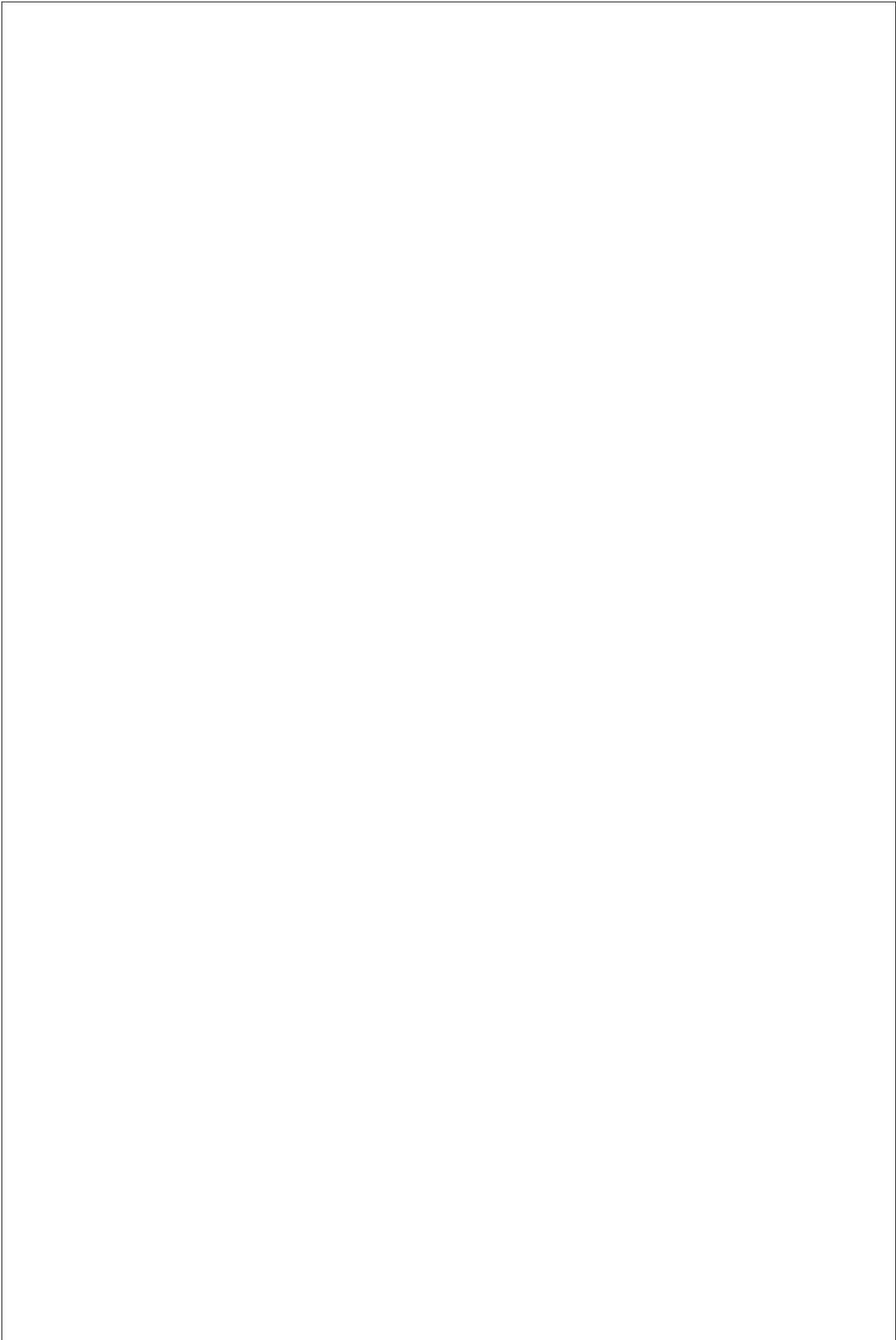

Kiumajut (Talking Back)



Peter Kulchyski and Frank James Tester

Kiumajut (Talking Back):
Game Management and Inuit
Rights, 1900-70



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Contents

Maps, Figures, and Tables / vii

Preface / ix

Introduction / 5

Part I: Managing the Game

- 1** Trapping and Trading: The Regulation of Inuit Hunting Prior to World War II / 23
- 2** *Sagluniit* ("Lies"): Manufacturing a Caribou Crisis / 50
- 3** *Sugsaunngittugulli* ("We Are Useless"): Surveying the Animals / 82
- 4** Who Counts? Challenging Science and the Law / 122

Part II: Talking Back

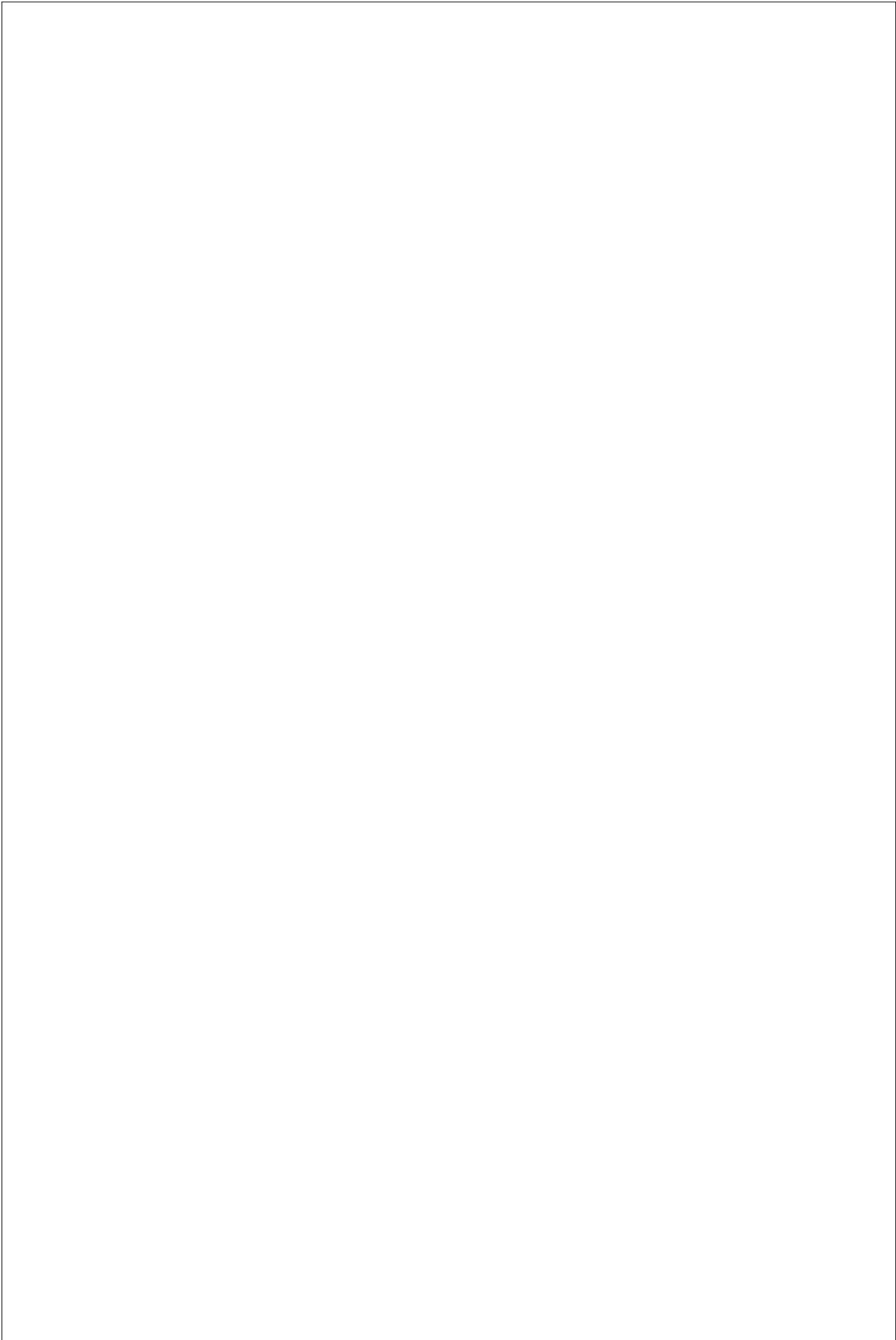
- 5** Inuit Rights and Government Policy / 165
- 6** Baker Lake, 1957: The Eskimo Council / 204
- 7** Inuit Petition for Their Rights / 239

