

For Ellie Celestine Lau because she counselled me to earn a PhD for our family.

For Julien Lau Lefebvre because I ask the same of him.

In Memoriam

Patrick James Smith

1931–2013

Patricia Negin Berger

1934–2013

ABSTRACT ■ iii

Abstract

Annie Pootoogook (1969–2016) is the first Inuk artist credited with establishing Inuit art as contemporary and relevant. Few Western audiences interpret her work as visually communicating some of the ways Inuit girls individually and collectively asserted Inuit culture during the early stages of Canadian expansion into the Arctic. This study looks at Pootoogook's art in the context of Inuit girlhood to better understand Pootoogook's art as representative of girlhood situated in Kingnait (Cape Dorset), where the artist lived for most of her life. It draws on girlhood studies, an interdisciplinary subject area, to contextualize Inuit girlhood during a time when many Inuit were adapting to permanent settlements and to interpret the artist's drawings in relation to three broad areas of girlhood. First, it seeks to reframe Western notions about girls' 'bedroom culture' because in government-provided dwellings that lacked bedrooms, the Inuit girlhood practice of sewing animal skins branched out into graphic art. Second, the artist portrays Inuit traditional food as pleasant and a source to be shared. This contrasts with how food and body are typically studied in Western girlhoods. Third, it interrogates curatorial and media attention paid to images depicting intimate partner violence, attention that interpreted violence as an individual problem. The thesis disrupts this interpretation by viewing Pootoogook's work both as an invitation to reflect on structural violence directed at Indigenous girls and women and as contributing to a pan-Indigenous discussion about Indigenous sexuality. Overall the study seeks to uphold the tenth principle of reconciliation, partially defined by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada as public education and dialogue about Inuit historical and contemporary contributions to Canadian society. For educators interested in reciprocity between Indigenous and non-Indigenous through education, studying artwork by such a key Inuk artist can be considered a form of reconciliation in and of itself.

Résumé

Annie Pootoogook (1969–2016) est une figure clé de l'art inuit contemporain. Cette thèse examine son œuvre sous l'angle de la représentation de la vie des jeunes Inuites de Kingnait (Cape Dorset), où l'artiste a vécu. Elle emprunte au domaine des *girlhood studies* pour mettre en contexte la vie de ces filles à une époque d'adaptation à l'établissement permanent, et pour interpréter les dessins de l'artiste selon trois grands aspects. D'abord, elle recadre la conception de la « culture de la chambre » dans un contexte où ces chambres sont inexistantes, et où le travail de couture des filles se transforme en art. Ensuite, elle s'intéresse à la représentation de la nourriture traditionnelle comme source de plaisir et de partage, en rupture avec l'approche des jeunes occidentales. Enfin, elle remet en question l'interprétation commune de la violence conjugale comme simple problème individuel, en considérant l'œuvre de Pootoogook comme une invitation à réfléchir à la violence structurelle à l'égard des femmes autochtones, et à la notion de sexualité autochtone. Cette thèse vise à mettre en pratique le dixième principe de la Commission de vérité et réconciliation, soit l'éducation et le dialogue quant à la contribution historique et contemporaine des Inuits à la société canadienne. Pour les enseignants, l'étude de l'œuvre d'une artiste inuite aussi importante peut être considérée comme un geste de réconciliation.

Contributions

Portions of this thesis have been published in the following:

Lefebvre, H. S. (2016). Overlapping time and place: Early modern England's girlhood discourse and Indigenous girlhood in the Dominion of Canada (1684–1860). *Girlhood Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 9(2), 10–27. doi: 10.3167/ghs.2016.090203

Lefebvre, H. S. (2018). In contrast: Media coverage and Annie Pootoogook's drawings of sexual violence and sexual happiness. In C. Mitchell & R. Moletsane (Eds.), *Disrupting shameful legacies: Girls and young women speaking back through the arts to address sexual violence* (pp. 193–214). Leiden, Netherlands: Brill/Sense.

1	'Principles of Reconciliation' Six and Ten and Inuit Girlhood	9
	Indigenous Girls Left Out of Academic Literature	12
	Umbrella Term Obscures the Absence of Inuit Girls	15
	<i>Inuit Education</i>	16
	<i>Inuit Health</i>	18
	<i>Indigenous Feminism</i>	20
	Formulating the Research Questions	22
	Two Research Questions	23
	Doctoral Work: A Form of Reconciliation	24
	Situating Self	26
	Contradiction: Present Yet Absent	27
	From Reciprocity to Reconciliation	29

Overview of the Study	32
A Note on Terminology and Orthography	35
North as a Homeland and Inuit Culture as a Platform	36
Choosing and Spelling Inuktitut Names	38
Overview of the Thesis	40
2 A Girlhood Inquiry: Annie Pootoogook Draws Inuit Childhood	43
Girlhood: Studied and Visually Constructed	44
Simultaneous Colonization: The Native and the Child	44
The Genealogy of Girlhood Studies	46
Age-centric Feminism	48
An Academic Discipline and a Community of Scholars, Practitioners and Activists	50
Visualizing Girls and Girlhood: Images of Girlhood Culture	53
Indigenous Girlhood	56
The Dishonourable, Detestable, Dead Indian Girl in Victorian Canadian Literature	58
Indigenous Girlhood: “Distinct, Unique and Natural”	61
Elders on Inuit Childhood	64
A Synthesized Approach to Interpret Images of Inuit Girlhood	66
Approach 1: Desire-based Narratives	66
Approach 2: Red Intersectionality	69
Approach 3: The Presence of Indigenous Girls	71
‘Presencing as Girlhood Praxis’	76
Summary	77

3	An Analogy: Inuit Girls Sewing and Western Girls' Bedroom Culture	79
	Igluvigait, Tupiit and Settlement Housing	82
	Inuit Architecture	83
	Taissumani Nunamiutautilluta: Igluvigait and Tupiit	85
	Sangussaqtauliqtilluta: Iglurjuaq and Homes for Sale	88
	Nunalinnguqtitauliqtilluta: Settlement Housing and Overcrowding	91
	Western Girls' Bedrooms and Inuit Girls' Sewing Practice	94
	The Ideal Girl's Bedroom	95
	Girls' Bedrooms as a Site of Study	96
	Sewing as Situated Learning	100
	Sewing and Marriage	101
	Pitseolak from Seamstress to Artist	102
	Sewing Skills Were Transferrable	104
	Napatchie's Tent	105
	Annie: Settlement Generation and Artistic Contributions	108
	<i>No Room for Sewing</i>	110
	<i>Drawing in Bed</i>	112
	Sewing: A Girl-Method for Researching Inuit Girl Culture	115
	Summary	118
4	Food for Thought: Annie Pootoogook's Images of Inuit Foodways	120
	What's Food Got to do with It?	123
	Thin Ideal: Where is the Food?	123
	Adolescents and Food: Attitudes, Branding and Cutoff	125
	Inuit Alternatives to Body Image and Store-Bought Food	127

Vignettes: How and Why	130
What-If Scenarios	130
Armchair Appropriation?	132
Inuit Foodways: A Series of 10 Drawings by Annie Pootoogook	135
Vignettes 1 and 2	138
Saturday Night Feast	138
Women's Feast	148
Discussion	157
Specificity and Annie's Inuit Foodway Images	158
Vignettes Revisited: Food and Girls	161
<i>Ningitug: Starvation and Sharing</i>	161
<i>Inuit Girls and Food Insecurity</i>	163
<i>Girls' Preparation for the Workforce</i>	165
Summary	170
5 Indigenous Sexuality: Annie Pootoogook's Images of Inuit Erotica	172
Part 1: Stereotyping-in-the-Making	
Damage Narratives about Annie Pootoogook	174
The Social Consequence of Stereotypes	174
<i>The Native Girl Syndrome</i>	176
Media Coverage Reinforces Stereotypes	178
<i>The Continuum of Sexual Violence</i>	179
<i>Sexual Violence Directed at Indigenous Girls and Women</i>	179
Telling Pootoogook's Stories: A Process of Stereotyping	182
<i>Fixation and Repetition</i>	183
<i>Intrusion: A Stereotype is Born</i>	185

<i>Violation: Ownership of Pootoogook's Story</i>	187
Erving Goffman's Coding Category: Ritualization of Subordination	188
<i>The Subject is Not the Model</i>	192
Part 2: Indigenous Sexuality and Annie Pootoogook's Erotic Images	194
Solo Polyamory and 'Being in Good Relation'	195
Artistic Expressions of Indigenous Sexuality	199
Full Frontal Nudity: Four Plausible Readings	205
Discussion	210
Summary	214
6 Conclusion	216
Summary of the Thesis	217
Responding to the Research Questions	222
Looking for Answers Across the Chapters	222
Contributions to New Knowledge	228
Limitations	231
Principles of Reconciliation	233
Implications	237
Methodological Implications	237
Research Implications	238
Reflecting Forward	242
References	245

Acknowledgements

I recognize that the land on which my everyday life unfolds is unceded Indigenous territory and offer my gratitude to the Kanien'kehá:ka Nation of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, the traditional guardians of Tiohtiá:ke (Montréal). Also, I acknowledge those Indigenous artists, both on Turtle Island and globally, who through their art reawaken or free up the imagination to perceive, conceive and achieve freedom from the accepted and so-called inevitable economic, political and social status quo. I stand in solidarity with all my relatives, human and non-human, in their struggle for territorial sovereignty.

The formal and informal support I received throughout the doctoral program made this dissertation possible. I greatly appreciate the financial support from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and McGill University. The invaluable academic support provided by the doctoral committee brought my thinking and writing to levels unattainable on my own. Compared to the magnitude of time, resources, and intellectual stimulation provided by Claudia Mitchell, my doctoral supervisor, at ALL stages of the doctoral program, my heartfelt words of thanks appear puny. Teresa Strong-Wilson questioned fuzzy logic with a scalpel-sharp gentleness that sculpted the dissertation's focus and coherence. From the outset, rather than view me as a peer-in-the-making, Mary Fogarty Woehrel treated me as a bona fide academic with the expectation that my scholarly arguments would meet the challenge.

The doctoral study exists in large part because Inuit organizations, communities, and individuals preserve Inuit knowledge for Inuit and share this knowledge with

non-Inuit through a variety of publications. I express gratitude and respect for elders and knowledge keepers who risked having their knowledge published when doing so meant they had no control over how I learned from it and ultimately put it into practice: Peter Pitseolak, Mitiarjuk Nappaaluk, Leo Tulugarjuk; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami; Niutaq Cultural Institute; Nunavut Arctic College, especially their 5-volume series *Interviewing Inuit Elders*; Pauktuutiit Inuit Women of Canada; Qikiqtani Inuit Association. A special thanks to Sophie Tukalak, who graciously and patiently taught me to pronounce Inuktitut expressions, names and terms. And yet another to Dorset Fine Arts for permission to include artwork by Annie Pootoogook, Napatchie Pootoogook and Shuviani Ashoona.

Mahalo to all the individuals who work, study and feast at the First Peoples' House and to the members of the Joint Board Sub-committee on Equity for First Peoples and for Racialized and Ethnic Persons. You offered a space to rail against, to rejuvenate, to relax and above all to laugh and get on with it. Thanks to Lise Winer who kept her faith in my work, even when I began to falter, to Michael Lariviere who reduced complex bureaucratic processes to simple tasks, and to France Bouthillier who said yes. A special thanks to Bronwyn Rice whose aplomb and cheer helped me navigate financial aid programs. Abiding appreciation to Donna Kuzmarov whose advocacy strengthened my resolve and whose insights reoriented perfectionism toward excellence. Finally, much appreciation to Site Media for furnishing their transcripts from their documentary *Annie Pootoogook*.

Graduate studies without the input and support from colleagues would be an ordeal. I extend a special thanks to fellow students from the Faculty of Education and the Participatory Cultures Lab, especially Jennifer Thomson, Ehaab D. Abdou, Mary Cullinan, Yuan-Jin Hong, and Catherine Vanner. Additionally, much thanks to the doctoral study group: Jennie Ferris, Barbara Hunting, Janine Metallic, and Carolyn Samuel.

I have had the utmost privilege to count on Tim Dougherty and Lia Smith as first readers—often they understood ideas buried in numerous clumsy inarticulate drafts, on a few occasions when I was near-drowning in details, they would recognize a chapter’s structure and guide me ashore. I also had the pleasure of learning from Ann Smith, Managing Editor, *Girlhood Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, about the craft of academic writing and its breathtaking potential. Also, I extend immense gratitude to Alison Currie, copy editor, and Fatima Khan, book designer, whose expertise reduced my errors and made visible the dissertation’s beauty. Finally, I appreciate work done by professional translators, Eileen Kilabuk (Intutituk) and Geneviève Cloutier (French)—they were thorough, fast, and accurate.

My work has been enriched by monthly breakfasts with Charles Dougherty, by regular feasts, singalongs and rare performances with the Lease Breakers, by Bill Cooper’s road trips and well-timed gifts, by family meals with Alison Currie and Janice Greenberg, and by endless conversations about the meaning of life, death, social change and art with Soling Jay, Nancy Rother, Christina Rudd, and Arden Ryshpan—their generative love and sisterhood emboldens me to keep going. I am honored to receive Julien Lefebvre’s and Véronique Legault’s endless and unconditional love and support. Wayne Hemsworth, my love, thank you.

List of Figures

FIGURE 1	Annie Pootoogook family tree.	3
FIGURE 2.1	Jaune Quick-to-See Smith. <i>Paper Dolls for a Post-Columbian World with ensembles contributed by the U.S. Government</i> , 1991. Courtesy of the artist and Garth Greenan Gallery, New York.	75
FIGURE 3.1	Spatial organization of an igluvigaaq (snow house). Bonnie Shemie, <i>House of Snow, Skins and Bones</i> (Montréal: Tundra Books, 1989), front cover. Reproduced with the permission of Penguin Random House Canada.	84
FIGURE 3.2	Pitseolak Ashoona. <i>Untitled</i> , n.d. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.	86
FIGURE 3.3	Annie Pootoogook. <i>Interior and Exterior</i> , 2003. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.	90
FIGURE 3.4	Inuit woman [and young girl, Marion Bolt (Hayohok)] tending the seal-oil lamp inside an igloo in Western Arctic, North West Territories. Photo credit: Richard Harrington, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Library and Archives Canada (PA-143237).	99
FIGURE 3.5	Napatchie Pootoogook. Drawing of <i>My Tent</i> , 1981–1982. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.	107

FIGURE 3.6	Annie Pootoogook. <i>Composition: Woman Making Kamiks</i> , 2006. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.	112
FIGURE 3.7	Annie Pootoogook. <i>Pitseolak Drawing with Two Girls on the Bed</i> , 2006. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.	113
FIGURE 3.8	Pitseolak drawing in bed in her son Kumwartok's house, c. 1975. Photograph by Tessa Macintosh.	114
FIGURE 4.1	Annie Pootoogook. <i>Composition: Tools and Fish</i> , 2005–2006. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.	133
FIGURE 4.2	Annie Pootoogook. <i>Man on the Radio</i> , 2006. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.	139
FIGURE 4.3	Annie Pootoogook. <i>Bringing Home Food</i> , 2003–2004. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.	140
FIGURE 4.4	Annie Pootoogook. <i>Eating Seal at Home</i> , 2001. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.	142
FIGURE 4.5	Annie Pootoogook. <i>Untitled: Preparing a Meal</i> , 2005–2006. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.	144
FIGURE 4.6	Napatchie Pootoogook. <i>Starvation</i> , 1999–2000. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.	147
FIGURE 4.7	Inaluujaq, coiled bannock. Stephanie POV, Elisapie Inukpuk, and Carol Rowan, <i>Unikkaangualaurtaa: Let's tell a story, a collection of 26 stories and songs from Nunavik, with activities for young children</i> (Montréal: Avataq Cultural Institute, 2006), p. 122.	148
FIGURE 4.8	Annie Pootoogook. <i>Family Gathering Whale Meat</i> , 2003–2004. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.	149

FIGURE 4.9	Annie Pootoogook. <i>Preparing for the Women's Beluga Feast</i> , 2001–2002. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.	151
FIGURE 4.10	Annie Pootoogook. <i>Composition: Whale Tail Party</i> , 2003–2004. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.	153
FIGURE 4.11	Annie Pootoogook. <i>Memory of Eating with Family</i> , 2005. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.	154
FIGURE 4.12	Annie Pootoogook. <i>Three Men Carving a Seal, Three Women Cleaning</i> , 2006. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.	157
FIGURE 5.1	Annie Pootoogook. <i>Making Love</i> , 2003–2004. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.	191
FIGURE 5.2	Annie Pootoogook. <i>Composition: Watching Porn on Television</i> , 2005. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.	201
FIGURE 5.3	Annie Pootoogook. <i>Composition: Woman Above Man</i> , 2003. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.	206
FIGURE 5.4	Shuvinai Ashoona. <i>Happy Mother</i> , 2013. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.	209
FIGURE 5.5	Shuvinai Ashoona. <i>Birthing Scene</i> , 2013. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.	210

Glossary

Akinakhee	In between—the season of starvation between winter and summer when it was hard to hunt.
Angakkuq	Shaman
Amauti (also amaut or amautik, pl. amautiit)	A woman’s traditional garment that could be modified depending on the wearer’s age, marital status, and to accommodate a growing infant
Asnuvuittuq	Without point
Atiq	Namesake
Igluvigaq (pl. Igluvigait)	Snow house(s)
Iglurjuaq	Constructed of wood, concrete, or metal that could be heated, cleaned and ventilated over a period of many years without being deconstructed and moved
Ilagiit nunagivaktangat (pl. nunagivaktangit)	A place used regularly for hunting, harvesting and gathering. Implicit in this meaning is the concept of home before the settlement period
Inaluujaq	Coiled bannock
Inuk, one person; Inuuk, two persons; Inuit for three or more	The word Inuk also conveys the meaning owner, inhabitant, and for inanimate objects, spirit
Inuktut	<p>The Inuit language as it is spoken in Nunavut and a term used by the Government of Nunavut when referring collectively to Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun</p> <p>According to Inuktut Tusaalanga (https://tusaalanga.ca/), the Inuit dialect used in Kinngait (Cape Dorset) is South Qikiqtaaluk</p>
Kamik	Skin boot; kamiik two skin boots

Kinngarmiut	People of the Kingnait region
Kujapik	Thoracic vertebrae
Maktaq (muktuk)	Fresh or fermented chunks of whale skin with blubber
Minik	Stingy, a source of shame and stigma
Misiraq	Rendered fermented fat
Ningiqtua	A definitive act of Inuitness
Ningirniq	The customary sharing of meat (katujjiqatigiirni, 'sharing' and minararniq/ningiqtarniq, 'distribution')
Nunalinnguqtitauliqtilluta	The historical moment when government priorities shaped Nunavummiut into communities.
Nunavummiut	The people of Nunavut
Qaniujaaqpait	Inuktitut syllabics
Qarma (pl. qarmait)	Sod house(s)
Qarmat	Permanent all-season structures
Qaujimajautuqangit	Inuit traditional knowledge
Qaujimaningit	Both Inuit traditional knowledge and epistemology without reference to temporality.
Qallunaat (Igloolik and the high Arctic), kabloona (Baker Lake)	<p>One of the terms developed by Inuit to refer to white people. There is some debate as to its origin, and geographic variations as to what the term means</p> <p>It may mean 'non-skin clothing', referring to the woven materials worn by the early sailors, or it may stem from variations of an Inuktitut word 'qablunaq', the bone behind the eyebrows</p> <p>Apparently early Inuit felt that a distinguishing feature of European sailors was their prominent eyebrows and thus referred to them as Qaplunaat (Pauktuutit, 2006, p. 14)</p>

Qulliq	Lamp carved from soapstone that burned oil from caribou, seal or whale to heat and light dwellings
Qimmiit	Snow dogs
Tupiit	Tents, tupiq, tent
Sangussaqtaulittilluta	Inuit were more or less forced to change their ways due to the growing population of Qallunnat who were sent to the Arctic to establish Canadian sovereignty with its attendant commitment to property ownership, wage economy and wealth accumulation
Saviit	Men's traditional knives
Taissumani Nunamiutautilluta	Interval when almost everything the Inuit needed was provided by land and sea
Tiohtià:ke tsi ionhwéntsare	Kanien'kéha or Mohawk place name for Montréal, Québec
Tuurngait	Spirit of the shaman
Ulu	Women's crescent-shaped knives

Prologue

Annie Pootoogook: Third-Generation Artist

Nunavut is the largest and youngest, yet least populated, territory in land now called Canada. Mostly above the treeline, Arctic tundra covers the landscape that ranges from flat muskeg to soaring mountain peaks. There are no roads to Nunavut, according to Travel Nunavut's website (n.d.). Neither road nor railroad connect its 25 separate communities to one another or to any Canadian cities or towns. Nunavut is world-famous for producing art. In fact, since the 1950s Kingnait (commonly spelled as Kinngait, also known as Cape Dorset), one of Nunavut's 25 communities, has been a centre for carving, drawing and printmaking. According to the Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA, 2013d), the term 'Kingnait' describes "the high, undulating hills" that surround the community's small harbor (p. 9). Inhabited for at least two thousand years, Inuit from this area "call themselves Kinngarmiut" (p. 9). Set between rolling hills and the rocky waters of the Hudson Strait, the community provides a nurturing environment for many artists (Feheley, 2004). In fact, unlike the stereotypical notion that Southern artists come from families in which they are the sole member involved in the arts, many Kinngarmiut families include carvers, graphic artists, print makers, sculptors who have been successful for a long period of time. Annie Pootoogook (1969–2016), the focus of the doctoral study, comes from this type of family. Numerous relatives have either sold or exhibited and sold their art in Western art markets: 2 siblings, 12 cousins, 15 aunts and uncles, her maternal grandmother, paternal grandfather and her parents

(see **FIGURE 1**)¹. Undoubtedly, Annie² grew up surrounded by artists. This reality is embedded in the label, third-generation artist, although most curators and art historians use the label to indicate she comes from the dynasty founded by her grandmother Pitseolak Ashoona (1904–1983) and her mother Napatchie Pootoogook (1938–2002). The mother-daughter trio are frequently described as prolific chroniclers of their respective generations. On one hand, they chronicled the drastic changes from life on the land to settlement living, a change imposed on the Inuit by the Canadian government (Billson, 2001; QIA, 2013a). On the other, although their lives overlapped, each woman depicted this collective experience from their own historical perspective. Pitseolak's drawings represent "the strengths of traditional camp society" (Lalonde, 2015, p. 44), they transmit Inuit cultural knowledge that was endangered by enforced settlement. She preferred to emphasize "good memories and experiences" and was credited as one of the first to draw "openly autobiographical" images (p. 11). Initially, Napatchie's drawings recorded scenes she imagined while listening to her mother Pitseolak "talk about things from long ago" (Berlo, 1993, p. 9). Later in her career, Napatchie complicated her mother's "optimistic and nostalgic" images (Ryan, 2005, p. 10) with portrayals of the "crueller aspects of the traditional camp system" (p. 11). During the last five years of her life, she created a series of autobiographical drawings accompanied by explanatory syllabic text. Out of concern that audiences may misconstrue her meanings, her Inuktut, Inuit language spoken in Nunavut, text describes the scene and people's motivations. For this series, as a self-appointed local historian intent on "set[ting] the record straight, she linked real people to stories circulating in the community" (p. 16). Annie continues the autobiographical tradition firmly established

¹ To compile the family tree, I examined many printed and online resources; possibly, more relatives should be added to it. Rather than serve as an authoritative or exhaustive chart, the visual aid suggests the degree to which Annie grew up among a family of artists.

² See 'A Note on Terminology,' a section in **CHAPTER 1**, for the explanation why Inuit artists and elders are referred to by their first names rather than their surnames.

Annie Pootoogook Family Tree

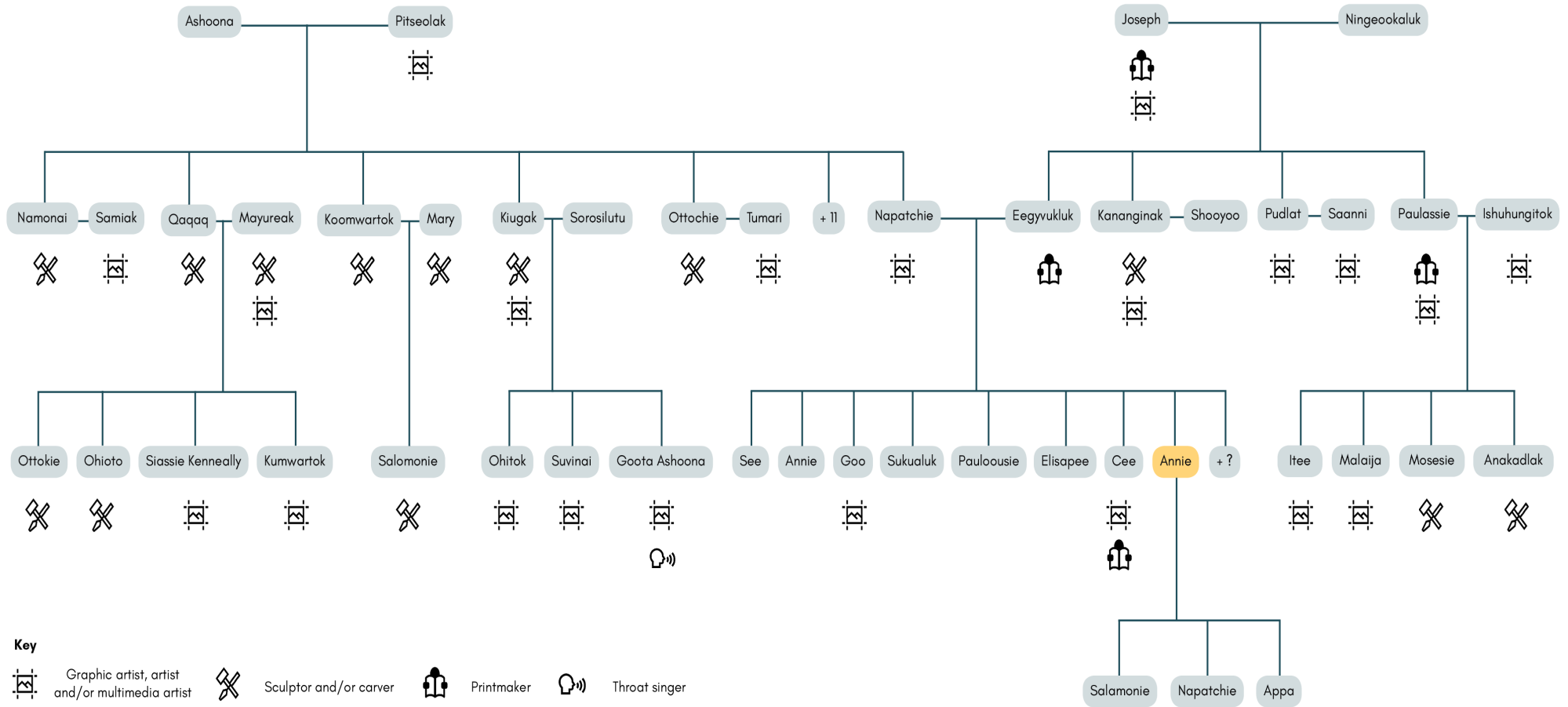


Figure 1. Annie Pootoogook family tree

by her grandmother and mother. Unlike her mother's autobiographical series that consisted of stories Napatchie heard throughout her lifetime, Annie's artwork originates from the perspective of someone who has lived the life depicted in her graphic art. The majority of her drawings reflect "contented family life, quiet companionship and shared meals and pleasures" (Allen et al., 2011, p. 12), while depicting the seepage of North American culture into settlement living such as watching television and playing Nintendo. For example, *Cape Dorset Freezer* (2005), "dispens[es] with the romantic myth that the Inuit survive by depending upon their hunting skills to live off the land" (Loh, 2015, p. 100)—the freezer reflects those found in most Canadian grocery stores stocked with frozen dinners, pizzas, and vegetables. In the transcripts for the documentary *Annie Pootoogook* (Connolly, 2006), Annie acknowledges that her drawings continue a family tradition.

My mother, she was talking about her life in the past. And me, today, I'm talking about my life, too, sometime. And my grandmother Pitseolak Ashoona talk about her life in her work, too. So, I thought about three of us, about my grandma, my mum and me, we've been talking about our life into all our work. (Site Media, 2006, Transcript 16, p. 18)

Her drawings continue the storytelling tradition practiced by her mother and grandmother. On the whole, their artwork addresses what each woman has been through and how those experiences inform Inuit culture and history. In contrast to how much has been written about Annie, she left behind few English spoken or written texts. Instead, she produced hundreds of drawings that convey daily life in Kingnait and the lasting impacts of colonialism. As a form of visual communication, Annie expresses some of the ways Inuit girls individually and collectively maintained Inuit cultural identity during the early stages of Canadian expansion into the Arctic. Inuk art historian Heather Igloliorte (Nunatsiavut Territory of Labrador) (2014) argues that until we connect Annie's artwork (along with most Inuit artists' work) to the historical relationship between Canadians

and Inuit, our insights into her artwork will be limited. To understand the importance of linking this historical relationship to Annie's artwork, next, I enter the historical trajectory at a moment when Inuit art was categorized as ethnic rather than mainstream art.

In the period following the Second World War (1950–1975, the approximate period examined in this dissertation), the federal government successfully promoted Inuit art as a symbol of Canada's national identity (Graburn, 1986). In the decades that followed the appropriation of Inuit art to partially construct Canada's national identity (Igloliorte, 2014), the Western art world assumed Inuit art was unchanging. That assumption was driven by market demand for the perpetual production of soapstone carvings and prints fit to be exhibited in corporate offices and Canadian embassies or sold in tourist shops. Cultural anthropologist Deborah Root (2007) explains that this demand contributed to the notion that Inuit art depicted a pristine Arctic and consisted of "sublime images of the natural world and traditional ways of life" (p. 23), images such as caribou, polar bears, and mythological creatures, along with scenes of "the old ways, the things we did long ago before there were many white men," to quote Pitseolak (Eber & Ashoona, 2003/1971, p. 13). Root (2007) explains that market demand contributed to the classification of Inuit art as its own category, "not quite modern," far from contemporary (p. 23). Ultimately, this classification resulted in the dismissal of Inuit artists as contemporary artists and the display of Inuit artwork separate from mainstream art. Cultural anthropologist Nelson Graburn (1986; 1987) investigates the emergence of Inuit art in the late 1940s and 1950s and the cultural-political context in which white Canadians promoted and accepted Inuit carvings, prints, and sculptures as 'exotic' and 'primitive.' These labels were a deliberate marketing approach designed to enhance the commercial success of Inuit art. This sales promotion drew upon colonial attitudes that judged primitive art inferior to modern art (Lalonde, 1995). Graburn (1987) points out that the buying public rarely used the same terms to discuss mainstream and Inuit art. That point is supported by the fact galleries and museums

never labelled mainstream art ethnic, yet they attached this label to Inuit art, going so far as to maintain separate spaces for ‘modern’ and Inuit art as did Toronto gallerist Avrom Isaacs, one of Canada’s most influential art dealers (Canadian Art, 2016). Nearly 60 years after Grabun’s critique, Annie Pootoogook broke through the ethnic barrier.

In 2002, Toronto art dealer Patricia Feheley included Annie’s work in her gallery’s show *The Unexpected* and sold all the pieces. In record time, Nancy Campbell curated *Annie Pootoogook* for the Power Plant in Toronto, a venue known for presenting ground-breaking contemporary art. In her dissertation, Campbell (2017a) emphasizes that her show attempted to redirect conversations about Inuit art toward a focus on Inuit artists as “contributing to the dialogue of contemporary art in Canada and the world” (p. 39). She quotes Murray Whyte (2005) of the *Toronto Star* to note that “The Power Plant’s landmark 2006 show, of Annie Pootoogook’s frank drawings of contemporary northern life, marked the first time Canada’s pre-eminent contemporary art venue had held a major show by an Inuit” (Campbell, 2017a, p. 39). That same year, after what appears to be heated debate among jurists, Annie won the prestigious Sobey Award, presented annually to an outstanding Canadian artist under 40. The former director and curator of the Illingworth Kerr Gallery at the Alberta College of Art and Design, Wayne Baerwaldt sat on the award committee. He recalls,

There were so many people on the jury at that time who were resistant to Annie winning. They said because she was from the North that she wasn’t “informed” enough, hadn’t been exposed to modernism and hadn’t had formal training at art college like other artists did. (p. 60)

The jurists’ resistance resonates with arguments made by some art historians in the mid-1990s, 10 years after Grabun’s critique. Christine Lalonde (1995), Curator of Indigenous Art at the National Gallery of Canada, argued that Western art historical practices limit understandings of Inuit artists’ visual expressions. Because Western values and experience are embedded in these practices, when Canadian curators apply

structures “developed for the study of Western and European art” to Inuit artists “whose visual expression arises from quite different cultural sources, these practices limit a fuller understanding of [Inuit] imagery” (p. 3). In 2016, Igloliorte makes a similar point when she emphasizes the social landscape depicted in Annie’s artwork. She claims that when Annie won the Sobey Art Award, the artist “permanently transformed the landscape of Inuit art by breaking through the ‘ethnic art’ glass ceiling and firmly establishing contemporary Inuit art in the mainstream” (n.p.). Still, breaking the ethnic barrier does not immediately translate into a “re-visioning of the study of Inuit art” (Igloliorte, 2014, p. 203) due in part to how little southern Canadians know about Inuit social landscapes (2016, n.p.):

[Annie Pootoogook’s] images de-exoticized the Arctic. Yet, at the same time, they highlighted how truly great the distance is between the lives of southern Canadians and their neighbours in Inuit Nunangat, and how little the South truly knows about the experience of life in the North.

Igloliorte highlights differences between the South and the North, terms defined in **CHAPTER 1**, between southern Canadians and Inuit living in the four regions collectively known as Inuit Nunangat. Apparently, Southerners’ ignorance includes an indifference to learn about the entangled relationship between Arctic colonization and the emergence of the modern Inuit art industry (Igloliorte, 2017b).

Igloliorte connects the Canadian government’s assimilative policies to government practices that “create[d] an environment conducive for Inuit art to become an expression of Canadian national essence” (Pupcheck, 2001, p. 193). Igloliorte (2017b) demonstrates that at the height of Arctic colonialization, the government “aggressively sought to suppress and eradicate the entire pre-contact way of life” while it “began actively funding, collecting, promoting, and celebrating Inuit art both domestically and abroad, as a quintessentially Canadian art form” (p. 57). In the 1950s and 1960s, the Church and the federal government attempted to destroy Inuit belief systems,

knowledge and practices—at the same time, these cultural sources “made Inuit art desirable to the modern art market” (p. 57). Igloliorte insists that without taking this tangled relationship into consideration, insights into Annie’s artwork in particular, and Inuit visual culture in general, will be incomplete.

The material above oversimplifies the development of the Inuit art market because, rather than chronicle the emergence of contemporary Inuit art and the interplay between Inuit artists and Southern art collectors, critics and curators, my study concentrates on better understanding the reality of life in the Arctic that Igloliorte (2017b) asserts Annie revealed to “southern audiences that have long admired, but never really known, the true North” (p. 61). Further, because the subject of the doctoral study is Annie’s visual representations of Inuit girlhood, rather than interpret Annie’s visual expressions using “two of the fundamental tools of art history—formal analysis and artist’s biography” (Lalonde, 1995, p. 6)—I draw on girlhood studies to interpret Annie’s artwork. In doing so, I follow Igloliorte’s “new paradigm for examining Inuit visual culture” (2014, p. 193), a paradigm that consists of several interrelated projects. Among them, first, this study seeks to explore some of the ways Annie illuminated the colonization and the modernization of the Arctic; and, second, I approach writing about her visual communication from a standpoint that I hope Inuit perceive as appropriate or meaningful. Specifically, the dissertation links ‘bedroom culture’ to Inuit traditional sewing that branched into drawing and occurred in one-bedroom dwellings, as well as examines two subjects, Inuit foodways and sexuality, the artist took up to portray Inuit girls disrupting colonialism through the assertion of Inuit culture.

