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Inuit Art: Its Development and Symbolism in Canadian Culture

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Abstract

The theoretical part of this thesis describes the lives and history of the Inuit. More particularly, it concentrates on their art which has, in the last fifty years more appreciated and, perhaps surprisingly, come to symbolize Canada's significant northern character and has garnered interest both home in Canada and abroad.

1 Introduction

I have chosen the theme of my bachelor thesis because I have always been interested in art and after I finished Canadian studies course I became more interested in Canada and its culture. The aim of the theoretical part is to summarize the early and modern history of the Inuit, describe the land they live in, and focus on some of their problems. The struggles between the Inuit and white Canadians are also mentioned. The practical part focuses on the Inuit art in all its different forms: sculpture, carvings, drawing, clothing. I will also deal with some of their legends.

My research methods are reading specialized literature and texts both in print form and on the Internet which I then interpret by paraphrasing, quoting, or giving my own opinions on. I shall also try to compare the commercial value of Canadian and Inuit art.

I would like to demonstrate how Inuit art is practically synonymous with Canadian art nowadays for what we can give the efforts to James A. Houston whose brief biography is on page 25. In the 1960's and 1970's the growth of popularity. Also the choice of Inukshuk as an Olympics logo is a sign of symbolism of Inuit art for Canadian culture.

My presumption about Inuit art was that it is just another ordinary art. I was not aware that there is difference between the Inuit, First Nations, and Métis, but we need to realize there is and that these terms are not interchangeable. ¹

My main questions are how Inuit art became symbolic for Canadian culture? What are the attitudes of Canadians to Inuit art, both past and present?

¹ The term First Nations replaced the term Indians in 1970's and 1980's but does not have legal definition. It is not interchangeable with the term Inuit or Métis (offspring with mixed origin, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal), but we can use the term Aboriginals or First Peoples to describe First Nations, Inuit and Métis. (indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca)

1.1 Geography of Nunavut

Nunavut is one of the three territories of Canada. Its area takes up 1,993,472 square kilometres which makes Nunavut the biggest territory of Canada; more than a half (about 55%) of its area consists of islands. Since this territory² was established only in 1999, this makes Nunavut the youngest part of Canada. The territory comprises circa one-fifth of Canada's total area (Nunavut Weather, Climate and Geography 2015; Nunavut 1998 – 2015; Inuit Culture, Traditions and History 2007; Inuit Regions of Canada).

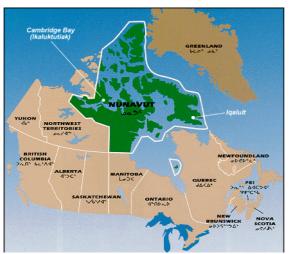


Table no. 1: Map of Nunavut 1

The name of this territory is symbolic, but only for the Inuit, not for Canadians. Nunavut simply means "our land". In the traditional Inuit society this term meant a land familiar to their hunting groups. *Nuna* in *Nunavut* also includes the relationships between the land and other biological, spiritual and physical elements of the tundra. The

entire territory contains practically no forests OR no trees of any kind.

The Inuit started to translate the cities with European-Canadian names into their own language in the 1980's. Since the establishment of Nunavut as a territory, the names in Inuktitut officially appeared on maps. Iqaluit, the capital of Nunavut, formerly Frobisher Bay, means "place of fish". Actually, a lot of names in Inuktuit refers to animals, geographical features, natural events or the presence of people (Van Dam 2008, 22). It indicates that Nunavut is mostly home to Inuit, and that their bond with nature is really strong.

Nunavut's wilderness is almost untouched. There are almost no roads and most of its communities are accessible only by air or by boat in the summer. The territory

² Territory of Canada means one part of the area of Canada with no inherent jurisdiction. They have only powers delegated to them by the federal government. Canada has three territories: Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut.

is snow-covered most of the year which is supported by Nunavut's rocky tundra climate.

1.1.1 Inukshuk

Over significant parts of Nunavut's landscape we can find inuksuit (singular inuksuk or inukshuk). Those are outdoor structures built of stone and they belong among the most important objects created by the Inuit. One of the oldest inuksuit is Inuksutuqaaluk – an ancient inuksuk erected 3000 years ago at Mingo Lake in southwest Baffin Island. The word inuksuk comes from Inuktitut, the language of the Inuit, meaning "to act in the capacity of a human"; in fact, it is an extension of the word "inuk" meaning "a human being (Hallendy 2013)."



Table no. 2: Inukshuk 1

Inuksuit serve as "helpers" to the Inuit.

They have many practical functions they are used as hunting and
navigational aids, act as coordination
points or as various indicators (e.g.

where their food was cached). Inuksuit also acts as message centres. Certain inukshuk-like figures have spiritual connotations and are objects of veneration, often marking the threshold of the spiritual landscape of the *Inummariit* – the Inuit who know how to survive on the land in the traditional way (Ibid.).

A common inuksuk is built with a stone placed upon a stone. It can be a single upright stone or a cairn-like structure. The shape of any local inuskuit is determined by the nature of the stone from which it is built. Rough igneous rocks and flat boulders allow the construction of inuksuit of limitless shapes; classic boulders, on the other hand, are much harder to work with. There are four general shapes of inuskuit that can be easily recognized. The most elementary type is the *naluaikkutaq*, which means "deconfuser" and is made of a single upright stone. A second kind is *tikkuuti* – pointers of different sizes and shapes - and they can appear as triangular-shaped rock lying flat on the ground or as a straight line, with the largest rock at one end and the smallest at the other, indicating the direction to

be taken. The third group is an *inuksummarik* or an *inuksukjuaq*, which is significant by its large size. These can be easily seen from the distance, and because of that they act as major coordination points. The last group of inuksuit have been used as message centres, in addition to their original purpose (Ibid.).

1.2 History of the Inuit

The Inuit were probably the last of the native groups to come to North America, starting about 4,000 years ago and continuing to the arrival of the Europeans. They lived in the arctic tundra and scrub of the Northern forests which indicates they had to be very tough people. They found a way to survive in an unpleasant, dark and snowy land of the polar bear, the seal and the arctic fox. They lived along more than 12,000 miles of coastline which extended from Siberia and Alaska throughout the Canadian arctic to Greenland (Arctic tundra – Inuit 2013).