Conclusion: Contested Ground / 273

Notes / 279

Bibliography / 302

Index / 308



Maps, Figures, and Tables

Map

The Northwest Territories before division to create Nunavut / 2

Figures

- 1 Inuit-owned schooners trading furs at Hershel Island in the 1930s / 31
- 2 Moses Koihok / 33
- 3 Angulalik and his family / 43
- 4 Ikey Bolt / 45
- 5 John Kelsall / 54
- 6 Farley Mowat / 57
- 7 Peter Irniq / 73
- 8 Caribou killed by Dene hunters, Duck Lake, Manitoba / 76
- 9 Hunting with a musk-ox bow, 1950 / 89
- 10 Emik Immaroitok / 107
- 11 Page from the Canadian Wildlife Service booklet *How to Save the Caribou: "Men are the main killers of caribou"* / 124
- 12 Drawing by André Tautu, 1958 / 126
- 13 Moses Nargyak / 128
- 14 Aerial photograph of migrating caribou / 155
- 15 Tagak Curley / 160
- 16 Rachel Uyarasuk / 198
- 17 Doug Wilkinson / 206
- 18 Apex, Frobisher Bay, Baffin Island, 1957 / 207
- 19 Page from the Canadian Wildlife Service booklet *How to Save the Caribou: "Employment opportunities available"* / 215

- 20 Page from the Canadian Wildlife Service booklet *How to Save the Caribou: "Benefits of civilization and modernization"* / 216
- 21 Signatures on the Coppermine (Kugluktuk) petition, 6 February 1953 / 241
- 22 Mangitak Qilippalik / 243
- 23 The Coppermine (Kugluktuk) petition for a hospital, 1962 / 258

Tables

- 1 John Kelsall's theoretical projection of caribou decline between 1949 and 1955 / 70
- 2 Analysis of 502 caribou killed at Contwoyto Lake, 1960 / 78

Preface

It is commonly stated that few groups of people in the world have attracted more attention than circumpolar Inuit. Yet, in all the reading and research we have done, we have been impressed not only by what is missing from the historical record but also by the importance of intimate details about the complex movement of Inuit, as a camp-based hunting culture, to settlement living and, in Canada, a form of self-government. Perhaps of even greater significance, we are acutely aware of what the words of Inuit contribute to the record. It is not a mere addition to the record of the Inuit journey toward relations with the Canadian polity that the words of Inuit elders and others produce. Rather, it is a reinterpretation of those relations that a combined archival record and oral history create.

This book is about community development in the eastern Arctic, in the territory known as Nunavut. “Community development” is a broad and all-encompassing term, and we expand on what we mean by it in what follows. As background, *Tammarniit [Mistakes]: Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-63*, our earlier study (1994), told the story of how the government of Canada in the latter part of the 1950s suddenly shifted its policy toward Inuit from deliberate neglect – in the interest of preserving Inuit independence – to massive intervention in almost every aspect of Inuit life. Two events, the High Arctic exiles (1953) and the Kivalliq region famines (1957-58), were the core stories we used to illustrate this redirection of policy. The book was based primarily on archival research supplemented by a few interviews.

Both of us are acutely aware of the difficulties posed for collaborative intellectual work in the current institutional context of the Canadian university. Although on the surface it is often encouraged, in practice collaboration remains agonizingly difficult. To have found the degree of mutuality, different but compatible intellectual skills and temperaments, and generally agreeable personalities (at least to each other!) required to make production of this sort possible has proven, for each of us, too fortuitous to abandon. Hence,

as soon as *Tammarniit* was in press, we began to conceptualize continued research and writing.

The archival material we had collected for *Tammarniit* pointed us in a number of directions. We had collected some material we were unable to use. We were also well aware of a huge amount of material yet to be perused, interesting for its volume alone. It is important to remember that the Inuit population of the Canadian eastern Arctic was in the neighbourhood of about 7,000 people in the early 1940s, rising thereafter to about 27,500 today. The effort and energy expended in attempts to incorporate Inuit into the Canadian state have been truly remarkable, and the volume of paper itself – hundreds of cases of material and tens of thousands of documents in the National Archives of Canada and the Prince of Wales Heritage Centre in Yellowknife – speaks to this commitment. Adding to our original archival record, we set about to build an oral archive that would supplement the richness of the written archive. Or would the latter come to supplement the former? Believing we knew enough to ask the right questions, we began three seasons of research, a season in each of the major regions of Nunavut. We talked to women and men, many of whom have since passed away, who were adults in the postwar period and could speak to Inuit feelings about and responses to the changes they experienced. This new work therefore includes not merely history – and even oral history as found in the written record of things done and spoken by Inuit who experienced this phenomenal transition – but also oral testimony from those who participated in the events and processes under examination. Our hope is that this combination of documentary evidence and oral testimony produces a uniquely complex, interactive, and rewarding text.

Our writing practice was similar to that deployed in *Tammarniit*. Each of us drafted particular chapters, turned them over to the other for comment and editorial support, exchanged sections, hurled delightfully whimsical one-liners at each other, in respect of Frank's Scottish heritage sometimes spiced our caustic remarks with a touch of single malt, and enjoyed watching the Stanley Cup finals with Inuit friends and from TVs in Arctic communities with more ice – and in some cases more talent – than the NHL will ever manufacture. We somehow ended up with this text, whose value will ultimately be determined by its readers.

The first four chapters were originally drafted by Tester, the latter three by Kulchyski. Since *Tammarniit* was published as a Tester and Kulchyski product, *Kiumajut (Talking Back)* is presented under the sign of Kulchyski and Tester. As with the former book, we consider this one fully a product of mutual effort, and it may properly be cited with either name first: we duck equally quickly when the criticism starts flying, and neither of us is shy about presenting himself when praise is in the air.

What remains for this preface are important words of gratitude. This study was supported by grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada at a time when funding for non-scientific research was substantially reduced. We are immensely grateful to the officials and academic referees of the council for their contribution: one cannot take for granted a state that will fund its critics and perhaps must be ever vigilant to ensure that this fundamental protocol of scholarly inquiry is maintained. Over many years of work, we have developed strong working relationships with staff at Library and Archives Canada; although all of them deserve considerable credit, the years of dedicated attention to our needs provided by Mary-Jane Jones must be recognized.

At the University of British Columbia, a fine cadre of students has worked diligently for many years to help catalogue, abstract, and sort through thousands of documents. Starting with Robert Case, now employed with a consulting firm in Guelph, Ontario; Robert Logan, working with the Ministry of Children and Families of the BC government; Kelly Wugalter, who subsequently went to work in the Philippines; Rosalind Green, now working and studying in London, England; Shabniz Kirji, who then went to work with CUSO in Tanzania; Sandra Teves, a graduate student who subsequently worked with Frank in Mozambique; and Sabah Ibrahim, our current (2007) research assistant, we have had an enormous amount of talented and committed help. It is gratifying to hear from them that the skills and sensibilities they acquired in the course of participating in this research have served them well in the occupations and interests they have pursued. At Trent University and the University of Manitoba, Aluki Kotierk, Aaron Levere, Krista Pilz, and Janet Sarson provided support in the painstaking work of transcribing audiotapes and indexing.