1

‘Principles of Reconciliation’ Six and Ten and Inuit Girlhood

Images of Indigenous girls in the Canadian public imagination rarely match actual girls who self-identify as Listuguj Mi’kmaq, Métis of historic Métis ancestry, Labrador Inuit in Nunatsiavut, to name but a few of the hundreds of Aboriginal communities in land now called Canada. The Canadian imaginary tends to group these actual girls and young women into idealistic or romantic stereotypes, or into stereotypes that target them as disposable and ungrievable, to use de Finney’s terms (2015). Brandi Morin (2017), a Métis journalist, challenges such false representations. Writing about the disappearance and murders of thousands of Indigenous girls and young women known as MMIWG (missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls), she asks (n.p.):

When people think of MMIWG, I often wonder what picture forms in their minds. Do they see the young girl or woman that was like me? Do they see her as a writer like me? Do they see them as mothers and daughters? Or do they imagine them as high-risk runaways, no-good Indians or prostitutes that had it coming?

Morin's questions address a theme identified in the Prologue where Igloliorte (2017b) credits Annie's artwork with revealing everyday life in Kingnait and simultaneously illuminating Southern audiences' difficulty relating to some of the artist's subject matter because what they know about Inuit is incompatible with what Inuit know about themselves. Interdisciplinary media artist Terrance Houle (Kainai Nation, Blood Tribe) captures this rift between the mainstream and the culture of the Kainai Nation in his *Urban Indian Series*. His photographs capture ordinary moments in the life of an urban Indian that include commuting on public transportation, shopping at a supermarket, working in an office cubicle, all while wearing powwow regalia. Houle's series humorously challenges viewers to reflect on what it would take for them to notice the Indigenous people in their midst.

Resilience, the National Billboard Exhibition Project produced by the Winnipeg artist-run centre Mentoring Artists for Women's Art³, counts among the ever-increasing imagery produced by for and about Indigenous women. *Resilience* took place in summer 2018, from June 1 to August 1. The avant-garde exhibition, curated by Lee-Ann Martin (Mohawk) in response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC) Calls for Action (to be discussed later), consisted of 167 images by 50 First Nations, Inuit and Métis contemporary artists; the images were displayed on 81 billboards across land now called Canada. The exhibit "rebukes the historical erasure of Indigenous women's bodies and the exclusion of their art" (Resilience Project, 2018, n.p.). The large-scale billboards inserted images along highways and rural roads, in cities and townships and close to Indigenous communities; they were defiantly erected at very sites where Indigenous women and girls have disappeared or been murdered. This act of artistic

³ *Resilience* implements the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Call to Action 79. Conceived as a creative act of reconciliation, the project addresses the under-representation of Indigenous women in positions of power in the art world, as well as in business and politics. Call 79 envisions a collaboration between Aboriginal peoples and the art community that integrates "Indigenous history, heritage values and memory practices into Canada's national heritage and history" (TRC, 2015a, p. 9).

sovereignty asserted the presence of Indigenous women and girls as “highly visible, individualized (beyond statistics), celebrated” (n.p). At the same time, the show blurred boundaries that separate everyday communal space from the exclusive space of museums and galleries.

Building on the idea of the *Resilience* project and other projects which heighten visibility of Indigenous girls and their culture such as *Walking with Our Sisters*,⁴ a commemorative art installation that honours missing and murdered Indigenous girls and women and has toured land now called Canada since 2013, my study addresses the absence of authentic images of Inuit girlhood in the national consciousness. Also, it concretizes principles of reconciliation six and ten that call upon all Canadians—individually and collectively—to share responsibility for engaging in and nurturing mutually respectful relationships and to sustain public education and dialogue about, among other things, “contemporary contributions by Aboriginal peoples to Canadian society” (TRC, 2015a, p. 4). Established in 2008, the Indian Residential Schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission, commonly known as the TRC, alternatively, the Commission, was mandated to inform all Canadians about what happened in Indian residential schools. In *What is Reconciliation?*, a TRC (2016) video, Chief Commissioner Murray Sinclair (member of the Three Fires Society, and a Second Degree Member of the Midewiwin (Grand Medicine) Society of the Ojibway) explains that seven generations of Aboriginal children went through residential schools and what they were taught about themselves was also taught to non-Aboriginals. He says that (0:39–1:10):

each child was told that their lives were not as good as the lives of the non-Aboriginal people of this country. They were told that their languages and cultures were irrelevant; their people and their ancestors were heathens, pagans and uncivilized; they needed to give up that way of life to come to a different way of

⁴ For more information: <http://walkingwithoursisters.ca/>

living. At the same, non-Aboriginal children in the non-Aboriginal school system of this country were also being told the same thing about Aboriginal people.

He continues that education can change this wrong way of thinking. Sinclair encapsulates a key recommendation when he declares: “Education got us into this mess and I believe education will now get us out of it” (Jamieson, 2017, para. 1). While the Canadian government and institutions carry much responsibility to overhaul curriculums and textbooks, there are plenty of smaller actions average Canadians can pursue to take responsibility for their own education, such as undertaking a doctoral study on Inuit girlhood. Conscious of the rift between Inuit girls and me, cautious that the “narratives that have come to define [Annie]” (Morgan-Feir, 2018, n.p.) ignore the past and present effects of colonialism (Igloliorte, 2017b), as much as possible, I rely on Inuit knowledge and culture to better understand Annie’s visual representations of Inuit girlhood. All this to say, the dissertation functions on two levels. First, it interprets her artwork as portrayals of Inuit girls adapting girlhood practices to a novel context during the early stages of Canadian expansion into the Arctic. Second, the dissertation itself serves as a physical record of reconciliation.

Indigenous Girls Left Out of Academic Literature

Girlhood is a complex “*gendered, raced, sexed, and classed* space, inscribed by particular behavioural dictates, social norms and mores and ways of seeing the world. It is also context-bound; rooted in language and the politics of location” (Jiwani, Steenbergen, & Mitchell, 2006, p. x, original italics). This understanding frames the experience of girlhood as adaptable and evolving, yet generalizable. Similarities between girls (e.g., everyday practices linked to culture, language, religion, etc.) may be less likely to correlate directly to individuals identifying as such, and more likely relate to temporal, spatial, and social circumstances (Forman-Brunell, 2010). To illustrate, girlhood scholars Relebohile Moletsane (2005) and Kirk (VACHA & Kirk, 2005) write about tweens, girls

aged 7–13, growing up in Durban, South Africa, and Mumbai, India, respectively. Both scholars recount social conditions similar to those that confront many Indigenous girls in Canada. Some tween girls in Durban and Mumbai have been victims of sexual violence perpetrated by males, have witnessed family and community members beaten and murdered, and have lacked opportunities to satisfy their intellectual curiosity and improve their literacy abilities. VACHA, a Mumbai-based NGO, and Kirk (2005) surveyed 2,600 girls aged 9–13 from 33 municipal schools across Mumbai. A voluminous social invisibility cloaked the girls, necessitating the creation of a term that represented their age group. *Balkishori*, based on *balika*, meaning a girl child en route to becoming a woman, makes visible a group of vulnerable girls lacking resources provided by policy and programming in social sectors such as child development, education and health.

Another example of similarities in the social structures of girls' lives comes from *Girlhood: A Global History*, edited by historians Jennifer Helgren and Colleen Vasconcellos (2010). This collection of essays covers the broad historical period from 1750 to the early 20th century, with representations of girls from all continents barring Antarctica. The editors encourage comparisons of the local and global to recognize how these two contexts co-exist, and how girls' ideas and activities have local, international and transnational implications. Transnational scholarship supports the expansion from a uniform category to complex, contradictory, expansive categories of girlhood. The collection includes the essay, "Stolen Girlhood: Australia's Assimilation Policies and Aboriginal Girls" by Christine Cheater (2010). The Australian historian discusses the institutionalization of Aboriginal girls that was modelled after "North American and Canadian Native American assimilation schools" (p. 253) (i.e., Indian residential schools). State officials targeted Aboriginal girls, mostly daughters of white men and Aboriginal women, who were removed from their families to protect them from white men's sexual appetite and to produce domestic labourers for white women. Similar

to American and Canadian colonial projects, the Australian colonial government perceived Aboriginals as an obstacle to settlement and, after 1901, as a stain on the State's "projected image as a white nation" (p. 250). All three nation-states believed the problem they perceived could be solved through violence, protection, and assimilation. In land now called Canada, countless Inuit, Métis and First Nations peoples underwent experiences similar to the Australian Aboriginals' colonial experiences. However, important distinctions exist. Cheater emphasizes that Aboriginal children in Australia were targeted by the government and society because "British officials thought that the way to break Australian Aboriginal culture was to break links between parent and child" (p. 250). In contrast, we see that First Nations women on Turtle Island⁵ were targeted *before* children were targeted as demonstrated by women's exclusion from negotiations between European and Indigenous men. Also, settler society has imposed itself on First Nations and the Métis nation for a longer period of time than it has on Inuit. Although government agents and Canadians have colonized and oppressed all three groups, care must be taken when grouping all three under the umbrella term 'Indigenous.' When uneven impacts are hidden and/or ignored, the potential arises to reinforce social exclusion. Helgren and Vasconcellos along with Aapola, Gonick and Harris (2005) and Gonick (2003) have done admirable work presenting what Khanna (2011, p. 18) describes as "heterogeneity of girls' experiences, and complex negotiations of raced, classed, and sexed femininities, [however,] girlhood studies also has gaps in terms of theorizing forces of colonialism, Indigeneity, etc.". The discipline runs the risk of leaving out and/or pushing Indigenous girls and young women outside its conceptual spaces (de Finney, 2008).

An example of academic work that leaves out First Nations girls conceptually and practically comes from Cree/Métis scholar Kim Anderson's ground-breaking

⁵ A term used by some to refer to North America.

contribution to Indigenous Studies, *A Recognition of Being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood*, originally published in 2000, with a second edition appearing in 2016. Anderson describes the book as primarily a gift for Native people and as a resource for non-Indigenous seeking to better understand historical harms that have taken root in Native womanhood and the ways Native women have resisted those harms while shaping a positive Native female identity. Although Anderson pays some attention to Native girls' experiences and socialization, for the most part she frames girls as passing from puberty into womanhood and women as "hold[ing] onto their sense of power to make change" (p. 235). In her significant publication, *Life Stages and Native Women: Memory, Teaching, and Story Medicine* (2011), Anderson interprets the Anishinaabe life cycle teachings based on years spent listening to Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee Elders. The Anishinaabe life cycle values interdependence and interrelationality among all life stages because infancy, adolescence, adulthood and old age contribute to the economic, political, social and spiritual order of Aboriginal societies. Therefore, Elders and children are categorized as neither a responsibility nor a burden. From the perspective of the life cycle continuum—the better individuals fulfill their life stage roles and responsibilities, the better their health and well-being and that of their communities. Yet, throughout the book, Anderson pairs women and girls as an undifferentiated category. In my reading notes for her chapter, "The 'Good Life' and the 'Fast Life': Childhood and Youth," I asked: Where are the girls? The young women? Why does Anderson use the term 'children' for girls and boys, young women and men?

Umbrella Term Obscures the Absence of Inuit Girls

In their report, *Beyond Appearances: Brief on the Main Issues Facing Girls in Canada*, Girls Action Foundation (2013) noted the general tendency to lump Inuit girls together with First Nations and Métis girls through the umbrella term 'Indigenous.' In what follows, I offer examples from education, health and feminism to demonstrate how both Inuit

experiences and Inuit women are overlooked, resulting in a near-complete absence of Inuit girls in these areas.

Inuit Education

When contemplating the impact of Canada's colonial project on the lives of Indigenous girls and women, some crucial distinctions must be kept in mind. First, when we consider Nunavut, the region where Annie lived most of her life, some describe it as "Canada's most dispersed and isolated territory," therefore "the Arctic long kept colonizers and developers at bay" (McGregor, 2013, p. 91). Second, compared to the centuries-long process of colonization experienced by First Nations and Métis, Inuit girls and women experienced a rapid transition that occurred in the last five to seven decades (approximately 1940–2010). Social scientist Frank Tester and Piita (formerly Peter) Irniq, former commissioner of Nunavut, write (2008, p. 57):

There is likely no other group of indigenous people in the world that has made such a transition—from scattered hunting camps to settlements steeped in the organizational logic and material realities of high modernism—in such a short time (from ca. 1955 to 1965).

Although Inuit and First Nations language and cultures were significantly impacted by the Indian residential school system, when it began in the mid-19th century, First Nations and Métis children were forcibly placed into the system. However, at that time, writes historian and educator Heather McGregor (2015), Inuit neither participated in the system, nor did "they have the opportunity should they have wanted it. In the early decades of the 20th century traditional Inuit childrearing and education took place much as it had in the Arctic for centuries" (p. 23). After World War II, Inuit children were placed in four federal schools, one of "which the greatest number of accusations, and convictions, of abuse emerged" (p. 24). According to the Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada website (2019), by June 1964, 75% of Inuit children and youth aged six to fifteen years were

enrolled in one of those four schools (para. 2). “In recognition of the unique cultures of the Inuit, and the experiences and impacts of residential schools on them,”⁶ the Commission (2015c) developed a separate sub-commission to examine the Inuit residential school experiences (quoted by McGregor, 2015, p. 20). In a personal communication to McGregor (2015), Jennifer Hunt Poitras, responsible for conducting the TRC Inuit sub-commission, told her, “We came across many stories that don’t fit into the definition of residential school experiences according to the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement” (p. 21). McGregor summarizes some of these differences. She writes (p. 33).

In the Arctic, the federal school system was implemented later than elsewhere in Canada, included day schools and residential schools with a range of hostel sizes and types, and offered diverse educational experiences that are remembered as sometimes extremely dislocating for students and at other times offering positive outcomes. Student enrolment and educational trajectory was not consistent, some students were removed to southern schools, and some non-Indigenous students were placed in residential schools.

McGregor emphasizes the importance of bringing this historical sensitivity to curriculum that focuses on the history of residential schools because “there are northern stories about the educational past that do not fit into the categories, narratives, and generalizations increasingly familiar to Canadians about residential school policies and experiences in southern Canada”⁷ (p. 21). At the same time, educators face a

⁶ For example, concerning the Inuit and Innu of Labrador, none of the boarding schools in Labrador were included in the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (TRC, 2015d).

⁷ McGregor comments that after reviewing “many scholarly articles, reports and documents disseminated to the public and watch[ing] a great deal of news coverage, a generalized narrative in plain language goes something like this: Starting a long time ago (and for over 100 years) all Indigenous children were required to attend church-run, government-funded residential schools in Canada. The federal government did not pay attention to what was occurring in the schools, expecting that they could school the Indian out of the child. Children were forcibly taken from their parents and then more often than not subjected to multiple forms of abuse and neglect, and emerged as survivors with a second-class education. They lost their language and culture and perpetuated this loss amongst the following generations” (2015, p. 36).

“paucity of sources available” (p. 21) to develop educational resources that include the Inuit residential school experience. She raises important concerns regarding what histories become erased or overlooked when using ‘residential schools’ as an organizing category. I share McGregor’s concerns. At the same time, I notice that while she emphasizes the Inuit experience, she remains silent about Inuit girls’ Indian residential school experiences.

Inuit Health

A similar trend occurs when looking at women’s health in Nunavut. Health researchers Gwen Healey and Lynn Meadows (2007) reviewed literature from the past decade on Inuit women’s health to identify priorities for future research. They note among 254 articles reviewed about Aboriginal populations, 122 were relevant to Inuit, “which constitutes a significant over-representation of Inuit studies in the literature given their relative proportion in the Indigenous population in Canada”⁸ (p. 201, citing Young, 2003). Additionally, very few research topics were of primary concern to Inuit communities with an insufficient amount of research that examined Indigenous women’s health issues in general. Regarding health among the circumpolar Inuit, since the early 1990s, less than 50 articles were found that specifically addressed women’s health issues. This number dwindles to zero when reviewing literature published by populations outside the Canadian Inuit women’s community (e.g., Alaskan Native). Healey and Meadows look closely at several health issues raised in the literature they reviewed. Of these, I focus on gender-based violence because it is an issue of grave concern in many disciplines, including the field of girlhood studies. The authors write “while there is published literature that examines domestic violence among the First Nations populations in Canada and Native American populations in the United States,

⁸ According to Statistics Canada (2017), in 2016 the breakdown of the overall Aboriginal population was Inuit (3.9%), Métis (35.1%), and First Nations (58.4%). The overall population accounts for 4.9% of Canada’s total population.

the literature relevant to Arctic communities is very small” (p. 209). There is little data regarding Nunavummiut, the people of Nunavut, experiencing violence and/or living in violent situations; however, local health authorities report that it is a significant concern. In recent interviews, many women noted the “influence of traditional gender roles, childhood abuse and coping with trauma as influential factors” (p. 209) that contributed to intimate-partner violence. Healey and Meadows conclude that Inuit women face numerous challenging circumstances, yet literature that examines “these contexts and processes through which health is affected is practically non-existent” (p. 21). When it comes to positive aspects of “women’s health, including their strengths, community involvement, family, relationships, wisdom and knowledge” (p. 21) there is little if any literature. The fact that Healey and Meadows fail to note that girls along with Inuit women and their health rarely appear in the literature could mean it will take some time before girls’ health, both the negative and positive aspects, will begin to appear in health literature.

Another significant health difference for Inuit arises from the multiple barriers they must overcome to access the Canadian health care system. In 2014, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), a national advocacy organization, published the report *Social Determinants of Inuit Health in Canada*. They point out that due to Inuit communities’ geographical isolation and “a reduced number of health services and health professionals,” Inuit are “regularly flown to southern centres for medical emergencies, hospitalization, appointments with medical specialists, diagnosis and treatments” (p. 32). Medical travel involves significant cost to the health care system for medical services, travel and accommodation⁹. To access health care services, Inuit must travel between outlying Inuit communities and regional ‘hubs’ (ITK, 2014). Medical travel

⁹ Depending on how far north a girl lives, she will have to take multiple flights to arrive at 1 out of the 5 airports that offer direct flights to Edmonton, Winnipeg, Ottawa, or Montreal. For a map of distances girls must travel to access health care, see the ITK report at https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/ITK_Social_Determinants_Report.pdf

impacts individuals and families who “may spend long periods of time away from their communities and support networks” (p. 32). Frequently, Inuit face cultural and language barriers either in their communities or when they travel South for medical care. Also, for those individuals and/or their families who “communicate exclusively in Inuit dialects, language barriers may hinder care” (p. 32). Medical travel and its effects demonstrate some of the ways geography, culture, and language might influence Inuit girlhood.

Indigenous Feminism

With respect to Indigenous-related research, the umbrella term “Indigenous” can be misleading when geography, culture, and language are neither mentioned nor taken into account when the term encompasses Inuit. One reason to be cautious about the term ‘Indigenous’ when considering Inuit girlhood can be located in the book *Indigenous Women’s Writing and the Cultural Study of Law* by Batchewana First Nations scholar Cheryl Suzack (2017). She uses literary analyses to critique four legal cases, one set in a Canadian court of law and the remaining three in American courtrooms. Much of her work revolves around notions of tribal membership, politics and sovereignty, and in the Canadian example how these three notions interact with the Indian Act¹⁰. Historically the Indian Act has not recognized Inuit, therefore they are ineligible for Indian status and the rights conferred by that status. By extension, tribal membership does not connect with Nunavummiut whose social organization and customary laws are rooted in Qaujimaningit, which refers to Inuit traditional knowledge and Inuit epistemology

¹⁰ The Indian Act of 1876 stands as a prime example that ownership of identity can belong outside oneself. The Act authorizes the federal government to “terminate the cultural, social, economic and political distinctiveness of Aboriginal peoples” (Hanson, 2009, para. 3). Its regulations dictate how and to what degree Indigenous peoples and communities govern their own affairs. In addition to governing bands and reserves, the Act regulates Indigenous identity through laws that determine who is and is not a Status or registered Indian, a determination that ultimately will accomplish the legal elimination of Indians (Palmater, 2013, 2014). The Act’s legacy of discrimination against women and their children continues today despite amendments to the Indian Act by the passage of Bill C-31 (1985), Bill C-3 (2010) and Bill S-3 (2017) (for more, see Gehl, 2000, 2013; Gehl & Jarombek, 2017; Jamieson, 1978; McIvor, 1999; Silman, 1987).

without reference to temporality (NIRB, n.d.). I also take into consideration the breakthrough publications *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism* (Green, 2017) and *Indigenous Feminism* (Suzack, 2010). *Making Space* includes one essay by a Saami scholar in Finland, while the latter contains an essay by an Inuk writer from Nunavik. Out of 34 chapters across the two books, two were authored by Inuit women; this indicates that the respective editors had a limited talent pool to draw upon for their topic. This limitation speaks to the critical need for “equitable access to the full spectrum of educational opportunities” in the Canadian Arctic (Rodon, Lévesque, & Kennedy Dalseg, 2015, p. 2). From 1981 to 2006 there was little improvement in the percentage of Inuit who completed a university degree, from 1.6% to 2.7%, respectively. In other words, in a 25-year period, access to educational opportunities remained fairly stagnant. This speaks to several factors that impede Inuit educational attainment such as the impact of residential school attendance, English instruction at all levels, “insufficient numbers of Inuit teachers and culturally irrelevant curriculum, among others” (ITK, 2018a, p. 11). In making the point that Inuit young women and girls rarely appear in research literature, I also acknowledge areas where their experiences and insights are understudied such as gender-based violence, homelessness, substance abuse, poverty and unemployment (Kishigami, 2015; Pauktuutit, 2017).

Although Inuit girlhood may be understudied, primary material does exist. Increasingly, stories by Inuit women about Inuit girlhood are becoming available. These include the oral biography *Pitseolak: Pictures Out of My Life* originally published in 1971 (Eber & Ashoona, 2003/1971), Mini Aodla Freeman’s (2015/1996) autobiography *My Life Among the Qallunaat*, portions of Sheila Watt-Cloutier’s (2015) *The Right to Be Cold*, Mitiaarjuk Nappaaluk’s (2014) story *Sanaaq: An Inuit Novel*, Norma Dunning’s (2017) collection of short stories *Annie Muktuk and Other Stories*, stories from Penny Petrone’s (1992) selection of oral and written stories by Inuit contributors in *Northern Voices: Inuit Writing in English* and the documentary *Martha of the North* directed by Marquise

Lepage (Flaherty et al., 2010). I am also thinking here of Napatchie Pootoogook's artwork that illustrates her perspectives on the status of women in Inuit society — images accompanied by text that address domestic abuse, sexual exploitation of women, and forced marriages. As well as Annie Pootoogook's visual representations of ordinary life particular to the Kingnait context in which she spent most of her life. In the chapters that follow, I interpret some of her artwork to better understand aspects of Kingnait girlhood the artist portrayed, in particular, where Inuit girls sleep, what they eat, some of their sexual practices and how these three are connected to sewing, country food, and Indigenous sexuality.

Formulating the Research Questions

In hopes the study would broaden commonplace understandings of girls and girlhood that exclude contemporary Indigenous girls and young women, I was particularly interested in finding material that was relatively accessible to a large audience. By large audience, I had in mind both educators seeking pedagogical material and Canadians seeking new knowledge about Indigenous girls and young women. Given these considerations, it appeared that visual representations or images of girlhood were a feasible choice. Due to the extensive amount of online media coverage about exhibitions and artists, along with artists' strong online presence, I restricted visual representations to drawings or paintings. At the same time, I knew there was a visceral difference between looking at an actual art piece and seeing its facsimile in a book or as an electronic visual display. Therefore, I wanted to find artists whose work was exhibited in galleries and museums, work that I could see with my own eyes. The final criterion was that the image itself must say something about girlhood, by, for example, depicting girls and/or "girlhood practices — the everyday activities in which some girls engage as part of their ordinary lives" (Mitchell & Reid-Walsh, 2009, p. v). Although several artists include girls or artifacts of girlhood in their artwork, typically they produced a small

quantity of these images. However, Inuk artist Annie Pootoogook produced hundreds. Additionally, her drawings met the above requirements. They are readily available to view. Her artwork appears in numerous print and online publications, as well as across countless social media sites. All types of writers, from formal to informal, from non-professional to professional, have written about the artist and her artwork. Museums across Canada have purchased her works on paper, adding them to their permanent collections. Annie has been categorized as a chronicler, an artist who depicts real-life events. Because her artwork introduces audiences to Inuit girlhood, she provides viewers alternative conceptualizations of girlhood that include Inuit girls and their girlhood practices. Therefore, concentrating solely on Annie's artwork seemed like a natural choice. She offers a comprehensive body of work that has the potential to bridge the cultural, conceptual, and geographical distance between Southern audiences and Inuit girls engaged in girlhood practices located in Kingnait, Qikiatani (formerly known as Cape Dorset, Baffin Island).

Two Research Questions

I preferred to avoid looking at all Indigenous girls as, first, this would have a totalizing effect, and second, comparing visual representations of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit girlhoods was far too ambitious for a doctoral project. Because I was working with artwork by an Inuk artist, I wondered what I could learn by looking at drawings by Annie Pootoogook that reference Inuit girlhood. Since Inuit is a broad term¹¹, I wondered what could be learned about Inuit girlhood based on an Inuk girl growing up in a specific place at a particular time. I arrived at two questions. First, I ask:

¹¹ 'Inuit' refers to the original inhabitants of what is now referred to as the Arctic and the sub-Arctic in what are now Alaska, Canada, Greenland, and Russia. Outside Canada, Inuit are sometimes referred to as Inupiat, Yupiks, and Eskimos. Although the latter referent is still used in the United States, 'Eskimo' is considered pejorative by many Inuit in Canada and Greenland. Finally, the Aleuts of Alaska are related to Inuit (Wilson, 2013).

What understandings about girlhood situated in Kingnait from the late 1960s to the late 1980s can be drawn from a series of Annie’s graphic art?

I realize that reading Annie’s images goes beyond using the ‘good eye,’ a term critical visual researcher Gillian Rose (2001) borrowed from Irit Rogoff (1998, p. 17). The good eye “functions as a kind of visual connoisseurship”¹² (p. 34) to evaluate the significance of a work of art by concentrating “mostly on the site of an *image itself*” (p. 34, original italics). Yet, this site alone could only tell me so much about the effects of viewing Annie’s works on paper. For Rose, the meaning of an image occurs at the site of the image itself, as well as at the sites of production, audiencing and circulation. By taking into consideration these additional sites, I wondered why images of “breathing flesh-and-blood” (Johnson, 2002, p. 178) girls are absent from the public imaginary. Why do stereotypes seem to outweigh alternative visual representations of Indigenous girls and young women? From there, I began to wonder who looks at Annie’s graphic art. What are they saying about it and to whom? Specifically, I ask a second question:

How do these images use common girlhood experiences (e.g., eating a family meal, shopping, sleeping, and exploring their sexuality) to disrupt stereotypes about Inuit girls?

Doctoral Work: A Form of Reconciliation

The academic conversations that inform my research interests and questions share links with what Sinclair (TRC, 2016) refers to as wrong or negative thinking about Indigenous peoples. These conversations along with the Commission’s work contribute to an increased awareness that curriculum and textbooks used in Canadian primary and secondary schools have played a significant role in negative thinking. The call for

¹² Art critics, enthusiasts, historians and artists trained in Western traditions practice visual connoisseurship when they look at a work of art to attribute it to artists and art schools, identify its styles, as well as establish any sources and influences. Based on these elements, they judge its quality, all of which determines whether the piece qualifies as belonging to the canon (Rose, 2001, citing Fernie, 1995).

the inclusion of an Indigenous perspective in Canada's nationalistic narrative has been made by many. Consider the following three instances.

First, the *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (RCAP) (Erasmus & Dussault, 1996), initiated in part by the Oka Resistance, reported that while Canadians know little about the initial stages of the historical relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, they know even less about how it has changed over time. The authors argued that a careful study of this relationship teaches Canadians who they are and where they come from. Unless Canadians take into account 500 years of Indigenous resistance, they will fail to comprehend that the historical relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people is at the crux of Canadian history. Lacking this understanding, the tensions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people will remain hard to resolve.

The second instance arose from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015a) established in 2008 that was constituted and created by the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement. The Commission notes that the Canadian government ignored much of the content of the RCAP with a majority of its recommendations left untouched. Yet, they credit the report and its findings with opening people's eyes and shifting the conversation about the dramatic difference between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples' realities. The Commission echoes RCAP's assertion that too many Canadians know little or nothing about the deep historical roots linked to divisive conflicts between the federal government and the Aboriginal peoples over Aboriginal education, child welfare, and justice, to name a few.

The third instance occurred in the winter of 2012 when the Idle No More movement leapt into public view, nationally and internationally. For months, both social media and traditional news media reported on Indigenous and non-Indigenous people engaged in public rallies, flash mob round dances, marches, and blockades. Once again, two refrains were repeated: ignorance and awakening. In an interview with the Association for Women's Rights in Development, Dr. Lynn Gehl (Gii-Zhigaate

Mnidookwe), an Indigenous human rights advocate, explained:

Because the Canadian education system teaches nationalism many Canadians do not understand indigenous issues and rights, and they don't understand that our rights are their rights too. Through this Idle No More movement a lot of non-indigenous people have been awakened. (De Cicco, 2013, n.p.)

Here, an awakened state implies more than comparing the economic, social, and political realities that set apart Indigenous from non-Indigenous people. It demands more than integrating Indigenous perspectives and histories into the Canadian education system—one wakes up as a treaty person (TRC, 2015a). From personal experience, especially because I am entitled to reap the benefits and privileges of colonialism, unlike rising to the sound of a clanging alarm clock, awakening from a slumber of ignorance occurs incrementally. In my lifetime, there have been instances when “colonial forms of denial, guilt, and empathy” (Regan, 2010, p. 11) lulled me into an incomplete understanding of my complicity in Indigenous issues, rights and perspectives. Unwilling to let this happen again, I began to view my doctoral work as an act of reconciliation.

Situating Self

In *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*, Margaret Kovach (Sakewew p'sim iskwew) (2009) acknowledges that many qualitative approaches entail self-locating in research and that in the context of Indigenous research “self-location means cultural identification” (p. 110). Usually, the protocol of introduction requires a person to situate themselves and their relationships to the people and the land (Clark, 2016b; Wilson, 2008). Ultimately, my interest in this protocol fuels aspirations to continue “the ongoing process of establishing and maintaining respectful relationships,” in a word, reconciliation, as defined by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015a). To the best of my Qallunaat abilities, “through the protocol of

introductions” (Kovach, 2009, p. 110), in the ensuing narrative I situate myself as mixed-race Chinese and describe my relationship with Indigenous individuals in an effort to elucidate the meaning of these connections to the study and to present the study itself as a form of reconciliation.

Contradiction: Present Yet Absent

My paternal grandparents are first generation and my maternal grandparents are second generation to Turtle Island, a land now called North America. By the time I was born, all four grandparents were deceased and their stories seemed to have disappeared. My white father and my Chinese mother were born in places and times different from those in which they raised their children: Wisconsin and Hawaii, respectively. My three oldest siblings were born in Wisconsin, I was born in New Mexico and the three youngest were born in California. By the mid-1960s, our nuclear family settled in San Francisco. The only meaningful family and kin relationships I have ever experienced have been with my siblings, despite the fact that between my mother and father there were 18 aunts and uncles, most of whom had children. The reasons for our family alienation included geographic distance, travel costs and the fact that some relatives had partially or completely rejected us because of our parents mixed union, a term applied to “couples who do not have the same ethnic origin, the same religion, the same language or the same birthplace” (Maheux, 2014, p. 3). When I observe Indigenous individuals situating themselves as hereditary members of a particular community from a specific place, I am reminded of this family alienation.

For example, at the outset of her guest lecture on decolonizing methodologies at the Graduate Center City University of New York, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2013) identified the specific place and community that she comes from and belongs to. Tuhiwai also acknowledged the presence of ancestors in New York who are absent from the history of the city. In doing so, she brought together presence and absence

as a single concept whose meaning merits attention and understanding in research contexts. What does my personal sense of alienation have to do with this concept, especially given its links to colonial history and the denial of colonization? Because I identify so strongly as mixed race, rather than strictly white or Chinese, I wonder about the contradiction between my lived cultural and social experience as mixed race and how that experience seems to be largely overlooked and undervalued as a legitimate source of knowledge. I wonder what it means to be alive without laying claim to a culture, history, language, or land belonging to mixed race as a social group, yet to be acutely aware that we exist. When Tuhiwai situates herself, she practices cultural protocol while struggling against the colonial convenience to ignore or deny Indigenous knowledge and forms of knowledge production. For me, a decolonizing agenda includes documenting colonialism and its effects. In a sense, this form of documentation makes visible colonialism and, more importantly, the Indigenous presence absent from colonial history. A presence rooted in Indigenous knowledge that itself stems from processes and protocols of Indigenous knowledge production (Kovach, 2009; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012/1999). I link Tuhiwai's act of self-location combined with her unification of absence and presence to Tuscarora scholar Jolene Rickard's (2006) argument that Indigenous people globally have (p. 66, quoted by Igloliorte, 2014, p. 194):

something very important to contribute on the cusp of the 21st century. We have densely packed cultural survival kits that transfer knowledge from one generation to the next, despite unremitting attempts at genocide, culturalcide, and other forms of political and philosophical erasure. Native communities or nations have something the world needs to know about: the insight of continuity.

Although there are plenty of geographic locations with mixed-race populations and critical mixed-race studies continues to gain ground in the academy, due in large part to living in Quebec, these communities seem difficult for me to access. To date, my relationships with Indigenous individuals offer opportunities to reflect on and explore

the contradiction explained above and to make sense of what I perceive as family alienation. The personal nature of this work motivates me to learn about ‘the insight of continuity’ by remaining connected to Indigenous land and relationships.

From Reciprocity to Reconciliation

In 2012, at the start of my doctoral program, I reasoned it was never too soon to express my gratitude for the opportunity to undertake doctoral research that I hoped would involve First Nations, Inuit, and Métis girls and young women. I aspired to practice reciprocity from the start, rather than wait for these relationships to materialize. For some Indigenous individuals, this concept includes respect for the “interconnection between all entities,” a connection whose “ecological and cosmological balance” researchers can ensure by giving back instead of strictly extracting information from Indigenous communities (Kovach, 2009, p. 57). I believed that the combined effect of seeking Indigenous participants and learning from a literature review centred on Indigenous art and Indigenous girlhood meant that I had already entered into a relationship with Indigenous peoples. Consequently, I had a responsibility to seek out local accessible Indigenous groups and individuals to find out whether there was something I could do that would benefit them until such time my doctoral work diverted time and energy elsewhere. This search led to the McGill Joint Board-Senate Subcommittee on Equity for First Peoples. Over a four-year period, my role shifted from member to secretary to co-chair. The committee did not take the decision lightly to nominate me as a co-chair; their choice was influenced by a shortage of available Indigenous leaders due to the University’s hiring and enrolment efforts and by a willingness to model allyship to the campus at a time when the University decided to “pursue an unedited truth about its historical and contemporary relationship with First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples to meaningfully inform its goal of reconciliation” (Isaac, Meadwell, & Campbell, 2017, p. 1). My subcommittee work led to working as

a writing tutor at the McGill First Peoples' House. Attentive to the power implicit in this role, I purposefully spent time at the 'House' as a graduate student studying and socializing, as a regular volunteer on Indigenous-student-led initiatives, and once a month as the cook for the weekly soup and bannock lunch for McGill's Indigenous community.