The Inuit completely took over the Arctic from the Tuniit or the Dorset people who had lived there before them. It was not easy for the Inuit to find enough food in the Arctic at first which was the reason why they had been expanding their territory to the south to the area of what is nowadays called Labrador. Presently Labrador belongs partly to Quebec and partly to Newfoundland and the Inuit live there to this day. Europeans came to that area in 1530. The Spanish came here to hunt and whale. The Inuit did not stop them but they were invading forts of the Spanish to steal iron tools. Martin Frobisher and John Davis arrived in the 1570s. They wanted to sail around the Arctic searching for the "Northwest Passage" – a way from Greenland to Alaska by which the Europeans could ship goods from Europe to China and vice versa. Frobisher and Davis met with the Inuit who told them they never heard of any Northwest Passage. Frobisher took one Inuit man back to England with him, presumably to find more information from him. By 1600, the Spanish had stopped coming to Labrador, most likely because the whales had stopped coming there as well. The Inuit started to meet French and British traders and explorers instead. Unfortunately, these encounters brought along many serious diseases from Europe for which the Inuit had not antibodies by which Inuit communities were enormously damaged as many of them started dying of smallpox, measles or TBC (Carr 2012).

In my opinion, the ongoing relationship and contacts with the white people was life-changing for the Inuit. This seems to me both good and bad at the same time – the Inuit got better tools from the English and the French but they started to lose their traditional ways of life.

Around 1600, their population was estimated to be about 60,000. That was not as many as the American groups in Alaska due to the severe climate not being able to support larger numbers. Consequently, the groups were families or multifamilies with limited growth potential and passing knowledge to other families in their areas (Arctic tundra – Inuit 2013).

In the late 1700's, Protestant missionaries from Europe came here and tried to convert many Inuit people to Christianity. These missionaries also gave them lots of iron tools in exchange for furs and food (Carr 2012).

Another important aspect of Inuit history was the setting up of residential schools in the 19th century. By opening such schools for the Aboriginal children across Canada, the British colonial government sought to assimilate the Aboriginals into the mainstream Canadian society. The schools were run by different churches, and they caused bad damage to Inuit culture and traditions - Inuktitut was forbidden, only English was to be spoken. The children were not able to get home for extended periods of time. The staff also prohibited the transmission of Inuit values. According to documents passed between colonial officials, the aim was simply to "kill the Inuit in the child." The link between generations got weaker and weaker, which caused grief and frustration (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada 2006).

1.3 Social Structure

Individual Inuit communities consisted of 500 to 1,000 members. The most important unit was the regional band. A couple of these made up larger groups, especially during the winter period, within which marriages were happening and all the members spoke a similar dialect. During the rest of the year, the Inuit lived in smaller bands about two to five families, each consisting of a married couple, their children and sometimes elderly or unmarried relatives. Most of the economic and social activities and widespread sharing were, and still are, a fundamental characteristic of Inuit life. A lot of the families within the bands have been closely related and leadership is provided by the oldest active member (Freeman 2007).

1.3.1 Family Structure

Family is the most important unit in the Inuit culture. Marriage used to be nearly universal and took place in early adulthood. The newlyweds usually resided close to the parents of one of them. Many families had adopted children, because in Inuit culture children are highly valued. They were important means of establishing valued inter-family relationships not only through adoption, but also engagement, adult-child relationships secured by birthing ceremonies or naming practices. Family was an important economic unit. Members of each family decided on the division of responsibilities, including the care of the elderly and children (Freeman 2007).

The Inuit have several socially significant rituals associated with birth. For example, in some groups, the birth was accompanied by midwife and another adult, who served as the child's ritual sponsor. This ritual sponsor was responsible for the child's moral upbringing. The naming of the baby was significant because Inuit names included part of the identity and character of the person who bears it (Ibid.).

Betrothal of children was another Inuit tradition and it could happen any time, even before the childbirth. Trial marriage that preceded a real, permanent marriage occurred often. Maybe Inuit marriages therefore tend to be stable. Polygamy and polyandry was not common (Ibid.)

1.3.2 Housing

The Inuit were nomads, so they rarely stayed in one place for very long. Therefore, their shelters had to be quick and easy to build. During the summer, they built tents from driftwood or poles covered with animal skins. A ring of boulders around the base held down the tent skin covering. Since wood could not



be easily found, the wooden poles for building a tent were jealously guarded. People from different areas formed large villages in the summer and for the winter everyone split into small bands again (The Inuit – Environment/Housing 2007).

Table no. 3: Summer tent 1



Table no.4: Igloo 1

The Inuit followed the hunt during the winter. They needed a shelter that would keep them warm and protected from the harsh weather. And that is

how the igloo was invented. It was a temporary, dome-shaped shelter made out of snow blocks,

which were cut from the snow and piled in a spiral, leaning in slightly. Soft snow was used to fill any holes and as an extra insulation. Depending on the size of this snow-made house, it usually took 20 - 30 minutes to build. Larger ones and more permanent igloos could be 4 meters in diameter and 3 meters in height. Beds were made of ice blocks covered with fur (Ibid.).



The Inuit of western Arctic, Inuvialuit, were about half of all the Canadian Inuit. They lived in the richest part of the Arctic and had access to trees and they used them to

build permanent log-and-sod houses in which they lived mostly in the winter.

They dug out a hole into the ground and set up a ring of vertical poles which were titled inwards at the top so that blocks of sod could be piled up over them and remain in place. The result was a partially subterranean hut with the floor below ground to preserve warmth provided by a fireplace (Ibid.).

1.3.2.1 Canada Forced a Dramatic Change in Lifestyle

Nowadays, there are twenty eight Inuit communities in Nunavut. (A Comparative Look at Inuit Lifestyle 2001) The Inuit were forced into living in permanent communities after World War II. This was happening because the Canadians

for their own living, however (The Inuit – Environment/Housing 2007).