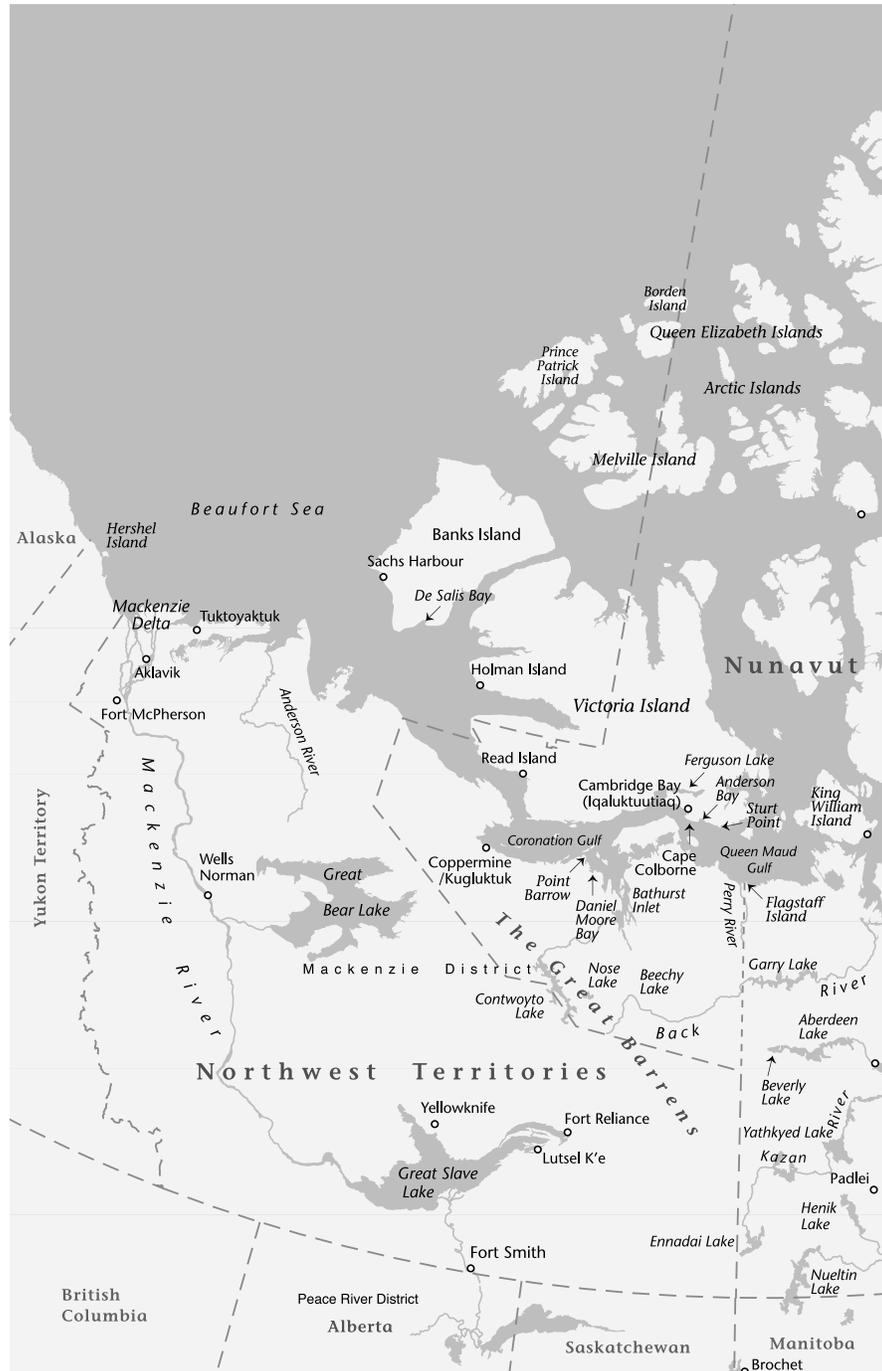
This work led us to many Nunavut communities in 1997, 1998, and 1999 where we were hospitably treated. We enjoyed staying with Inuit in their homes wherever possible. We found excellent interpreters and community assistants for our research. We found people, many of them elders, who were willing to talk. Their names and those of their interpreters are included in the notes. From them we learned so much; to them we say *qoyanamiik paaluk!*

Special thanks are due to our friend and frequent interlocutor Peter Irniq for his patience, interest, and support (not to mention a place to stay in Iqaluit!). Peter would like to thank his colleagues Fred Shore, Chris Trott, and Emma Larocque, the latter two for enriching his understanding, respectively, of Inuit culture and colonial processes. He also thanks Malay, whose laughter sprinkles the joy of life wherever it is heard. Frank would like to thank his Inuit friends David Ukutak, Bobby Suluk, André Tautu, and Peter Irniq (particularly for help with Inuktitut), Bill Kashla, and Pierre Karlik for insights and lots of learning. Thanks also to *Qallunaat* friends

Bob Williamson, Paule McNicoll, Doug Wilkinson (who offered invaluable comments on Chapter 6), Bob Ruttan, Otto Schaefer, Tim Tyler, Julie Cruikshank, and Hugh Shewell, with whom Frank has consulted about this text on numerous occasions. Thanks to Lana Voloshenko for gentle and thoughtful support as well as critical feedback, particularly in regard to the treatment Frank has given some of the characters in the first four chapters of the text. One other person deserves special recognition. Frank would like to acknowledge the essential role of Jean-Marie Beaulieu of the Canadian Polar Commission in this research. Archival research is prohibitively expensive for those of us not living near the national capital. Had Jean-Marie not provided Frank with a place to stay and company to enjoy when he was working in the archives for many weeks off and on over the past ten years, this text would not have been possible. Thanks for years of meaningful and deeply appreciated friendship and never-ending support. Thanks to Jean Wilson and the staff of UBC Press for their diligence and indulgence. The circles of gratitude within which we are wound do not for a moment protect us from accepting our responsibility to and for these words, constructions, opinions, arguments, reflections, and understandings.