My initial doctoral project focused on hip-hop dance performed and taught by Indigenous girls and young women. By late 2013, I had connected with a few potential participants in Alberta, Ontario, and northern Quebec. However, this distance made the study untenable. In 2014, I diverted my efforts from mounting a participatory project to undertaking a study based on Annie Pootoogook's visual representations of Inuit girlhood. During the transition from a participant-based to a source-based study, reciprocity shifted to reconciliation. When the Commission released its *Final Report* (2015b), rather than conceptualize my intentions as a process of reciprocity, I began to reconceptualize them as a process of reconciliation based on the following definition (p. 6):

To the Commission, reconciliation is about establishing and maintaining a mutually respectful relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in this country. In order for that to happen, there has to be awareness of the past, acknowledgement of the harm that has been inflicted, atonement for the causes, and action to change behaviour.

The intention to uphold mutually respectful relationships with Indigenous colleagues, friends, and students revealed the significance of these relationships to a doctoral inquiry that lacked Indigenous participants. The bonds we fostered and strengthened were rooted in the business of everyday living. For the most part, our interactions and conversations developed organically. The intention to commit to the process of reconciliation gifted me with opportunities to interact with First Nations, Métis and Inuit young women, often these interactions nuanced academic discussions concerning

a variety of issues relevant to Indigenous girls and young women. Without these connections, my study would have become a library study conducted by a settler of colour who related to Indigenous young women in the abstract. In my first year as a doctoral student, if asked “Who are you and why do you care?” (Clark, 2016b, p. 48) although I would have situated myself as discussed above, I would have responded that I cared about addressing the loss of Indigenous land, language and socio-cultural resources, and that I cared about dismantling discrimination, racism and social exclusion that First Nations, Métis, and Inuit encounter. While I still care about those injustices, today I also care whether some friends will accept their roles as hereditary leaders, how friends will fare who received eviction letters from the Mohawk Band Council, whether those who completed a program at a treatment facility for drug and alcohol addiction will find support they seek upon returning to their remote community, whether some will find solace for sisters who were murdered and nieces who disappeared, how those seeking to be recognized as Indigenous will navigate what lies ahead, and whether those accepted into doctoral programs will realize their vision to help their nations. All this to say, as reciprocity moved toward reconciliation, what I cared about transformed into who I cared about—generalities merged into specificity connected to a web of relationships.

Much as I would have preferred otherwise, I function as an intermediary between audiences and Inuit perspectives about girlhood. I acknowledge that ties to local Indigenous individuals and organizations can only do so much to lessen the impact that in reality I add yet another Qallunaat voice and body to literature on Inuit artists. Since making the decision to undertake a solo research doctoral project, I continue to cope with the trepidation that I have authored a deceptive text alongside a settler of colour truth-telling text (Regan, 2010), both of which simultaneously perpetuate and transform colonial relations. Whether that is the case and to what degree, I invite readers to decide.

To sum up, seeking to respect the protocol of introductions (Kovach, 2009), I situated myself as a settler of colour motivated by the ways Indigenous relationships offer opportunities to reflect on what it means to strongly identify as mixed-race Chinese in a context that insists this social identity and category requires different choices—white or Chinese. Although these personal motivations lie outside the study, I share them here because this identity shapes my understanding of the world. I situated my relationships with Indigenous colleagues and friends who are connected to Tiohtià:ke tsi ionhwéntsare, the traditional territory of the Haudenosaunee and Anishinabeg nations, a place which has long served as a site of meeting and exchange amongst nations. Through these relationships I endeavour to practice reciprocity and reconciliation. In the absence of research participants, my purpose is to maintain good relationships more broadly. In the context of a study about Inuit girlhood, these relationships remain unexplored, however I reveal them here because they influence my broad understanding of Indigenous girlhood.

Overview of the Study

In carrying out the doctoral inquiry, my approach was to draw on methods of textual studies, working with Annie's artwork as primary source material and with documents and reports produced by and for Inuit from organizations such as Pauktuutit, the national representative organization of Inuit women; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), a national advocacy organization that represents those living in Inuit Nunangat; the Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA) that represents Inuit of the Qikiqtani (Baffin); and the series *Interviewing Inuit Elders* produced by the Nunavut Arctic College (NAC). Additionally, despite innumerable English publications about the artist, very few include Annie's voice because the authors required an interpreter to communicate with her. However, the 30-minute documentary directed by Marcia Connolly (Connolly, 2006) includes footage with Annie speaking English to an off-camera interviewer.

Rather than rely on an edited version of the raw footage, I requested and received two hours of interview transcripts from Site Media. Although the interviewer's utterances were not transcribed and most of Annie's responses were simultaneously interpreted into English, quite possibly the 11 Site Media transcripts are "the most extensive [material] available of Annie talking about her life and work" (D. Craig, personal communication, February 15, 2018). Consequently, I also integrate material from these transcripts to convey Annie's points of view.

Framing Annie's artwork as a visual mode of communication, acknowledges its potential to produce knowledge about her Kingnait girlhood. I was particularly interested in the work of Gillian Rose (2001) and the idea of visual methods which interrogates and makes meaning at multiple sites:

1. the site of the image, specifically, the image's content or subject matter;
2. the site of image production, the social context in which the artist's images were produced; and
3. the site of audiencing, where the work is seen and the audience's ways of looking and the meaning-making they bring to bear on it.

Rose argues that analyzing the message within a visual image "provides the opportunity for the image to speak;" however, when audiences read visual images their meanings depend on "cultural assumptions, personal knowledge and the context in which the picture is presented (Mannay, 2010, p. 100). To interrupt probable erroneous readings due to ascribing my meanings onto Annie's images of girlhood, the study sought out the internal narrative the artist intended to show audiences. Often referred to as the auteur theory, Rose (2001) views the image makers' intentionality as the most significant aspect in understanding their images. Rather than rely on my own assumptions and interpretations, I drew on the primary source material listed above to reflect on the possible narratives Annie wanted to communicate. A key aspect of my study entailed actually locating Annie's art in books and in museums,

and especially, seeing her drawings with my own eyes. In the summer and fall of 2017, I visited the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) in New York and the McMichael Canadian Art Collection (hereafter, McMichael) in Kleinburg, Ontario. In July, at the NMAI, I viewed *Akunnittinni: A Kinngait Family Portrait*, an exhibition comprised of 18 works divided equally among the mother-daughter trio, Pitseolak Ashoona, Annie's grandmother; Napatchie Pootoogook, her mother; and Annie. Although an art catalogue did not accompany *Akunnittinni*, each of the artists' respective six pieces have been published in various art catalogues, art books, and on several websites. In November 2017, at the McMichael, I viewed *Annie Pootoogook: Cutting Ice*. This exhibition, and the accompanying catalogue by the same name, included over 50 drawings that Annie produced in the early 2000s at the start of her career when she regularly worked out of the Kinngait Studios. *Cutting Ice* also included drawings by five Inuit artists who were working in the studio around the same time as Annie. During my museum visits, in addition to viewing Annie's work, I was also able to observe where the exhibits had been positioned in the museums and how the curators had displayed Annie's artwork—the site of audiencing. For both visits, my field notes included observations about, for example, the obscure instructions I received after asking how to find the exhibit *Akunnittinni*, an interaction that revealed my assumption that using the term 'Inuit' when asking for directions would make sense in New York where the common term is 'Eskimo,' and my disappointment that there were only six of Annie's drawings. In the Canadian context and within a year of Annie's untimely death, *Cutting Ice* was given a prominent place at the McMichael and displayed eight times more drawings than the NMAI. In fact, upon entering the exhibition room it was impossible to overlook an enormous headshot of the artist, lending a funereal air to the experience (Whyte, 2017). The field note entry for this visit compared *Cutting Ice* to a concurrent retrospective that covered Alex Janvier's 65-year career, the largest and most comprehensive exhibition on the artist to date. The entry

also critically reflected on a brief conversation that occurred while viewing Janvier's paintings and drawings when a docent commented that unlike Janvier who received formal art training, it was too bad Annie was untrained. The conversation reminded me of the reluctance of some Sobey Award committee jurists to consider Annie on par with Western trained artists competing for the Sobey Art Award (Campbell, 2017a). I noticed that although the artist's drawings seemed to have gained acceptance in the Canadian contemporary art world, Annie, an Inuk woman, appeared to have been conditionally or partially accepted.

This study is based on a project of looking and digging for visual representations of Inuit girlhood and literature where Inuit girls create gendered space and how they use it. In addition to working with Annie's drawings, I also examined writings about Annie and the reception of her work (see **CHAPTER 5**), as well as what I could find about girls and young women in Inuit culture (see **CHAPTER 3** and **4**). Finally, I delved extensively into publications about Inuit art. When I began engaging with the literature, I was unsure what themes would emerge, and less certain how I would connect them to contemporary literature on girlhood more generally. The three areas of focus in the dissertation are bedroom culture and everyday practices, food, and sexuality, all of which are well represented in girlhood studies.

A Note on Terminology and Orthography

The First Nations Study Program at the University of British Columbia (2009) indicates that terminology related to Indigenous peoples can be tricky to navigate. Drawing from José Martínez Cobo (2004), 'Indigenous' refers to communities, peoples, and nations that share certain features such as a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies; an identity distinct from nation-states; an existence based on their own cultural patterns, social institutions, and legal systems; and a determination to "preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories,

and their ethnic identity” (n.p.). Correspondingly, ‘Indigenous’ and ‘Aboriginal’ are used interchangeably for persons the federal government refers to in their definition ‘aboriginal identity’ (2018, n.p.):

First Nations (North American Indian), Métis or Inuk (Inuit), and/or those who are Registered or Treaty Indians (that is, registered under the Indian Act of Canada), and/or those who have membership in a First Nation or Indian band. Aboriginal peoples of Canada are defined in the Constitution Act, 1982, Section 35(2) as including the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada.

Overall, in the pages of this dissertation, ‘Indigenous’ indicates a collective tone and intention, or addresses themes that are more or less common to the 1,673,785 Aboriginal people (Statistics Canada, 2017) living in the land now called Canada.

North as a Homeland and Inuit Culture as a Platform

Throughout the thesis the terms ‘the North’ and ‘culture’ invariably appear.

Karim-Aly Kassam (2001) contrasts two competing viewpoints to define the Canadian North: frontier and homeland. On the one hand, visions of the North as a frontier can be traced back to early explorers and the fur trade. From a Southern lens, these visions represent a desire, “informed by industrial capitalism,” to exploit natural resources (p. 433). This point of view constrains the North to a frontier that supplies Southern markets with natural resources. On the other hand, visions of the North as a homeland originates from “thousands of years of indigenous use of the land and sea” (p. 433). From an Inuit lens, visions of a homeland characterize the North’s rich history and diversity of culture. This point of view “has withstood the test of time, showing resilience and sustainability of indigenous life style” (p. 433). Kassam predicts eventually Canadians will recognize that the notion of the North as a frontier with enormous wealth is simplistic and shortsighted. Once this recognition occurs, Canadians “will recognize the reality of the North as a homeland” (p. 452). My preference lies with Kassam that we must recognize the North as

a homeland, yet the reality is most Canadians view it as a site for resource extraction that ultimately benefits Southern lifestyles.

In an Inuit context, I use ‘culture’ as described in the publication “Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: The Role of Indigenous Knowledge in Supporting Wellness in Inuit Communities in Nunavut” by Shirley Tagalik (2010b), a long-term educator and community health advocate in Arviat, Nunavut. Overall, Inuit maintain a mutually dependent society through cycles of life that are based on belonging, collective identity, and high expectations for sharing. Tagalik writes,

Culture is also seen as a platform upon which society collects skills, knowledge, values, beliefs, and collective experiences which continually enhance the ability to be successful. This cements the mutual obligation of members of the society, and provides for a sustainable and more secure future. (p. 3)

Because of the symbiotic relationship between knowing and experience, Inuit society’s knowledge system relies on the correct use of language. For this reason, language and culture are inseparable—“language is culture and culture is language” (p. 6). Tagalik explains: “language enables communication in order to build culture and relationships; to train and teach; to express and detail the living nature of our environment; to provide for collaborative effort; to share and build knowledge; to innovate and continually improve” (p. 6). For reasons well documented by others (Kovach, 2009; Tuhiwai Smith, 2013; Tuck, 2017), Indigenous knowledge remains outside the academy. The level of detail provided for ‘North’ and ‘culture’ make the case that for many Inuit these terms carry meanings absent in Canadian definitions for the term ‘culture.’

The dissertation aims to amplify Inuit knowledge around girlhood. Therefore, I refrain from summarizing debates and genealogies that nuance Western academic discourse around the meanings of ‘culture.’ For these reasons, I provide dictionary definitions for the following to distinguish the use of ‘culture’ when discussing Western or Canadian contexts. References to the ‘South’ and to ‘southern Canadians’ imply the

notion of a 'dominant culture' defined in the *Dictionary of Sociology* edited by John Scott (2014). Dominant cultures contain diverse, often competing, cultures and subcultures. In this context, the dominant culture uses economic or political power to impose their "values, language, and ways of behaving" (n.p.) on a subordinate culture(s). Often, they achieve this imposition "through legal or political suppression of other sets of values and patterns of behaviour, or by monopolizing the media of communication" (n.p.). Hence, references to mainstream, or Canadian society link back to Scott's definition for dominant culture. Additionally, Scott distinguishes 'culture' from 'subculture.' For the former, the symbolic and learned aspects of human society are transmitted socially rather than biologically. In an anthropological sense, there is no hierarchy or rank for culture, instead cultures are described, compared, and contrasted. In general, culture means a collection of ideas and symbols. For the latter, subcultures are widely referred to as local or specialized cultures embedded in a larger or dominant culture. Subcultural theorists use the term when referring to "the formation of specific meanings and values as a collective solution to, or resolution of, problems arising from the blocked aspirations of members, or their ambiguous position in the wider society" (n.p.). Although they are distinct from the dominant culture, subcultures "borrow (and often distort, exaggerate or invert) its symbols, values and beliefs" (n.p.). These two definitions, culture as a platform in a Northern context and in a Southern context, girl culture as specialized, yet embedded in dominant society, will be especially relevant in the forthcoming discussion of Western girls' bedroom culture (Chapter 3).

Choosing and Spelling Inuktitut Names

For over 20 years Piita Irniq (2007) has promoted the correct writing of Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun languages. He argues when Inuit and non-Inuit incorrectly spell Inuktitut words either meanings are changed, or words lose their meanings altogether. The various spellings for the place name Kingait, Kinngait, Kingnait, Annie's birthplace,

is a prominent example. Irniq points out that Kingait has been improperly spelled as Kinngait. William Ritchie (2014), Studio Manager at Kinngait Studios for two decades, recalls when Kingait was changed to Kinngait as an aid to pronouncing the Inuktitut word in English and writing it in Roman orthography. The Qikiqtani Truth Commission's (QTC) report *Community Histories 1950–1975: Cape Dorset* (2014a) features the third spelling Kingnait without offering an explanation for the place name's spelling. Because I draw heavily on QTC reports, I follow their example.

Similar to 'Kingnait', three different spellings exist for Annie's mother's name: Nawpachee, Napatchie, and Napachie. The first, appears in the illustrated oral biography *Pictures Out of My Life* (Eber & Ashoona, 2003/1971) recounted by her mother Pitseolak. Because the name was spelled based on oral transcripts without mentioning whether the transcriber could write Inuktitut, I decided against using it. The second version appears in the exhibition title for a show mounted by the McMichael Canadian Art Collection (Blodgett et al., 1999). The accompanying catalogue includes biographical material derived from direct interviews with the artists. Today, the third spelling, Napachie, is widely used. However, because I was unable to trace back why and when the letter 't' disappeared, I decided to continue using the second version in hopes that it is the artist's preferred spelling.

Inuit naming customs and practices differ widely from conventions practiced in Western academia and society. According to Alia (2007), some Inuit consider it impolite to be addressed or identified by their surname. The editors of *Inuit Women Artists: Voices from Cape Dorset*, Odette Leroux, Marion Jackson and Minnie Aodla Freeman (Inuk) (1994) observe this practice when referring to the nine featured artists by their traditional first names rather than by their surnames, including Pitseolak and Napatchie. Further, my decision to use first names connects to the fact that various missionaries and public officials citing religious and bureaucratic reasons changed Inuit names (Alia, 1994). Many were confused by the absence of surnames and found

“Inuktitut names difficult to pronounce and impossible to accurately record” (p. 11). By 1940, Canadian officials instituted the disk number system, a controversial program that assigned every Inuit with a disk whose first letter and number indicated the region where they lived, plus a personalized number. In 1970, after much (mainly) non-Inuit criticism, officials initiated Project Surname in which “Inuit in the Northwest Territories were given surnames out of a misguided idea this would give them more power by making them like other Canadians” (p. 13). Both the disk number system and Project Surname exemplify Qallunaat interference with Inuit naming practices.

In this sort of situation, it is always tricky to decide on names and spellings. Unable to find instructions from either Annie, Napatchie, Pitseolak, or the numerous elders cited throughout the thesis, I use first names to acknowledge concerns voiced by many Inuit regarding language loss and misuse (Irniq, 2007). Misspelling or mispronouncing names seems like such a small matter; however, these errors highlight an insidious invisible aspect of colonialism. These types of errors further the erasure of Inuit language and culture. Whenever possible, after careful research, I spell Inuktitut words and names as close to the Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun languages.

Overview of the Thesis

In this first chapter, I indicated that my study addresses the absence in the national consciousness of authentic images of Inuit girls and girlhood, and that by addressing this absence, I follow through on principles of reconciliation six and ten: to 6) share responsibility for engaging in and nurturing mutually respectful relationships, and 10) sustain public education and dialogue about, among other things, “contemporary contributions by Aboriginal peoples to Canadian society” (TRC, 2015b, p. 4).

CHAPTER 2, ‘A Girlhood Inquiry: Annie Pootoogook Draws Inuit Girlhood,’ places the doctoral study in the interdisciplinary area of girlhood studies, specifically in the strand that examines visual constructions of girlhood. The chapter includes

two sections that chronicle girlhood studies from its inception to the late 1990s and that survey work by some girlhood scholars interested in visual culture. Then, in the remaining two sections, I discuss Johnson's criticism of the Indian girl that circulated in Victorian Canadian literature. Johnson (2002) argued the stock character founded on erroneous information must be replaced with a unique distinct character based on actual Indigenous girls the authors had met. From a contemporary perspective, Johnson insisted that distinct knowledge systems and epistemologies be used when constructing unique Indigenous girls in literary form. Her insistence resonates with three academic approaches that were synthesized for the purposes of this study. First, the acknowledgement of Annie's complex personhood that she was much more than broken and damaged. Second, the recognition that the artist was an educator who taught Southern audiences about ordinary life set in Kingnait and an activist who opened a space in contemporary art for Inuit artists. Third, the commitment that research studies include Indigenous girls with diverse stories about what it means for them to self-determine as Indigenous and that researchers neither romanticize nor exceptionalize the girls and/or their diverse stories.

CHAPTERS 3, 4 and 5 interpret Annie's artwork as portrayals of Inuit girls adapting girlhood practices to a novel context during the early stages of Canadian expansion into the Arctic. **CHAPTER 3**, 'An Analogy: Inuit Girls' Sewing and Western Girls' Bedroom,' juxtaposes Northern architecture from 1950–1970 with girlhood theories of bedroom culture. I imagine the girlhoods of Annie Pootoogook, her mother and grandmother, Napatchie Pootoogook and Pitseolak Ashoona, respectively, within the context of Inuit spatial agency while chronicling Inuit female artistic contributions to their families, to their community, and to Canada. During that period, Southern girls' bedrooms were conceived as a space to withdraw from social obligations and interactions and as a site where adults evaluated girls' preparedness for married life. Inuit traditional sewing was analogous to these conceptualizations. Although many Inuit girls did not have a room

of their own in ways conceived by Western society, Inuit traditional sewing became its own gendered space in effect, yet not in fact. Annie, Napatchie, and Pitseolak blurred boundaries between sewing and drawing while archiving the memories and expertise that accompanies those skillsets. Collectively and individually, they continued an artistic practice that had been a central component of Inuit girlhood for millennia.

CHAPTER 4, 'Food for Thought: Annie Pootoogook's Images of Inuit Foodways,' refrains from interpreting Annie's images using a traditional art approach and from situating her artwork within an academic conversation as was done in **CHAPTERS 2** and **3**. Instead, drawing largely upon Inuit life stories, this approach highlights the customary sharing of meat and Inuit traditional food practices, then connects these understandings to Inuit girls' food insecurity and preparation for the workforce.

CHAPTER 5, 'Indigenous Sexuality: Annie Pootoogook's Image of Inuit Erotica,' interrogates curatorial and media attention paid to Annie Pootoogook that reinforced gender-based violence as an individual problem detached from the history of violence against Indigenous girls and young women in Canada. I disrupt these interpretations by treating Annie's erotic images as an invitation to reflect on structural violence directed at Indigenous girls and women. Then, I bring attention to the ways she contributed to a pan-Indigenous discussion about Indigenous sexuality. Taken together, Annie's drawings offer audiences a holistic perspective that separates acts of sexual violence directed at Indigenous girls and women from Inuit women's sexuality, an understudied topic.

In the conclusion, **CHAPTER 6**, after summarizing **CHAPTERS 1** to **5**, I explicitly answer the two research chapters by looking across **CHAPTERS 3**, **4** and **5**. Then, I identify contributions to academic knowledge in the areas of girlhood studies, research about Inuit girls and girlhood, emerging conversations regarding Indigenous sexuality, and studies about Annie Pootoogook's work. Additionally, I draw attention to implications for museum and art galleries as sites of study for education research, as well as consider implications for future research about Inuit girls' everyday practices.

2

A Girlhood Inquiry: Annie Pootoogook Draws Inuit Childhood

The world I was born into has changed forever.

Sheila Watt-Cloutier, 2015

In a dissertation based on Inuit girlhood from the perspective of Annie Pootoogook's images of Inuit girlhood situated in Kingnait from approximately 1950 to 1980, attention must be paid to both the meanings attached to Western and Indigenous notions of a girl, coupled with a discussion of the approaches used to interpret Annie's artwork. I divide the chapter into four main sections. The first section chronicles girlhood studies from its inception to the late 1990s to underscore that the field conceptualizes girlhood from a social and critical paradigm. In the second section, I review work by some girlhood scholars interested in visual constructions of girlhood to place my study in this strand of girlhood research. The third section provides an Indigenous-informed description of girlhood published by the writer and performer Emily Pauline Johnson Tekahionwake (1861–1931). Johnson's description criticizes Victorian Canadian literature for

circulating a stock character of an Indian girl rather than portraying an Indigenous girl as a complex individual. The fourth and final section synthesizes work by numerous contemporary Indigenous scholars to survey decolonizing methodologies relevant to the field of girlhood studies. This synthesis links the early stages of Canada's expansion into the Arctic to both art-making and to Annie's images of Inuit food practices and sexuality.

Girlhood: Studied and Visually Constructed

The interdisciplinary of girlhood studies begins with the premise that as a discursive and fluid social construct, girlhood entails intersecting identities or social categories, therefore scholars frequently “analyze negotiations among the different types of identity” (Lachover, Preis, & Peled, 2018), including ability, age, gender, ethnicity, language, race, sexuality and socioeconomic status (Mitchell, Reid-Walsh, & Kirk, 2008). This section situates my work in the field of girlhood studies. In general, commonplace understandings of ‘girlhood’ divide it into universal stages of child development that are located in the brain and the body. Conversely, girlhood scholars view girlhood as a social category.

Simultaneous Colonization: The Native and the Child

The American Psychological Association (2002) describes adolescence as a chronological age replete with physical, social, and cognitive development. Similar to childhood, adulthood, and elderhood, adolescence is a life passage marked by observable and extensive physical, psychological, emotional, and personality changes. Although human development is inevitable, adolescence was invented. Lesko explains that a linear view of age and age-linked development imprisons youth “in their time (age) and out of

time (abstracted)” (1996a, p. 456). Thus, age-structuring systems¹³ deny youth power over decisions and resources. Unable to represent themselves because they are not yet fully developed or socialized—because they are the knowable and known adolescent, rather than the knowing individual—adults must represent them. This paternalistic assumption also informed colonialist discourse. Drawing upon recapitulation theory, colonizers assumed non-white adults were like children in need of adult/Western tutelage and discipline. Lesko (1996a; 1996b; 2002; 2012) illuminates the inextricable links between the discourse of adolescence and colonialist expansion. Conceptually, adolescence linked an individual’s development to society’s with the implication that each had the potential to degenerate. For example, Victorian England came to believe that throughout adolescence, children’s primitive urges competed with the required civilized behaviour of adulthood. Both civilized society and its citizens were under threat because “the less developed, the more primitive, are always in danger of disrupting or undermining the stability of those who are developed or civilized” (Macleod, 2009, p. 382). Thus, ‘development-in-time,’ a slow steady careful movement toward maturity, became the safest way to avoid the dangers of degeneration. Lesko (2012) demonstrates that the colonialist perspective integrated scientific theories of racial theory and white male dominance. Europeans used those theories to justify their colonial processes; by doing so, they reinforced the institutionalization of scientific knowledge. Studies on adolescence “contributed to the scientific and popular efforts to define civilization, manliness, and the white race” (Lesko, 1996a, p. 459). Lesko explains that scientific knowledge was organized around the Great Chain of Being, an evolutionary theory that ranked the species from least primitive to most civilized. Generally, civilization meant human races evolved from simple savages to violent barbarians to advanced and civilized societies. This meaning draws upon recapitulation

¹³ An age-structuring system organizes society based on people’s age. For example, the legal age to drink, drive, and vote distinguishes adolescents from adults.

theory that equated the ancestral progress of humankind with the stages of a child's growth. Children's development followed the "evolutionary climb from primitive to savage group and finally to civilized society" (p. 27). Accordingly, people from every social class, race, and gender were ranked on a spectrum ranging from civilized (white male children) to arrested development (savage tribes). Lesko reminds us in those days the ideal adolescent was "masculine, pure, self-disciplined, and courageous" (2012, p. 9). She argues that the idealized strong, disciplined, white male was unthinkable without comparative inferiors who were defined according to evolutionary stages. White middle-class boys were compared to adults from other races and groups to demonstrate the latter's evolutionary inferiority that resulted in assigning them the rank 'primitive-as-child.' At the same time, non-white adolescents and white girls were expected to measure up to the idealized adolescent, an expectation that made self-improvement a public duty. Lesko demonstrates that girlhood can be examined in contexts other than biological, psychological, or strictly as a category that begins and ends at specific ages. Instead, it can be studied as a social construction.

The Genealogy of Girlhood Studies

In her foreword to *Girlhood: A Global History*, Miriam Forman-Brunell (2010), a historian of American cultural and social history, reminds us that at one time North American society perceived female identity as unchangeable, unperturbed, and unscathed by the ecosystem (a group of organisms with specific relationships between themselves and a particular environment) in which female identity dwelled. In this view, any girl anywhere experienced social conditions and status in similar ways. This uniformity permitted adults and authorities to assume that at her birth they knew a great deal about an individual's girlhood and her progression from adolescence to womanhood. Girlhood scholars Sinikka Aapola, Marnina Gonick and Anita Harris (2005) point out that at one time, academics modelled girlhood on scientific and psychological

frameworks. Granville Stanley Hall's 1904 publication serves as a case in point: *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education* has been credited with launching the psychology of adolescence in the USA (Kett, 2003). According to Aapola, Gonick and Harris (2005), past academic models formulated a series of physical, emotional and psychological stages that represented the trajectory from girlhood to female adulthood which all girls passed through as if on a train travelling from one station to the next. Because these early models excluded ability, class, ethnicity, race and sexuality, over time assumptions solidified that any and all girls, for the most part, underwent an identical female experience. Consequently, for many casual observers of girlhood "the controlling image of girlhood tends to be that of the dominant social group, that is white, middle-class, heterosexual and able-bodied" (p. 5). This image was upheld by structural biases that normalized white male middle- and higher-class experiences as the standard by which all other humans were measured (Kett, 2003). For this reason, from roughly 1904 to 1990, girls were written out of youth research.

Feminist scholar Mary Celeste Kearney (2009), who specializes in U.S. girls' media culture, analyzes how this oversight eventually led to the development of girls' studies (alternatively girlhood studies) as a field of critical inquiry in her article "Coalescing: The Development of Girls' Studies." She explains that historically male researchers had little access to (and probably little interest in) the domestic sphere that contained girls. Although girls in prisons and reform schools were accessible to them, the lives of boys were more visible and, therefore, more accessible due to their non-domestic and outdoor activities. During the post-WWII era, girls became visible in schools and leisure pursuits; at the same time, female youth were represented in art, literature, and media, while girls themselves produced plenty of cultural material (e.g., letters and diaries)—yet, girls' visibility went unnoticed by male researchers. Their oversight supports the claim that the historical male dominance of academia

reproduced patriarchal ideologies; thus, all forms of research operated from the construction of males as normative. For example, in their ground-breaking work, British cultural theorists Angela McRobbie and Jenny Garber (2006/1975) observed that girls were absent from youth culture scholarship, work that has since been taken up by many feminist cultural scholars. American psychologist Carol Gilligan (1982) addressed the absence of American girls in the history of child and adolescent development. She claimed that although both areas were saturated with work by male scholars studying male youth, until the early 1980s girls were rarely consulted about the ways they develop and mature.

Age-centric Feminism

A discussion of girlhood's development would be incomplete without examining the role played by feminist scholars and activist, or, at the very least without acknowledging feminist scholarship as crucial to girls' studies analytical frameworks (Brown, 2008; Duits, 2008; Johnson & Ginsberg, 2015; Mazzarella & Pecora, 2007; Mendes et al., 2009; Mitchell & Rentschler, 2016). However, there was a time when scholars impeded the development of girl-centred studies because they distanced themselves intellectually, emotionally, and physically from girls. During this time, approximately early 1980s to late 1990s, feminist activists and academics believed liberation from patriarchy involved distancing women from children, namely girls— a social group stigmatized as infantile, “incapable and subordinate” (Kearney, 2009, p. 10). Based on Kearney's historical account of the way adult-centred bias seeped into feminism this distinction supported narrowly focusing on women's issues while failing to notice how the patriarchal world impinged on female youth. Adultism, as a mindset and an academic focus, disposed feminist scholars to concentrate on “white, middle-class, heterosexual, able-bodied, Western adult women for critical inquiry” (p. 11). For example, feminists fought for women's access to reproductive rights while ignoring

increases in teen pregnancy and girls' insistence on access to birth control and abortions. Feminist scholars' age-centric belief could be viewed as upholding Eurocentric perspectives that Higginbotham (2013) locates in the 16th and 17th centuries when boys and women were defined by what they were not: women were not men and boys were not girls. Thus, mature men were neither women nor boys. In addition to informing the adult-child binary, these definitions allowed adults to ignore girls. Higginbotham views this as conforming to existing gender and social hierarchies:

when we ignore female human beings who do not fit into the category of 'woman', we unwittingly buy into the patriarchal narrative that depends upon collapsing differences between female identities in order to define male identities against them. (p. 2)

The links between 20th century feminists' adult-centred perspectives and early modern social hierarchies demonstrate what Tuhiwahi (2012/1999) describes as the West's storehouse of knowledge that omits, integrates, and absorbs ideas or sets of ideas that may alter the West's self-image, yet rarely destroys components of its imperialistic nature. Although feminist scholars were able to incorporate gender into universalizing perspectives, they were unable to perceive identity as anything more complicated than differences between men and women, between masculine and feminine. Eventually these perspectives were overturned by challenges put forth particularly by women of colour who criticized Western feminism "for conforming to some very fundamental Western European world views, value systems and attitudes towards the Other" (p. 96). These critics argued the notion that humanity could be separated into two homogenous social groups—women and men—disregarded crucial female identities and experiences that revolved around race, class, and sexual orientation. However, despite public criticism made by some girls and young women about feminism's adult-centred perspective, according to Kearney (2009) feminist academics have yet to investigate adultism, "leaving most...with little awareness, much less critical

understanding of this mindset and therefore few insights on how it might be subverted” (p. 6). She points out that girls were subordinated in youth studies until the late 1990s. Prior to that youth studies tended to assume that what held for boys, boyhood, and boys’ culture held for girls’ culture, girlhood, and girls. Initially, when feminist scholars began to critique male researchers’ blind spot in relation to sexism, male dominance, and patriarchal ideologies, they tended to lump together age and generation with gender and sex. From this lump, among other things, the term ‘womenandgirls’ emerged as a critique of this work. In 2004, the Gender and Peacebuilding Working Group identified the “womenandgirls approach in policy documents (Kirk & Taylor, 2004). The term itself symbolizes the “very indistinct dividing lines between being a girl and being a woman” (n.p.). The approach renders invisible “age and development related differences and the specific needs and experiences of girls and young (particularly unmarried) women” and blurs “distinctions between women and girls, which can differ from context to context” (n.p.).

An Academic Discipline and a Community of Scholars, Practitioners and Activists

In their essay “Toward a Political Agency for Girls: Mapping the Discourses of Girlhood Globally,” girlhood scholars Jackie Kirk, Claudia Mitchell, and Jacqueline Reid-Walsh (2010) indicate that girls themselves, the issues they encounter, and theories about girlhood are gaining more academic attention than has been given to gendered experiences in the past. However, the term “womenandgirls” continues to be widely used, implying that we still do not know enough about girls and girlhood to distinguish their lived experiences from women’s. The premise of girlhood studies is that despite the significant difference between girlhood and womanhood, the lack of attention paid to girls has left us ignorant about them. Kirk, Mitchell and Reid-Walsh acknowledge that while recent interest has brought about a more nuanced

understanding of girls, girls' issues and girlhood theories, this interest has the tendency to categorize and sub-divide girls' lives and experiences; as a result, little attention has been paid to "girls agency and to sustaining their agency through the creation of a multidimensional, girl-focused platform for action and social change" (p. 15). They proposed that these growing girlhood fragments be unified or consolidated, that girlhood studies come together as its own distinct interdisciplinary academic discipline and as a community of scholars, practitioners and activists. Although the community is neither homogenous nor obvious, many girlhood scholars intergrate into their work the commitment to accompany girls through girlhood in ways that recognize and refine their agency and political reach (see for example, Flicker, 2018). Rather than approach girlhood studies "as a monolithic enterprise," Kirk, Mitchell and Reid-Walsh (2010) recommended that "the term 'girlhood'... can (and should) invoke strategic alliances within research communities so that our overarching questions point to the strength of interdisciplinarity" (p. 16). They envisioned the research with, for and about girls (Mitchell & Reid-Walsh, 2008a) as intentionally locating girls at the centre of policy-making processes and stimulating work with and for girls' political agency.