Table no. 6: Inuit community today 1

found the natural raw materials like oil, gold or diamonds out and needed the Inuit move away for mining. I think that making them stop migrating from place to place was one of the worst things that the Canadians did. It

certainly was one of the most characteristic signs of their lifestyle. They obviously do not live in skin covered tents anymore but regular houses we know. They have also adapted to using electricity, running water, travelling by airplane or snowmobiles, but I believe they are still using dog sleighs as kind of transportation. By and large, they have lost the ability to provide

1.3.3 Traditional Occupations

Among the Inuit traditional occupations were hunting and fishing because they were getting food this way. Their diet consisted mostly of meat. They hunted whales, walruses, seals and fish. Even kayaking or sled-making could be considered as a kind of traditional job. Whaling was quite an important part of their lifestyle and still is. The Inuit were already very skilled whale hunters even before moving into Arctic Canada. Whaling in areas where whales could be found in great numbers provided very good living. They began to focus on whaling and nowadays the Inuit have complex and sophisticated technology for whale hunting. This activity is also part of the highest expressions of Inuit culture. It is an activity which has been done not only by the Canadian Inuit but also by the Inuit of Alaska.

The Inuit also hunt polar bears which is the most prized of all the animals because they consider Nanuk (polar bear in Inuktitut) to be wise, powerful and almost a man. The Inuit still hunt them as part of a subsidence lifestyle and long-held tradition, but these hunts are now carefully regulated by a quota system. They eat polar bear meat (except liver which can make them and their dogs seriously ill) and make warm trousers and soft boots, kamiiks, from the skin (Tixier 2015).

The respect to Nanuk's soul is paid by hanging the skin in an honoured place in the hunter's igloo for a couple of days. The male Nanuk's spirit is offered knives or bow-drills, the female's spirit knives, skin-scrapers or needle-cases. That indicates the division of roles of Inuit men and women – men hunt and women cook and sew clothes (Ibid.).

There are also some legends connected with polar bears. One says that if a dead polar bear was treated properly by the hunter, it would share the good news with other bears so they would be eager to be killed by him. Bears would stay away from hunters who wouldn't or failed to pay respect (Ibid.).

One of major traditional occupations was shamanism. Shamans (or Angakoks) were religious leaders possessing a lot of power, enough to control the spirits the Inuit believed in. They communicated with the spirits with the help of charms and dances. Angakoks wore carved masks during the rituals which were animal-

shaped and believed to have powers providing the communication with spirits (The Inuit – Religion 2007).

Religion was really important to the Inuit and it was taken from them when the missionaries came and tried to convert them to Christianity.

1.3.4 Political Structure

The Inuit didn't have any real leader or Chief like the First Nations. Loose alliances could occur between non-related families, forming larger groups. The Inuit had a sense of community in their culture. Food sources like game or fish were considered to be community property; therefore they hunted together – helping each other and sharing any wealth was expected (The Inuit – Social Structure/Leadership 2007).

1.4 Modern Nunavut

By the 20th century, the Inuit have universally embraced Christianity, and a large number of communities are now served by ordained Inuit clergy or trained catechists. Before this their religious leaders were shamans who often underwent lengthy and arduous training. They were intermediaries between the Inuit and the spiritual forces that they believed influenced their activities. Inuit life back then was full of adherence to various restrictions and rules of conduct, so the role of shaman was usually to determine transgressor and to prescribe appropriate atonement. Early missionary activity was similar, with many rules and prohibitions introduced and penitence after a sinful act was diagnosed (Freeman 2007).

The traditional musical instrument for the Inuit has been the drum, which diameter can reach even one metre, made by stretching a skin membrane across a wooden hoop. Among the Western Arctic Inuit, several drummers who were sitting while playing accompanied one or several dancers. In other Inuit tribes elsewhere in the Canadian arctic drumming was an individual performance at which the drummer stood and chanted, swaying rhythmically with the drum beat. As the contact with outsiders continued, instruments such as concertinas, accordions, violins, harmonicas and guitars became widespread. Very popular was – and I think that still is – "throat singing" which occurred among some groups, usually performed by two women producing a wide range of sounds from deep in the throat and chest. Throat singing is nowadays performed for example by Inuit sisters Karin and Kathy Kettler, known as Nunariik (Ibid.).

Since the first contact with outsiders, the Inuit culture and society has detected many changes. The early adoption of iron tools, guns, cloth and wooden boats altered or even replaced certain material items. Adoption of Christianity was followed by the loss of many traditional religious ideas and practices. The Canadian law has been superimposed on customary laws in the areas concerned with marriage, dispute settlement and wildlife management. Even the language has changed, with English words replacing numerals above six (although the Inuktitut words for 10 and 20 have still been retained).

However, many material items cannot be replaced, like harpoons used for mammal hunting, sealskin boots and caribous parkas needed for winter hunting, snow houses or sleds used in winter travelling, and techniques of preparing animal skins and sewing skin clothing. Important elements of the value system resist change, however. Among these are child-rearing practices, concerns about environmental matters, the continued survival of the Inuit language and culture, and respect for individual autonomy (Ibid.).

However, the Canadian society has changed after the arrival of immigrants from other cultures, mainly Asian, which made Canada from Caucasian culture into multi-cultural country and that had to change Canada from racist and disdaining society into more tolerant one.

1.4.1.1 Alcoholism and Other Problems

The Inuit are frequently identified with alcohol abuse which is in many of their communities' major health problem. But even though the alcohol use among the Inuit has been increasing in the last twenty years, its rates are still relatively low in comparison to other aboriginal communities in Canada. This can be, however, due to the differences in population. Alcoholism usually leads to violence, abuse of all kinds, accidents, injuring oneself, and sometimes death. The communities have attempted to prevent alcohol use by reduction of the access to it. There are only a few liquor stores or restaurants and bars with license allowing selling alcohol in Inuit communities. Also, the import of alcohol beverages has been limited. However, these restrictions have not been helpful as one could expect because of smuggling (Korhonen 2005).

Alcoholism has many reasons. It has its roots in unemployment, poverty, depression, abuse during childhood, violence in family, sexual or physical harassment and even previous attendance at residential schools where breaking the rules was punished very crucially and it had to leave some scars in the children's mind (Alcohol Use – A Culturally-Relevant Perspective on This Issue 2009).