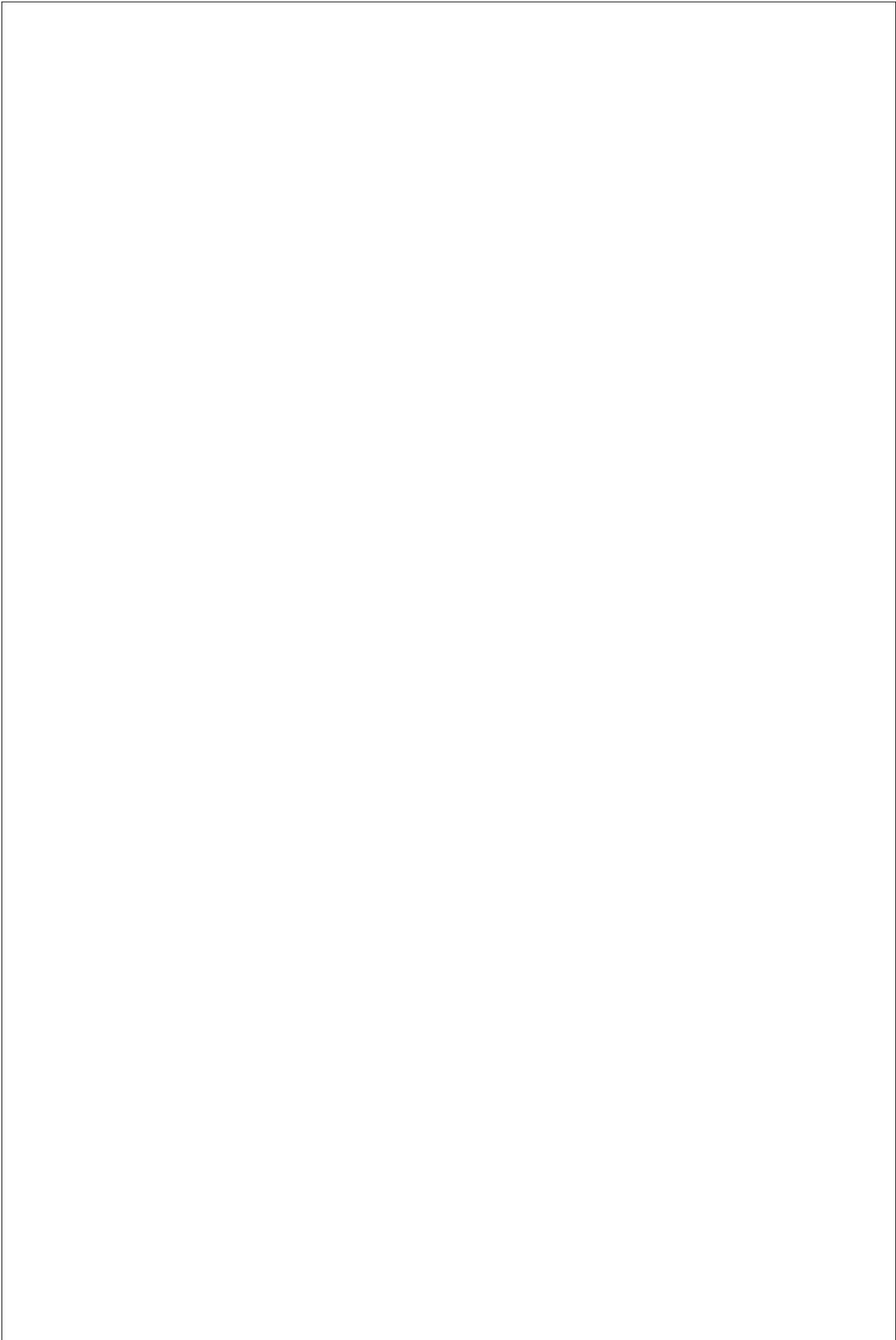
We pointed out in *Tammarniit* that, as they published the case *Re: Eskimos* in 1939, the editors of the *Dominion Law Review* apologetically noted that the case would be of no interest except as an example of process, of how the court arrived at decisions. The editors had no idea that Inuit themselves would come to form a readership and would of course have an interest in the substance of the case (not to mention Métis, for whom it is an important precedent regarding Aboriginal status in the Constitution). Much of what was written, even up to the 1970s and later, presumed a Western audience only: the famed “we” here often assuming a white male educated reader. This includes the archival material produced in the period studied herein and the published material, including that published by anthropologists who worked with and studied Inuit. “We” – Kulchyski and Tester – are of a generation that hopefully knows better. One of the meanings of the term “postcolonial,” however presumptuous the “post,” points to the multifaceted manner in which the colonial “other” is looking back. We want this book to find its way to Inuit students, scholars, policy makers, and readers. To facilitate that, we have occasionally used Inuktitut words or expressions that seem apt. Although we wish that all our readers find reading this work to their benefit, we offer the particular hope that with these pages, Inuit feel rewarded for their efforts.

Kiumajut (Talking Back)



The Northwest Territories before division to create Nunavut, showing places noted in the text. Map by Eric Leinberger.





Introduction

The broadest movements of history, told with relish in the inflated terms of master narratives (stories of growth, discovery, or progress, stories savoured at the tables of imperial centres), leave many marks on the values and geographic, economic, social, and cultural movements of those who have less reason to celebrate their sensibilities and outcomes. In our previous work (1994), *Tammarniit [Mistakes]*, the title itself signified a departure from the common historical narratives dealing with the Arctic, where the “every day, in every way, things got better and better” content has been fed by a “tell it like it is” narrative style that could spice its overall message with a bit of tragedy from the Franklin expedition, more than a bit of adventure from the gold rush, and of course the odd bit of cultural exoticism from a passing reference to the Native occupants of northern frontiers. Coming to the study of Arctic history with the benefit of a reshaped view, that the North was a homeland as much as a frontier (in the words of Thomas Berger), we proposed a more critical view of the events and processes and of their outcomes than was common in contemporary historical accounts.

Tammarniit told three interrelated stories. One story was of the growth of the state apparatus in Arctic affairs in the postwar period. We looked at the expansion of the civil service, the growth of the Arctic branch in the south, and the associated increase in field staff in the North. From our perspective, this development had at least paradoxical results: on the one hand, it improved the ability of the state to respond to crises affecting the livelihoods of northern indigenous residents and contributed to removing the “absent-minded” relationship to northern Canada that southern decision makers evidenced; on the other hand, though, it increased the surveillance powers of the state and the ability of distant managers to interfere with the lifeways of Inuit. A second story dealt with the issue of relocation. The theme of relocation afforded us an organizing principle from which Arctic history in the 1950s and early 1960s especially could be understood, particularly in terms of its impact on Inuit. Two sets of relocations, the movement of Inuit

from northern Quebec to the High Arctic (the now well-known story of the High Arctic exiles) and the relocation of inland Inuit in the Kivalliq region to coastal or community centres, provided the fodder for our reflections. Again, we attempted to show some sensitivity to how these movements of inland people to the coast and of southern Arctic dwellers to the northernmost reaches of the world may not have been entirely beneficial to those whose bodies bore the costs of what may or may not have been well-meant calculations. Finally, we dealt with the related story of how the state, somewhat under the pressure of the 1939 legal decision *Re: Eskimos*, which established federal government jurisdiction over if not responsibility for Inuit, moved from a policy of cost-motivated neglect to a policy of intensive interference and induced settlement-modernization. It was striking that no intermediate policy of support for the Inuit hunting economy was ever developed: in less than a decade, policy makers moved from the assumption that Inuit should be left on their own to fend for themselves to a policy of massive interference.

This book, *Kiumajut (Talking Back)*, is not a continuation of but a companion to our earlier work. At a broad level, both deal with community development in the eastern Arctic, primarily the territory known as Nunavut. Our focus is on a geographic area now part of Nunavut, although we also include other areas historically occupied by Inuit in the western Arctic, including the Inuvialuit settlement area and the western Arctic coast. Where it serves our purpose, we make reference to territories that are part of the migration of northern caribou herds: the northern portions of the prairie provinces and the Northwest Territories. Describing our work as “about community development” may seem at first like an odd way to characterize the text, given its title. However, our research strongly suggests that community development in Nunavut was motivated by the state in multifaceted ways, from serving as a logical mechanism for the provision of social support structures to allowing for more careful surveillance of distant citizens. Similarly, community development involved attempts to regulate Inuit through management of the game upon which they depended not only for sustenance but also for personal and collective meanings and the cultural forms to which hunting gives rise. Hence, this work is related to *Tammarniit* but not as a second volume. While readers of *Tammarniit* will have a good deal of information that may illuminate this text, each can be read as a self-contained set of stories. This text concentrates on much of the same period and therefore overlaps with, rather than continues, the narrative of its predecessor. Broadly speaking, community development and community practice are areas of concern in both volumes, but this orientation has taken us here into government policy, legal history, so-called modernization, resistance, and the development of Inuit rights in areas as diverse as wildlife management and community governance, to mention a couple. One of the questions *Tammarniit* implicitly

posed – why the government did not develop a policy of strongly supporting the hunting economy – is answered in *Kiumajut* to the extent that we demonstrate the influence of the growing science of game management on policy makers.

Again, although we will not belabour the point, theoretical considerations have had an impact on our framing and understanding of this material. Central to our project, the concept of totalization elaborated by Jean-Paul Sartre (1991) in his *Critique of Dialectical Reason* continues to offer a framework within which we can give shape to the historical material. The appearance in English of the second volume of the *Critique* has provided a fresh set of insights in relation to the concept. A few of our readers may understand our surprise and delight at discovering the skeletal analysis offered there of the impact of the fox fur trade on Inuit: “I change my hunting (walrus, seal, bear [to] fox, formerly despised because its meat is poor). I enter the circuit for profit; i.e. these pelts are sold not for the needs of others, which would still have been direct, but for the profit of some people in a developed society where the satisfaction is always indirect, as a (hidden) economic motor, and where accumulation allows luxury (i.e. symbolic, rather than productive or reproductive) expenditure. Who shall say if this is progress?” (409).