Girlhood studies addresses many of the structural biases identified in the late 1970s and the late 1990s, namely, a disregard for class and culture, the male experience as normative, and an adult-centred perspective. According to Mitchell and Reid-Walsh (2008b), this interdisciplinary area of studies takes up three issues: intergenerationality (see **CHAPTER 3**), age disaggregation, and the participatory process. Girlhood scholars continue to refine the monolithic category of adult women that swallows up girls. Moreover, rather than creating another blanket classification, they take care not to view, for instance, a very young girl (preschool) the same as a mature adolescent even though the term 'girl' could apply to both. At the same time, scholars avoid reducing girls to a particular age, preferring instead to examine the ebb and flow of separate yet overlapping age categories over the course of a lifetime. For example, Mitchell

and Weber (1999) study how 10- and 11-year-old girls in the fifth and sixth grade “looked back at their first-grade school photographs as a way to talk about their own experiences of schooling” (p. 21). In another example, Cherry Kingsley and Melanie Mark (2000), two Aboriginal women with experience in the sex trade, co-facilitated a participatory research project with Canadian Aboriginal children and youth who spoke out about sexual exploitation. They noted that “considerably more females than males participated” (p. 46) for two possible reasons: denial on the part of Indigenous boys and young men who do not identify with their own sexual exploitation combined with a higher percentage of exploitation directed at Indigenous girls and young women. Initially, their project used the United Nations definition to identify youth as any individual between the ages of 12 and 24. However, Kingsley and Mark found that 14 was the average age of entry into survival sex¹⁴ with many entering between the ages of 9 and 14. Rather than exclude these youth based on an inadequate age criteria, Kingsley and Mark used the term ‘experiential youth’ to define “any youth who are, or have been, involved in commercial sexual exploitation” (p. 3). Overall, the field of girlhood studies values empowering girls and young women, is framed within gender equality and social justice, and prioritizes listening carefully to girls and young women’s voices through various means and modes of expression (Mitchell & Reid-Walsh, 2008b). In relation to this literature, my study analyzes Inuit girlhood through the intergenerational gendered practice of art-making, as well as focuses on two series of drawings curated for the study. This analysis contemplates how the introduction of Southern-style homes impacted girlhood across the lifespan by focusing on one key example: sewing (see **CHAPTER 3**). In addition, the study considers Inuit girls’

¹⁴ Kingsley and Mark (2000) contest the tendency to reduce commercial sexual exploitation to a deviant activity practiced by an individual. They argue that children and youth who have nowhere to go, who lack life skills, and who are excluded from meaningful employment have few avenues for physical and economic survival. They write “deprivation of the basic necessities of life ensures sex for money, food, shelter, drugs, or clothing is a decision about day-to-day existence” (p. 8).

consumption of country food as both an assertion of Inuitness and as their agentic response to the imposition of Southern foodways in the North (see **CHAPTER 4**). Finally, I interpret Annie's erotic images to discuss different meanings attributed to Indigenous girls' bodies through conceptualizations of Inuit and settler sexuality (**CHAPTER 5**). In relation to the field of girlhood, my study equates Annie's artwork with her voice. I look carefully, albeit as an outsider, at her representations of Inuit girlhood that visually communicate both Inuit styles of social interaction and values central to Inuit society. Accordingly, the doctoral study adds to girlhood scholars' work on visual constructions of girls.

Visualizing Girls and Girlhood: Images of Girlhood Culture

In placing the girl at the centre, girlhood scholars seek to nuance binary perspectives that construct girls as present yet absent, exposed yet disguised, cognizant yet duped, as objects upon which girlhood fantasies are projected yet subjects performing their own understandings and contestations of what it means to be a girl. For some time, girlhood scholars have considered visual representations of girls and girlhood to better understand the history of girlhood, its material and nonmaterial culture.¹⁵ Reid-Walsh (2016) examines homemade religious flap books (a type of moveable book) made by three girls from the late 18th to early 19th centuries. In doing so, she stretches back hundreds of years to connect those girl-made artifacts to girls' present-day do-it-yourself culture. Although flap books no longer exist as a genre, the complex literary activities the girls undertook continue to be practiced today: writing, drawing and engineering movable parts. Where Reid-Walsh focused on "girl-created culture," to use Minarish's (2014) term, Mary Jane Kehily (1999) examines girl culture created for

¹⁵ Material culture consists of human-made and natural objects, and the meanings people attach to them. Nonmaterial culture consists of abstract ideas created and shared over time by members of a group that guide their social behaviour and how they interpret the world.

girls. Focusing on teen girls as consumers of teen magazines, Kehily views the girls as critical readers who consider the magazines sites for sexual learning and as readers capable of deciphering the magazines' layered meanings partly because they interpret the text through their understandings of friendship groups and personal experiences. Where Kehily discusses the ways teen girls interact with a magazine's content, as well as how they use its content to interact with each another, McRobbie (1997) looks at the role of girls' and women's magazines in the historical development of feminism in the academy from the 1970s to the 1990s. She observes how both feminism and the magazines have changed during this time period. Rather than focusing critical attention entirely on these magazines as prescriptions for femininity, she invites academic feminists to interrogate feminism as a site that has its own assumptions and categories for women and girls.

Although many girlhood scholars analyze illustrations and photographs, Gonick (2003) uses videos as a visual methodology to explore girlhood subjectivities. She maps discourses of femininity that arose while working on a mandated school project with a group of girls intent on the collective process of writing fictional characters and their respective narratives for a video entitled *About Us, By Us*. Her map consists of paths started then interrupted, of trails that circle back on themselves, of abrupt descents, sluggish ascents, and vertical curves. Her approach simulates the layered and textured discourses that constitute the girls' gendered, raced and classed locations. It also makes room for redundancy, to continually ask, Who are the girls? What does it mean to become a girl in the 21st century? Similar to McRobbie, Gonick implicates readers in how these questions are answered to emphasize that the asking (who asks? why or for what purpose are they asking? where or in what context do they ask?) matters as much as the responses the questions elicit. By working with visual expressions, Reid-Walsh (2016), Kehily (1999), and Gonick (2003) extend research on adolescent girls and their daily practices. Loren Lerner (2016), art historian, adds to this, however she

worked with female university art history students enrolled in her undergraduate seminar 'Picturing Children.' Together they created content for a website organized into three sections: virtual exhibitions, essays, and catalogue. (In some ways the website and the flap books described by Reid-Walsh are related because audiences view their images, read their texts, and manipulate them to access their meanings.) Lerner took her interpretation of place—where girls appear in specific images—and expanded it to include viewers and the viewing environment.¹⁶ Lerner (2016) and students recognized that the girls depicted in specific images reflected the artist's idea of a girl. Thus, changing ideas about girls, rather than fixed ideas, could inform learning about actual girls. Instead of illustrating veritable reality, artists' images transmit their own complex meanings of reality. Reflecting on classroom discussions, Lerner realized that although the students, the viewers, were in their early 20s, they were facing many problems they had faced as girls. Although their bodies had aged out of being a girl, psychologically they were transitioning from girls into women. Finally, both the university classroom and the website served as viewing environments; both serving as alternatives to museums and art galleries, sites traditionally reserved for viewing, contemplating, and discussing art.

In 2015, the peer-reviewed *Girlhood Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* published the themed-issue "visual disruptions." In her editorial, Mitchell (2015) emphasized that since the journal's inception in 2008 the visual has "occupied an important place" (p. 1) with previous issues ranging "from articles on the uses of photovoice, video, drawing and digital storytelling in participatory research, to the analysis of movies, TV shows, and graphic novels, as well as the inclusion of visual essays" (p. 1). Based on the above sample of girlhood scholarship, the visual holds a prominent place in the field. Knowing this, I can easily imagine the inclusion of visual material made by and for

¹⁶ This interpretation also resembles Gillian Rose's (2001) three sites of meaning-making introduced in the first chapter: the production of the image, the image itself, and the audience.

Indigenous girls and young women in this interdisciplinary area of study, a welcome yet long overdue inclusion that would broaden commonplace understandings of girlhood that typically excludes Inuit girls, girlhood and girl culture.

Indigenous Girlhood

While preparing to write this chapter the biggest challenge was finding material that dealt directly with Indigenous girlhood, preferably written by or from the viewpoint of Indigenous girls and young women. For example, using the search term ‘girl’ while reviewing the archives of the *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, of the 25 articles published between 2010 and 2016 most focused on pregnancy, a research perspective that limits academic understandings about Indigenous girls to reproduction. Overall, the authors presented data from either secondary or primary sources. Studies that drew upon the former include an analysis of data from the 2006 Canadian census to examine the socio-economic characteristics of First Nation teen mothers (Garner, Guimond & Senécal, 2013), or from the Indian Register, an administrative record maintained by Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, to examine the intergenerational character of teenage fertility (Amorevieta-Gentil, Daignault, Robitaille, Guimond & Senécal, 2014). Studies that involved research participants include First Nations traditional healers, many whose work with youth has been given little attention by policy makers and health care researchers (Cardinal, Cardinal, Waugh, & Baddour, 2013), and 24 female participants from 14 Manitoba First Nation communities who had become pregnant and were mothers in their teenage years (Eni & Phillips-Beck, 2013). Most authors paid attention to the socio-economic challenges that teen mothers face with some concerned about the effects of a social-problems discourse on the well-being of teen mothers and their families (Eni & Phillips-Beck, 2013). The studies rarely involved teen mothers unlike a two-day gathering on mothering and womanhood hosted by the National Collation Centre for Aboriginal Health (NCCAH) in 2012. Over

160 participants from coast to coast to coast attended the gathering, they “represent[ed] more than five generations and the perspectives of multiple communities, leaders and professions” (NCCAH, 2012b, n.p.). The gathering led to a paper (NCCAH, 2012a) that described teachings and practices related to mothering and how they are transmitted across generations. The strength of the event rested upon the presence of Indigenous infants, girls, young women, women and Elders, a presence that both created a girlhood experience while producing knowledge about the ways such girlhood interacted with motherhood throughout the lifespan. Similar to pregnancy rates in First Nations communities, Nunavut statistics suggest a higher percentage of Inuit teenagers are becoming pregnant than the Canadian average (Archibald, 2004; Moisan, Baril, Muckle, & Belanger, 2016). Although the above journal articles offer important perspectives on First Nations teen pregnancy, these perspectives rarely address issues associated with Inuit teen pregnancy. It is worth noting that in my study of Annie’s drawings, I found one untitled image related to the topic of pregnancy.

Another difficulty that arose while gathering background material for the study included deciphering who was and was not included when authors wrote about women and girls due to how these groups are differently perceived in historical and contemporary accounts. Fortunately, one article published in 1892 largely satisfied the basic search criteria (perspectives on girlhood by or about Indigenous girls and young women): *A Strong Race Opinion: On the Indian Girl in Modern Fiction* (2002) by the writer and performer Emily Pauline Johnson Tekahionwake (1861–1931), the daughter of a Mohawk chief and an upper-class English woman. Both Johnson’s lived experience and her protagonists’ fictional experiences represent young women forced to leave First Nations territories due to land dispossession, compulsory education in the Indian residential school system, loss of Status or Clan, or simply to survive (Fee & Nason, 2016). Though some consider Johnson non-Indigenous due to her mixed-race origins and some view her patriotism (with its assimilationist bent) problematic (Monture,

2014), several First Nations women authors credit her with opening a pathway for them (Brant, 1994), for leaving behind critiques of the “gendered nature of conquest” (Goeman, 2013, p. 51) and gendered colonialism, as well as for her racialized analyses (Monture-OKanee, 2008) of “colonial notions of womanhood, family, and nation” (Fee & Nason, 2016, p. 28). Although Johnson’s perspective on girlhood has more to do with First Nations than Inuit girls, I include her viewpoint to offer a broad definition for the term ‘Indigenous girlhood’ that does more than distinguish the term from common sense understandings that normalize girlhood as white, able-bodied, heterosexual, middle-class, English-speaking and Christian.

The Dishonourable, Detestable, Dead Indian Girl in Victorian Canadian Literature

Johnson’s legacy is rich with meanings that she created about the role of Indigenous females in Canadian society. Published in 1892, *A Strong Race Opinion: On the Indian Girl in Modern Fiction* criticizes the Canadian literature of her time. Johnson systematically deconstructs the Indian maiden created by Anglo-Canadian writers: a one-dimensional character lacking tribal specificity and individuality who predictably suffered from unrequited love for a white man that led to her suicide by drowning. Her article, like much of Johnson’s work, “confronts white arrogance and ignorance” (Gerson & Strong-Boag, 2002, p. xxi). She contrasts the American book heroine whose individual personality graces womankind with the deplorable fact that there is only one Indian girl in Canadian Indian literature. Lacking tribal distinction and a human prototype:

She is merely a wholesome sort of mixture of any band existing between the Mic Macs of Gaspé and the Kwaw-Kewlths of British Columbia, yet strange to say, that notwithstanding the numerous tribes, with their aggregate numbers reaching more than 122,000 souls in Canada alone, our Canadian authors can cull from this huge revenue of character, but one Indian girl, and stranger still

that this lonely little heroine never had a prototype in breathing flesh-and-blood existence! (Johnson, 2002, p. 178)

For Johnson, the collapse of tribal characteristics into a generic Indian was a literary device that lent a “dash of vivid colouring to an otherwise tame and sombre picture of colonial life” (p. 183); the device anonymized Indian girls. Although we meet the fictional Indian girl as a Shawnee, as a Sioux, as a Huron, her name is always ‘Winona’ (or rhymes with it, see examples below) and she is always the chief’s daughter. Johnson explains, had she existed, doubtless the girl’s name would have reflected the cultural practices her people attached to family name and lineage. Lacking the dignity of a surname, ‘Wacousta’ also suffers the indignity of being “possessed with a suicidal mania” (p. 179) exacerbated by her desperate love for the young white hero. Johnson informs readers that in the period written about suicide was “an evil positively unknown among Indians” (p. 179). Rather than transcend prevailing romantic plot conventions in an effort to “embody another culture in print,” the white authors, most of them unthinkingly ethnocentric, depicted Indigenous female characters based on Anglo-Canadian narrative conventions (Gerson & Strong-Boag, 2005, p. 48).

At a time when Canadian popular culture cast most heroines in roles closely attached to family and motherhood, when most young women were stereotyped in similar ways—chiefly with the story ending in marriage—‘Wanda’ is detestable and dishonourable. Johnson cites an example of the young hero who permits a crowd of men friends to call ‘Wanda’ a squaw, a comment that neither the hero nor the author deny. Most likely, Johnson knew the term conjured up images of ugly Indian women living in squalor mistreated by lazy Indian men who forced menial work on them. Merskin (2010) points out that these reputedly immoral women became nothing more than sexual conveniences easily available to white men. Johnson (2002) concludes,

It is almost too sad when so much prejudice exists against Indians, that any one should write an Indian heroine with such glaring accusations against her

virtue, and no contradictory statements either from writer, hero, or circumstance. Wanda had without doubt the saddest, unsunniest, unequal life ever given to Canadian readers. (p. 181)

'Ramona' exemplifies the Indian maiden who betrays her people. Desperately in love with the young white hero at war with her tribe, she lies to her father and other chiefs of her tribe, then betrays them by confiding their military secrets to the young man. Of course, the hero does not marry her. Finally, Ramona "betakes herself to a boat, rows out into the lake in a thunderstorm, chants her own death-song, and is drowned" (p. 180). Johnson explains that not only do Canadian authors create a character "despised by her own nation and disliked by the reader" (p. 180), but they also take away the Indian girl's reputation, love, and life. Johnson asks, "Will some critic who understands human nature, and particularly the nature of authors, please tell the reading public why marriage with the Indian girl is so despised in books and so general in real life" (p. 179). Building from Goeman (2013), Ramona has been manoeuvred outside the social relations she desired and the ones she belonged to by birth. Johnson does more than satirize the fictional Indian heroine portrayed in the popular literature of her time, she calls into question attempts to exile or expunge Indigenous women from the coerced settlement of the newly founded Dominion of Canada.

Johnson (2002) satirizes "white Indian drama" (p. 182) for portraying an Indigenous girl with an unvarying experience that repeats itself with monotonous accuracy. A portrayal repeated by authors who have no acquaintance or association with a real Indian girl (p. 183):

Half of our authors who write up Indian stuff have never been on an Indian reserve in their lives, have never met a 'real live' Redman, ... what wonder that their conception of a people that they are ignorant of, save by heresay, is dwarfed, erroneous and delusive.

For Johnson, the Indian girl in modern fiction could not be kept alive. She catalogues story after story, each one stocked with the regulation Indian maiden deprived of tribal distinction who, mad with grief, commits suicide. Johnson's intention appears to go beyond the demand that Canadian authors stop circulating inaccurate depictions of Indian girls. She calls attention to Eurocentric romantic plot conventions that culminate in death. The Indian girl in modern fiction threatens or predicts that Indigenous girls and young women will experience the demise of their reputations, the decay of love, and the extinction of Indigenous girlhood.

Indigenous Girlhood: "Distinct, Unique and Natural"

A Strong Race Opinion can be interpreted as Johnson's version of Indigenous girlhood. Although much of the article decries the fictive Indian maiden, she includes several descriptions that call forth a plausible image of an Indigenous girl living at the turn of the century in the newly founded Dominion of Canada. Johnson declares that "the real wild Indian girl ... is the most retiring, reticent, noncommittal being in existence" (p. 179). Here, Johnson evokes a self-controlled individual disinclined to drawing attention and cautious about disclosing information. The article's conclusion calls for two types of girls in modern fiction, the Indian girl as either "the quiet sweet womanly woman she is, if wild, or the everyday, natural, laughing girl she is, if cultivated and educated" (p. 183). Perhaps Johnson differentiated these types as girls and young women raised according to tribal customs from those who, like her, grew up in a social context that combined settler and Indigenous cultures. Whether or not the book heroine was Indigenous or mixed blood, what mattered was that the author "let her be natural, even if the author is not competent to give her tribal characteristics" (p. 183). Evidently, Johnson prefers that Indian heroines portray actual Indigenous females, not an artificial girl created by ill-informed authors. Conceivably, the heroines could have resembled those Indian and mixed-blood girls and young women who participated

as partners in fur trade society. When authors are unable to depict an Indian girl with tribal characteristics, Johnson recommends that the girl possess innate qualities, natural talent. Based on Johnson's insistence that authors describe "real live" (p. 183) young women they have met either on or off reserve, possibly, Johnson associated natural with individuality. She describes individual personality as "one of the most charming things to be met with, either in a flesh and blood existence, or upon the pages of fiction, and it matters little to what race an author's heroine belongs, if he makes her character distinct, unique and natural" (p. 177). In this context, I understand personality based on its Latin root *persona* that refers to an actor's mask, or a role in a play, tale, or in life.¹⁷ Johnson rejects the ideal Victorian woman, a role staged in the domestic sphere cast by age as virgin, wife, widow; instead, she acclaims tribal distinction as crucial aspects of Indigenous girlhood.

Despite the attempt by Canadian authors to clump Indigenous tribes together under the brand 'Indian,' Johnson implied tribes would never forfeit their singular qualities. Put differently, Indigenous girls' and young women's individuality stems partly from their tribe's unique attributes. Johnson heads up a long line of Indigenous individuals who advocate that alleviating the harms of colonialism entails perspectives and strategies that situate First Nations people as "members of cultured communities on the land" (Alfred, 2009, p. 41). In this way, Johnson's article demonstrates that First Nations resistance to European powers dates back centuries, a resistance rooted in First Nations history, knowledge, lifestyles, spiritualities, and traditions. Additionally, *A Strong Race Opinion* forms part of a larger series comprised of short stories and poems that highlight differences between Iroquois society and the white Anglo-Canadian culture and laws that were imposed on them. Most Six Nations tribes upheld egalitarian relations characterized by the principle of autonomy, where individuals had decision-

¹⁷ For a detailed etymology, visit: <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/person>

making power over their own lives and activities and neither sex controlled the other (Fee & Nason, 2016; Goeman, 2013). For example, the short story *A Red Girl's Reasoning* "articulates how mainstream patriarchal Christian marriage laws were imposed on Indigenous people who had their own laws, which usually left both men and women free to leave unhappy marriages" (Fee & Nason, 2016, p. 21). At a time when Canada was emerging as a modern colonialist nation where "white women had little or no voice, and native women even less," (Collett, 2001, p. 360), Johnson rejected a female identity defined by white male values, preferring instead traditional matriarchal power and agency, a female identity that included the right to speak with influence and to make choices. She contrasts the one regulation Indian girl endlessly circulating in Canadian literature with Indigenous girls living in close regular contact with their culture, family and tribe who were honourable, lovable and very much alive.

Johnson's article also includes a "girl-method," what Mitchell and Reid-Walsh (2008b) refer to as a how-to for researching girl culture and the politics of doing research.¹⁸ She (Johnson, 2002) anticipates girlhood methodology derived from participatory research by advocating that authors study "'The Indian Girl' from life" (p. 178). She praises Charles Mair's drama *Tecumseh* because he avoids the usual errors committed by authors who have "never met or mixed with" the Indians they describe (p. 181). She continues that his drama bears "evidence of long study and life with the people whom he has written so carefully, so truthfully" (p. 181). Johnson's recommendation anticipates present day participatory-based research that relies on participants' involvement in many, if not all, aspects of research (e.g., asking the research question and designing research protocols, then data collection, analysis,

¹⁸ Mitchell and Reid-Walsh (2008b, p. 17) refer to the girl-method as the following:

- Working with girls (participatory), for girls (advocacy), and about girls
- Taking into account who the researchers are (and what their relationship to girlhood is)
- Including the girls themselves as participants (so that they are agents and not subjects)
- Addressing the cultural context of the girls in terms of race and class: whose girlhood?

interpretation, and finally knowledge dissemination). Currently, most participatory research that integrates, in whole or in part, Indigenous perspectives, knowledge, and cultural practices addresses social injustices inextricably linked to the rise of Canada as a nation-state.

Elders on Inuit Childhood

In the early 2000s, *A Strong Race Opinion: On the Indian Girl in Modern Fiction* was one of the few publications I could locate that promoted perspectives on girlhood by an Indigenous woman. Johnson's version of First Nations' girlhood resonates with many contemporary Indigenous scholars who argue that researchers must pay careful attention to tribal knowledge systems, to Indigenous epistemologies (Clark, 2012, 2016a, 2016b; Kovach, 2009). However, unlike First Nations societies, Inuit social organization never revolved around tribes or clans; therefore, care must be taken when ascribing Johnson's description of Indigenous girlhood to Inuit girlhood. At the same time, I did locate material based on Inuit childrearing practices, most of which concentrated on holistic child development, an approach that recognizes each and every child as a whole person and the connectedness of mind, body, and spirit.¹⁹ Although extrapolating a theoretical girlhood from these sources lies beyond the scope of the study, it seems worthwhile to summarize key points relevant to Annie's girlhood situated in Kingnait at a time when her family navigated "factors related to the in-gathering of Inuit into settlements" (QIA, 2013c, p. 10).

Overall, Inuit girls and boys were treated in a similar fashion; however, they were raised according to traditional gendered roles. Mangitak Kellypalik, an elder from Kingnait who grew up in a family with five boys and two girls, linked family values to

¹⁹ Educators such as John Dewey, Maria Montessori and Rudolf Steiner insisted that education for the developing child should be approached as "the art of cultivating [the child's] moral, emotional, physical, psychological and spiritual dimensions" (Miller, 2000, n.p.). This approach appears to align with traditional Inuit childrearing practices which encompasses children's education.

being “taught with great seriousness how to be a good family. All children were taught this, of course, and it began with the sharing of food” (Tulugarjuk, Christopher, Niutaq Cultural Institute, & Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2011, p. 35). He adds that his sisters learned skills from their mother, while he and his brother learned from his father. Uqsuralik Uttoqi (Ottokie), an elder born in 1924 who lived her entire life near Kingnait, emphasizes that children learned through observation and imitation; they received directions and instructions related to a skill or practice.

Thus, children might be encouraged to sew, but that did not imply that elders carefully instructed children how to go about it. Children had ample opportunity to observe adults sewing, and they were thought to be perfectly capable of trying to do it on their own. Once they had completed a job, however, elders might comment on it, and sometimes a child had to start again from scratch. (Nunavut Arctic College, 1999a, p. 6)

Uqsuralik emphasizes she would watch her mother sew, sitting so close that her mother would say, “Move over, or I might poke you with a needle” (Nunavut Arctic College, 2000, p. 28). She continues, children wanted to learn, they observed, then they tried themselves. For Inuit, learning has no end or graduation point; continuous progress is expected, “with the values of perseverance and resilience highly regarded” (Tagalik, 2010a, p. 2). Tagalik observes that the socialization process, like learning, has a variety of transition points such as when a child is recognized as no longer being a baby or as becoming skilled (Briggs, 1998 cited by Tagalik). Although Annie was among the first generation to be enrolled in a modern schooling system, because both her mother and grandmother were raised according to these Inuit family values, I assume both Inuit processes of learning and socialization were part of her Kingnait girlhood.

A Synthesized Approach to Interpret Images of Inuit Girlhood

Girlhood studies insist girls and young women be included in the design and implementation of policy and programs intended to address their needs and interests. Many girlhood scholars engaging in social science research aim to work alongside girls and young women that goes beyond limiting them to the role of research subject, preferring to foreground girl-identified issues and possible solutions (Mitchell, 2015). Many like Sarah Flicker (2018) are “interested in supporting Indigenous young women and girls to be active agents in responding to the ongoing assault on their bodies and lands” (p. 320). In other words, girlhood scholars seek to indigenize and decolonize research processes. Thus, they refuse to construct girls and young women as needing adult intervention, support and rescue. My research approach continues scholarly work that rejects frameworks based on damage-centred (Tuck, 2009; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012/1999), problems-to-be-solved, subjects-to-be-rescued approaches (Rentschler and Mitchell, 2014). Specifically, I synthesize three approaches to better understand girlhood situated in Kinngait during the historical moment when Kinngarmiut began to establish a community in the government-sanctioned settlement: (1) desire-based narratives (Tuck, 2009), (2) Red intersectionality (Clark 2016a, 2016b), and (3) recognizing and supporting alternative conceptualizations of girlhood based on the myriad ways Indigenous girls’ assert their presence (de Finney, 2014).

Approach 1: Desire-based Narratives

In 2016, at the time of Annie’s sudden and inexplicable death, numerous articles appeared in the popular press that focused primarily “on her artistic career as a rising star whose success was marred by a descent into poverty and struggles with addiction”

(Igloliorte, 2017b, p. 57).²⁰ This focus extended earlier conversations about her work that emphasized the links between the artist's personal life and a handful of drawings whose subject matter were alcohol abuse and domestic violence. At the start of her career, Toronto art dealer Patricia Feheley and art curator Nancy Campbell initiated and continued a public conversation that associated Annie's biographical details with the drawings *A Man Abusing His Partner* (2001) and *Memory of My Life: Breaking Bottles* (2001/2) (Budak, 2012; Campbell, 2006; Campbell, Pootoogook, Baerwaldt, Root, & Illingworth Kerr Gallery, 2007; Feheley, 2004). Feheley and Campbell emphasize that through her work as an artist, Annie triumphed over trauma (Modigilani, 2009), yet their lack of engagement with the effects of historical and contemporary colonialism failed to question whether their narrative left unchallenged racist assumptions that, for example, Indigenous peoples are more likely to consume alcohol than other social groups. **CHAPTER 5** looks closely at this process of stereotyping. Here, I link the curators' and journalists' attention to "a persistent trend in research on Native communities, city communities, and other disenfranchised communities," a trend that Eve Tuck, a critical race scholar, identifies as damage-centred research (2009, p. 409).

Motivated by her concern for the long-term impact of Indigenous peoples thinking of themselves as broken, Tuck (2009), Unangax and an enrolled member of the Aleut Community of St. Paul Island, Alaska, identified a research trend she termed 'damage-centred research.' The trend persistently categorized Native, urban, and other disenfranchised communities as depleted, as *only* damaged, as *only* broken (original

²⁰ The Globe and Mail article (Everett-Green & Galloway, 2016), 'Annie Pootoogook: A Life too Short, Built on Creativity but Marred by Despair' typifies the story circulated by the popular press. It recounts biographical details related to violence, alcoholism, poverty and homelessness, while presenting art as ultimately Annie's failed stop-gap measure to overcome these personal issues. At the same time, it constructs Annie as a 'poor fit' in the contemporary art world. To illustrate, Nancy Campbell travelled with the artist to Germany for "the prestigious *documenta 12*" (n.p.) that exhibited Annie's work. Campbell recalls: "That was a big deal, but it was like dropping somebody onto another planet. She thought it was great to be there, but she didn't care about what *documenta* was, and didn't understand the importance of the exhibition" (n.p.).

italics, p. 422). Tuck writes that many disenfranchised communities have troubled relationships with research and researchers, especially with those relationships that exclusively benefit outsiders. These types of relationships contribute to the ongoing “historical exploitation and mistreatment of people and material” (p. 411). Damage-centred research becomes a tool that extracts pain and loss to “obtain particular political or material gains” (p. 413). When “the painful elements of social realities” have been extracted without the accompanying “wisdom and hope,” Tuck argues “this incomplete story is an act of aggression” (p. 416). Evidence of this aggression becomes visible when disenfranchised and dispossessed communities, especially Native communities, come away feeling “overresearched and underseen” (p. 12). In my view, stories that simplify Annie as an individual incapable of overcoming addiction demonstrate that damage-centred narratives can also appear in journalism and the art world. Presenting Annie, or any Indigenous woman, as damaged demonstrates she was worthy of being recognized as human. Tuck (2017) explains that this demonstration of worthiness binds together power and humanity, a construct that requires the oppression of others and treats power as a limited resource evident when wielded above others. In this regard, Annie must remain damaged to be recognized as a human worthy of receiving attention, money and time. Tuck states that documenting damage relies on colonial understandings of power and change; power is concentrated, scarce and always external to us. Tuck (2009) argues that “a desire-based framework is an antidote to damage-centered research” (p. 416). Desire-based approaches seek to understand “complexity, contradiction, and the self-determination of lived lives” (p. 416). Desire accounts for Annie’s trauma and struggles, “but also the hope, the visions, the wisdom” (p. 417) of her lived experience and the wisdom of her Kingnait community. Two examples of desire-based frameworks: Igloliorte (2017) views Annie’s artwork as “shrewd and significant commentary on contemporary Inuit society” (p. 57). Art historian Caoimhe Morgan-Feir (2018) interrogates lesser known artwork “that fit[s]

less neatly into the narrative that has come to define [Annie]" (n.p.), specifically the "complex spiritual iconography" (n.p.) that defines the artist's self portraits. These desire-based frameworks construct a more comprehensive representation of Annie's views about Inuit lives. According to Tuck (2009), a framework open to complexity and contradictions "provoke[s] further analysis of otherwise overlooked findings" (p. 418).

Approach 2: Red Intersectionality

As mentioned earlier, Tuck (2009) points out that the troubled relationship between the researched and researchers involves, among other things, the feeling that many communities are "overresearched, yet, ironically, made invisible" (p. 411). Mitchell, de Lange, and Moletsane (2017) call attention to this duality when discussing their indignation that educators and educational researchers were left out of school-based HIV and AIDS interventions and their outrage that "so much of the work related to adolescents ... seemed not to involve adolescents at all" (p. 2). Natalie Clark (Métis) (2016a, 2016b) highlights the double bind (Kenny, 2006) that relates to the ways Indigenous women and girls are never included in key decisions and policies that impact their lives, yet "their participation is essential to social change, leadership, and healing in their communities" (Clark, 2016b, p. 50). Clark extends Tuck's call to "suspend the damage" of deficit-based research (2009, p. 422) "to include suspending the framework of trauma, especially the domination of Western constructs of trauma" (Clark, 2016a, p. 5). Beyond decolonizing models of trauma, Clark prefers instead to "centre the knowledge of Indigenous girls and affected Indigenous communities and to support Indigenous researchers and policy processes grounded in Indigenous epistemologies" (p. 50). She proposes Red intersectionality, an Indigenous holistic and intersectional-based framework grounded in the following: "respecting sovereignty and self-determination, local and global land-based knowledge, holistic health within a framework that recognizes the diversity of Indigenous health; agency and resistance,

and approaches that are rooted within specific Indigenous nations relationships, language, land, and ceremony” (p. 7). Red intersectional frameworks inform programs set in diverse Indigenous communities within British Columbia that provide space for Indigenous girls’ groups. These groups, formed by Elders, knowledge keepers, community leaders and practitioners, “provide the girls with the space to name, comprehend, honour and validate their experiences of abuse, sexual exploitation, body image and violence, as well as their strengths and daily lived realities in a safe and non-threatening environment” (2016a, p. 10). In these spaces, those who receive or listen to the girls’ stories become “essential partners in [the] girls’ resistance” (2016b, p. 54). The spaces are filled with relationships among and between girls, women and youth workers. Those present slip in and out of various roles: activist, truth-teller, witness. These are not victims telling their stories, rather “educators, theorists, analysts and social change agents who overtly demand accountability, responsibility, and responsiveness” (Taylor, Sollange, & Rwigema, 2015, p. 97 as cited by Clark, p. 56). Clark shares her realization that the girls need to hear the different “political, legal, artistic, or therapeutic” (p. 59) strategies that Indigenous women, role models, and girls like them have used to resist violence (notably, de Finney (2014) reports a similar finding). Stories become a site to share and to change violence, while “the girls group locates the source of the girls’ challenges within structural and systemic problems such as racism, poverty, sexism, and the intersection of these in their lives” (p. 55). Clark lists several storytelling devices such as poetry, songs, short stories and plays—to these I add artwork such as Annie’s visual representation of Inuit girls. Annie’s thoughtful use of self-disclosure challenges the colonial mindset, a challenge that comes into view when we interpret her work “from a more critical, historically-situated focus on social problems under a (neo)colonial state” (2016a, p. 2).

Annie’s art makes visible Inuit girls, their vulnerability, strength and resistance. Her Kingnait girlhood unfolded around the time “Canadian officials saw the Qikiqtani

Region (formerly Baffin Region) as an isolated, underdeveloped and problematic area that they wanted to incorporate economically, socially and politically into the rest of Canada” (QIA, 2013f, p. 9). This official perspective or ‘official mind’²¹ contributed to a context in which many Kinngnait girls began to draw instead of to sew, were forced to blend country food with store-bought food, and were pressured to adopt a Western-based sexuality. This study positions Annie as a truth-telling activist educator to better understand how the Kinngnait girls drew on Inuit culture to navigate Canadian officials’ erroneous thinking.

Approach 3: The Presence of Indigenous Girls

Maliseet girlhood scholar Sandrina de Finney (2014), among other girlhood scholars (Mazzarella & Pecora, 2007; Rentschler & Mitchell, 2014) links damage-centred (Tuck, 2009; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012/1999), problems-to-be-solved, subjects-to-be-rescued approaches (Rentschler and Mitchell, 2014) to research practices that prolong colonial processes and erect systemic barriers inhibiting Indigenous (and racialized) girls’ agency and autonomy. In her discussion about the appropriation of marginalized non-white bodies, de Finney (2010, 2015, de Finney & Saraceno, 2015) traces the commodification of Indigenous girl bodies and cultural expressions as “disposable consumer goods” to historical exploitation and mistreatment. Similar to Tuck (2009) and Clark (2016b), de Finney asserts that this commodification “reveals the paradoxical positioning that sustains both the hypervisibility of Indigenous girls’ racialized bodies and their invisibility as diverse and complex subjects” (2015, p. 176; see also de Finney, 2010; de Finney & Saraceno, 2015). Tuck (2009) calls Native communities to, first, shift research discourse away from damage toward desire and complexity, and, second, to talk about themselves

²¹ The QTC defines the term ‘official mind’ as a shorthand expression used by some historians to describe a set of beliefs, values, goals, knowledge and fears that are widely shared by the small number of people who make and carry out public policy (QIA, 2011, p. 14).

such that damage is no longer the only or the main way they see themselves. In 2014, de Finney brought Tuck's call to girlhood studies when she brought attention to the "under-theorizing of Indigenous issues" (p. 21) in the discipline while she laid out decolonizing research frameworks (see also Clark, 2016a). Her prominent example for an alternative research approach comes from participatory research studies and community-change projects conducted with and by Indigenous girls between the ages of 12 and 19 in western British Columbia, Canada (2010, 2014, 2015; see also, de Finney, Loiselle, & Dean, 2011; Loiselle, de Finney, Khanna, & Corcoran, 2012). In her essay "Under the Shadow of the Empire: Indigenous Girls' Presencing as Decolonizing Force," de Finney (2014) thinks through conversations among three First Nations girls involved in a participatory research study with young people in care. These girls disprove imposed erasure, or as de Finney puts it, they "contest their positioning as invisible" each time they "re(occupy)" land and places that "hold their ancestral connections as First People" (p. 18), when they collectively question, analyze and satirize categories that quantify them as "damaged, dependent, broken" (p. 12), or when they otherwise disrupt dominant narratives that reduce their uniqueness. Importantly, de Finney insists that Indigenous girlhood includes actual girls we have met in our everyday lives, through mass media, and those that we have yet to meet. Their inclusion translates into the commitment that research studies include Indigenous girls with diverse stories about what it means for them to self-determine as Indigenous and that researchers neither romanticize nor exceptionalize the girls and/or their diverse stories. This mutable girlhood includes girls (dis)connected to territory, cultures, and communities; girls who claim an Indigenous identity, who know a great deal about their Indigenous background and strive to strengthen their ancestral and community ties; and girls ashamed of or uninterested in their Indigenous background, or who do not feel entitled to claim it. This expanding circle of diverse Indigenous girls and young women have yet to receive adequate scholarly attention; de Finney and Saraceno (2015) signal that feminist debates about colonialism emphasize adult women while

girlhood studies focus on girls from mainstream backgrounds, consequently Indigenous girls are largely absent in both disciplines.