The Inuit are also affected by global warming, alongside with the animals living in the Arctic. For instance, polar bears are predicted to be extinct by 2070 for the

lack of ice from which they could have hunt seals. There are a huge number of people who are not concerned about the massive melting of ice caused by this environmental issue, like Canadians and possibly Inuit living in the south that lost their connection to nature, because it means warmer weather (Brown 2003).

1.4.2 Recent History

In 1970's a national organization, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada was established to protect the Inuit cultural and individual rights. They created several agencies in response to expressed needs, for example An Inuit Language Commission was formed to seek the best means of ensuring the increased use of Inuktitut for governmental, educational and communications purposes or Land Claims Office which negotiate Inuit land claims and research. Luckily, many of the issues this organization handles, such as protection of the arctic environment, are international in scope (Freeman 2007).

One of international Inuit organizations, the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, was formed to strengthen pan-Inuit communication, cultural and artistic activities and environmental protection as well. ICC cooperates with some of international bodies, such as the United Nations to ensure that Inuit and their issues are widely understood in the world. The Inuit live also in Alaska, United States of America and in Greenland – an island which lay nearby Canada but belongs to Denmark (Ibid.).

An interesting fact is that former Governor-General Michaëlle Jean ate raw meat when she visited Nunavut in 2009 as an act of deference to the Aboriginal traditions (Galloway 2009).

1.4.3 Present Occupations

On the heels of contacts with the white culture, unfortunately, despite the increasing numbers of the educated Inuit, unemployment in Inuit communities rose dramatically. It is possible that the percentage of unemployment in Inuit communities is about 70% high. Way too often, employees were imported from outside the Arctic to deliver everything to the Inuit. From the beginning, this delivering of services was insensitive to Inuit culture. As the first wave of graduates came out of schools, it was obvious that Inuit could fill many of the jobs held by workers from the South (About Inuit – Community Life).

Many of the young Inuit leave their communities to be educated down south in the large Canadian cities, and afterwards most choose to stay there. Only a minority return – which is a shame.

Until the negotiations began, Inuit in smaller communities were employed only as clerks or manual workers, while Canadians from the south held highly-paid managerial positions. To this day, about half of all people permanently living in Nunavut are in fact non-Inuit. The development of marketing cooperatives introduced new ways for the Inuit to take control of their local economy. Many local cooperatives provide local services, such as retail sales, accommodation or arts and crafts promotion. Since the agreements of the negotiations were settled, the organizations that administer them have become important employers throughout the regions. Each of them has an economic development branch to help promote Inuit-owned business ventures, such as airlines, fisheries, art galleries, tour companies, construction businesses and other that are visible part of today's Arctic economy (Ibid.).

Nowadays, Inuit occupations in their communities are similar to ours. They are teachers, health care professionals (doctors, nurses), municipal workers, businesspeople, they work in airlines or even politics, they are artists, store clerks or managers or government administrators (Ibid.).

1.4.4 Family Structure

Despite modern influences and conveniences, the Inuit still maintain their unique culture, retaining their language, core knowledge, and beliefs (About Inuit – Inuit Today).

Family has remained the foundation of their culture. They are also surrounded by a larger social network, including the rest of the community, even the region. Inuit families are large and interconnected as complex bonds are formed through birth, marriage or adoption. The Inuit cherish their children, elders and the generation between. Elders are highly respected in all communities because of their perceived knowledge and wisdom, which they are expected to teach the younger generations. This is what has kept the Inuit traditions alive (Ibid.).

Many families leave permanent settlements during the spring and summer to set up camps, which is an important part of their tradition as well. The young are immersed in their language and developing their skills to guarantee the long-term survival of their culture. Adoption is a long-lasting and frequent tradition of Inuit. It is different from "Southern" adoptions, because the adopted children know their birth parents and blood relatives growing up as well as their adoptive families (Ibid.).

1.4.5 Political Structure

A political breakthrough of Canadian Inuit happened in 1971 when they created Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC). ITC promoted, lobbied and negotiate changes in government policy that would put control back into hands of their communities (About Inuit – Vision of Self-Government).

ITC played a major role in recognition of Aboriginal rights in Canadian constitution, based on the concept that Inuit are a founding people of the country, having settled in Canada thousands of years before Canadian Confederation. They also supported the land claims negotiations with both, federal and provincial, governments in the Inuit regions of Nunavik (1975), Inuvialuit (1984), Nunavuk (1993) and Labrador (2004) based on the fact that the Inuit had never signed any treaties in which they would be giving up their rights to the land. There are different self-government structures in the four regions. Best known is the Nunavut Territory (Ibid.).

In 2001, ITC (Inuit will be united in Canada) changed its name to Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (Inuit are united in Canada) to better reflect the relationship between today's governments and Canadian Inuit, and to celebrate their political achievement in the first thirty years of organization's existence (Ibid.).

The social hierarchy of the Inuit culture can be divided into many aspects: the community as a whole, leadership, gender and martial relationships, relationship between the Inuit and the Canadians. It is also expressed in Inuit artwork, due to its presence in everyday life of the Inuit. The Inuit are highly attached to their traditions and its result is that elders play very important role within Inuit community. The actual leaders of the Inuit do not possess spiritual powers and even do not have to be best hunters or warriors. What matters is, they tend to be good in speaking in public and they know how to communicate the teachings of the elders to the community. As an example, there is the description of one of the Inuit leaders Aulajut made by the anthropologist Greet van den Steenhoven:

"Everything he did was done quietly and without pretensions but with natural poise and dignity, and he acted so much in a matter-of-fact manner that this leadership went almost unnoticed (Ambroski, Miller)."

This indicates that Inuit society is communal and its governing is based on agreement. Leaders also play more the role of a speaker than a role of a person who makes decisions (Ibid.).

1.4.6 Population

Inuit live in communities which are quite small, with population ranging from 150 to 5,000 residents. Most have a couple of stores, municipal buildings, an airport, houses, one or two schools, an arena and a health centre. To gain a better perspective of the mediocre community size, take the example of Iqaluit, Nunavut's capital. Iqaluit is one of the biggest communities in the Arctic. It is the government and commercial hub of Nunavut and its airport is the gateway to Baffin Island. The population of Iqaluit in 2009 was 6,200 residents (About Inuit – Community life).