Beyond the coincidence of interest in and general attitude toward some of the same material, the second volume more closely links the idea of totalization to the ideology of progress: “Progress is necessarily a totalization. For it is the pursuit of the restoration or establishment of a totality” (Sartre 1991, 407). So much of northern history assumes the notion of progressive improvement that when read from a critical perspective it takes the character of justificatory ideology. This is the “every day, in every way, things got better and better” school of colonial historiography already referred to, so deeply rooted in Canadian and especially northern history. Hence, merely to begin with the assumption that change does not equal improvement, particularly in the field of Aboriginal history, is to find oneself calling into question the foundations not only of Canadian historiography but also of the very logic upon which contemporary Western civilization has built its many edifices.

This logic is bound up with hegemonic discourse about “need” and attempts to meet manufactured needs. Need is what Sartre identifies as the original state of tension in regard to nature: “A need is the first totalizing relation between the material being, man, and the material ensemble of which he is a part” (1991, 80). Totalization of Inuit involved, for the state, the transmutation of need away from relations to animals and toward what so-called progress had to offer: wage employment, permanent housing, settlement living, and all that they entail. Undermining the hunting regime, as a way of meeting culturally constructed needs, was crucial to attempts to absorb Inuit by the Canadian state into the dominant social forms. The tension

in the movement of history is between competing forces and perceptions: the developing solidarity to resist the common deprivation threatening a collective (which develops in response to the perceived threat and which we have attempted to document in this text) and attempts by the state to replace the foundation for existing social organization (animals and hunting as *the* way of addressing need) with alternatives organized under the banner of modernization and in the name of Canadian citizenship. This process for dealing with gathering and hunting societies – as embarrassments to the machinations of modern culture – is widespread and includes state attempts to integrate people as dispersed and distinct as the Hadzabe of Tanzania and the Aborigines of Australia.

To take what is today called “globalization” as merely the latest phase – and latest fashion in language – of a process that began at least a few centuries ago, a process whose specific modality and pace have of necessity depended on the social circumstances of each new terrain it entered, is to bring to bear a measure of respect for those thinkers who become surpassed only to the extent that they are no longer widely read. The particular merit of Sartre’s work in this regard is his emphasis and indeed insistence on the importance of human activity – what Sartre referred to as *praxis* in order to point to the multidimensional character of its embodiments – and resistance to our understanding of history. In *Tammarniit*, we pointed out that a critical feature missing from our account was the nature and extent of Inuit resistance. For Sartre, history itself can be constructed only from the interplay between totalization and resistance; in effect, we had concentrated on only half of the story. In *Kiumajut*, we hope to redress this omission by beginning to trace the outlines of Inuit responses to the measures being imposed, in the interest not of producing a “fuller” history but hopefully of producing a more nuanced account.

A few words regarding our view of the state may play an expedient role in our brief theoretical excursus. We contend that the concern emerging from Michel Foucault’s (1979) influential work with respect to “micro politics” and the decentring of power away from the state, while evocative and in Foucault’s hands deployed with a strong, critical political charge, in the hands of others has become deeply depoliticized and unsatisfactory as an approach to power relations. Certain readings of Foucault accomplish for social and political thought the same ends as those David Harvey (1990, 255) identifies with the Enlightenment’s treatment of time and space: a “‘pulverization’ and fragmentation” that facilitated colonial control of spaces and places otherwise challenging to its logic. The uncritical use of Foucault’s dictum that “power is everywhere” accomplishes similar intellectual ends with regard to state power, revealing (as if it were necessary) the profound political implications of reordering key concepts in social and political thought. Hence, in

northern studies as diverse as Sherrill Grace's (2001) *Canada and the Idea of North* and Paul Nadasdy's (2003) *Hunters and Bureaucrats: Power, Knowledge, and Aboriginal-State Relations in the Southwest Yukon*, the concepts of discourse and power serve, to some extent, to muddy the political waters of what in our view is a sharp disjuncture between the colonizers and the colonized. Frantz Fanon (1966) and Albert Memmi (1972) have insisted on this distinction, which, for all the fluidity of their analyses, remains fundamental to the work of postcolonial theorists as diverse as Gayatri Spivak (1999), Edward Said (1979), and Homi Bhabha (1994). With only occasional reference to it, Grace develops an idea of "northern" identity that serves ultimately as a foundation for contemporary settler-colonial ideology; Nadasdy explicitly rejects what he takes to be a simplistic view of the state as a monolith and the notion of "colonialist and/or neo-colonial policies of exploitation" (4) in the interest of a greater "complexity" and thereby in our view undercuts the political charge of his interesting historical and contemporary analysis. In effect, the theoretical position of Foucault lends itself to co-optation by a liberal form of politics that ultimately colludes with dominating power. This is not to say that Foucault is of no use: we are clearly indebted to the concepts of surveillance and normalization developed in *Discipline and Punish*; however, we deploy his work cautiously and within the parameters of a quite different approach to questions of the state and power, domination, and colonial relations.

Drawing from the work of a twentieth-century dialectical Marxist tradition, in which Sartre is a central figure but which includes George Lukacs (1981), Walter Benjamin (1978), and Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno (1944) and reaches to contemporary social theorists such as Marshall Sahlins (1972), David Harvey (1990), and Fredric Jameson (1991), we are working with a notion of the state as a critical totalizing force, operating alongside the accumulation of capital and the expansion of the commodity form to establish a new social totality. This view does not presume that the state is a simple monolith; its agents work in the complex and sometimes contradictory ways to which Nadasdy, for example, pays close attention. Historical actors such as Gordon Robertson, Justice Jack Sissons, Doug Wilkinson, and John Kelsall had profoundly complex motives, made constructive contributions to the material conditions of Inuit living in Canada, and ultimately were bearers of a totalizing project that dramatically affected Inuit culture not entirely for the better. Our review of their work pays attention, we hope, to the nuances of their agency. Similarly, we should note that Inuit themselves can be and have been agents of totalization (there is, after all, a contemporary Inuit corporate elite), though in our view Inuit culture and the values enacted by those attached to Inuit culture represent the fundamental elements of resistance.

Even totalitarianism, if we read Hannah Arendt (1973) closely, operates more complexly than the caricatures of Western ideology commonly presuppose, and from the perspective of indigenous hunters the liberal-democratic state looks fundamentally totalitarian. So the point is not simple academic abstraction. Furthermore, the state (shop floorman for capital accumulation and its junior partner expansion of the commodity form) is resisted at every step of the way. Hence, for all its complexity and contradictions, the state in our view works along a multifaceted trajectory whose ultimate, overriding objective is totalization: to incorporate by absorption or to expel by banishment any traces of social difference and social forms not ultimately conducive to the accumulation of capital. This may mean compromises but only those that can be afforded: those that do not seriously challenge or, better still, are seen to guarantee, through a delayed or alternative approach, those objectives consistent with capitalist logic or, further, that head off serious challenges to capitalist logic. We view the liberal welfare state that has had profound impacts for all Aboriginal populations in Canada in this regard: as a machine of totalization.

This approach also points to the contested construction of at least the organization of space, time (see Harvey 1990), and subjectivity along the principles of a serial logic (see Sartre 1991), the order of fragments in a linear numerical sequence, and the conjoined principles of an instrumental rationality (see Horkheimer and Adorno 1944). Certainly the historical material we have examined, both in *Tammarniit* and in this work, gives credence to such a perspective. This theoretical approach owes something to Anthony Giddens (1987) in *The Nation State and Violence* and to Nicos Poulantzas (1980) in *State. Power. Socialism*, both of which in different ways broach the notion that “liberal-democratic” states can be seen to operate with totalizing and totalitarian agendas. The fashionable view of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2001) in their recent and much-read *Empire* that “there is no outside” to capital/empire is, in our view, a deeply misguided imperial conceit, constructed from thinkers operating too close to contemporary imperial centres to recognize the nature of the life-and-death struggles of those at the margins. If our theoretical impulses recall an inspiration from somewhat older theoretical reflections, Sartre and Horkheimer and Adorno, it is in part because notions of the “newness of the new” are defining features of commodity relations, a principle at the heart of the fashion system that influences the production of clothing as much as the production of ideas. In sum, theoretical considerations and influences have informed our selection and interpretation of much of the material that follows; as with our earlier work, we have preferred to keep the theoretical apparatus largely off stage and to allow the historical material its starring role.