In addition to leaving out Indigenous girls in research literature (and subsequently, in policy and programs), de Finney (2014) also highlights girlhood scholars' lack of curiosity about the "colonial legacies that make the term girl possible" and what role that lack of interest plays "in producing normative girlhood" (p. 21). To illustrate, I look back at the late 1900s when the British Empire circulated a stereotype of the colonial girl who appeared in fiction and emigration propaganda as "rosily Anglo-Saxon" with a natural tendency to mother, nurse, and teach (Devereux, 2014, p. 30). Adventurous, brave, determined, the colonial girl contributed to the imperial project that was required of future daughters of the Empire both in England and in the wider world. Bessie Marchant's 1908 novel *Daughters of the Dominion* exemplifies the construction and circulation of "colonial girlhood in the British Empire, and concomitantly, of white Anglo-imperial femininity everywhere" (p. 35). Reasonably, historical literary representations of the Anglo-colonial girl have influenced Canada's contemporary indexes for girlhood that can be summed up as white, heterosexual, middle-class, and Canadian. Then, as now, actual Indigenous girls and young women, among others, were excluded from this one-dimensional concept that until recently was the standard by which girls have been measured.

In addition to literature, paper dolls have also conveyed notions about girlhood. On the surface, paper dolls entertain girls, yet these seemingly innocuous two-dimensional figures, and their accompanying clothing and accessories, reflect cultural attitudes that assign people to social roles (see, for example, *Two Hundred Years of Black Paper Dolls*, The Arabella Grayson Collection, 2014). In the hands of artist Jaune Quick-to-See Smith (French-Cree, Shoshone, and Salish), stereotypes become source material to repackage stereotypes themselves. *Paper Dolls for a Post-Columbian World with ensembles contributed by the U.S. Government* (1991) portrays the Plenty Horses family

from the Flathead reservation: Barbie, Ken and their son Bruce (see **FIGURE 2.1**). Their apparel choices are accompanied by Smith's explanatory text, for example:

- A hospital gown that fits all members of an Indian family because "T.B. was a new disease to Indian People. Even today Indian people are more susceptible to tuberculosis."
- The maid's outfit worn "after good education at Jesuit school" is used "for cleaning houses of white people."
- A Flathead headdress that decedes "after priests and U.S. gov't banned cultural ways such as speaking Salish and drumming singing or dancing" would be sold at Sotheby's for thousands of dollars to white collectors.

Smith's paper doll collection upends cultural artifacts of girlhood produced, for example, by early 19th century London publishers, S. and J. Fuller. The Fuller paper doll books, according to Field (2012), encouraged an obsession with clothing, yet this was offset by the inclusion of a story book that admonished a feminine love of clothing and its associated vanity. Although Fuller and Smith package their paper dolls differently, both sets include a moral tale, figures, and a series of different clothing. Possibly, Smith's moral message can be read on three levels:

1. at a time, for instance, when some affluent girls in London were playing with fashionably dressed dolls, many Indian girls were coping with the dispossession of their land and culture;
2. the plausibility that Indigenous doll play includes making sense of residential schools contrasts sharply with doll play as a vehicle to make sense of middle-class married life;
3. an account of colonial history asserted by an enrolled member of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Indian Nation. Smith's moral tale uses an artifact of girl culture to convey a lesson that readjusts Canada's narrative to include Indigenous histories and perspectives.

Jaune Quick-to-See
Smith, 1991. *Paper Dolls
for a Post-Columbian World
with ensembles contributed
by the U.S. Government.*



'Presencing as Girlhood Praxis'

Smith's artwork, to borrow from de Finney (2014), speaks "to knowledge and ways of being that flow outside the overwhelming Euro-Western perspectives that define girlhood, girl agency, and girl bodies" (p. 21). The Plenty Horses family symbolizes the coming together of a community, which the artist belongs to figuratively and literally. Although their "collective advocacy" pokes fun at colonialism, it is also a political manifestation that "enact[s] a sense of political and spiritual engagement and visibility" (p. 11). The Plenty Horses' political and spiritual engagement appears when Smith joins text and clothing that simultaneously, for example, exposes genocidal acts, claims Flatland homelands, and decolonizes the colonial space engulfing the Salish and Kootenai Tribes, if only for a brief amount of time. Here, I refer to a capote (a long coat with a hood made from wool blankets worn by many fur traders) that Smith illustrated along with the following caption: Capote for travelling on forced removal after Garfield Treaty 1891. U.S. Soldiers moved our families at gunpoint from our traditional Flathead homelands in the Bitterroot valley. My interpretation stems from Michi Sagging Nishnaabeg scholar Leanne Betasamosake Simpson's (2011) "notion that acts of presence are integral to Indigenous resurgence" (de Finney, 2014, p. 11). de Finney considers Simpson's notion one of many vital counternormative frameworks that could make the difference for a girlhood studies future. She argues that when scholars use counternormative conceptual frameworks, they can better understand how Indigenous girlhood is produced and lived in the context of a colonial state. They may then be better equipped to support Indigenous "girls' efforts to presence themselves by disrupting dominant narratives of Indigenous girlhood, by building connections with each other and with communities, [supporting girls' efforts also] entails making this history visible and contestable, producing other possibilities for transformative girlhood praxis" (p. 14). Studies of Indigenous girlhoods will continue to replicate the "misrepresentation and the disenfranchisement of Indigenous girls"

unless we “decolonize not only the frameworks of research that are associated with white-settler-identified feminism but also the very practices of territorial displacement and colonial segregation in which they participate” (Mitchell & Rentschler, 2016, p. 5). Until Indigenous contributors along with their cultural practices, epistemologies, languages and lived experience become more involved and visible in girls’ studies, we must remain critical about the appearance that girlhood scholarship can be perceived as privileging white, middle-class experience and concealing colonial structures that produce marginalized identities and prolong contexts of risk.

Summary

Overall, girlhood scholars focus on the social and cultural aspects of girls’ experience that are set in different spatial and temporal contexts. This chapter situated the doctoral study in the field of girlhood studies, especially in the strand that Mitchell describes as the “visual project of girlhood” (2015, p. 139). As shown above, in an effort to follow Igloliorte’s (2014) “new paradigm for examining Inuit visual culture” (p. 193), for the purposes of this study, I integrated a process of reconciliation (see **CHAPTER 1**, pp. 22–23) with three approaches relevant to girlhood studies (Clark, 2016a, 2016b; de Finney, 2014, Tuck, 2009). From a desire-based perspective, I recognize that Annie’s lived experience included alcoholism, homelessness, and violence, symptoms of structural and systemic forces intent on assimilating Inuit into Canadian society. At the same time, her images of girlhood reflect “cultural continuity, stability and wellbeing”, concepts associated with Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) (Tagalik, 2010b, p. 3). Drawing on Clark’s Red intersectionality, the study centres IQ. Annie’s cultural grounding informs her images of Kingnait girls; several disrupt sexualized stereotypes of Indigenous women. In turn, as a truth-telling activist educator, to use Clark’s expression, Annie brought new audiences to and understandings of Inuit contemporary art, and she opened a path that many contemporary Inuit artists continue to broaden. Finally, I add de Finney’s

conviction (2014) that scholarship about Indigenous girlhood must involve individuals from an expanding circle of diverse Indigenous girls and young women (a belief that resonates with Johnson's insistence that the fictional Indian girl resemble actual people authors have met or mixed with).

3

An Analogy:

Inuit Girls' Sewing and Western Girls' Bedroom Culture

Through a series of images curated for this study, I consider some of the ways the artist portrayed Inuit girls living in Kingnait shortly after the federal government established it as a permanent settlement that would eventually provide Inuit with education, housing, and medical care. More broadly, this study joins Canada's reconciliation discussion that was instigated by the Commission's calls to action. To do this, through a decolonizing lens discussed in the previous chapter, I imagine that during her girlhood Annie experienced Inuit forms of social organization and family life at a time when federal settlement policy weakened Inuit's sense of independence and self-worth (Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, 1998 cited by Tagalik, 2010b). In the previous chapter, I indicated that McRobbie and Garber (2006/1975) explored girl-defined space, in particular 'bedroom culture,' around the time most Inuit were coping with government homes designed for Southern families. Typically, Southern-style homes

organized family activities into specific rooms (e.g., family room, dining room, study) and provided separate bedrooms for parents and children. Ideally, girls had their own bedrooms. However, these homes had nothing in common with the ways Inuit families spent their time or how they conceived space should be used.

In this chapter I contemplate Inuit spatial organization to identify forms of Indigenous erasure and to contextualize my reasoning that some Inuit female artistic contributions are analogous to some aspects of Western girls' bedroom culture. By joining Inuit gendered space with sewing as an Inuit girlhood practice, I demonstrate the importance of integrating Inuit girlhood both into girlhood scholarship and into design considerations for any plans to supply the Inuit with government-issued housing. By erasure, I refer to the devaluation of legitimate cultural richness. In the first section, I examine the colonial period (1950–1975) when Inuit living in the Qikiqtaaluk region²² transitioned from the *ilagiit nunagivaktangit*²³ to government-sanctioned settlements (QIA, 2013d). In the second, I compare Inuit sewing traditions with conceptualizations of working- and middle-class Western girls' bedrooms as a site to rehearse for married life and to retreat from domestic duties and to pursue leisure activities. For both sections, I organize the material around the girlhoods of Annie Pootoogook; Napatchie Pootoogook, her mother; and Pitseolak Ashoona, her grandmother, hereafter referred to by their first names. With this three-generation narrative device, I hope to enrich our understanding of Annie's girlhood context. A three-generation perspective also highlights links between the lives of girls and women, a continuity that has salience when considering the Inuit female artistic contributions

²² The Qikiqtani or (now officially) Qikiqtaaluk Region is the former Baffin Region, with ten communities around Baffin Island and Foxe Basin, two in the High Arctic, and Sanikiluaq in Hudson Bay (Goldring, 2015).

²³ The Inuktitut definition for the term *ilagiit nunagivaktangat* (plural *nunagivaktangit*): "a place used regularly for hunting, harvesting and gathering. Implicit in this meaning is the concept of home before the settlement period" (QIA, 2013b, p. 3). This term has become synonymous with the English term 'camp'.

of Annie, Napatchie, and Pitseolak. For both topics, I draw largely upon Inuit women's oral and written (auto)biographies. However, because the women's focus lay outside the realm of what they would have regarded as or named as Inuit gendered space or Inuit girlhood, remarks about their girlhood were usually infrequent and often contained scant reference to bedrooms (e.g., whether they had their own; if so, how they used the space). Although I interpret their remarks to better understand gendered space and girlhood, I also acknowledge that I could be reading too much into them—my insights may be partially or completely inaccurate. Until such time as these insights are confirmed or corrected by Inuit girls and young women, and by scholars working on both Inuit architecture and female artistic contributions, I offer them here. In addition to including academic literature, I also rely heavily on thematic reports and special studies generated by the truth commission that the Qikiqtani Inuit Association²⁴ (QIA) independently established and financed. The Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC) produced an account that reflected Inuit experience of the period between 1950 and 1975 when the Canadian government initiated and imposed policies, programs and decisions that affected Inuit living in the Qikiqtani region. QTC documents represent the Inuit experience during this colonial period as told by and for Inuit. Whenever possible, I concentrate on material directly tied to Kingnait, the world-famous centre for Inuit art where Annie and her family have lived since the early 1960s. At the same time, the lack of research directly related to Inuit girls or their use of space forced me to consult studies from Inuit communities that are far apart geographically from Kingnait and whose social organization differed significantly from Kinngarmuit, the people of Kingnait. Until research becomes more readily available about girlhood situated in Kingnait and about its girl-defined space, I cautiously generalize from, for example, the

²⁴ According to the QTC website, the truth commission is "the first Inuit-sponsored and Inuit-led initiative of its kind"; it is also "a rare example of a comprehensive social justice inquiry led by an Aboriginal organization" (<https://www.qtccommission.ca/en/about-us/the-commission>).

Central Arctic to the Eastern Arctic, from the southern tip to the northern tip of Baffin Island.²⁵

Igluvigait, Tupiit and Settlement Housing

Our contemporary everyday understanding of the noun ‘erasure’ remains fairly consistent with the online *Webster’s Dictionary* 1828 definition: the act of erasing; a scratching out; obliteration. Leaving aside physical actions such as rubbing, scraping, wiping, or the more personal psychological feat of removing all traces of a thought, feeling, or memory, I examine government-supplied housing as a form of erasure whose introduction into the Qikiqtaaluk region demonstrated that Inuit lifestyles were immaterial to government housing initiatives. This erasure ignored the highly evolved architectural collective knowledge the Inuit had refined for millennia. I argue that in addition to conceiving erasure as ignoring or being unconscious that Inuit living on the land were full human beings, erasure is compounded when what Inuit value, when what matters and is important to them, is ignored or goes unnoticed by the federal government and dominant society. In the colonial period under discussion, these forms of erasure led to inadequate housing and poor living conditions in the settlement communities of the Qikiqtaaluk region.

The QTC reports that in 1950 “Qikiqtaalungmiut inhabited over one hundred ilagiit nunagivaktangit seasonally. By 1975, almost all were concentrated in the present twelve hamlets and one city” (QIA, 2013b, p. 13). Here, I attempt to portray the

²⁵ For the remainder of the dissertation, I draw upon many of the Inuit resources cited in this chapter including a series of five books published by the Nunavut Arctic College. The series’ topics include oral traditions (1999a), perspectives on traditional law (1999b) and on traditional health (2001b), childrearing practices (2000), cosmology and shamanism (2001a). It is part of a study of Inuit oral traditions that includes courses designed to develop students’ skills interviewing, transcribing and writing essays in English. Elders were invited to the College and interviewed in Inuktitut; the interviews were simultaneously interpreted into English. Overall, the series “is intended to contribute to the preservation of the knowledge of the elders, and the styles and modes of thinking implied in it” (1999a, p. v).

historical moment when the Inuit relocated from *ilagiit nunagivaktangit* to what at the time was called Cape Dorset, a community now known as Kingnait. Although exact ages and dates went unrecorded, around 1945, shortly after the death of her husband Ashoona, Pitseolak, Annie's grandmother, brought her children to live in outlying camps near the settlement. Her daughter, Napatchie, would have been approximately six or seven years old. Roughly 25 years later, in 1969, Napatchie would give birth to Annie. From 1950 to 1975, all three women, individually and collectively, were affected by the three periods encompassed in this 25-year interval identified by the QTC (and defined below): *Taissumani Nunamiutautilluta*, *Sangussaqtauliqtilluta*, and *Nunalinnguqtitauliqtilluta*. For the sake of readability, I separate ambiguous spans of time into distinct periods but remind the reader that overlap exists among all three. To set the stage for my discussion, I now provide some background information.

Inuit Architecture

Inuit nomadic hunters and harvesters have been on the move for centuries. They followed seasonal harvest and hunting cycles, they moved to trade, as well as to stay close to their kinship networks. They stayed in places “used regularly or seasonally... for hunting, harvesting and/or gathering” (QIA, 2013a, p. 14). These places, *ilagiit nunagivaktangit*, often included burial sites of loved ones or sites with abundant game. Sheppard and White (2017) emphasize that for the Inuit, movement and impermanence were “ingrained in their very being, yielding architecture that was adapted to each season. Any notion of permanence was illogical and risky” (p. 118). For thousands of years, according to the QTC (QIA, 2013c), Inuit constructed three types of housing. The *qarmat*, permanent all-season structures, “were often semi-subterranean and made of stone, whale bone, and sod, sometimes insulated on the outside with snow” (p. 11). Typically, during the summer Inuit lived in *tupiit* (tents), and during the winter they lived in *igluvigait* (snow houses). Both sod homes and snow houses could be

lined with a tupiq (tent) to keep the interior dry and to keep the insulating snow cold. These houses usually included a porch, constructed either as a place to store food or as a shelter for qimmiit [snow dogs]. A communal sleeping platform was usually constructed at the back of the house. Furnishings were generally limited to a few benches (p. 11). Debicka and Friedman (2009) remark that traditional Inuit snow houses were highly sophisticated because their building science demonstrates successful “acclimatization to the harsh local weather” and because they easily accommodated changing kinship systems (p. 28). Usually visual representations of igloos depict a single unit; this stereotypical image contrasts with igluvigait (see **FIGURE 3.1**) that consisted of a “large main room attached to smaller rooms for individual families” (QIA, 2013c, p. 11).

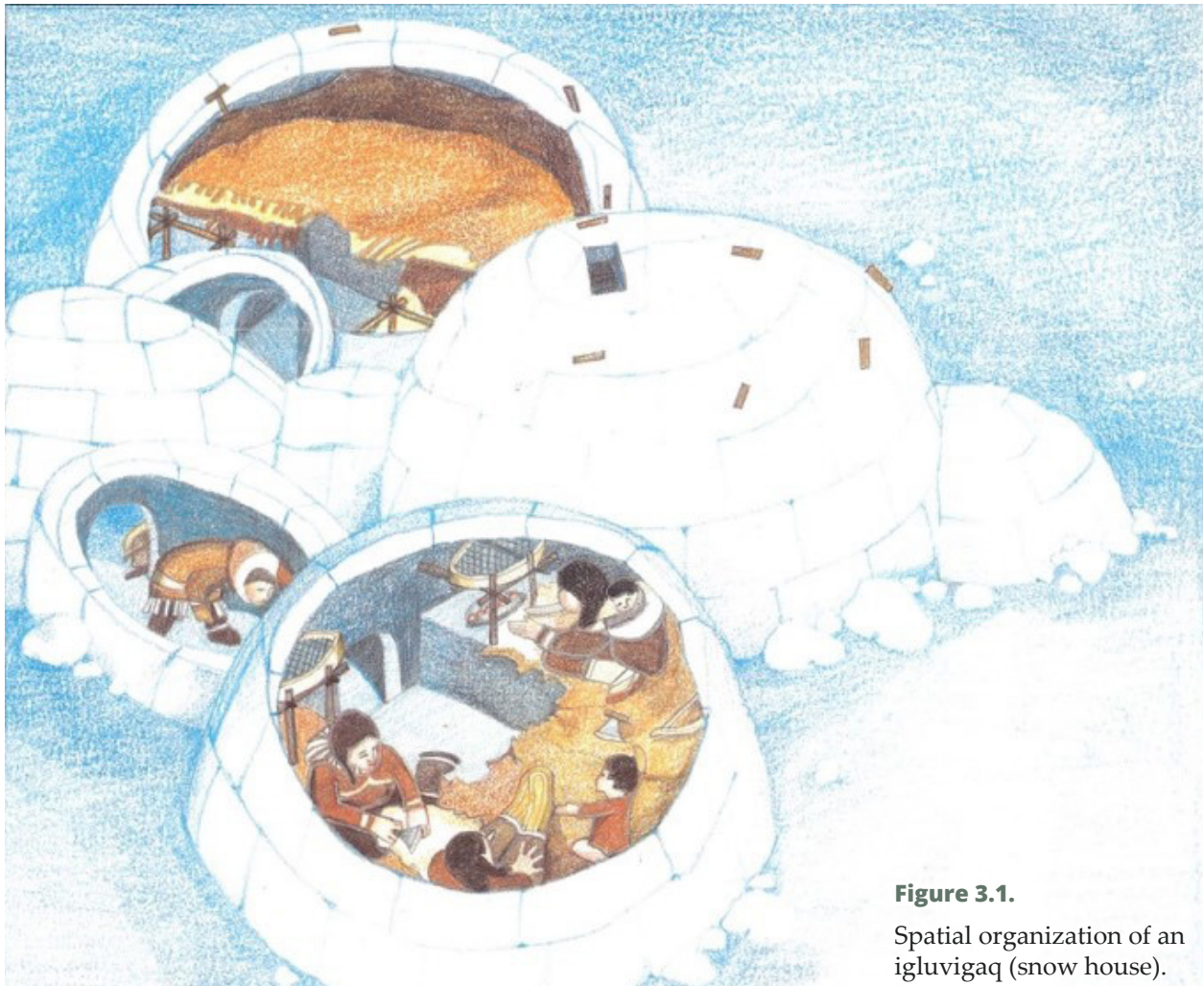


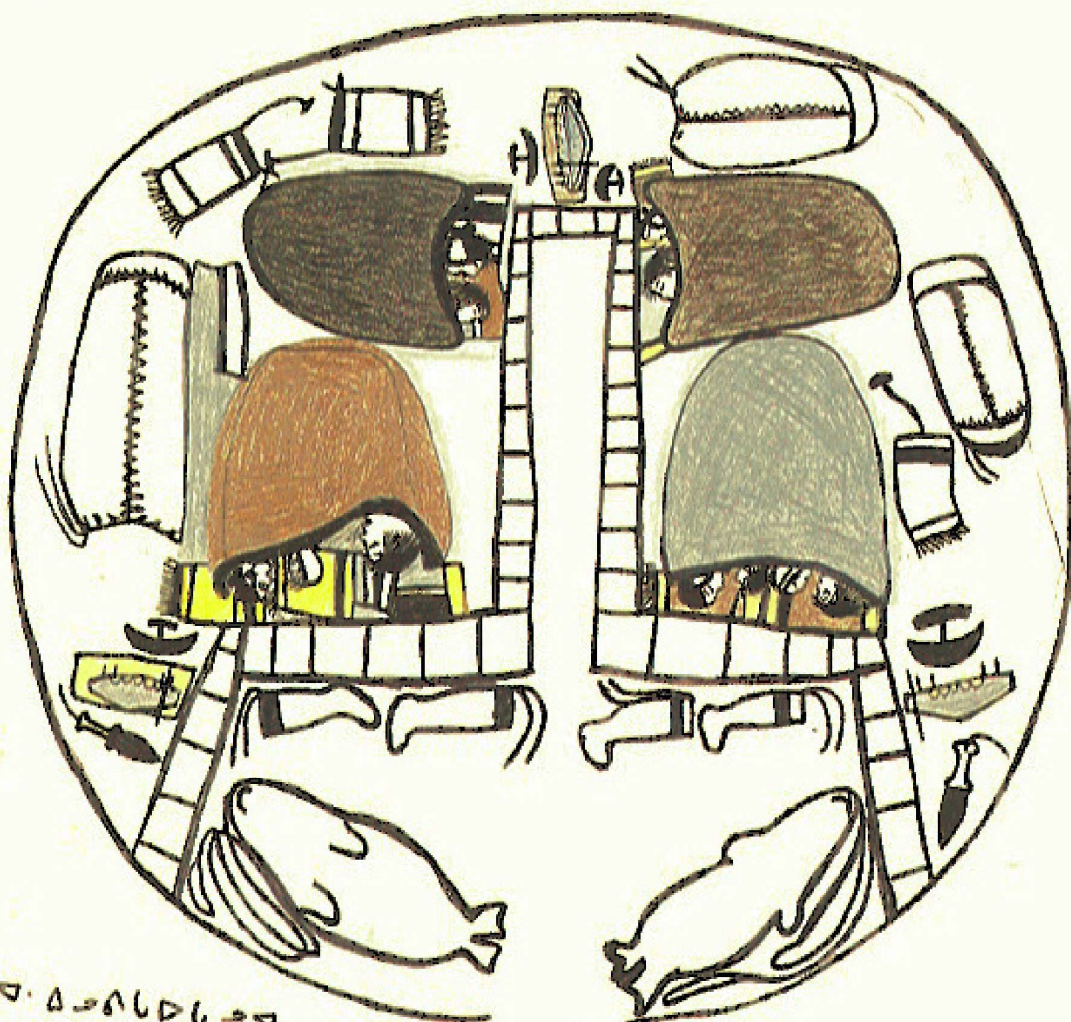
Figure 3.1.
Spatial organization of an
igluvigait (snow house).

Cohabitation was common during winter months. A highly co-dependent society was required to survive the harsh climate; this social reality contributed to extended kinship groups living together in a common dwelling. Overall, igluvigait and tupiit could easily accommodate changes to family-based group needs and size.

Zacharias Kunuk's period feature films, *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner* (2001) and *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* (2006), contain several scenes that provide a visual reference for an igluvigaq's interior. Typically, igluvigait were organized into areas for cooking and storage, eating and sleeping; home contents included a sleeping platform covered with boughs, fur blankets, clothing and boots, kitchen appliances and hunting gear. Although wall ornamentation was minimal to none, twigs and spruce needles spread "on the floor [were meant] to collect grease and food particles," to protect objects from freezing to the floor, and "perhaps to freshen the house" (Kaplan, 2012, p. 32). Overall, surviving the Arctic meant eating and sleeping in the same open space. Collective and individual survival meant multiple families or a hunter with several wives and their children resided together under one roof, sharing food and sharing responsibilities for subsistence activities (Debicka & Friedman, 2009).

Taissumani Nunamiutautilluta: Igluvigait and Tupiit

During the Taissumani Nunamiutautilluta interval when almost everything the Inuit needed was provided by land and sea (QIA, 2013f), Pitseolak spent her girlhood and much of her early adult life in the ilagiit nunagivaktangit. Her untitled drawing (see **FIGURE 3.2**) includes the following explanatory text translated from qaniujaaqpait (Inuktitut syllabics): "This is the inside of an igloo. And this is how it used to be set up. The daughters-in-law would sleep at the back" (Blodgett et al., 1999, p. x). Contrary to the notion of a sleeping platform where an entire family sleeps together as commonly depicted in non-fiction or educational books, Pitseolak informs the viewer that space was organized in such a way that daughters-in-law slept in a particular area.

[illegible]

86 ■ AN ANALOGY

Possibly because women tended the qulliq, they slept near this lamp which was carved from soapstone and burned oil from caribou, seal or whale to heat and light dwellings (Wachowich, Awad, Katsak, & Katsak, 2014/2011). This alternative pattern demonstrates that sleeping arrangements, like Inuit building science, easily adapted to the changing group size and ages. In her oral biography (Eber & Ashoona, 2003/1971), Pitseolak informs that she once tried to build an igluvigaq, but for the most part men were more knowledgeable than women about constructing igulvigait:

To build an igloo you have to have the right snow, but what kind of snow I don't know. Men built the igloos. I remember when I was a little girl I once built an igloo myself, but it was a funny-looking igloo—skinny and tall! (p. 35)

Pitseolak indicates that constructing a snow house required a specific type of snow. Although she was unable to describe or identify it, the fact that 'the right snow' was required indicates Inuit architecture was a highly evolved technology contained within collective knowledge that was accessible to anybody who wanted to learn to build a snow house. In all probability, had she continued building igulvigait she would have eventually produced ones that were the proper shape and size. Following her igluvigaq comments, Pitseolak compares snow houses to the tent:

It was good to have a new snow house built because they were easy to clean—and very clean. But sometimes if it was windy, the wind blew holes in the snow house, so perhaps the kaamuk [summer tent²⁶] was more comfortable.

To make the kaamuk, we would put up a tent and line the inside with wood. Between the tent and the wood, we would put little bushes—sometimes blueberry bushes—to make it warm. In the kaamuk, we put up a window. We made the window from the intestine of the whale. We would clean it and blow it up with air and hang it up to dry in long pieces. This made a good window.

²⁶ Note, she refers to the summer tent as a kaamuk, a reference I have yet to find in any other source, demonstrating the pervasive and persistent erosion of Inuktitut language.

It was also the whale intestine that we made sails for sealskin boats. (Eber & Ashoona, 2003/1971, p. 36)

In both descriptions concerning summer tents and winter snow houses, Pitseolak emphasizes building techniques; however, she does not mention interior decoration or spatial organization that reserved some areas for leisure pursuits. Her descriptions also contain information about materials and their various uses: twigs and spruce needles freshen up an iglavigaq, blueberry bushes warm up a tupiq, whale intestines serve as windows and as sails. Pitseolak imparts information that may have some bearing, no matter how slight, for her audience should they ever find themselves in a situation where they must build shelter using natural resources at hand. Her descriptive detail resembles all accounts of this nature that I have read by Inuit knowledgeable about traditions established through living on the land for millennia (Aodla Freeman, 2015/1996; Nappaaluk & Avataq Cultural Institute, 2014; Watt-Cloutier, 2015). This pattern suggests that Inuit notions of housing and homes emphasized functionality.

Sangussaqtauliqtilluta: Iglurjuaq and Homes for Sale

During Sangussaqtaulittilluta, Inuit were more or less forced to change their ways due to the growing population of Qallunnat who were sent to the Arctic to establish Canadian sovereignty with its attendant commitment to property ownership, wage economy and wealth accumulation (QIA, 2013g), ideologies that were incompatible with traditional Inuit culture and would ultimately contribute to its erasure in the government's mindset. In 1938, Napatchie, like her mother Pitseolak, was born into the ilagiit nunagivaktangit. When the family was living at the Netsilik camp, her father, Ashoona, died from an illness. Napatchie believes she would have been six or seven years old (Lalonde, 2015). Soon after, the family left the inland camp for Kingnait. Because they "were very poor and often [they] were very hungry" (Eber & Ashoona, 2003/1971, p. 68), Pitseolak moved her family ostensibly to be near relatives who would

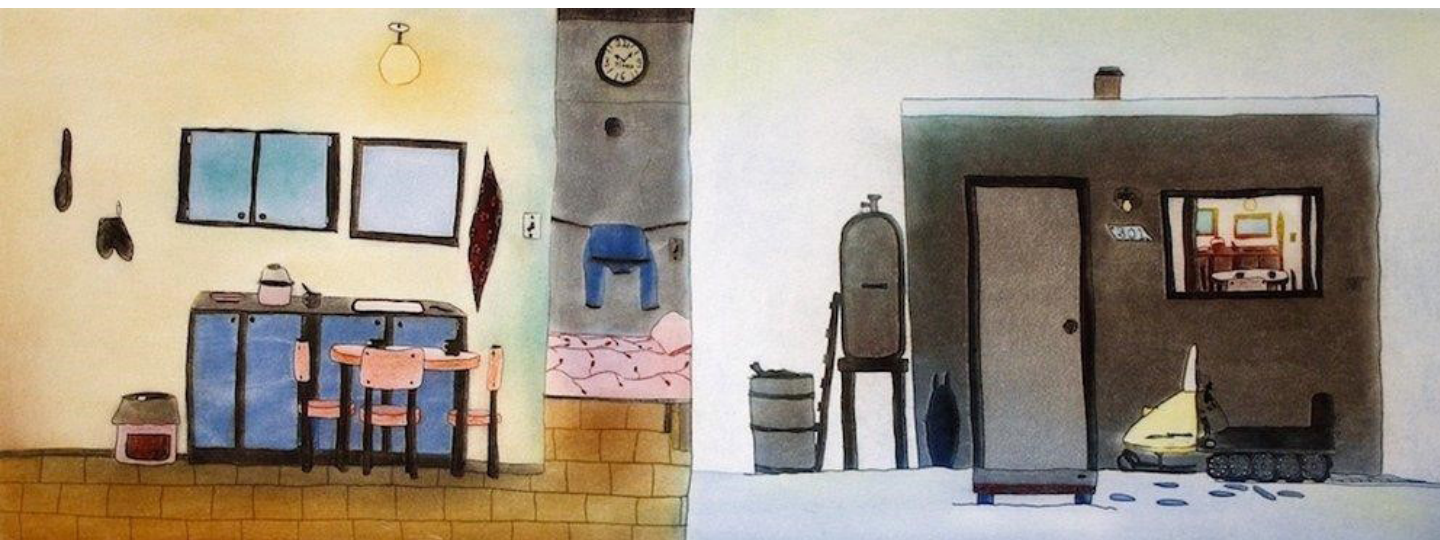
be able to help them. Upon arriving at the settlement, however, Pitseolak discovered that her relatives had either died or moved elsewhere. When information from her oral history combines with an unpublished interview with Marion Jackson (Lalonde, 2015), in all likelihood, Pitseolak and her children lived with various families in snow houses in outlying camps near the settlement for an indefinite period of time. Napatchie remembers, “my mother used to try her best to make it so we could have something to eat. But we used to be hungry after my father died” (p. 10).

Around the time Napatchie was adjusting to her circumstances, according to the report *Igluliriniq: Housing in Qikiqtaaluk* (QIA, 2013c), Inuit had been integrating canvas, rope and salvaged wood into qarmait and tupiit, thus simplifying the process of moving and erecting them. This alternative became “known as an iglurjuaq, constructed of wood, concrete, or metal that could be heated, cleaned and ventilated over a period of many years without being deconstructed and moved” (p. 12). In approximately 1945 when Napatchie and her family may have first arrived in the Kingnait settlement, it would have been very difficult to construct an iglurjuaq because material had to either be “salvaged or ordered in advance—wood, furniture, appliances, shingles, and hardware” (p. 12). Although the QIA reports that most Inuit were dissatisfied with government-approved settlements, in her biography Pitseolak credits the eventual arrival of government houses with reducing her poverty. Possibly, she could have meant that government housing represented the beginning of government-sponsored printmaking in Kingnait which became an important source of revenue for her. Over time, Pitseolak, mother of six surviving children out of 17, “became matriarch of one of the most impressive families of artists in the North” (Speak, 2000, p. 40). She was among the first generation of artists whose drawings contributed to establishing and securing Inuit art in the global art market.

Initially, inadequate housing programs and policies put Inuit at risk. More often than not, when Inuit arrived at any of the 13 permanent settlements, they had nowhere

to live because the government had not provided any housing. Some constructed qarmait; some used scrap material such as cardboard, canvas, and wood to construct framed houses; some brought “their one-room houses from campsites” (QIA, 2013c, p. 27). Many temporary homes were structurally unsound and provided little protection from severe weather. After moving to government-approved settlements, many families lived in qarmait, tupiit, and other temporary dwellings for “months or even years” (p. 28). These living conditions had dire effects on Inuit health, contributing to their mortality. From 1959 to 1965 the federal government purchased and produced 1,200 basic one-room homes to re-sell to Inuit. These prefabricated bungalows resembled a matchbox and measured 12 feet by 24 feet. For these reasons they were nicknamed “matchbox” houses (see **FIGURE 3.3**). (Collings, 2005; Tester, 2017) Their design accounted for the government’s goal to minimize costs for construction and heating. They resembled “big tents and were very simply designed, not even including bathrooms” (QIA, 2013c, p. 20).