In 2011, with the help of the National Household Survey, Statistics Canada estimated that 59, 440 people in Canada, or about 4 per cent of the Aboriginal population, identified themselves as Inuit. Of these, about half lived in the arctic regions: about 73 per cent lived in Nunangat, nearly half lived in Nunavut, followed by Nunavik (northern Québec), Nunatsiavut (located along the northern coast of Labrador) and Inuvialuit in the western Arctic (Northwest Territories and Yukon). The other half of the Inuit lived in the large cities in the south, such as Toronto or Montréal, however (Freeman 2010).

2 Inuit Art

Inuit art is various and very fine. It illustrates the passion and love of the Inuit towards their culture, traditions and land (Inuit Art).

During the pre-historic period, carvings were the most productive part of Inuit art. These carvings were used in shamanic rituals as amulets and were minute figures made of bone, antler or stone. The construction of these was a subtle business – it had to be done in such a form that the carver could not be responsible for any bad luck that arose despite the magic (History of Inuit Art).

The historic period of Inuit art is dated from 1770's to 1940's. As they happened to be in contact with the whites during this time, it is obvious that the traders and missionaries came across Inuit culture and art. Some of the visitors collected the Inuit art which significantly influenced the manner and themes of the items being created afterwards. The Inuit, justifiably, did not want to be divided from the objects representing tradition and power, yet they started to produce artefacts intended for trading with the outsiders (Ibid.).

Since the second half of 19th century, majority of Inuit art was intended for outsiders. Larger objects, usually with pedestals, started to be produced instead of the tiny ones because they were meant to be decorative pieces (Ibid.).

The modern period began in 1949. In my opinion all the credit for the current appreciation of Inuit art becoming appreciated by Canadians goes to James A. Houston, Canadian artist and designer. Houston went to live in an Inuit community in northern Quebec in 1948 and there he drew Inuit life and landscape, but was also exchanging his own art for Inuit art. He acknowledged how valuable this art was, and after his return he offered all of the twelve carvings he had to the Canadian Handicrafts Guild in Montreal. They were impressed by both, Inuit art and Houston, and send him back in summer of 1949 to make more trading in numerous Inuit communities. When he returned, the guild organized first official "Eskimo" exhibition, and it was utterly sold out (Ibid.).

2.1.1.1 James Archibald Houston

Houston was born on June 12, 1921 in Toronto. His father, who was working as a

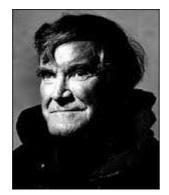


Table no. 7: James A. Houston 1

clothing importer travelled to the Arctic to trade with Indians and the Inuit and shared his experiences from travelling with his family. I suppose that this might have inspired young Houston to travel there as well. As his talent for drawing was proven when he was a child, he studied art in Toronto and later in Paris (James

Archibald Houston 2008).

After World War II, he lost his predilection for city life and he flew to Northern Quebec to live with the Inuit. Much later, in 1988 he uttered a sentence which implied he knew this was the place where he expected to recover from lack of inspiration he had back in 1948 (Fox 2005).

"I saw rocks, the autumn tundra, long skeins of ice drifting south to melt in Hudson Bay, and I knew this was the place I'd been looking for (Ibid.)."

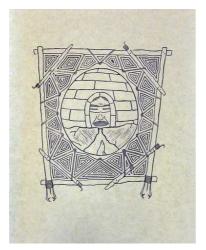
He travelled there with only few things because he intended to stay only for a few days, but at last he lived there for 14 years. He was drawing local people and then giving the drawings to them. Once, he was presented with a carving of caribou in exchange. This present pleased him so much he opened a can of peaches he brought and passed them around. He learned that the carving was not old, but had been made not long time ago, he had the idea of possible income for the Inuit from selling their art. He also organized the West Baffin Eskimo Co-Operative, through which Inuit art was sold. These days, Inuit income because of selling art is over 10 million CAD a year (Ibid.).

In my opinion, Houston's efforts brought the biggest breakthrough in the appreciation of Inuit art. Without him, the Arctic art would be almost unknown to the rest of the world, which would be such a shame.

2.2 Paintings

Paintings and drawings are popular amongst Inuit artists as well, although the prints which I would consider as this type of art are favoured a bit more. According to the canadian encyclopedia.ca "every printmaker draws, but only a few artists paint." As any other Inuit art, drawings and prints show Inuit lifestyle, spirits, animals and myths, but they are different in the same time because of the individual styles of the artists (Swinton 2008).

But printmaking was not popular art to make by the Inuit until late 1950s when James Houston who encouraged the Inuit in printmaking. He had provided them the supplies and they had learnt the printmaking technique from him which he had adopted in Japan (Inuit art: Prints of nature, M.D. 2013).



There are several techniques which the Inuit artists use.

Linocut is a printing technique when a subtractive cutting method is used with a sheet of linoleum. Parts of linoleum are taken away where the artist wants to leave the white of the page and in combination with the kept inked parts it creates a print (How to Make Linocuts).

Table no. 8: Inuit Montage 1



When stonecutting the artist chips away the unnecessary stone and creates a shape of the print he or she tends to make. The surface is afterwards coloured with a brayer. Then, a thin sheet of paper is laid on it and rubbed by

Table no. 9: Owl 1 a flattened tool which generates pressure and the ink absorbs from the stone to the paper (Stonecut).

Stencil is a method using stiff water-proved stencil paper into which the printmaker cuts with a very sharp knife the shape of the print later applied with colours. The cut-out stencil is later laid against a clean sheet of paper and the ink is tapped onto it with thick stencil brush. After one colour dries, the process is repeated with different colours. This technique is often combined with stonecut (Stencil).



Table no. 10: Mother Birds Protecting Young 1

2.3 Clothing

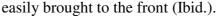


One of attention-grabbing parts of Inuit art is their clothing. In my opinion sewing clothes requires as much skilfulness as sculpturing or painting. Some of the garments are plain, using only fur, but some are decorated with outstanding embodiments.

Table no. 11: Parka 1

The techniques of making clothes have been passed on from mother to daughter for thousands of years. It is one of the symbols of survival of the Inuit. Parka is a kind of jacket with a hood made of caribou or seal skin providing warmth and protection from the harsh environment of the Canadian Arctic (Issenman Kobayashi2007).