Kiumajut is divided into two parts and tells two related stories. The first four chapters deal with the emergence and development of the science of

wildlife management as it affected Inuit populations. We do not dwell on the history of science and the relationship of the science of wildlife management to this broader picture. However, the science of wildlife management does parallel other developments in scientific thought and process. In medicine, for example, the discovery of penicillin and the development of antibiotics and vaccinations, commencing in the late 1920s, moved medicine from what was in many respects a healing “art” to a scientific practice. The science of wildlife biology evolved from a naturalistic form, primarily descriptive and taxonomic (as evidenced by natural history museums, originating in the late 1880s), to a science involving observation, manipulation, and prediction. In a parallel way, wildlife biology was given impetus by refinements in the development of aircraft leading to the aerial surveying of large mammal populations, commencing in the 1930s. In the Canadian Arctic, this approach “took off” following World War II, given the experience with aviation gained during the war by some biologists and the availability of aircraft, pilots, and more sophisticated approaches to navigation over challenging terrain.

Along with the science, we trace the management regime that emerged for key species important to Inuit culture and survival. The science and regime emerged primarily in relation to a perceived crisis in the numbers and availability of wildlife. We have been heavily influenced in writing the first half of the book by Horkheimer and Adorno’s (1944) assessment of Enlightenment logic, seeing in the enveloping regime of management the banishment of what they call “mythic beliefs”: the supplanting of Inuit relations to animals with the logic, discourse, and machinations of science. The management regime both produced and was a product of attempts to apply science to wildlife management following World War II. This story is critical to appreciating the emergence of Inuit resistance and an Inuit concept of rights, as wildlife – for a hunting people – lie at the core of meaning, as expressed through language and culture: art, storytelling, history, interpersonal and familial relations, and day-to-day practices. In the first part of the book, we focus on attempts to manage terrestrial mammals since attempts to do the same for marine mammal populations – with the exception of walrus – did not emerge until after the period covered by our text.

We demonstrate that what would now be recognized as deeply flawed science was taken as “gospel truth” by administrators who used the information they acquired not only to interfere with Inuit hunting practices but also, in the process, to alter dramatically most other aspects of Inuit life. In fact, it is inaccurate to identify flawed science alone as the problem. A close reading of texts, combined with observations of Inuit elders who lived through this period, reveals the extent to which the attitudes and values – the ethnocentric assumptions of those playing “the science game” – drove the science itself. There are important lessons here for anyone failing to appreciate the social dimensions of scientific work and for the role of traditional knowledge in

containing and redirecting what can otherwise be misdirected enquiry. There is one element of Foucault's (1979) work that conceptualizes these issues, the notion of "biopolitics" that now circulates widely in social theory, particularly in the work of Giorgio Agamben (1998). Attempts by the state to know and manage wildlife, by knowing and managing hunters, can be thought of as an element of a broader turn by the state to the definition and management of "life" as an integral element of its totalizing arsenal.

The first chapter provides the reader with historical context for what follows. We examine the early impacts of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal activity on game populations in the Arctic. We document fledgling attempts to address them. Of significance is a cultural climate conditioned by what was understood to be the fate of North American wildlife in general and some species in particular. Dealing with the perceived "loss of game" was no easy matter. The science of game management had not yet developed. With the exception of Darwinian science, the approach taken to wildlife was that of a natural history of species and was highly taxonomic. Regulation was based primarily on perceived historical experience, heavily influenced by the fact of settlement in western Canada and the United States and the loss of species (bison, carrier pigeon, etc.). In regard to the totalizing agenda of the state, the period is illustrative of a clear ambivalence to modernity, for while increasing concern for the administration of Arctic territory is clear from the historical record (Grant 1988) the fear of creating relationships of dependency – and hence the urgent need to preserve the game populations upon which Inuit depended – are also evident. This fear gave rise to important tensions not only in the making of game laws but also, perhaps more importantly, in their application. This point is illustrated by our discussion of the state response to Angulalik, described by Dorothy Eber as "the first Inuit business tycoon" (1997, 49). Angulalik was an Inuk whose social position as trader challenged the preferred image of Inuit as hunters existing beyond the enlightened relations of commerce. While notable for the period in question, this tension carried over into the decade following World War II when the state finally concluded that Inuit hunting culture was no longer viable and attempted, as we documented in *Tammarniit*, to totalize Inuit within the Canadian state.

The second chapter documents a considerable and somewhat abrupt change in attempts to regulate Inuit hunting. The period immediately following World War II ushered in the science of game management. In this chapter, we set out to examine, in some detail, the practice of that science and to challenge its theoretical neutrality. In doing so, we read through the studies and texts that dominate the period, paying particular attention to language and difference (Derrida 1976). We find Inuit constructed not as hunters killing animals but as "primitives" involved in the "wanton slaughter" of game. This suggests a classically dialectical relationship in that the

social construction, taken as “fact,” gives rise to text and hence becomes embodied in the very practices – movements, designs, calculations, presentations, and so on – of scientists themselves. The science of game management is, in this way, informed by the context it generates. Our text and analysis at this point are increasingly informed by Horkheimer and Adorno’s classic analysis of the concept of Enlightenment: “On the road to modern science, men renounce any claim to meaning. They substitute formula for concept, rule and probability for cause and motive” (1944, 5). We focus, of necessity, on the work of individual scientists, particularly the studies of a young John Kelsall and of A.W.F. Banfield. Our critical assessment of this work is not to be seen as a claim about personal failings. Rather, we wish to particularize the way in which Enlightenment logic expresses itself in and through those who took up the challenge of scientifically managing game in the period in question. This is a case study in the disenchantment of the world noted by Berman (1981), the attempted extirpation of Inuit animism and spiritualism that Hugh Brody visits in *The Other Side of Eden* (2000). Consistent with the observations of Horkheimer and Adorno, we work from the premise that within Enlightenment logic “what men want to learn from nature is how to use it in order wholly to dominate it and other men” (1944, 4). However, this is not a “tight vise,” as they recognize (37), and we acknowledge moments of doubt expressed by our protagonists as they attempt to reconcile science and the totalizing agenda of the state with the exceptional needs of Aboriginal populations and, to some degree, the limits of scientific method itself. Thus, there is tension in their work, while the overall commitment to science and its effective use in the management of animals – and Inuit – is clear. Our focus is primarily on the developing science of caribou biology, presented and represented as “truth” to officers of the state.

Chapter 3 examines how the science discussed in Chapter 2 found its way into practice, how the logic and convictions of state wildlife officials were applied to Inuit hunters and to Inuit culture in general. We start with significant changes to the Northwest Territories game laws of 1949. In a substantial way, this event signalled the development of a tide nicely explained in *The Dialectic of Enlightenment* (Horkheimer and Adorno 1944). The machinery of domination – in this case game laws and the means by which to enforce them – gives rise to resistance, a response that must further be contained. This dialectical process – a persistent power struggle – has brought us to some interesting places: in terms of Aboriginal rights and the law, we have come to the increasing recognition and possible use of principles from Aboriginal law in the making of legal decisions (Borrows 2002). In the case of reaction to the Northwest Territories game laws, resistance came not only from Inuit – who continued to hunt, trap, and ignore the edicts of the state to a considerable degree – but also from within the state apparatus itself. In this chapter, we encounter Justice Sissons, who thwarted attempts by public

servants to regulate Inuit hunting (his work is assessed in greater depth in Chapter 5). In Chapter 3, we find that state officials were relentless in their pursuit of Inuit compliance, having given them a period of grace (not to be confused with a different agenda) in which to “get the hang of it.” While we focus substantially on caribou, we note the attention paid to other species – walrus and polar bear – as these species have had applied to them a management logic parallel to that developed for caribou.