Figure 3.3. Annie Pootoogook. *Interior and Exterior*, 2003.



Matchbox homes in particular represent an extreme form of erasure. For all intents and purposes, the federal government presumed—without consulting with Inuit or military personnel and government officials living up North—that these homes

would withstand Arctic conditions, that they would become home for multigenerational families, and that they supported quotidian life in a Northern context. On the contrary, matchbox homes failed to accommodate multiple family groups due to their limited floor space and government rules that prohibited building ground level or detached additions. Unlike igluvigait, smaller rooms could not be attached to matchbox houses. Although the interiors of a matchbox home, a snow house, and a tent were alike, the homes were designed for Southern lifestyles.

QTC explains that in the 1960s context of Inuit life paying for a house—either as a monthly rent or a mortgage payment—was “neither intuitive nor rational” (QIA, 2013c, p. 18). For millennia, the land had provided free housing, so to speak; thus, it would take some time before Inuit conceptualized housing as “something for which one pays money” (p. 18). Further, Inuit considered it a right for those with less “to share in the bounty of those with apparent plenty” (p. 18). From this cultural framework, Inuit perceived the government as enormously wealthy, and this resulted in their initial incomprehension when the Canadian government expected them to purchase property. The government’s lack of interest in learning what Inuit valued (communal resource sharing), what mattered to them (having somewhere to live when they arrived at the settlements) and what was important (being consulted about housing design, manufacture and costs) demonstrates the types of erasure Inuit encountered as they adapted to Southern income-based economy and real estate concepts.

Nunalinnguqtitauiqitilluta: Settlement Housing and Overcrowding

The Inuit consider the Nunalinnguqtitauiqitilluta interval as the historical moment when government priorities shaped them into communities (QIA, 2013c) such as when a rushed evacuation in Pangnirtunig contributed to moving “people from more than 700 tiny camps to approximately forty communities” (Billson & Mancini, 2007, p. 37). By 1968, two ilagiit nunagivaktangit remained of the 16 that had “stretched along 500

kilometres of coast east and west of Cape Dorset” (QIA, 2013d, p. 18). This third interval represents the moment when most Qikiqtaaluk “lived in centralized settlements where they were provided with low-quality services that were intermittent and limited in scope” (QIA, 2013g, p. 11). When Annie was born in 1969, her grandmother’s drawing *Tattooed Woman* was on its way to becoming an icon of Canadian art (Lalonde, 2015). Like her grandmother, her mother had been drawing since the mid-1950s; from 1960 onward Napatchie’s drawings were included in almost every Cape Dorset annual print collection.²⁷ Although Annie was born into a successful artistic family, her girlhood occurred during a period of pronounced overcrowding due in large part to an inadequate supply of housing. Additionally, government-provided homes demonstrated a considerable amount of cultural insensitivity on the part of the government.

The QTC (QIA, 2013c) recount that 1965-federal-government estimates placed “an average of more than six people per house, mostly in one-room or one-bedroom dwellings” (p. 31). Based on Inuit testimony, this average may be too low: “Quppirualuk Padluq noted that eighteen people lived in her house at one time, and Apphie Killiktee remembers there being around the same number in her matchbox house” (p. 30). The government predicted that, without accounting for population increases, considering the “current pace of construction”(p. 31) it would take 13 years to house everyone. Although the government set a goal to supply 1,600 homes across the Arctic by 1967, the goal went unmet because only 200 houses were shipped to nine communities. This left an unfulfilled housing gap of 1,400. As more and more Inuit

²⁷ Berlo (1989) explains that the West Baffin Eskimo Co-op, known today as the Kinngait Studios, established a model followed by other Inuit communities seeking to integrate printmaking into their local economy. The common model relied on individuals selling their drawings to the co-op. A group consisting of Inuit co-op members and Qallunaat advisors selected around 40 drawings that were relatively easy to reproduce using stone-cut, silkscreen or lithograph printmaking processes. These 40 drawings formed a community’s annual print collection. Usually 50 prints per image were produced by the printmaking team.

moved into permanent communities, the housing gap intensified; for example, in a four-year period, Iqaluit's population increased from 250 to 800. The federal government's focus on establishing 13 permanent settlements contributed to a fundamental problem of overcrowding.

Not only were Inuit overcrowded, but also as a cost-saving measure, for some time, Ottawa provided homes without the accompanying municipal infrastructure. Therefore, homes lacked electricity and running water. The government, in issuing Southern-style homes, did not "take into account peoples' needs to cut and store meat or fix equipment" (QIA, 2013c, p. 31). Tellingly, Collings (2005) informs that bathrooms were used to store animal "carcasses before butchering and kitchen tables [were] commonly used as work benches" (p. 53), and without water, enamel sinks served no useful purpose. Dawson (2008) explains that the weight of traditional foods easily damaged kitchen countertops and tables and "softening dried caribou meat using a hammer and anvil stone [could] further damage kitchen furnishings" (p. 122). Further, given that Inuit were accustomed to "shar[ing] food, chores, stories, and laughter together in a single room" (QIA, 2013c, p. 11), these activities took on an entirely different feeling in the context of government-sanctioned settlements.

I assert that the fundamental assumption underlying Inuit architecture was functionality: homes served as work spaces where women made clothes and boots, "tents, skin containers and the covering of the boat or kayak" (Pauktiuutit & Boulton, 2006, p. 22), and men made and repaired tools and weapons. Homes were a communal space to "share events of the day and joke with one another" (p. 24). In particular, "communal sleeping was an essential sharing of warmth in frigid conditions and a human need for emotional and physical comfort from others" (p. 39). Homes protected inhabitants, their belongings and sled dogs from the elements. Rather than conceptualize home as private property, Tester (2017) asserts for Inuit "home, as opposed to a house, is a set of relationships" (p. 49). The physical space mattered far less than being with

“your extended family and the people you love and care about” (p. 49). The providing of government-approved housing designs suggests that bureaucrats and politicians viewed Northern housing inferior to Southern housing. Perhaps the government perceived traditional camp life and the structures Inuit built as an indicator that Inuit needed a place to live. In other words, snow houses, sod houses and summer tents meant Inuit lacked housing and required proper Southern-style homes. This belief functions as a form of erasure because it obliterates, among other things, Inuit knowledge systems that included highly evolved architectural technology and sharing practices, both of which kept Inuit customs, culture and kinship groups alive for centuries.

Western Girls’ Bedrooms and Inuit Girls’ Sewing Practice

During the 1950 to 1975 colonial period when Inuit moves “were a mix of voluntary, pressured and forced moves, usually in response to government priorities” (QIA, 2013b, p. 39), the Southern context was also undergoing significant transformations. Purdy (2003) notes that “from the 1940s to the 1990s, Canada became one of the most socially and economically developed societies, with arguably, the highest overall living standards in the world” (p. 457). Notions of post-war prosperity were bolstered by the statistic that by 1993 “63 percent of households in Canada were owner occupied” (Carter, 1997, p. 593 as quoted by Purdy). In Britain, and by extension Canada and the USA, home ownership, or lack thereof, ranked families along class lines. For Glyptis and Chambers (1982), house size and leisure potential are interlinked and affected by the number of inhabitants and the lifestyles they pursued. A complicated term, leisure combines specific tasks or activities with how the individuals experience and perceive them. Leisure pursuits include, but are not limited to, “television viewing, games of skill, hobbies, crafts, keeping pets, gardening, do-it-yourself activities, reading, and listening to the radio and other audio equipment” (p. 249). Overall, the post-war era

generated an image of prosperity marked by property ownership and privatized lifestyles; this image brought to the fore what Allan and Crow (1991) characterized as the trinity of family, home, and leisure.

In 1975, against the backdrop of this social context, in a ground-breaking moment Angela McRobbie and Jenny Garber (2006/1975) addressed the invisibility of girls as subjects in youth-based studies when they conceived girls' bedroom culture as a distinct cultural form. In addition to introducing girls' subculture as an original (yet long overdue) research topic, they coined the phrase "culture of the bedroom" (p. 181). In doing so, they indirectly legitimized Western home design notions of the era that separated space into private (bedroom, study), communal (backyard, living room), and gendered (garage, kitchen) while organizing it according to social category (children's bedroom, mother's sewing room, father's work area) and social activity (living room for formal entertainment, family room for informal). More often than not, middle- and working-class houses contained single-purpose rooms that dispersed family activities throughout the house and divided family members into different rooms under the same roof.

The Ideal Girl's Bedroom

In her *Girl Culture* (Mitchell & Reid-Walsh, 2008b) encyclopedia entry entitled "Bedrooms," Cromley (2008) surveys representations of 20th century girls' rooms. She cites a 1936 survey that indicated parents provided bedrooms for girls aged somewhere between six and twelve. Along class lines, six out of twelve girls in poorer homes had their own room, while nine out of ten in wealthier ones had their own room. Many middle-class girls were expected to decorate their rooms using skills such as embroidery, sewing and painting furniture. Girls' bedrooms displayed their personality and tastes, marking their ongoing transition into womanhood. For girls expected to remain at home until marriage, their bedrooms functioned as "a studio

apartment where all or most of life's activities could take place on their own terms" (p. 175). A 1950 Bell Telephone advertisement typifies the ideal bedroom; it uses visual and written text to entice parents to purchase telephones for their daughters. An adolescent girl talks on her pink telephone while seated in a chair whose upholstery matches the curtains that frame her leisurely pose. The phone and the pink room are colour coordinated, described by advertisers as "her telephone...prized possession in a lovely setting." The ad claims the room has been fashioned to her tastes, "It's her very own!" and "she's so proud ... [she has] been showing it off to her friends." These enticements resonate with assumptions that girls' bedrooms mirrored their tastes, their decorating and housekeeping skills (her immaculate room implies any future home would be a model of cleanliness); they also serve as reminders that the girl's bedroom is her own, reinforcing notions that individuals are entitled to privacy and property ownership. Before WWII, bedrooms for middle-class girls could be viewed as training spaces where females learned to decorate a future matrimonial home, often on a shoestring budget. By the mid-1950s, bedrooms became a sort of laboratory where girls experimented with reading, making art and listening to music. They also allowed girls to have privacy and, furnished with a guest bed and a telephone, encouraged them to socialize with girlfriends. In the late 1970s, this type of post-war bedroom debuted in youth culture as a research site that was studied and analyzed by academics conducting what they saw as research into youth culture.

Girls' Bedrooms as a Site of Study

In 1975, McRobbie and Garber took youth-based subculture studies into domestic girl-defined spaces. They framed aspects of post-war Britain as a time when increased attention was paid to the teenage leisure market due in part to a general rise in youth's access to disposable income. For the first time, youth had access to "income available for leisure and non-compulsory spending" (Hall & Jefferson, 2006/1975, p. 42) that could be

spent at concerts, in clubs, on magazines and music. McRobbie and Garber (2006/1975) explained that boys' culture occurred on the streets while girls were confined to the home. When boys ventured outside the home (and the workforce), they were progressing toward manhood; conversely, girls were not encouraged to venture outside because public spaces were seen as threats to girls' physical safety, reputations and, ultimately, their qualifications as future mothers. While young men engaged in public leisure pursuits, young women engaged in what Hall and Jefferson (2006/1975) describe as a "home-based use of leisure time" (p. xviii).

In the following lengthy quote, McRobbie and Garber (2006/1975) assert that many of the activities produced by the teenage leisure market (p. 181, emphasis in original):

would have been easily appropriated into the traditionally defined cultural space of a home or peer-centred girls' 'culture'—operated mainly within the home, or visiting a girl-friend's home, or at parties, without involving the riskier and more frowned-on path of hanging about the streets or cafes. There was room for a good deal of the new teenage consumer culture *within* the 'culture of the bedroom'—experimenting with make-up, listening to records, reading the mags, sizing up the boyfriends, chatting, jiving: it depended, rather, on some access by girls to room and space within (rather than outside) *the home*—even if the room was uneasily shared with an older sister.

In bedrooms, 10- to 15-year-old girls constructed an all-female space that allowed them relative degrees of independence and control (compared to public and domestic spaces where their behaviour could be regulated by adults and boys). In her discussion of McRobbie's work, Sian Lincoln (2015) points out that "the ease and simplicity of [engaging in] 'bedroom culture' meant that girls could dip in and out of their cultural actives in accordance with their domestic responsibilities" (p. 3). Although they were behaving like teenage girls (listening to music, reading magazines, trying on make-

up), they were still situationally available and expected to uphold their domestic responsibilities and to help their mothers manage the household. These expectations were inextricably linked to social attitudes that positioned girls in the subordinate sphere of the family and social practices that shaped their future lives into the role of wife and mother. McRobbie and Garber (2006/1975) framed girls' bedrooms as serving a "dual leisure" purpose, to use Lincoln's (2015) expression, where sequestering oneself in one's bedroom meant a closed-door space where daughters could relax and be a teenage girl. Time in the bedroom involved a period of relaxation spent engrossed, for instance, reading magazine articles and stories that directed "the girls hopefully towards romance and eventually an idealized version of marriage" (McRobbie & Garber, 2006/1975, p. 187). I suggest that although most Inuit girls rarely, if at all, engaged in dual leisure behind closed doors, they too prepared for women's responsibilities when, for example, they learned to sew. Thus, in either Northern or Southern contexts, aspects of girlhood involved rehearsing for certain gendered adult tasks. As discussed in the section "Igluvigait, Tupiit and Settlement Housing," until roughly the 1950s there were significant differences between dwelling shelters and their spatial distribution in Inuit and Qallunaat societies. Northern and Southern girls spent their girlhoods constructing identities and accumulating cultural knowledge in contrasting spaces, with the former residing in one-room units where everything was in plain view and within earshot. Unlike Southern homes, as Béatrice Collignon (2010) describes, "the igloo has no internal walls and, as a consequence, anyone who steps in can immediately see everything and everyone that is in the home, and whatever is going on inside at that time" (p. 7). In the summertime, regardless of the time of day or night, upon entering a tent, "any visitor, as foreign as he may be" steps directly into a family's intimate space (p. 7). Collignon emphasizes that the iglavigaq's circular shape corresponded with Inuit social organization which encouraged equality. There was a place for everyone around the circle, and each person is "considered equal to all the

others of the same age group,” thus individuals are never positioned at the centre or in the margins and “leaders always keep a low profile” (p. 8). She explains that the interior spatial design began with the qulliq, a small stone stove and oil lamp fuelled by the availability of either caribou or seal fat. Women were responsible for ensuring the qulliq provided heat and light throughout the day and night (see **FIGURE 3.4**).

Figure 3.4. Inuit woman and young girl [Marion Bolt (Hayohok)] tending the seal-oil lamp inside an igloo in Western Arctic, N.W.T. [Nunavut], 1949.



Therefore, women’s bodies ruled the location of others. In other words, although Inuit girls may not have had a specific area of the igluvigaq that they could call their own, unmistakably, some of the space was either dedicated to gender-based activities, or, periodically, the igluvigaq was divided in this manner. In these spaces, girls and

women performed domestic duties and childrearing responsibilities; sewing was one such crucial task.

Sewing as Situated Learning

Most Inuit boys and girls learned to sew first by observing adults, then by doing it themselves when they felt ready to begin. This apprenticeship process resembles aspects of Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger (1991) situated learning theory known as legitimate peripheral participation. They argue that learning and social contexts are inextricably linked to learners' situation and relationships with experienced practitioners. Through repetitive observation and practice, learners develop knowledge, proficiency and understanding until eventually they move from the periphery to the core of the community, ultimately becoming master practitioners themselves. Clearly, as with any society, sewing, by hand or by machine, is an essential part of traditional and contemporary Inuit life. Although all girls and boys received gender-based training for a variety of procedures, they were also required to learn the basic techniques of, for instance, sewing and hunting, taught to the opposite sex.

The following two examples show why sewing mattered to men. When recounting her life story, Apphia Agalakti Siqaapik Awa, "born in 1931 in a summer caribou hunting camp in the Northern Foxe Basin region of the Eastern High Arctic," mentioned knowing a man who after falling in the water while hunting was forced to remove his soaking wet socks and kamiik (skin boots) (Wachowich, Awa, Katsak, & Katsak, 2014/2011, p. 4). She attributes his survival to the kamiik he sewed using the fur of a sled dog he had killed on the spot for that purpose. Pauloosie Angmarlik, born in 1911 at Qikiqtan, one of the islands around Pangiqtuuq, explains that when hunting he brought sewing equipment for emergency purposes and that he regularly repaired his mitten seams or his kamik soles (Nunavut Arctic College, 1999a). However, when he was home, because his wife was around, he did not sew much. Beyond possessing

the tools and knowledge to survive the elements, sharing similar skillsets also meant everyone was able to provide and prepare food, to make tools and make boots, to construct igluvgait and to sew tupitt (Nunavut Arctic College, 2000). In Inuit society, prior to settlement living, all adults were expected to be proficient enough to sew containers that carried belongings, liquids, and meat, along with being able to use animal skins to make boats, footwear, garments and portable shelters.

Sewing and Marriage

Although all children eventually tried their hand at sewing, girls more than boys were expected to master sewing. In fact, some people believed that sewing proficiency indicated preparedness for marriage. The expectation that an Inuk woman would become a master seamstress contrasts with the pre-WWII expectation that middle-class girls learned to sew and embroider to make home décor items (Cromley, 2008). Jarich Oosten and Frédéric Laugrand (Nunavut Arctic College, 1999a) quote an unidentified elder who “said the women couldn’t be married off if they hadn’t learned how to make proper clothing yet. So, the men chose women who could sew or make the best clothing” (p. 140). I wonder if apparel made by Inuit girls and young women was evaluated similar to Southern girls whose bedrooms were perceived as reflecting their aesthetic sensibility and individuality, as well as their ability to keep a clean and tidy home, as an indication that they were progressing from child to adolescent to a young woman eligible for marriage. For although, in the time of Pitseolak’s girlhood, Northern girls were without bedrooms, their sewing could have been perceived in the same manner by family, kin, and peers as preparing them for domestic responsibilities associated with running a household and raising children.

Oosten and Laugrand (Nunavut Arctic College, 1999a) point out that the presumption was that the earlier a girl became a seamstress, the better wife she would become. Young Inuit girls mastered basic sewing techniques, as well as design,

ornamentation and styles of clothing. Further, “whenever it proved useful, new implements such as steel needles or ornaments such as glass beads were adopted” (p. 6). In *Sinews of Survival: The Living Legacy of Inuit Clothing*, her exhaustively researched, eye-catching study of Inuit clothing as protection, identity and culture bearer, Betty Kobayashi Issenman (2014) points out that Inuit apparel, “besides including indicators of role, gender, and age, contains references to spiritual beliefs, human-animal bonding and transformation, social and artistic traditions and group identity” (p. 180). It took many years to master techniques that conveyed those complex ideas. In a hunting society, sewing was integral to the hunt’s success: the seamstress’s skill both attracted the animal to the hunter and ensured that the hunter’s range of motion was uninhibited, as well as allowed him to hunt and travel long distances in any weather.

Pitseolak from Seamstress to Artist

As a contributing member of a hunting society, Pitseolak was knowledgeable about the hunting process that involved men engaged in the act itself while women sewed the clothing the pursuit required. Ikuma Parr, an elder from Kingnait, explains:

The most important thing for a woman to know was how to make clothing. Life depended on two things: food and clothing. The man got the food and the woman made the clothes to keep him alive to get the food. A woman’s reputation was determined by how well she handled a needle. (Hallendy, 2016, p. 144)

Tellingly, one winter hunting technique required men “to spend long hours immobile on the ice, bent over seals’ breathing holes” (Collignon, 2006, p. 33); clothing, on many levels, was a matter of life or death.

In her oral biography, although Pitseolak never indicates how she learned to sew or at what age she began, she states (Eber & Ashoona, 2003/1971, p. 43):

In the old days, I was never done with sewing. There were the tents and the kayaks, and there were all the clothes which were made from the different

skins—seal, caribou and walrus. From skins we also made cups for drinking and buckets for carrying water. ... As soon as I was finished sewing one thing, I was always sewing another. Sometimes, when I was very busy with the sewing my husband would help me.

Evidently, Pitseolak learned to sew during her girlhood because during her 17 years of marriage to Ashoona, she “prepar[ed] skins and sew[ed] weather proof shelter and clothing, including waterproof footwear” (Lalonde, 2015, p. 8) for her growing family. Her son Kiugak Ashoona (1933–2014) recounted (p. 8):

My mother was only one person who was looking after so many children and also her husband. And she would make parkas out of caribou skin. So it was just one lady with a needle and a lot of thread, making parkas for all of her children and her husband.

Around 1951 when Pitseolak relocated to Kingnait and its surrounding area, her ability to manufacture clothing meant she could sell her work and establish control over her life. In the biography, *Pitseolak Ashoona: Life and Work*, Christine Lalonde (2015) relates that by 1956 Alma Houston (1926–1997) and her husband James (1921–2005) had moved to Kingnait to develop an economic program intended to facilitate Inuit’s transition from their hunting economy to a Southern wage economy in settled communities. Alma and some Inuit women, including Pitseolak, concentrated on hand-sewn goods, while James introduced men to printmaking and stone sculpting. The women produced clothing for the developing market for Inuit arts and crafts, items sold through the newly formed West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative, known today as Kinngait Studios. Pitseolak made “finely decorated” duffel socks, mittens, parkas and other items (p. 12). She recalls (Eber & Ashoona, 2003, p. 68):

Lots of women began to work—any kind of women so long as they could sew. I used to embroider animals and all kinds of living things. But it was always \$12 for a parka—even though it was hard to do.

Approximately two years later, because Pitseolak's son's wife died, their two children came to live with Pitseolak. She recalls (Jackson, 1982, p. 15 quoted by Lalonde, 2015, p. 13):

One night, I was thinking, 'Maybe if I draw, I can get them some things that they need.' The papers were small then and I drew three pages of paper. The next day I took them to the Co-op, and I gave them to Saumik (James Houston), and Saumik gave me \$20 for those drawings ... Because for my first drawings I got money, I realized I could get money for them. Ever since then, I have been drawing.

Lalonde emphasizes as a widow with young children, Pitseolak could have followed Inuit customs and "remarried to maintain the complementary gender-related roles necessary for survival" (p. 12). It was unusual she never did "and even more remarkable that she was able to eventually provide for her family by making art" (p. 12).

Sewing Skills Were Transferrable

Art historian Janet Catherine Berlo (1989) points out that traditional female arts of skin sewing and clothing manufacture were portable skills. A seamstress cut and worked with skins from different animals, as well as skins whose textures varied according to the animal's age, diet, and lived experience (Issenman, 2014). Berlo (1989) explains that a seamstress "worked skins into tailored clothing, often insetting or appliqueing skin pieces of contrasting colour, or beading pictorial designs" (p. 296). She continues that these processes shared much in common with graphic art processes that involve drawing, cutting, and producing quantity. Overall, modern graphic arts and traditional clothing arts entailed "pattern, outline and two-dimensional form" (p. 296). Pitseolak represents women artists responsible for legitimizing Inuit art in the Western art market. If we accept sewing as an attribute of Inuit girlhood, then applying sewing techniques to graphic art indicates drawing on paper using acrylic paint, coloured

pencil, and felt-tip pen did not replace sewing. In fact, many women preserved Inuit sewing traditions while simultaneously elevating it to an entirely new art form.

Napatchie's Tent

Napatchie, daughter of Pitseolak, mother of Annie, was born and raised on the land. By the mid-1950s Napatchie was living at Kiaktuq, a camp about five miles away from Kingnait. Although it is unclear why and with whom she was living, we do know that around the age of 17 she reluctantly agreed to marry Eegyvukluk Pootoogook, the youngest son of the Pootoogook clan, a powerful and well-respected family in the region (Ryan, 2005). In 1965, they moved to Kingnait “so he could join the increasingly active printshop at the Co-op” (Boyd, 1995, p. 25). Around that time, Pitseolak was encouraging all her children to work for the Co-op; following her lead, Napatchie produced carvings and drawings, as well as hand-sewn goods (Eber & Ashoona, 2003/1971). Because this is all that has been published about Napatchie's life before adulthood, I believe that as a girl and young woman Napatchie lived in traditional Inuit dwellings until she and Eegyvukluk moved to Kingnait. If so, like her mother, her girlhood culture would have unfolded in one-room units instead of in a bedroom the likes of which are described by McRobbie and Garber (2006/1975) when they first introduced the notion of bedroom culture. If indeed she lived in a tupiit and igluvigait with family members, Napatchie's girlhood would have entailed observing others sew until she felt ready to sew. Although I was unable to find any documentation regarding Napatchie's sewing, the fact her mother mentioned her daughter sold hand-sewn goods through the Co-op (Eber & Ashoona, 2003/1971) indicates the likelihood Napatchie was a master seamstress.

I was also unable to confirm whether Napatchie had, as I suspect, made or participated in the making or the raising of caribou skin tents, a feat that women often worked together to accomplish when living on the land. However, tents appear

in several of the over 4,000 drawings she produced. In her article, “Autobiographical Impulses and Female Identity in the Drawings of Napachie Pootoogook,” Berlo (1993) analyzes a series Napachie made over a 25-year period, in which the artist placed herself “in relation to tent like structures of various sorts” (p. 178). Some images depict women mending summer tents; beside a tent carving a figure wearing an amauti (traditional woman’s parka with a baby carrier), drying fish, listening to a preacher, or *Tape Recording Throat Singing* (1981–1982); seated in or exiting tents; these images also include tents as the subject matter beneath an aurora borealis, at Fish Lake, or as the sole subject. For Berlo, who believed the artist never made or raised an actual tent, Napachie’s drawings continued this type of traditional women’s work. Berlo describes *My Tent* (see **FIGURE 3.5**) as a “scene-within-a-scene [where] Napachie holds a drawing of an old-style tent, but stands in front of her own tent—a modern canvas one with a wooden door. Her son emerges from the tent wearing a baseball cap” (p. 7). Both the actual drawing and the drawing of a caribou skin tent acknowledges that Inuit women have made artistic contributions through their finely crafted boats, clothing and tents and that these artistic contributions now include drawings that record “the cultural memory of this...female area of expertise” (p. 9). Berlo asserts (p. 11):

The work of art that Pootoogook really presents to us—the 1982 print—encompasses three worlds of women’s work: the old ways of the Inuit tentmaker, the world of the Inuit artist who represents those old ways in graphic arts, and the modern representation of herself presenting these two successive stages of the past.

If we agree that Inuit female artistic contributions transmuted from sewing skins to works on paper, it certainly is fathomable that in a single-unit room such as an igluvigaq or a tupiq, engagement in artistic pursuits substituted for private spaces like bedrooms. For instance, a girl could delay her chores, or requests for her attention, by saying she had to finish her stitching line. Possibly in those moments when a young

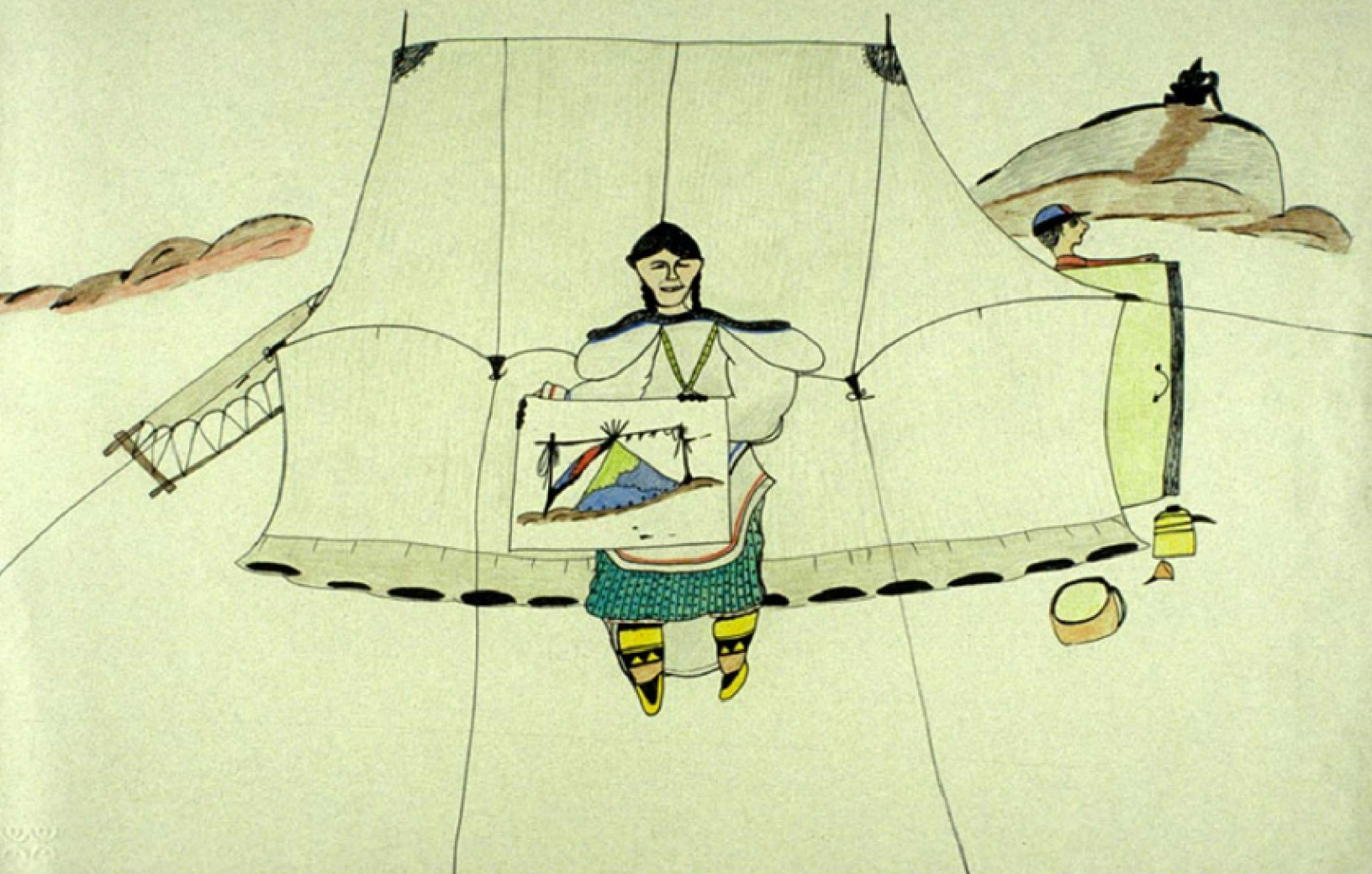


Figure 3.5. Napachie Pootoogook. Drawing of *My Tent*, 1981–1982.

woman was completely absorbed by her artwork, she would psychologically isolate herself from the open environment in which all that one does and says can be observed and heard by those present. Further, self-representation could serve as evidence that girls found ways to develop a sense of self that was uniquely their own even though most of their life was spent in physical spaces that were simultaneously private and public. If we agree this is the case, then quite possibly from 1950 to 1970, the space to engage in traditional Inuit sewing, which over time, evolved to include graphic arts, would have been analogous with middle-class girls' bedroom practices. What I am trying to say is that regardless of whether girls had 'a room of their own' or shared

communal space in a single room, in both Northern and Southern contexts aspects of girlhood involved rehearsing for certain gendered adult tasks that ultimately prepared girls for adult life.

Annie: Settlement Generation and Artistic Contributions

As far as I can determine, in the early 1960s Pitseolak moved into permanent housing when she went to live with her son Koomuatuk (alternatively, Kumwartok) in Kingnait. A few years later, Napatchie and her husband arrived. Perhaps family and friends would know whether Napatchie and Eegyvuluk also moved into pre-existing houses built in the late 1950s that measured 16 feet square and were without toilets, stoves, baths or porches (QIA, 2013d), or if they moved into housing units received in 1965 that “included a heater, sink, water-storage tank, electric fixtures, and base furniture” (p. 33). Born in 1969, Annie would count among the Settlement Generation, a term Collings (2005) uses to describe “Inuit who were born and raised in structured settlements” (p. 51). It would take another decade before homes erected in the North included rooms or outbuildings where country food could be processed and hunting equipment and vehicles could be maintained and stored (QIA, 2013d). All the same, due in large part to arts and crafts sold through the Co-operative, Kingnait was in a strong economic position. The art economy attracted infrastructure investments that many other Arctic communities were unable to obtain. Because of this investment, Annie was born into a local context where Kinngarmiut had access to schooling and a recently upgraded nursing station, as well as approximately (p. 33):

two miles of roads, a public bathhouse, a community freezer (reported to be used almost entirely by Qallunaat in the early 1970s), a powerhouse, and heavy equipment for haulage of sewage, water, and fuel. A landing strip was built for the community in 1973, and satellite telephone service began a year later.

Once again, Annie, like her mother and her grandmother, says very little about her girlhood and about spatial behaviour within the family home. Most likely this is due in large part to the fact that the source material I was able to obtain always focused on her art—its meaning, its subject matter, its thematic links to Napatchie and Pitseolak, and her reflections on her identity as an artist. However, I was able to piece together preliminary suppositions regarding Annie’s possible girlhood experiences. To do this, I used Site Media transcripts originating from the eponymous 30-minute documentary, *Annie Pootoogook*, in which the director Marcia Connolly (2006) used first-person narrative and video diary approaches to interview the artist. The entire set of transcripts consists of over 200 pages that were transcribed from 10 separate video tapes. During most of the video-recorded interview process, Annie responded in Inuktitut because in her interpreted words, “Inuktitut is my first language and therefore I prefer to speak it” (Transcript 21, p. 1). Any time either Annie or her interpreter(s) spoke Inuktitut, the transcript contained this notation: <Inuktitut>. I prefer the transcripts over the actual video recording because on some level her voice remains unadulterated and also because some of the interview material does not appear in the documentary.

Annie never self-describes as belonging to the Settlement Generation, yet when asked about her subject matter, she expresses a longing for a traditional Inuit lifestyle. Annie wishes she “could go back to the past” because she recognizes how physically demanding it was and she wants to help Pitseolak, her grandmother. Also, as an artist, Annie would like to have produced works on paper that depicted traditional Inuit life, a subject matter that practically defined Inuit art until Annie’s drawings began attracting the attention of Southern gallerists and curators. The following lengthy translated quote hints at the depth of Annie’s longing:

Yeah, there are times that I wish I could go back to the past, especially when I see drawings that my grandmother has done. She has drawings of herself carrying very heavy stuff and I wish I was there to help her. But I know that’s impossible.

... Like, you ... you can see my art today is very modern and if I had lived back then, like in the 1930s or something, I would have been able to draw like that then, Inuit people using the equipment and utensils they used back then. I really like that about that lifestyle. ... Yeah, I really feel I missed out on the good times. I don't know why but that's my feeling. (Transcript 20, p. 9)

When asked about her subject matter, Annie explains she is from the 1960s and therefore prefers drawing what she has seen and what she knows. Acutely aware that her subject matter differs from most artwork produced by Kingnait artists, including her own family, she emphasizes that her predecessors knew about the past and for this they are lucky. If she had had their experience, she would have drawn about it as well. "But", she adds, "I didn't see any igloo, no. I didn't see any of those in my life. Only today, skidoo, Honda, house, things inside the house, that's only I see today" (Transcript 13, p. 13).