Amauti is a unique type of parka worn by women. It has huge, comfortable pouch for carrying children. The shoulders of the amauti are baggy so the baby could be





Both men and women wear fur trousers, but men usually have two pairs during winter when they go hunting even in the deepest cold. Nowadays, mostly woven



materials instead of fur are used, however. Women wear only one pair of these trousers since they are not spending so much time outside in winter (Ibid.).

Table no. 13: Inuit trousers 1

Inuit mitts are made from caribou leg skin for its long lasting quality, seal skin for



working in wet and warmer circumstances or bear skin when working with snow (Ibid.).

Table no. 14: Mitts 1

Important item of Inuit clothing is the footwear. Shoes are made from all kinds of animal skin. The Inuit wear fur or felt socks in the shoes for more warmth protecting them from frostbites.



Table no. 15: Example of Inuit footwear 1

2.4 Sculptures and Carvings

Making sculptures and carvings is the most widened form of Inuit art. There are various materials used – soapstone, quartz, whalebone or basalt but soapstone is the most common because it is really malleable. There is a chance you might come across a wooden carving, but that would be more likely somewhere more south where there are trees, for example in Nunavik in northern Quebec. On the other hand, as I am thinking more about it, the wood is probably better accessible for the Inuit of Nunavut nowadays. These carvings represent animals, gods, spiritual events or their everyday routine.

This kind of art is new, visual form of storytelling. They tell stories of the past to remind the ancient days of the Inuit to the modern generation who doesn't experience all the things the Inuit did – like hunting, moving from place to place or building igloos to survive during winter (Inuit Carvings: A New Story 2012).

Sculpturing is certainly connected to the past hunting skills of the Inuit since it was while hunting they used to acquire materials as whalebone or antlers this way.



Table no. 16: Drum dancer 1

2.5 Legends

The mythology of the Inuit is the archive of their culture which is told by the elders. It has gone through a revival in recent days as the communities want to preserve their traditions (Houston 2006).

The Inuit until recently were an oral culture and their legends were told in family environment and transferred from generation to generation. Only in the last fifty years have been rewritten in Inuktitut (or other of their languages) or in English.

How could one define a myth? A general definition would probably be that it is a telling which explains characters, experiences or phenomena of religious or spiritual nature. It illustrates beliefs of the exact culture. They can include fantastic elements and can seem even unbelievable. A legend, on the other hand, is loosely based on historical events (Ibid.).

I have chosen some of many myths and legends as an example. One of the most



Table no. 17: Sedna 1

despite the suffering.

important is the Legend of Sedna, Inuit sea goddess. There are several versions of this story. In each of them, Sedna is a beautiful young woman. In one of them, she thinks she is too pretty to get married and forced by her father to do so, but her husband turns to be a

masked raven³. She was unhappy and

called her father's name and the winds brought her calling to him. He felt guilty about what he had done and went to save his daughter in his kayak. But Sedna's furious husband flew for her and by the flip of his wing caused a raging storm. Sedna's father threw her into the ocean out of fear. When she tried to get back to

³ It is most likely raven from another Inuit my! n, portrayed with raven's beak, he could be an equivalent to Christian God as he is believed to be the creator of world and light and is used to explain the world around the Inuit. On the other hand he is also known as a trickster and behaves against the society turning out to lead to a good ending (nac-cna.ca, Tulugak: Inuit Raven Stories) and in some way Sedna had a happy ending

the kayak he was several times pounding into his daughter's frozen fingers until they cracked, fell into the water and turned into first sea mammals. ⁴ In other version I happened to see is quite big difference as Sedna does not have to get married but her parents refuse to provide her living because she is unmarried. Then the plot is identical with the previous one – they toss her out of a boat in a storm and cut off her fingers clutching the kayak. ⁵ Sedna is often portrayed as a mermaid which is another sign how the Inuit are attached to the nature.

Another myth talks about the Taqriaqsuit in the Inuit world sometimes known as

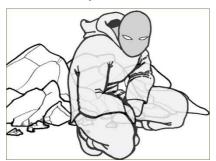


Table no. 18: Tagriagsuit 1

the shadow people. I would compare them to ghosts. They live in a world we are not able to perceive. We cannot see the Taqriaqsuit but we can hear them as footsteps or laughing when no one is around. If one would glimpse them or felt

they are around they seem to vanish into the ground. It is told that some individuals passed to

the land of the shadow people but have never come back (Taqriaqsuit).

I find the myth of Tuniit important because they are believed to live in the north



Table no. 19: Tuniit 1

before the Inuit. They spoke simple language of Kutak. They were peaceful, as tall as normal people but thick and enormously strong and very powerful foes when angry. The story also tells that tools of the Tuniit can still be found in the north (Tuniit).



Table no. 20: Mahaha 1

The myth of Mahaha could be viewed as scary and ridiculous at the same time. It is a thin and sinewy creature with ice blue skin, white eyes and stringy hair. Mahaha is very strong, barefoot and always smiles. Mahaha has long bony fingers and its nails are very sharp. Despite scanty

⁴ <u>hvgb.net</u>, Sedna is the Inuit Goddess of the Sea 2000

⁵ alaskanmalamute.net, The Legend of Sedna

clothing this demon is not bothered by the cold. But the ridiculous part for me is that it tickles its victims to death and could be easily fooled contrary to its twisted and evil nature. This demon is fooled in lot of the stories by pushing into a water hole in which he was asked to take a drink (Mahaha).

Nowadays, the myths are not relevant for beliefs of the Inuit because most of them are Catholics.

Some of the legends were published in books (*The Falcon Bow: An Arctic Legend* and *Tikta'liktak Long Claws*) written and illustrated by James A. Houston (Stott 2008).

3 White Canadians Attitudes to Inuit Art

The attitudes of white Canadians towards Inuit art have radically changed over time. In my opinion, the initial underestimation or neglecting of Inuit art was the isolation of the Inuit and lack of interest of getting to know this culture by the whites. To fully appreciate any kind of art you need to know the culture and purpose it is supposed to show. The neglect was represented in different ways – by negative commentary or undervaluing the pieces of art, for example by trading them with the Canadians instead of something else. This is, according to me, inappropriate value of artistic items which often had sentimental or spiritual value to its creator which happened a lot in the beginning until the art meant for trading was started to be produced.