In Chapter 4, the logic of the regime of management introduced in Chapter 2 and illustrated in its application in Chapter 3 starts to fall apart. We illustrate the developing conflict over musk-ox regulation as well as challenges to prevailing wisdom about caribou. Paradoxically, it was the state’s abandonment of the idea of subsistence hunting as a viable alternative for Inuit that brought the hunting of musk-ox to the fore as the state considered the benefits of sport hunting and the possibility of providing a cash income to Inuit who participated. This logic encountered the ethic of species preservation, held not only by some wildlife biologists but also by many other Canadians. With respect to caribou, the population estimates generated by Kelsall and others (and the regulatory regimes they implied) have been challenged from both within the public service and by Inuit. We illustrate this challenge by focusing on the work of Robert Ruttan, a field biologist at one time employed in joint federal-provincial studies of caribou, who questions the claims made by Kelsall. Inuit resistance to the wildlife management regime – explored in more detail in Chapter 5 – is starting to grow, as can be seen by Inuit leader Tagak Curley’s challenge to a prohibition against caribou hunting on Coats Island. By way of further paradox, in settings such as community councils (institutional forms seen by state actors to further the rational agenda of state management), resistance takes on new and potent forms. Inuit move to meet the state on its own terms using a combination of what Nadasdy (2003) identifies as the discursive, logical, and institutional means of the colonizing culture as well as those of a resistant and distinctive Inuit culture.

The second part of *Kiumajut* furthers our examination of Inuit responses to the colonial regime. The material is not comprehensive and, again it should be emphasized, more episodic than epic in nature. The focus of the chapters is on forms and moments of resistance and the manner in which Inuit agency or praxis began, however hesitantly, to express itself. Of necessity, the chapters deal with the manner in which the state responded to these activities. These chapters can be read in the context of an international interest in forms of resistance that itself emerged in the wake of and in reaction to a structuralist emphasis, from Louis Althusser (1971) and Nicos Poulantzas (1980) through to Michel Foucault (1979) and Jean Baudrillard (1981), on the mechanics and workings of “power” or forms of hegemony. The works of Marshall Sahlins (1972), James Scott (1985), Jean and John Comaroff

(1991), and especially Michael Taussig (1997) have been useful touchstones for us. However, given the emphasis on archival material and a historical approach, we have worked less on gestures and everyday actions that can be seen or read as resistance – the dragging of feet, petty theft, and so on that are the matter of Scott’s work – and more on documentary utterances and documented actions that clearly express a contestation of the emerging hegemonic regime. Taken with the examples of Inuit resistance offered in the first part of this work, this study goes some way, we hope, toward detailing the logic of this resistance. As we noted in *Tammarniit*, “it was necessary to develop our understanding of the specific logic of totalization in this specific geographical and historical context before we could follow the logic of resistance – something that merits detailed and future consideration” (Tester and Kulchyski 1994, 8). We hope we have gone some way toward meeting this commitment.

Chapter 5, “Inuit Rights and Government Policy,” details the confrontation between Inuit hunters and the state through attempts by Inuit to assert their right to continued access to land-based resources upon which their livelihood depended. The chapter begins with a discussion of a particular historical event, the smashing of a drum in Arviat, to demonstrate graphically the nature of the force Inuit confronted. The figure of Justice Sissons, who appears first in our story in Chapter 3, has some prominence in this chapter. His relatively early decisions on Inuit rights were critical in two ways: they provided strong support for Inuit “on the ground,” and they demonstrated that in historical context the state’s agents were capable of developing a more sympathetic position regarding Inuit rights. If Sissons, himself an agent of the state’s judicial branch, could understand and make strong arguments pertaining to Inuit rights, we cannot be accused of “historical decontextualization” in suggesting that others from the state might reasonably have adopted the same attitude. The chapter demonstrates how firmly they did not. We are particularly indebted here to Dorothy Eber’s (1997) remarkable *Images of Justice* and have tried to extend her work on the issue of northern justice with a stronger documentary record and additional oral history. The chapter does review the place of Inuit rights in the history of Aboriginal rights, a point we must also touch on in this introduction. It is our concern to emphasize that, while the chapter details conflicts between Sissons and other officials, Inuit hunters were primarily responsible, through their actions, for creating the conditions and the conflicts that ultimately led to recognition of Inuit rights.

Chapter 6, “Baker Lake, 1957: The Eskimo Council,” involves a close reading of one set of archival documents, the record of one of the first Inuit political organizations. Although the impetus for the council came from a non-Inuk (we use the Inuit/Inuktitut word *Qallunaat* throughout the text), Doug Wilkinson, in our view creation of the council and its operation were ultimately

the responsibility of Inuit, who responded to and created the conditions that precipitated its establishment and who enthusiastically supported its operation. A detailed consideration of the record of discussions of this council conveys a sense of which issues Inuit were concerned with and substantively what positions they took with regard to these issues. Hunting rights and game management played no small part in their deliberations; hence, the chapter provides another view of the Inuit response to the operation of the regime described in Part I. Of particular interest to us was the issue of how Inuit understood the Western democratic forms into which they were being inserted: their fascination with hidden ballot voting, procedural rules, and so on. This interest comes naturally to Canadian academics working in the shadow of C.B. Macpherson's (1965) scholarly studies of democratic forms. Hence, the concern in this chapter is both with the articulation of resistance and with the establishment of forms that open the space for such articulation.

"Inuit Petition for Their Rights," the seventh and final substantive chapter, reads through a selection of Inuit petitions to the government and again emphasizes an interest in the petition as a form of response along with the substance of their concerns and the state's reactions. The first of these petitions, an early 1953 land claim from Kugluktuk, in our view deserves to be seen as a document with significant heritage value and was one of our major archival "finds." We therefore read the document and the correspondence that followed it closely, particularly since Inuit were concerned here with the larger issue of land ownership – what today we would call Aboriginal title – and were not immediately deterred by the state's initial attempts to dismiss their concerns out of hand. Other petitions, made by Inuit from the 1950s and 1960s, are also examined to provide a sense of the range of issues Inuit were concerned about enough to engage in this "formal" mode of response, including a petition by the Inuit women of Cape Dorset. Our reading of these documents was partly informed by the recent, poststructural philosophical interest in writing itself and especially the signature: a significant theme in the work of Jacques Derrida (1976). Although Derrida contests the Rousseau-inspired notion that writing is one of the constitutive elements of state power, he remains a key thinker for those interested in the relation of writing to power. Nominalism, the form of naming, is virtually a theme in Inuit culture, and hence the nature of the signatures indicating the names attached to these petitions is a question of contemporary anthropological and philosophical currency.

In some respects, our text is largely about rights: the emergence of a concept of rights and rights discourse that intersected with the colonizing culture, particularly as the 1950s turned into the 1960s and 1970s. We have not dwelt extensively on theoretical aspects of this dimension of our work, believing that the text will raise in the mind of the inquisitive reader a number of

questions – and hopefully provide a number of critical insights – into the emergence of this discourse, as contained in the unfolding of events and the words of Inuit themselves. From the time of Peter Cumming and Neil Mickenberg's (1971) *Native Rights in Canada*, which advanced a notion that "‘Aboriginal rights’ are those property rights which inure to native peoples by virtue of their occupation upon certain lands from time immemorial" (13), to Brian Slattery's (1987) postconstitutional notions of Aboriginal rights as a "hidden constitution" in Canada, through to more recent reflections from Sakej Henderson (1997), Patrick Macklem (2001), and John Borrows (2002), a body of legal scholarship has developed in close relationship to significant court decisions that has elaborated and theorized the question of Aboriginal rights. Peter Kulchyski (1994) has made a small contribution to this work, and his emphasis on characterizing Aboriginal rights as not exhausted by property rights, but also involving distinct political rights, and on articulating the value of a distinctive, *sui generis*, undefinable element of Aboriginal rights informs the approach we use here. This work, however, operates in the historical rather than the theoretical mode by studying how a distinctive though related Inuit approach emerged from their specific circumstances. Inuit resistance to the management of birds and mammals by *Qallunaat* authorities is a significant consideration in the development of Inuit rights and in the move toward Inuit self-government. It is therefore not surprising that one of the first items on the agenda of the Inuit rights organization, the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (formerly the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, created in 1971), was Inuit hunting rights. The regulation of game in the eastern Arctic did not involve the "management" of birds and mammals at all but was fundamentally about the management of people – of Inuit. For this reason, the history of game management in the eastern Arctic, its implications for Inuit families and communities, and Inuit resistance to the regimes being imposed are critical considerations in any study of Inuit rights.