No Room for Sewing

Family and friends would know better than I whether Annie ever had her own bedroom and if so, they may know how it was used. Knowing that Pitseolak and Napatchie moved into permanent homes in the mid-1960s, four to five years before Annie was born, presumably her parents tried to use their Southern-style home as if it were designed to accommodate an Inuit lifestyle. In "Unfriendly Architecture: Using Observations of Inuit Spatial Behavior to Design Culturally Sustaining Houses in Arctic Canada," Peter Dawson's (2008) ethnographic observations reveal usage patterns that may have remained fairly consistent over the last 30 years, approximately 1972 to 2002. During the summer of 2002, Dawson documented the daily activities of 47 Inuit families living in the community of Arviat, Nunavut. Note, although Arviat and Kingnait are geographically far apart, both communities coped with homes "designed around another culture's concept of homemaking and family life" (p. 116); therefore,

I cautiously draw upon Dawson's work to discuss a possible reason why contrary to Frith's (1978) claim that girl culture starts and finishes in the bedroom, in the context under discussion, Kingnait girl culture does not necessarily start and finish in the bedroom.

Dawson (2008) reports that it was "common for bedrooms to go unused or to [function] as children's play areas, storage rooms or workshops" (p. 121). In other words, Inuit did not necessarily use bedrooms in the way they are used down South. Sometimes bedrooms functioned as makeshift sewing rooms because women's preferred sewing locations, living rooms and kitchens, were heavily used by family members. However, bedroom size and overall house temperature often were inappropriate because sewing hunters' tailored clothing using animal skins required locations that were spacious and cool. The home's heating system made most rooms too hot and dry, not only adversely affecting sewing activities but also causing hide clothing to deteriorate; completed caribou and seal skin clothing were usually stored in freezers and cold porches. Since bedroom spaces were unusable, women scheduled sewing times when the house was relatively empty and the interior temperature could be adjusted, a difficult plan because "socializing was the most frequently observed category of activity in Inuit households" (p. 120) while sewing comprised only four percent.

Annie's works on paper reflect many of Dawson's observations about the use of space. They portray domestic scenes that occur in the kitchen, the living room and in summer tents. Typically, these interior scenes represent families and extended families seated on the floor engaged in group activities such as eating traditional food or seated at the kitchen table eating mainstream food, playing traditional Inuit games like juggling in the living room, or sleeping in tents. They also portray living room scenes where adolescents pluck or dye an adult's grey hair, as well a composition that shows a girl with her doll at her side removing her kamik seated by her mother who is making kamiks (see **FIGURE 3.6**).

Sometimes, a scene involving communal space shows individuals engaged in solitary activities like boys playing Nintendo while a family member eats a meal in a different part of the room, or a father and daughter unpacking groceries while the mother cooks as a different daughter washes the dishes. Bedroom scenes usually stage adult activities such as dressing for work, lying in bed talking, making love, or watching porn.

Figure 3.6. Annie Pootoogook. *Compositon: Woman Making Kamiks*, 2006.



Drawing in Bed

Regarding the images collected for the doctoral study, there are only two drawings where girls appear in a bedroom: *My Mother and I* (2004–2005) and *Pitseolak Drawing with Two Girls on the Bed* (see **FIGURE 3.7**). The drawings differ in that the former portrays

Annie, young enough to have a doll, while the latter, as indicated by the title, features two adolescent girls. This particular image showcases Pitesolak's bed as her preferred site for drawing, an idea reinforced by a photograph that frequently appears in the artist's biographical material (see **FIGURE 3.8**).

Figure 3.7. Annie Pootoogook. *Pitseolak Drawing with Two Girls on the Bed*, 2006.





Figure 3.8. Pitseolak drawing in bed in her son Kumwartok's house, c. 1975.

I interpret both drawings on three levels: First, rather than a site for leisure pursuits, the bedroom functions as a workspace and a site of artistic productivity. Possibly, this functionality carries Inuit notions dating back to *ilagiit nunagivaktangit* about human spatial behaviour and how Inuit transferred their use of space into housing contexts. Second, the two girls—who some believe represent Annie and her cousin Shuvinai Ashoona²⁸—keenly observe Pitseolak, who herself is engrossed in creating a drawing. Annie's drawing illustrates situated learning; this time, however, instead of observing Pitseolak sewing, they observe her drawing. Annie illustrates Inuit apprenticeship model at a moment when what was being learned was shifting from sewing skins to producing works on paper. Third, the drawing itself provides evidence for the resounding success that Inuit girls and women have achieved as their artistic

²⁸ Shuvinai Ashoona has been drawing since the mid-1990s. She and Annie, along with several other third-generation artists, have been credited with evolving the Inuit art form from market-driven to an avant garde practice (Campbell, 2017b, <https://www.aci-iac.ca/art-books/shuvinai-ashoona>).

contributions evolved from sewing to graphic arts. Annie informs us that if her wish came true, she would “sew seal skin to help my grandma when she worked. I wish I was there to help her to show me. ... I would know Inuit traditional way today. Like, if I know I would sew” (Transcript 16, p. 9). Annie acknowledges that she learned to draw by observing both her mother and her grandmother and that they inspired her subject matter. After they passed away, she believed someone had to continue their work. She explains: “[Be]cause they’re talking about their life, too, my mum and my grandma. So that’s how I do, too, a true story, too. What I’ve been through in life” (Transcript 14, p. 6). Similar to Berlo’s (1993) interpretation of Napatchie’s *My Tent*, Annie’s *Mother & I* and *Pitseolak Drawing* documents the modern ways of the Inuit master artist including her spatial behaviour, the world of the Inuit artist who represents these ways in graphic arts, and the contemporary representation of her engaged in successive stages of the recent past.

Sewing: A Girl-Method for Researching Inuit Girl Culture

Pitseolak’s accomplishment highlights the flexibility and durability of a skill learned in girlhood, a skill that transitioned her into married life and provided her family with the necessities of life. Then as a widow, sewing permitted her to avoid the confines of marriage. Finally, as a woman in her mid-50s, at a time when the wage economy increasingly superseded the hunting economy, the accomplished seamstress became an accomplished artist in control of her source of income and, by extension, a grandmother capable of caring for her extended family. Her daughter Napatchie’s achievements demonstrate that this girlhood skill went beyond producing skin clothing and graphic art to supplement the family income; it also provided privacy—a bedroom of her own in essence. This virtual bedroom, much like Western girls’ bedrooms discussed earlier in this chapter, functioned as a site to rehearse for married life as well as a site for interior development. More importantly, as far as I can tell, unlike Pitseolak’s sewing,

Napatchie's drawings present her audience with the artist's self-portrait serving to acknowledge she belongs to successive generations of Inuit girls and women, and announcing that, despite the surrounding rapidly changing modern context, her artistic contributions ensure Inuit culture persists. Finally, Annie's artwork confirms the spatial behaviour practiced by the Settlement Generation. I speculate that she grew up in Southern-style homes that were used as if they were traditional Inuit dwellings. Her works on paper illustrates some of the ways Inuit families, in Dawson's words, "retain[ed] their cultural identities, as well as remain[ed] economically and socially viable within a semi-traditional lifestyle" (2008, p. 125). Her productivity validates efforts made by Kingnait's first generation of artists (a small group that included several family members including her grandmother, mother and father) to integrate aspects of the hunting economy into the wage labor economy attached to government-sanctioned settlements. Interestingly, although Annie may have been unable to sew, the art forms she inherited remain a prominent feature of contemporary life. Actually, Ooloosie Ashevak, Kenojuak Ashevak's²⁹ daughter-in-law, using the traditional style and colours distinct to Kinngarmuit, integrated some of Kenojuak's best-known images into her hand-sewn amauti³⁰. Ooloosie's amauti brings full circle the process depicted in *My Tent* and *Mother & I* and *Pitseolak Drawing*: the act of sewing skins and drawing pictures becomes subject matter for artists, and eventually master seamstresses integrate some of their images into traditional Inuit clothing. This cyclical pattern suggests that Inuit girls' and women's artistic contributions integrate skills such as sewing and drawing while

²⁹ Kenojuak Ashevak (1927–2013) is the most acclaimed graphic artist among the core group of first generation of Inuit artists. Her prints have been featured multiple times on Canadian postage stamps, including *Enchanted Owl*, one of her most recognizable works. According to Canadian Art, she received two honorary doctorates, a star on Canada's Walk of Fame, and, in 2008, the Governor General's Award in Visual and Media Arts. (<https://canadianart.ca/news/kenojuak-ashevak/>)

³⁰ An image of Ooloosie's handmade amauti can be found on Waddington's website. The parka combines duffle, beads, coins and wolverine fur trim. According to the auction house, its style and colors are distinct to Kinngarmiut. <https://www.waddingtons.ca/auction/inuit-art-auction-apr-23-2007/gallery/lot/66/>

archiving the memories and expertise that accompany these skillsets.

In their essay “How to Study Girl Culture,” girlhood scholars Claudia Mitchell and Jacqueline Reid-Walsh (2008b) map out four themes that combine into a practical girl-method for researching girl culture: age disaggregation, participatory process, intergenerationality, and historical context. While this chapter exemplifies the relevance of the historical context, below I discuss age disaggregation and intergenerationality. When we examine sewing in an Inuit context from 1950 to 1970, we notice that girls’ preparedness for adulthood would have been assessed through evaluation of their sewing abilities. When we reduce sewing to pattern, outline and two-dimensional form (Berlo, 1993), in Pitseolak’s case it becomes evident that for her entire life, sewing was an integral aspect quotidian life. This reality reveals an entirely different dimension for age disaggregation, the practice of dividing the term ‘girl’ into “separate yet often overlapping age categories” (Mitchell & Reid-Walsh, 2008b, p. 20). Mitchell and Reid-Walsh highlight that the classification of girl spans the female lifespan (p. 20):

These include 55-year old women who are Gap shoppers with their Baby Gap granddaughters; girl rock bands from Generation X; Gwen Stefani, claiming that she is ‘just a girl’; the commodification of girlhood nostalgia through American Girl branding aimed at tween girls; and finally, baby girls (and ‘it’s a girl’).

From the perspective of Inuit traditional sewing, throughout their lifetime females practice a skill learned as girls; therefore, classification of these skills spans a lifetime. In addition to observing how females are classified as girls through their lifespan, what happens when girlhood scholars interrogate girlhood practices for the same length of time? What happens when a girlhood practice spans a lifetime? What forms of individual and collective memory are archived in the practice?

These questions easily connect to intergenerationality. This girl-method refers to research about girl culture initiated by adults who themselves once were girls or may have had significant contact with girls as sisters, cousins, daughters, or peers. It also

refers to “the links between the lives of women and the lives of girls” (p. 21). Often this research strand uses memory to interrogate retrospective accounts, either in the far or near distant past. These accounts may draw upon photographs (Strong Wilson, 2016) or Girl Scout badges (Anderson & Behringer, 2010), as well as stories, for instance, about a dress (Weber & Mitchell, 2004). Most retrospective accounts examine temporal aspects of girlhood through particular objects such as wearing a dress for an age-specific special occasion (e.g., being a flower girl in a Catholic wedding procession, or garments worn during coming-of-age ceremonies like the Navajo Kinaaldá, the Jewish bat mitzvah, or the Hispanic quinceañera). When we frame Inuit graphic arts, or its precursor, Inuit traditional sewing, as intergenerational, first, we associate girlhood with continuity as opposed to perceiving girlhood as a series of singular events that start and end at certain ages. Second, we ponder texts that link girlhood to adulthood and objects that store individual and collective memories. A girl recalls why and when an item was created, where and with whom it was made, along with technology-memories regarding the materials and how they were assembled. Thus, when framed as an intergenerational activity, Inuit female artistic contributions may demonstrate some of the ways girlhood archives, recreates and refines personal and collective knowledge. These contributions have the potential to broaden our understandings of Inuit girlhood because both their processes and products represent individual and collective memory, create a multiplicity of objects, signify a highly evolved land-based technology and lifestyle, all of which stretch across the human lifespan, as well as extend traditional culture and values that have guided Inuit for millennia.

Summary

In this chapter, I situated Annie’s girlhood in a family that was navigating the transition from traditional Inuit camps to settlement housing from roughly 1950 to 1975. I projected an imaginary Inuit girlhood onto both Northern housing and

government-supplied Southern one-room units in an effort to describe both Inuit spatial agency and a particular girlhood practice: sewing. To anchor the chapter, I used intergenerationality, a girl-method, to construct a three-generation narrative device that illustrated Inuit spatial behaviour by describing the girlhoods of Pitseolak, her daughter Napatchie, and her granddaughter Annie as all three women adjusted to government-provided housing. This illustration served to contextualize another layer of the intergenerational narrative that chronicled how, as the Inuit hunting economy was supplanted by the wage-economy, Pitseolak and Napatchie transmuted the millennia-old art of skin sewing and clothing manufacture into modern graphic arts. This chronology demonstrated that Annie did not abandon traditional sewing for drawing with art supplies. I argued that Inuit girlhood artistic practices such as sewing and drawing are analogous to Southern girls' bedroom practices because in both Northern and Southern contexts, aspects of girlhood involve rehearsing for certain gendered tasks that prepare girls for adult life. I framed this argument in girlhood studies by drawing on theories that present post-WWII Western girls' bedrooms as both sites for leisure activities that functioned as rehearsal for adult married life for working- and middle-class girls, such as decorating their rooms or experimenting with make-up, and bedrooms as sites of study for scholars interested in girlhood. Finally, I also framed Annie in a historical context in which the federal government's priorities shaped Inuit into sedentary communities; in Kingnait with its strong economic position relative to other settlements in the Qikiqtaaluk region; and as part of a generation that was born and raised in settlements, yet also as a third-generation artist. Framing Annie's girlhood, and Inuit girlhood more broadly, laid the groundwork for upcoming chapters that analyze her drawings that portray Inuit sexuality and Inuit traditional food practices.

4

Food for Thought: Annie Pootoogook's Images of Inuit Foodways

To be Inuk is to share food, and to share food is to be Inuk.

Goombay, 2006, p. 504

In their article, "Language and Territorialization: Food Consumption and the Creation of Urban Indigenous Space," Donna Patrick, Benjamin Shaer, and Gabriele Budach (2017) define Inuit foodways as (para. 2):

The practices and beliefs associated with Inuit food, which continue to be more aligned with concerns about food security and with the desire of many Inuit to continue centuries-old subsistence practices related to hunting, butchering, sharing and consuming marine and other animals. Inuit foodways are related, too, to cosmologies associated with the land, sea, and air and the animals and spirits that live in these realms.

As indicated in **CHAPTER 3**, government-supplied Southern-style housing severely restricted Inuit families in that the homes were unable to accommodate the need to butcher and store land and marine meat. Yet, rather than replace Inuit food (alternatively country or traditional food) with store-bought food, many Inuit families adapted Inuit foodways to settlement living. An adaptation made visible in the following classification system: “as a general rule Inuit classify foods according to whether or not they are hunted, fished or gathered locally (Inuit foods), or whether they are produced, packaged, and sold in stores” (Qallunaat foods) (Searles, 2002, p. 66).

Annie Pootoogook produced a large number of drawings on the subject. After looking at nearly one hundred drawings, I realized that country food appears more frequently than Qallunaat food, that scenes related to hunting outnumber images that involve shopping for or unpacking groceries. In fact, the artist regularly depicted families cooking, distributing, eating and sharing country food. A conceptual thread runs through these pictures: *ningirniq*, the customary sharing of meat (Nunavut Arctic College, 1999b, p. 229). The sizable difference between Annie’s visual images of Qallunaat and Inuit food indicate that Inuit have adapted *ningirniq* to their contemporary context. In an attempt to better understand how *ningirniq* connects to country food and girlhood, I gathered 10 images into what I call the *Inuit Foodways* series:

1. *Eating Seal at Home*, 2001.
2. *Preparing for the Women’s Beluga Feast*, 2001–2002.
3. *Bringing Home Food*, 2003–2004.
4. *Family Gathering Whale Meat*, 2003–2004.
5. *Composition: Whale Tail Party*, 2003–2004.
6. *Memory of Eating with Family*, 2005.
7. *Composition: Tools and Fish*, 2005–2006.
8. *Untitled: Preparing a Meal*, 2005–2006.

9. *Man on the Radio*, 2006.

10. *Three Men Carving a Seal, Three Women Cleaning*, 2006.

Notably, there are many more images to choose from with food as their subject matter, including *Coleman Stove with Robin Hood Flour and Tenderflake* (2003–2004), *Licking the Plate Clean* (2004–2005) and *Woman Making Tea* (2005–2006). Ultimately, they were left out of the series due to a preference for images that involve girls more directly.

In this chapter, I look at some of the ways Inuit food behaviour shapes Inuit girlhood. I argue that country food features prominently in Inuit girlhood because it is shared with both extended family and community members and when eaten communally it is a source of shared pleasure. To do this, I offer two interrelated vignettes inspired by the *Inuit Foodways* series: “Saturday Night Feast” and “Women’s Feast.” The vignettes observe the customary sharing of meat in both a pre-settlement and settlement context. They also counter negative reactions provoked by images of Inuit eating raw meat. A case in point, in May 2009 when Michaëlle Jean, the former Governor General, ate raw seal in the traditional way in Rankin Inlet, a small community in Nunavut, “the gesture was not well received among non-Inuit commentators, who expressed disbelief, disapproval, or disgust, using language like ‘bizarre,’ ‘Neanderthal,’ and ‘blood lust’ in doing so” (Patrick, Shaer, & Budach, 2017, para. 39).

Organized into four sections, in this chapter, first, I examine literature that focuses on Southern girls and Western ideals of thinness, as well as adolescents’ perceptions of food. I claim that the literature indirectly reveals participants’ lack of connection to food in its raw state. The second section, “Vignettes: How and Why,” explains the reasoning behind and the making of the vignettes created for this chapter. Also, because the images in the series have never been organized in this manner, I include a sub-section that describes the selection process. Section three includes both vignettes with images from the *Inuit Foodways* series interspersed throughout the

section. Finally, in section four, I discuss themes conveyed in the vignettes to connect ningituaq with girls' food insecurity and their preparation for the workforce.

What's Food Got to do with It?

Scholarship around body image and healthy eating tends to associate girls and food in ways that construct food as an object they manipulate in their efforts to alter, dismiss, or follow body image ideals of female thinness. Adult-directed (nutritious) food choices for children and youth—No snacks before dinner! Eat your vegetables.—seem to revolve around preventing obesity or promoting a healthy diet, rather than presenting food as pleasurable or life-giving. Additionally, gendered food choices tend to lend credibility to stereotypes that women eat more healthfully than men. The literature I was able to review often revolved around Western social meanings of food, particularly notions that food could (eventually) be dangerous for one's health. I wondered whether any studies presented food as pleasurable or something to be shared.

Thin Ideal: Where is the Food?

When it comes to food, there is a scarcity of girlhood scholarship on the subject. The two-volume *Girl Culture: An Encyclopedia* (Mitchell & Reid-Walsh, 2008) represents girlhood scholars' concerns about the thin ideal, a pronounced standard of women's beauty in North America and Western Europe. The thin ideal "is primarily associated with a Barbie-esque body shape, including a disproportionately small waist, large breasts, and long legs (Cohen, 2008, p. 575). The encyclopedia links anorexia (Brodey, 2008); binge-eating (Neighbours, 2008a); bulimia (Duke, 2008); and disordered eating (Neighbours, 2008b) to the internalization of the thin ideal. Rarely mentioned directly in the encyclopedia entries, food comes across as something to be withheld to the point of self-starvation, to be eaten uncontrollably in excessive amounts in a short period of time, and then purged. Certain types or quantities of food can be omitted, restricted,

skipped, or abstained from for varying lengths of time. Beneath this inference lies another: the great remove Western societies have placed between themselves and the food they eat.

Drawing upon research from various disciplines, it becomes clear that most Western girls and women link social pressure towards thinness to their eating-related beliefs and behaviours. In the field of psychology, Lindeman and Stark (1999) broadened understandings around food choices linked to a single motive, such as weight control. They were interested in four motives that are “plausibly related to personality, namely health, weight concern, pleasure and ideological reasons” (p. 142). Their two-part study analyzed the relationship between personality and food choice motives among young and middle-aged women. For the first study, 171 young and middle-aged women (ages 17 to 45) completed questionnaires that were distributed in six summer university courses in the capital city of Finland, Helsinki. For the second study, 118 senior high-school girls (ages 16 to 18) completed similar questionnaires that were distributed to three senior high-schools from the Helsinki area. Their results “portrayed six food choice clusters among the women: gourmets, indifferents, health fosterers, ideological eaters, health dieters and distressed dieters” (p. 155). Of these six groups, I focus on the gourmets cluster due to my interest in whether or not food, other than junk food, was portrayed as a source of enjoyment for girls. The gourmets were the biggest subgroup in both studies. Lindeman and Stark inform that the gourmets “were omnivores who were mainly motivated by the good taste of food and pleasure of eating” (p. 155). Nevertheless, women from Study 1 were acutely aware of “the social pressures to be thin and beautiful” while the high-school students had internalized these pressures and “were quite dissatisfied with their appearance and weight although they were not more obese than others” (p. 156). These social pressures combined with the overabundance of “health promotion programmes” and “the moral force of antifat and health campaigns” suggest that for these women enjoying and finding pleasure

in food involves “feelings of guilt and dissatisfaction with self, especially during adolescence, when appearance and social approval is of particular importance” (p. 156). The authors recommend future studies explore “whether, and in which circumstances, the pleasure of eating is becoming a vice instead of being seen as one of life’s harmless enjoyments” (p. 156). The young and middle-aged women from Helsinki who were involved in this study demonstrate that in social contexts laden with thin messages, these women were never able to entirely rid themselves of body dissatisfaction.

Adolescents and Food: Attitudes, Branding and Cutoff

Where Lindeman and Stark (1999) examined the relationship between women’s personalities and food choice motives, a study coming out of Ireland investigated adolescents’ knowledge and attitudes towards food. Stevenson, Doherty, Barnett, Muldoon and Trew (2007) “map out the variety of understandings of healthy eating among adolescents” (p. 420). Their study consisted of 12 focus groups consisting of 40 boys and 35 girls, ages 12 to 15 years old. The participants came from “a range of socio-economic groups and rural/urban locations via second level schools across Ireland, North and South” (p. 420). The authors reported that their findings were consistent with existing research. Simply, media, parents and peers influenced the youth’s eating behaviour. Overall, the youth demonstrated an “almost complete absence of a positive understanding of an attainable and balanced healthy diet” (p. 429). They viewed healthy eating as “an unusual, unpleasant short-term activity to avoid the stigma of obesity or to enhance attractiveness” (p. 431). The authors confirmed existing research that youth found pleasure in unhealthy foods because they tasted and looked better than healthy choices. When asked, they reported that the food they liked the most included burgers, chips, processed foods, pizza, chocolate and sweets; conversely, they disliked fruit, vegetables, unprocessed meat and seafood. Notably, the majority of youth reported that at home their parents selected and prepared food. An indication that

youth have little to no experience with food in its raw form, instead they encounter it as something served on a plate at home or at school, at a fast-food counter or a restaurant. Further, even though they may know how to purchase packaged or ready-made food, they seem uninformed about how to buy fresh food from a produce section or a fruit and vegetable stand. Their apparent level of disconnect from food in its natural state—either animal or plant form—resonates with the idea mentioned above that Western societies have distanced themselves from activities related to food such as butchering meat, washing produce, or harvesting and hunting.

In the field of Communication Studies, Charlene Elliott (2014) applied notions around branding to explore teenagers' perceptions of commodity products and categories of food that do not have a 'brand personality.' As a concept, a simplified definition for brand personality refers to "the set of human characteristics associated with a brand" (p. 86). To illustrate, "Coke is regarded as 'cool all-American and real', Pepsi is seen as 'young exciting and hip', and Dr. Pepper, 'nonconforming, unique and fun'" (p. 86). Elliott was interested in "how young people understood food *as persons*" (p. 86, original italics). The study consisted of three activities, only one of which I describe shortly. Five "focus groups were used to elicit teenagers' perspectives on food and food personalities" (p. 86). The groups totalling 30 students (18 female; 12 male; ages 12–14) were separated by both grade and gender: three girl groups from grades 7, 8, 9 and two boy groups from grades 7 and 8. For the third activity, the conversation starter went as follows: "It is interesting to consider different food and think about the kinds of ideas they bring to mind. Let's say broccoli was a person at a party. What kind of person would broccoli be?" (p. 86). This line of questioning included milk, eggs, meat, junk food, and organic food. Elliott reported two key interconnected findings: all five groups consistently attached meanings to commodity products and unprocessed food and these meanings "worked to stigmatize particular foods and valorize others" (p. 87). Examples include the teenagers' unanimous identification that broccoli was

“rather shy, unpopular and boring”, or that meat was male and older, while organics was “shy, female and a person of quality: the kind of person who blossoms once you get to know her” (p. 89). These findings add to existing studies that explain how adolescents’ food choices function as a form of social status: to fit in, to elevate their social standing, or to judge the status of others. However, they do more than that. Elliott remarks, “it is fascinating to see how teenagers apply a social status to foods themselves” (p. 89). For her, this line of research, projecting human personalities onto food (e.g., “dress, age, gender, popularity, as well as character and attitudinal traits” (p. 87)) expand current understandings about young people’s social meanings of food. These emerging understandings, for instance, could translate into influencing adolescents’ food choices by addressing “the social stigma associated with broccoli as unpopular, a ‘geek’ or a ‘loner,’” instead of focusing exclusively on promoting its nutritional qualities (p. 89). The research focus, in all likelihood, explains why I was unable to detect the attitude that food was pleasurable, or that food was to be shared and eating it together was a pleasure.

Inuit Alternatives to Body Image and Store-Bought Food

I have looked at food as an object that makes it (im)possible for girls to draw closer to the thin body shape, food as a simultaneous source of pleasure and guilt due in large part to the internalization of unattainable beauty ideals; Western food categorized as good and bad, where healthy food was bad and unhealthy was good; and finally, food as a person, where social status (or stigma) has begun to leak into social meanings of food. Strikingly, and again this may have a lot to do with the purposes of the studies discussed above, the authors indicated that their participants interacted with food that was packaged, plated, prepared and processed. In other words, participants rarely dealt with raw food. Conversely, some Inuit view body image differently and many have more experience with raw food than the participants from the three studies.

In Perspectives on Traditional Health, volume five of the series Interviewing Inuit Elders (Nunavut Arctic College, 2001), Tipuula Qaapik Atagutsiak from Ikpiarjuk (Arctic Bay), Northern Baffin, was asked (p. 98): “We see women on television who have beautiful bodies and beautiful blonde hair. In the past did people value a person’s physical appearance as well, or did they value a person’s inner characteristics?” Tipuula’s response demonstrates her generation’s preoccupation with women’s skills and abilities (p. 98): I was told not to judge a person solely on their appearance. I was advised if I was going to judge someone, it should be on how well they could make things such as clothing. If I liked a certain woman’s work, I would try and make something similar. If I did not like it, I would not try and copy it. I was advised never to judge a person or to say that they were good or bad.

Tipuula informs the interviewer that skills and expertise matter more than physical appearances. Where we may be unable to emulate someone’s look, we could always learn from them if, for instance, we admired something they produced. If not, then we could simply live and let live. Tanya Tagaq, a renowned Inuk throat singer from Iqaluktuutiaq (Cambridge Bay), Nunavut, further complicates the thin ideal when she confides, “If I’m worrying too much about what I look like, then I have to ask myself whether I’m nurturing myself spiritually, intellectually. If I have a lot of good things to say and to think, my physical self is irrelevant” (Light Echo Productions, 2014, 03:37–04:03). Her strategy to reflect on whether her spirituality or her intellect are malnourished implicitly rejects dieting, exercise, or cosmetic surgery as the only options when she becomes preoccupied with appearance evaluation and body dissatisfaction.

When it comes to a shared relationship between humans and the food they eat, Tagaq associates eating freshly killed land meat to “plucking an apricot off a tree and it’s perfectly ripe and juicy” (04:39–05:13). In this scenario, Southerners would know where the tree was planted, whether it was plucked in the late spring or mid-summer,

whether they were alone, with family, friends, or a pet dog. In other words, the social context and the natural surroundings would likely enhance the apricot's ripe juicy taste. I must admit the only apricot plucking I have ever done is in the fruit section of a grocery store. In this regard, my alienation from the apricot—and by extension from all of the food in my kitchen—is a fairly common feature of my urban lifestyle.

A contrasting example to my alienation comes from Patrick, Shaer, and Budach (2017). They describe a seal feast organized by and for Inuit living in the city and held on the grounds of the Ottawa Inuit Children's Centre, an Inuit educational community centre³¹. The four-foot seal had been harvested by a hunter and then shipped frozen on a flight from Iqaluit to Ottawa. Many Inuit who were present at the feast "knew exactly where the seal had been harvested and how it had travelled across vast space and social contexts ... some even knew the hunter involved" (para. 27). Their awareness of the relationship between hunter, animal and place demonstrated to the authors that these individuals shared close social and cultural attachments to "Inuit seal harvesting, carving, sharing, and eating practices traditionally associated with seal meat" (para. 28). They contrast the Inuit's recognition of the seal as a once-living creature with the way Canadians reduce animals to meat. They point out that "industrially mass-produced meat has estranged the human from the living animal, to a point where children growing up in cities no longer know what they animal they are eating looks like" (para. 46). Certainly, I have presented an oversimplified contrast, practically binary, between Northerners and Southerners regarding the thin ideal and store-bought packaged meat compared to freshly killed. Therefore, to contextualize Inuit foodways more thoroughly, I submit the upcoming two vignettes based on Annie Pootoogook's visual representations of girls and Inuit food. Next, I explain how the vignettes were prepared and why the series of images is based on food.

³¹ For those interested, the Nunatsiaq News has archived an image of the feast: https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/photo_ottawas_real_seal_meal/

Vignettes: How and Why

What-If Scenarios

Much that has been written about Annie's artwork places it in the context of three different generations, including my chapter that organized the settlement period around the lives of her grandmother, mother, and herself (see **CHAPTER 3**). This contextualization supports a comparative analysis of the interplay that occurred as each successive generation became increasingly distant from living on the land, yet more involved with the local, national and international contemporary art scene (Allen, Pootoogook, & Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 2011; Campbell, 2017a; Feheley, 2004). Readers may recall that from 1950 to 1975 most Inuit moved from the *ilagiit nunagivaktangit* to government-sanctioned settlements (QIA, 2013c). I relied on this approximate time frame to select some of the facts and stories told by Inuit that inform both vignettes; however, I also drew upon contemporary sources. For example, in "Saturday Night Feast" I included several elements from Sandra Pikujak Katsak's lively account of the Saturday night feasts she enjoyed as a girl growing up in Mittimatalik (Pond Inlet, sometimes referred to as 'Pond'). Sandra's life story appears alongside her mother's and grandmother's life stories in *Saqiyuq: Stories from the Lives of Three Inuit Women* (Wachowich, Awa, Katsak, & Katsak, 2014/2011). Nancy Wachowich collected, transcribed and edited these women's stories that collectively document one family's experience living in the Eastern High Arctic. Each woman's narrative begins with the year of her birth: Sandra born in 1973; her mother Rhoda Kaukkak Katsak, born in 1957; and her grandmother Apphia Agalakti Siqpaapik Awa, born in 1931. Comparing the dates of birth of this mother-daughter trio with Annie's (1969), Napatchie's (1938), and Pitseolak's (1904) indicates the lived experiences of all six women bear some similarity even though each family lived on different parts of Baffin Island, respectively, Mittimatalik and Kingnait. I also included perspectives published in various formats

such as the *Nutrition Fact Sheet Series* produced by the Department of Health and Social Services, Government of Nunavut (2013); material from a short documentary about food that featured Tanya Tagaq, an internationally known Inuk experimental artist, vocalist and writer; as well as material from *Angry Inuk*, the award-winning feature-length documentary by Alethea Arnaquq-Baril (2016) that defends the Inuit seal hunt. At the same time, I wove in knowledge from Qallunaat who spent significant amounts of time with Inuit, such as Norman Hallendy, whose 2016 memoir is based on almost 50 years of travels through the Arctic as a Canadian civil servant; Edmund Searles (2002; 2016), mentioned above, whose Nunavut-based research in 1994, 2001, and 2014 included long- and short-term ethnographic fieldwork, and whose work focused on the ways Inuit use food to signify they are real Inuit; social anthropologist and human geographer Martina Tyrell (2008), who combined in-depth interviewing and participant observation to explore the social and cultural impact of the conservation management of beluga whales in the village of Quaqtaq, Nunavik; and finally, Magalie Quintal-Marineau (2017), whose work on Indigenous and human geographies draws on 29 families' personal stories that she collected in the community of Kangiqtugaapik between 2011 and 2013. Using semi-structured interviews and the highly visual individual life history calendars, Quintal-Marineau argues that the women's gender played a crucial role in their labour force activity and that wage employment was an important aspect of their Inuit female identity.

For both vignettes, I combined stories and fact, yet invented settings and social relationships. This technique brings together people from various times and places to fictionalize events leading up to and surrounding the shared meals illustrated in Annie's drawings that I have organized into a series on Inuit foodways. The vignettes function as a key or legend that accompanies the 10 drawings selected as the centrepiece for the larger meanings I believe appear in Annie's works of art. Usually when we are unfamiliar with a mapped area or with how to use a map, a legend serves as a guide

that identifies features on the map and translates various symbols shown on the map. “Without a legend,” Robertson (2016) tells us, “the map is in a way incomplete and interpretation is made difficult” (n.p.). In my opinion, Annie maps in exacting detail a modern subject matter that represents her Inuit knowledge, an idea I take up in the discussion section that follows the two vignettes.

Armchair Appropriation?

The entire time I was crafting the vignettes, I wondered about their legitimacy. What right did I, a settler of colour, have to create a story told from an Inuit perspective? How was synthesizing facts and stories shared by Inuit without their knowledge or consent any different from cultural appropriation? Was I producing written text based on aspects of autoethnography (Ellis & Bochner, 2000; Douglas & Carless, 2016), or was I producing a work of imagination? Regardless, did the vignettes actually belong in a doctoral dissertation? Although I never satisfactorily answered these questions, I became more certain about what I was attempting to do: verbalize meanings that eluded me as I went through the process from an initial to a close reading of the artist’s work. A case in point, the first time I looked at *Eating Seal at Home* (see **FIGURE 4.4**), all I saw was people seated on the floor eating raw seal. Due to my ignorance, I was unable to grasp any other meaning. From an academic perspective, I was ill prepared to organize what I saw, for example, around the mapping and referencing of concepts that Stephen Riggins (1994), a socio-semiotician, introduced in material culture studies. If I talked about the uluit (women’s crescent-shaped knives (see **FIGURE 4.1**)) that appear in the drawing, I could discuss for instance an Inuit woman and the personal experiences she ascribed to her ulu. In other words, I would be mapping the object. To reference the ulu, I could detail its aesthetics, customary use and history. My point being, it would take some time before I could look at Annie’s images and do anything more than systematically inventory their content.