This commentary about Inuit I found very offensive, it was said by Robert Peary, an American explorer, during his Arctic expedition years – he spent twelve years there as he was trying to reach the North Pole. He also abused the Inuit by transporting them to New York City where they were exhibited in museum (Robert Edwin Peary – Biography 2015)

"Of what use are Eskimos to the world? They are too far removed to be of any value for commercial enterprises; and furthermore, they lack ambition. They have no literature; nor, properly speaking, any art."

"Of what use are Eskimos to the world? They are too far removed to be of any value for commercial enterprises; and furthermore, they lack ambition. They have no literature; nor, properly speaking, any art (Carved Hares and Dancing Bears 2007)."

I strongly disagree with him, even the fact he called the Inuit Eskimos, which they - at least today - find pejorative, but he proclaims them to have no art which was not true at all, because they have made carvings and told their legends and myths, orally at least, for centuries. On the other hand, that is how the whites felt about the Inuit in the beginning of the 20th century and earlier. The quote above can also be an example of the cold-hearted indifferent attitude of the whites towards the Inuit.

But on the other hand, ironically, because of the neglect, the traditions and art of the Inuit flourished more than elsewhere in North America.

Another event I consider a negative attitude towards Inuit art is destruction of the Far North environment which, on the other hand, probably wasn't intentional but still negatively affected Inuit art. The importance of preserving the Far North nature was noted as worth protecting in the sake of Inuit art. Whatever environmental change, caused by human forces or not, has effect on the materials the Inuit use to make their art which affects the art itself. ⁶

⁶ wateringholebook.com, Inuit Art: Preserving The Canadian Environment To Protect A Culture, Chavez, L., 2014

4 How the Art Became Almost Symbolic as Canadian Art

Inuit art has started to be appreciated more since 1949 as it was introduced by Houston in white Canadian culture, and it was really well accepted, in my opinion. This is how the real contact between the Inuit and Canadians really began, not only meeting quite briefly when trading but getting to know each other's cultures is something that I consider important in contact.

In my opinion the symbolism of Inuit art is strongly interconnected with the appreciation by other Canadians. The art was somehow part of Canadian culture for all the time but it was perceived as different mores only when the gradual integration started and Inuit became part of Canada then their art was discovered by the Canadian society.

I think that Inuit art is symbolic for Canadian culture and Canada as a whole by its storytelling when the different lifestyle, beliefs and unknown culture are taught not only to Inuit children but to Canadians as well. They can then better understand the diversity in their country and that helped while the Inuit were assimilating to white Canadians lifestyle.

"Inuit art is uniquely Canadian and enjoys worldwide reputation (Inuit Art and Traditional Lifestyle: A Self-sufficient People)."

This sentence expresses both, the appreciation and the symbolism of Inuit art for Canadian culture. This art is certainly one of kind and it shows the diversity of Canadian culture.

Inuit art, specifically speaking their clothing, had definitely an impact on Canadian culture and lifestyle. The European invaders adopted parkas (which is popular not only in Canada but worldwide these days) and kamiiks, Inuit boots, as soon as they realized they needed it for keeping warm during the harsh winter weather (The Inuit Impact)."

4.1 Monetary Value

The pricing of Inuit art has changed over the years, as well as everything else. The prices went from exchanging for goods or another piece of art, thus almost having no monetary value to hundreds or even thousands of dollars by today, which makes a massive difference.

If we compare the average prices of Inuit and Canadian art we find that their value is similar. The prices are set according to size, used material and the status of the artist.



As an example of the comparison of monetary value of Inuit and Canadian art I have prepared the 37 by 25 inches linocut An Owl and Her Children by Ruth Qaulluaryuk priced on 900.00 CAD (inuit.com) and equally valued 24 by 24 inches fluid acrylic painting Rock and Snow-gray rocks by Joanne MacNair.

Table no. 21: An Owl & Her Children 1



Table no. 22: Rock and Snow-Gray Rocks 1

The sculptures and carvings are probably the most expensive items of Inuit art. For instance, 12.3 inches long, 9.5 inches high and 8.25 inches wide marble carving of hunting bear is sold for 5,685 CAD.



Table no. 23: Hunting Bear 1

Another example, 16 inches long, 10.5 inches wide and 6.5 inches deep serpentine sculpture of eagle with fish priced for 11, 700 CAD.



Table no. 24: Eagle with Fish 1

One of Inuit 24-inch stone carving of dancing polar bear was auctioned in Toronto for 51, 600 CAD, which is remarkable price showing how highly appreciated Inuit art have become (Carved Hares and Dancing Bears 2007).

4.2 Public Appreciation

There have been a lot of exhibits presenting Inuit art only and lots of museums are specialized in it nowadays. Inuit art is known and appreciated worldwide.

Asingit was an exhibition in Innsbruck, Austria in 1997 presenting drawings and fabric art works from Nunavut exemplifying the rich legacy of shamanism, traditional spirit and history with the effect of life in modern society present in the work of the sixteen artists. All of them are successful and recognized all around the world. It shows the development of the art in the forty-year period from 1961 to 2001 (Mathis-Moser, Moser 2002).

The drawing Man and Wife with Animals by Luke Anguhadluq interpret his nomadic lifestyle because he moved to permanent settlement in his seventies which I presume was around 1970. There is man with tattoos in his face as men are expected to hunt and a woman, it also contains pair of dogs chasing animals, two Arctic hares and hunters riding kayaks portrayed from bird's perspective. The scene is completed by giant yellow owl. This drawing is coloured with pencil and represents the dream of game a hunter can have and the traditions associated with hunting, catching and killing an animal (Ibid.).



Table no. 25: Man and Wife with Animals 1

The appreciation is clear even on social networks, especially on pinterest.com where the users share not only Inuit art but photographs of inuksuit as well.

4.3 Inukshuk - Symbol of the Olympics

Inuksuit are for sure the most iconic part of landscape in Northern Canada. In my opinion it may be one of the reasons why inukshuk-like shape was used as the logo of 2010 Winter Olympic Games in Vancouver.