But looking back on our text, we see that questions emerge about the awkwardness of concepts of rights arising, of necessity, to counter the dealings of a colonial administration. Inuit take up the discourse on a playing field *theoretically* level with the administrators, politicians, and other actors whose words and deeds are aimed at them. The ensuing struggle demonstrates that the field, even once the relevant concepts have been grasped, is anything but level. However, it is interesting to note the temporal relationship of this discourse, not only among Inuit but also among Aboriginal peoples in general, following on the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights in 1949. Inuit, as collective actors, have contributed much to placing on the world stage a category of rights hitherto ill considered: the Aboriginal or indigenous rights that involve such a range of property rights, civil or political rights, and social and cultural rights. As one commentator has made clear, these comprise a special category of rights in that they focus on the

collective dimension of human experience. They are “not goods belonging to specific individuals, but collective goods, that is, goods that cannot be divided, but can only be enjoyed in common. For indeed, peace, development, national self-determination, group-identity and so on, are meaningful *only in relation to communities*” (VanderWal 1990, 84; emphasis added). It is therefore appropriate – if a more in-depth appreciation of the genesis of Inuit rights is taken as one of our objectives – that our text focus on communities: those geographical communities created as part of the totalizing efforts of the state as well as communities of fraternity, mutual interest and concern, and ethical reciprocity established across Nunavut, enabled in many ways by the former.

It is important at the outset to clarify the perspective used in making the claim that racist and ethnocentric assumptions drove much of the science of game management and the development of state policy. In our view, racism needs to be sharply distinguished from ethnocentrism. The first term refers to a set of relations of domination organized around perceived skin colour or racial difference and effectively theorized by Frantz Fanon (1966); the latter term refers to a set of relations of domination organized around cultural difference and may include refusals to recognize the difference itself, theorized in a good deal of contemporary anthropology. We categorically reject the idea that racism and ethnocentrism can be muted by reference to a particular historical moment, as in “well, that’s just the way folks talked back then.” Although discourse we can now identify as racist may have been common – in fact institutionalized and hence normalized by the state and related social institutions – this does not counter the claim that certain acts of speech and constructed images are racist. We maintain that, while actors may unconsciously (they are supposed to be unconscious) engage in racist discourse, two things can be true at the same time: that is the way most people talked at a particular historical moment, and the discourse was often racist. We do not engage this critique from a universal vantage point: we hope those readers who find that this text deserves their attention will be as determined in their criticism of our own language and the values underlying it as we have been with our sources. This in our view is a responsibility that critical thought cannot abandon (see Howard Adams 1975, Emma LaRocque 1975, Himani Bannerji 1995, Hugh Brody 1987, and Minnie Aodla Freeman 1978).

As should be clear by now, the concept of a dialectical relation between totalization and praxis (or resistance) is the tea within which our work is steeped. For example, we discuss the development of new techniques for determining animal populations, leading to new forms of knowledge dressed up as scientific “truth.” This knowledge leads to a series of policies of greater surveillance of northern Inuit practices and increased involvement in attempts to change the practices – in effect justification for increased state-sponsored

interference in Inuit lives. Hence, a totalizing knowledge becomes linked to a totalizing power. Inuit respond to this intrusion in a variety of ways, from the quotidian level of “smuggling” game newly classified as illegal to the assertion of rights. What Sartre (1991) called “praxis” in his *Critique* involved a broad range of active and passive interventions – sometimes responses and sometimes autonomous developments – including forms of resistance and forms of agency, struggles and subversions, such as those indicated above.

Some understanding of this small slice from fragments of the story can perhaps facilitate our comprehension of what comes later: the struggle for Nunavut and beyond. In this, we acknowledge the contribution of George Wenzel (1991), whose study *Animal Rights, Human Rights: Ecology, Economy, and Ideology in the Canadian Arctic* resonates with the earlier period and issues documented here. We are also indebted to the strong understanding of hunting cultures that emerged in the postwar period and to which Canadian anthropology has made significant contributions. As well as Wenzel, students of Inuit culture from Jean Briggs (1967) to Asen Balicki (1970) to Hugh Brody (2000) have opened new modes of appreciation and understanding for hunters. Their work stands beside the work on hunting cultures of those who worked with other First Nations, much of which inevitably turns toward questions of rights: from Michael Asch (1984) to Robin Riddington (1990), from Julie Cruikshank (1998) to Harvey Feit (1982, 1986). Feit’s work certainly broaches questions of state regulation of hunting, and his most recent coedited collection is called *In the Way of Development* (Blaser, Feit, and McRae 2004), a title that could equally characterize this work. We have also benefited from the work of students of the history of environmentalism and game management policy, an area of growing interest. In the text, we rely on a variety of scholars; here we might mention the studies of Fikret Berkes (1999) and the earlier work of Milton Freeman (1992), both of whom worked with Inuit. Certainly this particular story of an ill-advised rush to intrude on Inuit hunting practices by conservationists, in this case primarily located within the Dominion Wildlife Service created after World War II and similar bodies that predate it, is a cautionary tale to a new generation of environmentalists armed with even newer scientific “truths.” Perhaps, as we study these relations and forces, we may also glimpse that which ever seems to evade the intellectual grasp: history may expose itself much more clearly on the margins – in this case the rather large fragment of Canada called “the North” – than in the epicentres of power.

Classifying this work may be a more difficult task than producing it. In the foregoing, we have treated it as history or ethnohistory, at times lapsing into what some would call psychohistorical observations as we try to make intelligible the behaviour of key actors or groups of actors. These efforts will undoubtedly raise hackles among those committed to an objectivist tradition of historical enquiry. And, of course, neither Tester nor Kulchyski

is a trained “historian.” Much of the material touched on involves policy analysis and politics – of the sort that appeals to Kulchyski’s training in political “science.” But those approaches do not exhaust the subjects we have discussed. The element of geography, foregrounded in *Tammarniit*, with its concern regarding relocation, space, and time, is less prominent here but still central to an appreciation of the attempt to manage species over a landscape immense beyond description and at a historical moment saturated with empirical certainty. Tester can claim to be a geographer with a background in environmental “science,” providing us with due credentials for our claims in this area. The anthropologically inflected interpretations of the material remain a critical dimension of our practice, but we are not anthropologists, and the text is not confined to a study of cultural change. Perhaps most importantly, the work has been inspired by the sensibilities found in professional affiliations that take the problem of contested *values* and *meanings* in history and human relations seriously: Native studies, in the case of Kulchyski, and social work, in the case of Tester. Certainly the study of community development and community practice provides a broad fabric under which a good deal can be swept. The work is interdisciplinary, though to call it “interdisciplinary studies” will only satisfy the bureaucrats of knowledge and serve no purpose to those for whom thought matters. We leave it – such as it is – in the hands of our readers to determine where on their shelves it will sit, with the hope that it earns whatever space it is given.

A brief note on terms may serve to draw down the curtain on this introduction. Both Tester and Kulchyski continue to work extensively with Inuit communities and struggle to add to their limited knowledge of Inuktitut. Where appropriate, we give precedence to a few Inuit terms; while doing so may slightly estrange non-Inuit readers, we think it will help Inuit readers to find a home in this text, estranged as they will be by the many technical English-language words we have used. Hence, we use the Inuit word *Qal-lunaat* to describe non-Inuit; it seems appropriate to the text, it structurally positions readers on the Inuit side of the colonial divide, and it is simply less awkward than non-Native, non-Inuit, whites, and other such constructions. We have also used contemporary Inuit place names where they have been formally adopted, including older colonial place names in brackets and on the map to help situate readers. Colonial nominalism, the introduction of different manners of naming as well as different names, has never been an incidental part of the workings of totalizing power; while Inuit themselves have taken enormous strides in reversing and contesting colonial nominalism, we too may take a few baby steps in that direction.