give an accurate rendering of their experience as university students. Two former negotiators of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement will also be interviewed.
- The data will be gathered through interviews that will last no longer than 30 minutes and are specific to nonresident Inuit post-secondary Inuit students and two former NLCA negotiators.
- 30-minute interviews with nonresident Inuit post-secondary students and 30-minute interviews with former Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) negotiators
- The interviews will be conducted in a location that is comfortable to each interviewee.
- I will be using a sound recording application on my iPhone for the interviews and will bring a battery-operated handheld recorder as a backup device to be used only if the iPhone application does not.
- The addresses of each interviewee will be noted. Transcriptions of each interview will be sent to them electronically or by hard copy through Canada Post if the interviewee so desires.
- Once the interview has been approved by the interviewee it will be used for data analysis
- Any questions concerning the data will be verified with each interviewee for clarification.

Benefits

- You will benefit from this study by the telling of your experience as a nonresident Inuk student and as a negotiator of the NLCA. The benefit will not be immediate to you but will be put to use to create positive educational policy change.
- My hope that the information we get from doing this study will help policy creators and third-party funders to understand the position we are placed into as nonresident Inuk post-secondary students.
- This is not a funded study. All costs incurred will be taken care of by myself as the researcher.

The nonresident Inuit students who participate in the study will receive an honorarium of $50.

Risk

- There are no reasonably foreseeable risks to the participants.
- There may be risks to being in this study that are not known. If I learn anything during the research that may affect your willingness to continue being in the study, I will tell you right away.
- I expect that it will be difficult for nonresident Inuit students to speak about meeting the funding and academic requirements of the educational policy that is currently in place. It is difficult to reveal the reality of an Inuit student who is working at a attaining a post-secondary degree. The conversations may produce

stress and some psychological fatigue as there may be a sense of negativity that the conversations will produce. The same is expected through the conversations with the former Nunavut negotiators.

Voluntary Participation

- You are under no obligation to participate in this study. The participation is completely voluntary. You can opt out of any interview questions that make you feel uneasy.
- Even if you agree to be in the study you can change your mind and withdraw within two weeks of receiving the transcription. If you withdraw, I will not make use of the data gathered from our interview or only make use of the data that you agree can be used.

Confidentiality & Anonymity

- The data gathered in this study will be used in the writing of my doctoral dissertation. You will be identified as a participant in the manner that you choose, full name, initials or by the use of such indicators as 'subject a'.
- The data will be kept myself only and is considered to be confidential
- Participants will be identified in the manner of their choice.
- Data will be kept in a secured storage cabinet for a minimum of 5 years following completion of research project. All electronic data will be password protected and when appropriate destroyed in a way that ensures privacy and confidentiality.
- Please let me know if you would like to receive a copy of my findings by initialing here:
- _____
- In reference to confidentiality, the only exception to this promise is that we are legally obligated to report evidence of child abuse or neglect.
- I may use the data I get from this study in future research, but if I do this it will have to be approved by a Research Ethics Board.

Further Information

- If you have any further questions regarding this study, please do not hesitate to contact me at: dunningl@ualberta.ca or 780 918 3777
- The plan for this study has been reviewed by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. If you have questions about your rights or how research should be conducted, you can call (780) 492-2615. This office is independent of the researchers."

Consent Statement

I have read this form and the research study has been explained to me. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. If I have additional questions, I have been told whom to contact. I agree to participate in the research study described above and will receive a copy of this consent form. I will receive a copy of this consent form after I sign it.

Participant's Name (printed) and Signature	Date
Name (printed) and Signature of Person Obtaining Consent	Date