Inuksuit are used to remind us that the Inuit culture became part of Canadian culture. Canadian soldiers built an Inukshuk in Kandahar to remember four of them who were deceased by mistake in bomb attack during military exercise. Seven of these were erected

by scientists on Devon Island for each astronaut who died in the Columbia Space Shuttle in 2003 (Fabbi).



Table no. 27: Inuksuhk at English Bay 1

Inukshuk was used as a logo way before 2010 and according to the committee it was selected as an Olympic logo "because it is simple, happy, welcoming, has a sense of energy and, while universal, speaks to the particular location of Vancouver." The design was

inspired by an inukshuk erected in Stanley Park, English Bay (Ibid.).



Table no. 28: Inukshuk 2010 unofficial logo 1

The personification of this picture, which is not the official logo but it somehow grabbed my attention, implies the meaning of the first part of the word inukshuk, inuk means man and the fact that he holds a hockey stick refers to hockey which is, in my opinion, Canada's national sport.

Alvin Kanak, the designer of the logo, wanted to demonstrate the diversity, personality and landscape of the hosting nation. The name of his design was Ilanaaq, Inuktitut for "friend (Ibid.)."

There were of course both, critics and fans, of the logo. The First Nations living along the Pacific coast protested strongly, for they have very strong artistic traditions. They felt that they were sideswiped by the organizers.

"With no disrespect to the Inuit, certainly the Northwest coast has produced some world class art forms and artists who are First Nations. You would have thought there would have been some effort to reflect this and there isn't." Edward John, Grand Chief of the First Nations Summit (Ibid.).

Nunavut premier and President of Inuit Tapiirit Kanatami both supported this idea for a logo and were present at the unveiling ceremony. On the other hand, Nunavut minister was criticising the use of inukshuk as Olympics logo because of the struggles of Inuit communities and disparity between north and south (Ibid.).

I agree with the author of the article in her opinion of worldwide attention which was given to the inukshuk by its usage as a logo of such an event as the Olympics certainly are.

5 Conclusion

When the Europeans first came to North America, the Aboriginals welcomed them for their advancement. They had tools the Aboriginals needed for themselves to improve their lives. But later on it became from trading in to struggle for land, which is not over even nowadays because there is still a lot of to discover in the Arctic, mainly valuable metals and minerals.

Because of the hostile environment of the Arctic, where no European wanted or even could live, the Inuit escaped the land grabs during the 18th and 19th centuries. And so they were neglected and ignored since then. The change, when Canadians started pushing for northern development, came especially after World War II.

Nunavut can be viewed as a project giving the Inuit their autonomy and the feeling of more control over themselves, but in effect it has only reinforced the existing status quo. About 60,000 people spread over a vast expense of land and they are going to be, hopefully, much better off, but the pressure on them to accept mainstream jobs as miners or oil drilling works will increase.

The issues the Inuit are facing now are not over yet, we can only hope for them to be in the future.

My opinion on Inuit art has changed as I was doing this research. I have come to realize that Inuit art is not a type of art I am used to because I was familiar only with European art before. I did not assume that art could be so cherished by its creator or owner as it was for the Inuit artists, at least before they started to produce carvings and prints for market usage. I found Inuit art truly unique and beautiful. Although I was surprised by the form of some of the drawings which were coloured with pencil – these seem like children's pictures but yet they are considered valuable and are expensive to buy. These drawings are concrete I would compare them to abstract paintings of European artists in regard to the price because abstract art also said to look like a child would have drawn it. I would assign that to the reputation of the artist.

As I have pointed out before, the global warming is in concern for the Inuit and even if a lot of them seem to have lost the identity of their origin due to living in cities of the south, there are still some who are interested in saving the environment and fight against this problem.

I already pointed that several times but I find this really important and it is the fact the James Houston is the pioneer of the appreciation of Inuit art and probably even the respect of the Inuit themselves. He had the opportunity to steal their original motifs but he never had. He remembered that they had helped him when he first came to Arctic Quebec and had nothing but a sleeping bag, toothbrush and a can of peaches. They gave him shelter and provided him food therefore he had not any reason to do such thing as theft what others might have been able to do in their own favour and income.

The use of inukshuk as the symbol of 2010 Winter Olympic Games has had a great impact on the Canadian culture and inhabitants. Many Canadians have even started building inuksuit in their gardens. However, the Inuit sculptor Saila Kipanek told The Economist that he is disappointed that it is done so without the southerners understanding what inuksuit mean in Inuit culture (Carved Hares and Dancing Bears 2007).

The global warming, a current problem that affects not only the Inuit but our whole planet, has those who fight against it and those who do not care, even among the Inuit who are known for their strong bond towards nature. Paul Okalik, the Prime Minister of Nunavut for instance thinks that the polar bears are not endangered species, although he is aware of the climate changes (Ibid.).

The opposite view is held by Nunavik-born Sheila Watt-Coultier, an Inuit activist who is known for her fighting against global warming (Brown 2003).

The fact that Canada has become multi-cultural has certainly played its part in the transformation of the Inuit from neglected and disrespected minority into a valued part of Canadian society.

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Appendix





Table no. 29: Print of an owl 1

Table no. 30: Ancient whale 1





Table no. 31: Silavut 1

Table no. 32: People in canoe 1





Table no. 33: Bear 1

Table no. 34: Hunter with spirit helpers 1



Table no. 35: Caribou/Human Transformation (Asingit) 1



Table no. 36: Legened of the Sea Maiden(Asingit) 1



Table no. 37: Man and Wife (Asingit) 1

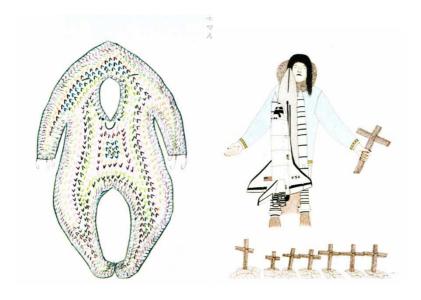


Table no 38: Giant (Asingit) 1

Table no. 39: NASA Graveyard (Asingit) 1



Table no. 40: Inuit drum 1

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