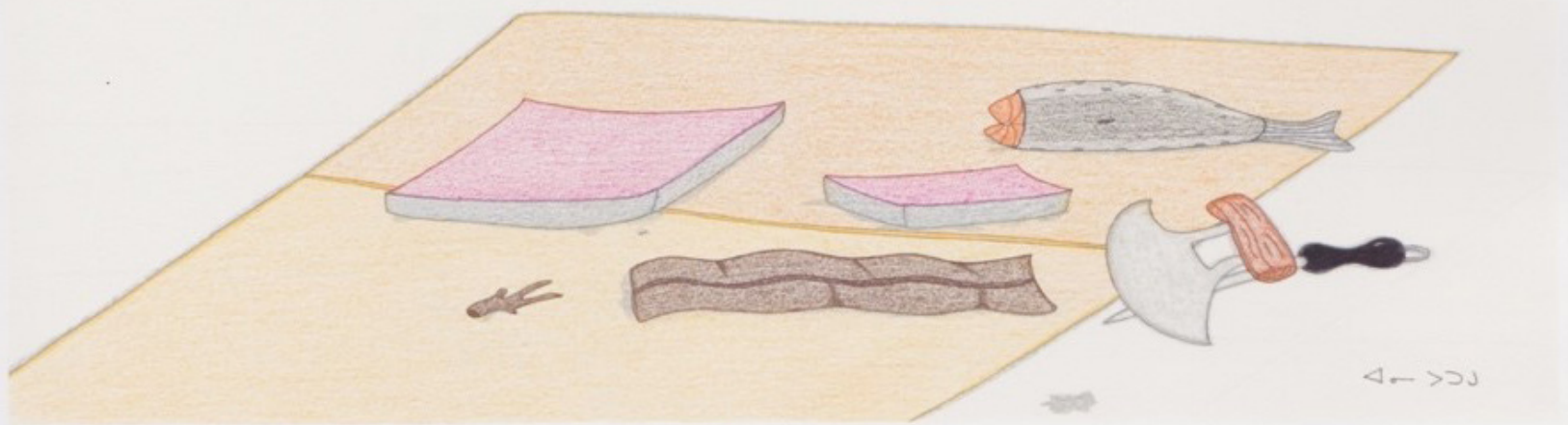


Figure 4.1. Annie Pootoogook. *Composition: Tools and Fish*, 2005–2006. Notice the ulu and scraper in foreground, right-hand side.

My vignettes share something in common with Kimberley Sanchez-Soares’s (2013) dissertation, *Ukiurtatuq: A ‘Novel’ Exploration of a White Teacher’s and an Inuit Student’s Journey to Graduation*. Her creative narrative or fictionalized account aims “to paint an authentic picture of Inuit life but in the form of a novel” (p. 4). She does this by merging fictional characters with her four-year experience teaching Secondary English and Social Studies “in a tiny Inuit community with a population of less than three hundred” (p. 4). The biggest point of departure between my vignettes and her fictionalized account comes from her actual experience living and teaching in an Inuit community. By contrast, I relay intellectual insights that come to mind when I read Annie’s works of art from a less culturally ignorant standpoint based on an assortment of publications. Sanchez-Soares consulted with “two very good Inuit friends and former students” (p. 5) because she wanted to “reinforce the realistic feel of the narrative” and “personally would not have felt comfortable writing about or from the perspective of an Inuk without the consent and approval of Inuit” (p. 5). In fact, I share her uneasiness. Although I was unable to share the vignettes with Inuit consultants, whenever possible, I selected facts and stories that appeared in multiple sources. For example,

“Saturday Night Feast” includes the celebrated tale in Amitturmiut history that relates Ataguttaaluk’s story of courage and survival when she was forced to eat human remains to stay alive. According to Wachowich (2014/2001), her story “has been described in a number of written accounts and is kept alive in Eastern Arctic oral tradition. Both elementary and senior level schools in Igloolik are named after Atagutaaluk” (p. 285). Among the primary and secondary source material I referenced, at least four elders talked about Ataguttaaluk in three different sources, each one presenting a different variation and interpretation for her actions. Undoubtedly, drawing upon material cited by different individuals from various sources fails to conceal the fact that, even with the best of intentions, I am still speaking on behalf of Inuit. Whenever I wondered about the vignettes’ legitimacy, I checked their content against ‘desire’ as defined by Eve Tuck and C. Ree (2013) in their “A Glossary of Haunting” that “is about righting (and sometimes wronging) wrongs”, a glossary that “includes *the particular and the general*, violating the terms of settler colonial knowledge which require the separation of the particular from the general” (p. 640, original italics). Tuck and Ree view desire as an antidote for damage narratives that maintain “natives are lost, and damaged, we were whole, once, but that was a long time ago, and in this reading everyone forgot why and when we became so broken” (Morrill & Tuck, 2016, p. 13)—damage narratives³² are pathologized ways to read and interact with Indigenous peoples. Again, I look at the vignettes with

³² Crisis discourse of girlhood shares some things in common with Morrill and Tuck’s conceptualization of damage narratives. Aapola, Gonick and Harris (2005) refer to this discourse as Reviving Ophelia after Mary Pipher’s 1994 book that furnished its name, *Reviving Ophelia: Saving the Selves of Adolescent Girls*. On one hand, this discourse has brought public attention to what it means to be female “in a world that was never designed for women” (p. 55) and the issues arising from this reality such as “low self-esteem, rampant eating disorders, depression and high risk behaviors” (p. 55). On the other, the Reviving Ophelia discourse perpetuates notions that white middle-class girls are most deserving of sympathy and concern, while framing girls who are in racialized and classed positions as hapless victims. What concerns Aapola, Gonick and Harris the most about this discourse is the way “it individualizes social problems” (p. 55). As long as girls put in the work to better themselves, through therapy and support, they will come up with personal solutions “to social problems that could be threatening their lives” (p. 55) and over which they have little ability to control and less power to rectify.

desire—do they “recognize suffering, the costs of settler colonialism and capitalism”? Do they prove Inuit “still thrive in the face of loss anyway; that parts of them won’t be destroyed”? (Tuck & Ree, 2013 p. 648). The vignettes represent how I answered these questions.

Inuit Foodways: A Series of 10 Drawings by Annie Pootoogook

Annie, like her mother Napatchie and her grandmother Pitseolak, was a prolific artist. According to available estimates, Pitseolak produced over 7,000 works on paper (Leroux, Jackson, & Aodla Freeman, 1994), Napatchie created over 4,000 (Ryan & Wight, 2004), and Annie’s drawings amount to upwards of 1,000 (Powless, 2017). Most of Annie’s work that I have seen was exhibited in the early years of her artistic career and appears in a number of catalogues including *Annie Pootoogook* (Campbell, Baerwaldt, & Root, 2007), *Annie Pootoogook: Kinngait Compsitions* (Allen et al., 2011). In November 2017, I travelled from Montreal to the McMichael Canadian Art Collection to view *Cutting Ice*, an exhibit intended to celebrate the artist’s life and work. Nancy Campbell, the lead curator, selected 54 drawings, most of which were exhibited in the early years of Annie’s career before the artist left Kingnait after having won the Sobey Award in an effort to establish an artistic career in Montreal. The *Inuit Foodways* series I compiled for my study comes from *Cutting Ice* and *Kinngait Compositions*, with the exception of four that I found while searching the Internet for Annie’s drawings.

Overall, any image that included a girl met the basic criterion to be included in an inquiry devoted to Inuit girlhood. On the surface, identifying the girl in the picture appears to be a straightforward task. Most Canadians would agree that gender identification defines a girl. Age separates girlhood from womanhood; however, it can be imprecise. For example, the Webster’s New World College online dictionary defines a girl as a female younger than 18, whereas United Nations’ agencies define girl “as being between the ages of 15 and 29” (Mitchell & Reid-Walsh, 2008b, p. 20). At a time

when the gender binary has been replaced by a gender spectrum that acknowledges the existence of transgender and non-binary identities, physical characteristics are not necessarily reliable markers to identify girls. When Inuit naming practices are added to these considerations, Southern notions about age and gender become all the more complex. Inuit names are passed down from one generation to the next with the namesake's age and gender inextricably linked to the person's name. In other words, because age and gender are bundled into a name, when someone is given another person's name – for example, Annie – several family and community members may relate to that someone as a 47-year-old woman, regardless of whether the person who has received the name is a newborn male, an adolescent female, or an elderly man. Unlike Southern names, Inuit names themselves are genderless (e.g., Geraldine and Gerald, Roberta and Robert). In her essay, "Inuit Names: The People Who Love You," Valeria Alia (2005), a professor of ethics and identity, explains that cross-gendered naming establishes strong ties between an Inuk and his or her atiq or namesake such that "kinship terms, dress, and behaviour often follow the relationship rather than the person's biological sex" (p. 253). She offers several examples by way of clarification that include the following quote by an Inuk father: "No child is only a child. If I give my grandfather's atiq to my baby daughter, she is my grandfather. I will call her ataataassiaq, grandfather. She is entitled to call me grandson" (p. 252). Napatchie Akeego MacRae provides an additional example. When she was born, a man named Napatchie had recently died and she was named after him. Most likely this decision comes from the "belief that no one really dies until someone is named after the dead person" (p. 252). Her middle name, Akeego, was her father's younger sister. To the family of the late Napatchie, she is a younger brother; to her biological family, she is a younger sister. She tells us that "all of my dad's relatives treated me like their little princess because I was named after their younger sister [Akeego]" (p. 254). However, the family whose

brother Napatchie³³ is her namesake treated her differently (p. 254):

The older brother would ask me if I want to go hunting with him, or catch my first caribou or seal ... but the way I saw myself, I was more female, so I didn't want to do that. It's kind of hard to explain how it really works. ... it confused me for a while, but I got my mom to explain ... why this man was calling me his younger brother even though I'm a girl.

Akeego clarifies that often families dress their children based on the gender of their child's namesake. She recounts that her younger sister was named after the brother of the woman that adopted her sister. Until her sister was "old enough to decide which way she wants to dress" the adoptive family cut her sister's hair and dressed her like a boy (p. 254). The same goes for a boy named after a female, his family would "dress him up like a female...let him grow his hair long" (p. 254). She concludes:

Once the person that is named after a person [of the] opposite sex, once they are beginning to feel that they are too old to be treated the way they were treated when they were younger...they would let their parents know. But it's up to the child...We would still have that name...For the child's emotional and mental stability, they have got to stop somewhere...to make them understand how it really works so they won't be confused all their lives.

I believe Annie grew up in a setting where cross-gendered naming practices described above would have been a common feature of daily life. Therefore, when I examined drawings I always kept in mind the chance that some of the people she drew were or were not girls depending on their namesake's gender and age. Take for example, *Composition: Whale Tail Party* (see **FIGURE 4.10**): initially, I wondered why a boy appeared in what should have been a women's feast based on the fact everybody was shown

³³ The fact that Annie's mother and Akeego's namesake bore the same name, Napatchie, also demonstrates that Inuit names in and of themselves are genderless and that when a name is passed down it usually refers to a specific individual known by a particular community.

using uluit, women's knives. Initially, I hesitated to include this image in the series; however after learning about Inuit naming practices, in the end it was included. Although I may never know why Annie produced more images with Inuit food than with Qallunaat, or what meanings, if any, she invested in them, by researching the subject matter I certainly gained a better understanding about what it could have meant for Annie to grow up feasting on raw seal seated on the floor surrounded by family and friends.

Vignettes 1 and 2

Saturday Night Feast

Early Saturday morning when it was dark outside, the departing sound of the men's ski-doo's and four-wheelers filtered through Annie's dream sleep. The 10-year-old tasted the seal she hoped her father, Eegyvudluk, and his brothers, Kananginak, Paulassie and Pudlat, would bring home from the hunt. As the engines faded into the distance, soft snoring sounds from her friend Sandra became more distinct. Sandra's family was visiting from Mittimatalik (Pond Inlet, referred to colloquially as 'Pond'). Both families slept on two large mattresses on the living room floor; their communal spatial arrangement expressed the sentiment that the closeness of Inuit families was important (Dawson, 2006; 2008). When Annie did wake up, she smelled bannock. The aroma signaled preparations were underway for the Saturday night feast. Anticipating the food that the men were going to bring back, the women were cleaning up the home while the girls' grandmothers made tea and lots of bannock.

As the day wore on, various families "would go on the radio and announce that they had fresh meat and invite people over. [...] It was fun listening to the radio and finding out who caught seals or caribou and where the feasts were" (Wachowich et al., 2014/2011, p. 247) (see **FIGURE 4.2**). For those families whose homes were too small, instead of going on the radio to invite everyone, they might have a few friends over.

Annie remembered one Saturday night feast at her friend Sandra’s grandparents’ house. Because Inuit eat country food while seated on the floor, the girls had to “crawl through people’s legs” (p. 247) to move around the crowded room. The sounds of people talking and laughing mingled with the “fresh animal smell, it smelled good” (p. 248).

Figure 4.2. Annie Pootoogook. *Man on the Radio*, 2006.



Saturday nights always felt special to Annie, especially on winter nights like these. When it was dark, her father and uncles returned to a “bread and clean-house smell in the air” (Wachowich et al., 2014/2011, p. 247). They walked into the house

announcing they had gotten seals and a walrus (see **FIGURE 4.3**). For Annie and Sandra, their announcement made the cozy atmosphere “all the better, [it] topped it all off” (p. 247). Usually, no matter how small a catch, Eegyvudluk gave half to his parents and, if necessary, some to his brothers. When there was a lot, he gave some to Annie’s grandmother Pitseolak. Sandra told Annie that usually her father did not give much to

Figure 4.3. Annie Pootoogook. *Bringing Home Food*, 2003–2004.



her mother's family because her grandfather "has a job, he can afford to go hunting. He gets his own meat. He just turned seventy-three, he still works as a garage-truck driver, and he still goes out hunting" (p. 247). This time, however, because there was so much meat, Eegyvudluk's older brother Kananginak went on the radio to "tell people that they can come over with bags and buckets to take home some meat" (p. 248). Tonight was all the more special because although Annie's father lost the contest between his brothers for who would catch the first seal, he had caught a baby seal, "a pretty rare treat" (p. 248).

The men placed large slabs of seal and walrus meat, blubber and other animal parts on the cover (a metal plate, piece of plastic, or cardboard (Searles, 2002, p. 71) that earlier the children had laid down on the living room floor after dragging the mattress to and leaning it against the wall. Napatchie, Annie's mom, brought a pot from the kitchen for making broth from the rib bones—the only part of the seal that would be cooked. There were no dishes or utensils other than hand-fashioned uluit and saviit (men's traditional knives), a carving knife and knife sharpener, a spoon, a ladle, and cups for the broth or blood (Patrick et al., 2017, para. 1). Once everything was laid out, because no person is ever obliged to join in a meal, those wishing to eat began slicing off pieces using their knives (see **FIGURE 4.4**). The hunters' success meant a large quantity of food was available to share, so everybody followed the general rule that there is no limit as to how much a person should eat (Searles, 2002).

As people were eating, Abraham, a hunter visiting from Mittimatalik, talked about taking Zacharias Kunuk's film crew to 'Pond' to film the short documentary *Sirmilik* (2011). The crew included Tanya Tagaq, who went with Zacharias to score the film. On the boat trip from Mittimatalik to Sirmilik National Park, Tanya told Abraham that she and her family had lived in Pond Inlet "until they were relocated in the '50s by the government to Resolute Bay" (00:22–00:27). Abraham had interrupted their conversation about forced government relocations when he spotted and shot a yearling seal. When the boat brushed along the sea ice for the guides to haul in the mammal, upon seeing

the “bright red fresh blood on the snow” Tanya exclaimed, “that colour is always one of my favourite visuals ever” (Light Echo Productions, 2014, 01:05–1:07). The guides easily hefted the seal aboard. Tanya watched Abraham open and gut the yearling. He carefully cut up the seal’s liver, distributing it to lucky recipients. When he offered Tanya some of the liver, she hesitated, thinking, “I won’t be a good Inuk if I don’t try it” (01:11–01:22). Noticing she was “scared to try it” (01:17), he looked away as she put the morsel into her mouth. In seconds her eyes widened. “It is melting in my mouth,” she said. “This is one of the most beautiful things that I ever tasted in my whole life!” (01:38–01:42). Three days later, Tanya sought out Abraham to tell him that after eating the seal’s liver she still wasn’t very hungry — she still felt “strong.” “I feel alive,” she continued. “I feel good, like everything is right” (01:52–01:57).

Figure 4.4. Annie Pootoogook. *Eating Seal at Home*, 2001.



While Abraham told his story, Amy used her ulu to slice a vertebra from the kujapik (thoracic vertebrae). She was part of a working group that was revising the popular teaching tool *Nutrition Fact Sheet Series on Inuit Traditional Foods* for the Department of Health and Social Services (2013). As she was chewing the delicious meat attached to the bone, she listened to his story. When he finished, she explained that seals keep our bodies warm and strengthen our blood because they are “rich in iron, protein, and healthy fats called omega-3 that help Inuit have healthy blood vessels and hearts” (p. 28). “Seal meat contains around two percent fat compared to twelve to twenty-seven percent in store-bought meats,” she added (p. 10). Ilisapi, who was also visiting from Mittimatalik, said, “Although we might get just as full eating animals that graze, they don’t generate as much body warmth. When you eat animals from the sea you can start sweating, even when you are not exerting yourself” (p. 10). Just at that moment, Edmund (Searles, 2002), a Qallunaat doctoral student in sociocultural anthropology, finished drinking a cup of fresh seal blood to wash down several chunks of raw seal meat and blubber he had eaten. Ooleetoo, his friend, reached over and pulled up Edmund’s sleeve pointing “to the veins in his forearms which appeared to have expanded and darkened as a result of the meal” to demonstrate the point that “Inuit food generates a strong flow of blood” (p. 196). As the talk continued, Napatchie took the pot filled with seal’s ribs into the kitchen to boil it into a tasty broth that would be passed around after the rest of the meat had been eaten (Patrick et al., 2017) (see **FIGURE 4.5**).

When she returned from the kitchen, Abraham was telling the crowd something Tanya had said about times of hunger when families occupied ilagiit nunagivaktangit: “I don’t think Qallunaat can truly understand what it would be like to have this dark 24-hour darkness in the middle of winter, minus forty, minus fifty, your kids are hungry, and then having someone show up with a seal, having someone come with life” (Light Echo Production, 2014, 06:27–07:05).



Figure 4.5. Annie Pootoogook. *Untitled: Preparing a Meal*, 2005–2006.

Her comment reminded the elder Lucassie Nutaraaluk, originally from Kingnait, about a story he often heard told by his parents (Nunavut Arctic College, 1999b, p. 128):

Once my father's camp ran out of food. The people ended up staying in bed as they were weak from hunger. My father tried to go down to the floe edge but it had frozen up as it was so cold. He encountered tracks of what turned out to be walrus in search of open water. At that time he was no longer an angakkuq (shaman) but he was sure the tracks he came across had been made by tuurngait (spirit of the shaman). After he had killed the walrus, he brought some of the meat home to feed the camp. The next day he went back to get more meat to

share with the camp. On the third day, some bears came and my mother killed them. That's how the camp stopped being hungry. My mother and father talked about this incident quite frequently, how they had found both walrus and polar bear during this time of hunger.

Although the conversation had switched from nutrition to starvation, Apphia, Sandra's grandmother, introduced the topic of ningirniq, the customary sharing of meat. She began, my grandmother, Ataguttaaluk would have starved to death if she had not followed her dying husband's instructions. When Ataguttaaluk was an elder, she started taking charge of ningirniq.

She was the one that handed out the meat. If people were hungry, if they didn't have food, she would split her food with those people and make sure that they had something of whatever she had. If she had not eaten human flesh, she would not have lived, so she did not want anybody ever to be hungry. If she ever heard that someone from another camp was poor or hungry, she would tell people to go and bring them meat. ... That is how she became a leader. She would tell all the people to share, to never let anyone go hungry. Being hungry, it is not a good way to be. People should not be hungry. (Wachowich et al., 2014/2011, p. 71).

After hearing about her great-grandmother, Sandra thought to herself: Ataguttaaluk was found when she had been eating human flesh which kept her from starving. The people around her died of starvation. Because she ate human flesh, we are here today (Nunavut Arctic College, 1999a, p. 53). Her uncle, also an elder, Imaruittuq elaborated on Awa's story, adding a man's perspective and furnishing more details. Ataguttaaluk's husband said to his wife (Nunavut Arctic College, 1999b, p. 117, 118):

If I die you are going to have to eat me. You have lots of relatives. You have to survive and let other people know our fate." Of course, this was her husband and she did not want to resort to cannibalism. Her husband said, "If I die you are going to have to eat me." There were only two women left. Finally, her husband

passed away. They tried to wake him but they couldn't move him. They couldn't even lift him to bury him. I think this was because he wanted to be consumed by the survivors. ... After she [Ataguttaaluk] almost starved, grandfather took her in as his second wife as she had no one to look after her. That's what our ancestors used to do. There was no government assistance in those days. If a woman became widowed it was up to good hunters to look after them.

The room was quiet except for the sound of those who were sipping tea or broth made from boiled seal ribs. Moments later, the elder Elisapee, Imaruittuq's aunt, spoke up:

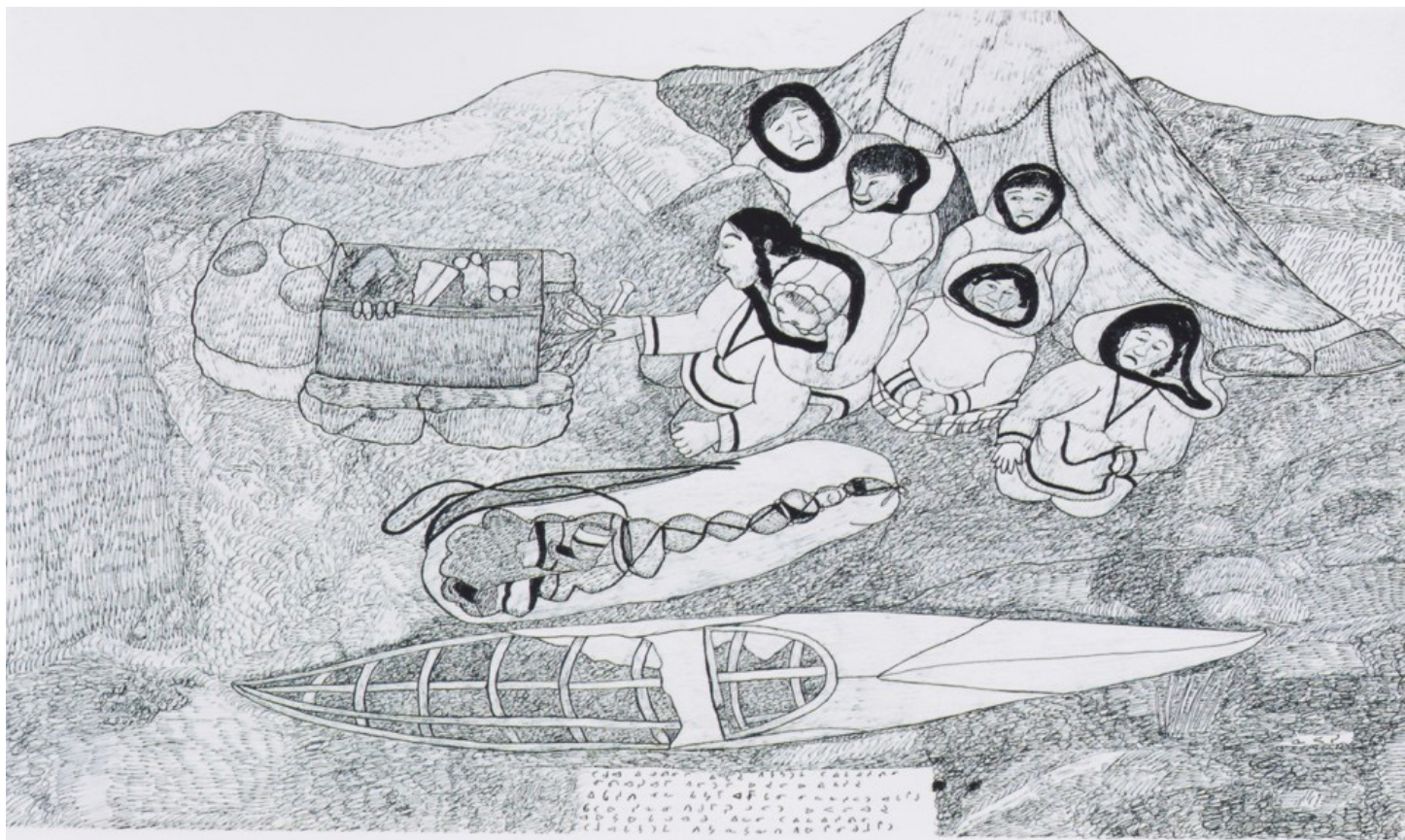
We can state that we will never eat a fellow human being, but we do not know what our future holds. If it were our one chance for survival, we just might end up doing that too. She [Ataguttaaluk] went through an experience which she had to go through. Amazingly, she was discovered and she pulled through it and had a chance to bear children again. If she didn't do what she had to do, there's no way we would be around today. We can see life meant a lot to this person. A lot of us today want to kill ourselves, hang ourselves because we can't deal with life's problems anymore. Imagine what she went through. It must have been hard. Alone all winter in the dark, and her husband dead. Imagine our own husbands; she had to eat her own husband and her own children to survive. It must have been hard. Yes, she must have had some rope to hang herself with, but her life meant something to her. She eventually died from sickness. If she had just given up on life, we wouldn't be around today. (Nunavut Arctic College, 1999a, p. 57).

Apphia added, "She was the leader of Igloolik, she was like a queen. She wanted everybody to live well. She had a good life." (Wachowich et al., 2014/2011, p. 72).

Almost 30 years later when Napatchie began to think of herself as a local historian, she started to produce drawings that depicted "her local history, her personal experience, and the stories of other people and events—both true and legendary" (Ryan,

2004, p. 11). “Conscious of the potential for different interpretations for some of these stories” (p. 16), she incorporated explanatory syllabic text to explain the circumstances and the people depicted. Although she may never have witnessed cannibalism firsthand, several of these drawings dealt with the subject matter: *Eating His Mother’s Remains*, *Hungry Grandmother*, and *Starvation*³⁴ (see **FIGURE 4.6**). A decade after Napatchie undertook this body of work, Annie created works on paper that depicted eating, sharing and distributing country food. Perhaps both artists had in mind memories of feasts similar to these two fictionalized accounts.

Figure 4.6. Napatchie Pootoogook. *Starvation*, 1999–2000.



³⁴ Note, the text Napatchie included at the bottom of the page read as follows:

These people are brewing the remains of a female child. The child had starved so they were cooking her to feed themselves. They were even cutting the skin of the qayaq. As they were cooking, the hands were holding on to the rim of the pot. Sometimes this happened even in the summer. It was all they could eat. They did not do this intentionally and they did not do it because they were evil.

Women's Feast

October, season of the caribou hunt (Nunavut Travel, n.d.), the month when belugas pass by Kingnait as they migrate from coastal areas to their wintering habitats further offshore. Issuhungituk stood at the kitchen sink observing Paulassie, her husband, who was outside on the cold porch inspecting the beluga he and his son Itee had brought home from the hunt the day before. Issuhungituk was making inaluujaq for the women's whale tail party later that day. As she kneaded the dough for the coiled bannock (see **FIGURE 4.7**), like virtually every household in the community tuned to the FM radio station, Issuhungituk listened to radio.



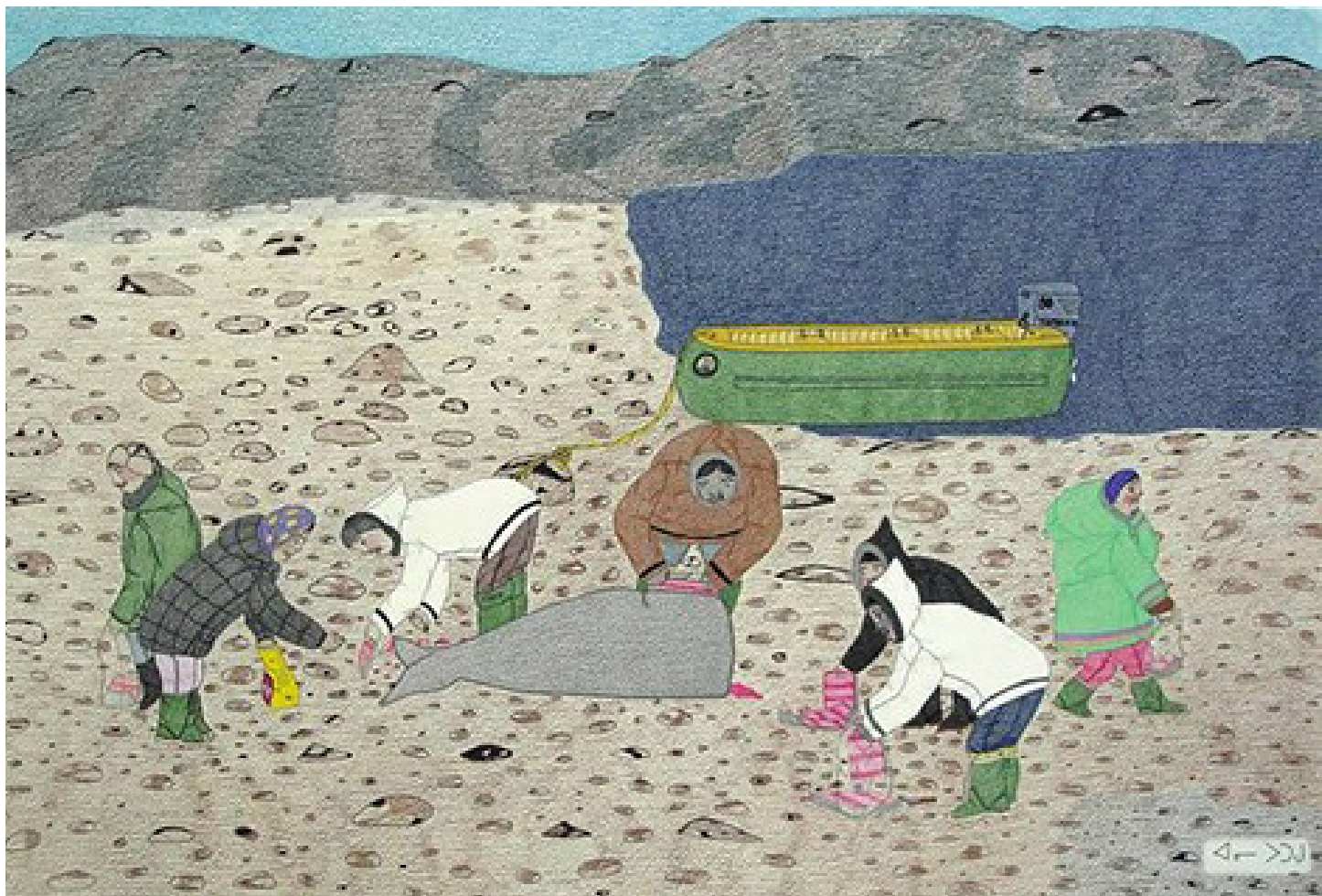
Figure 4.7. Inaluujaq, coiled bannock.

Once the fog cleared, the radio host announced, in Inuktitut, that the day would be mostly sunny with a chance of heavy rain later that evening. Then for the benefit of visitors, the host advised listeners to wear a warm fall jacket or a light winter coat because the present temperature, minus four degrees Celsius, would rise to seven late afternoon (Peter Pitseolak School, n.d.). After the weather report, the host reminded everyone that today's weekly bingo was to raise funds for the Hunters Association. They would use the money to purchase ammunition and seven 55-gallon drums of

gasoline, and to repair their rifles and snowmobiles. The host exclaimed: Let's keep our community freezer filled with meat and have some fun on Thursday night! Be sure to tune in later this evening when we interview Zebedee Nungak. Some of you may remember he was: one of a small band of young Inuit leaders who took up the defence of their lands against Hydro-Québec and the provincial government, and forced a historic settlement. They fought in court and at the negotiation table for an agreement that effectively became Canada's first land claims agreement (Tierney, 2016, para. 3).

Once the bannock dough was smooth, Issuhungituk covered the bowl with a tea towel; in an hour it would rise. She made two cups of tea and brought them to Paulassie and Itee who were busy butchering the beluga meat and waiting for her to take charge of the distribution (see **FIGURE 4.8**).

Figure 4.8. Annie Pootoogook. *Family Gathering Whale Meat*, 2003–2004.



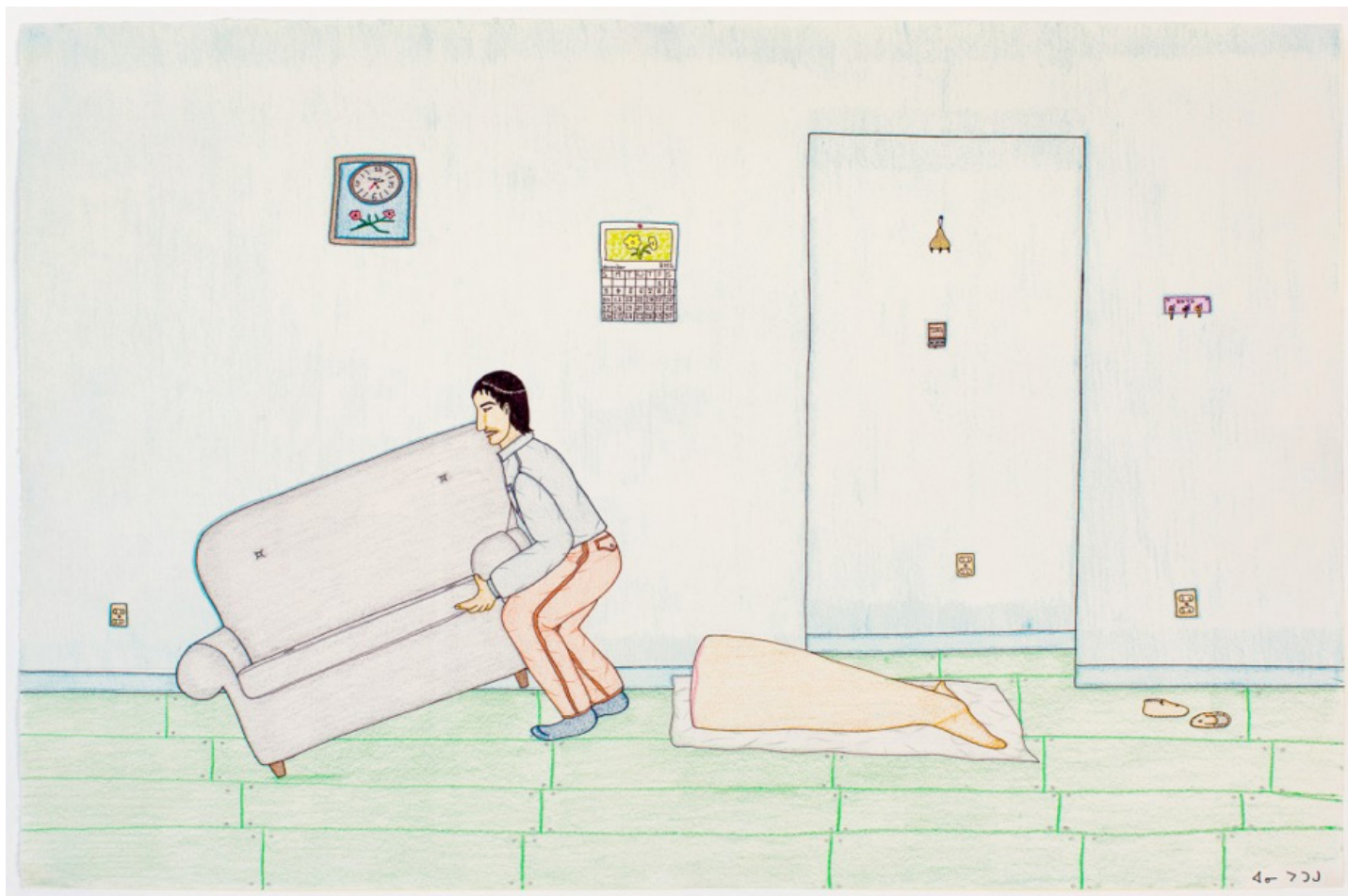
Shortly after waking earlier that morning, Paulassie went out to the cold porch to verify all the excess blood had drained from the beluga. Then using centuries-old Inuit practices, he began to butcher the whale on a makeshift surface because the kitchen countertop could not support its weight (Dawson, 2008). Eventually, Itee came to watch and listen as his father showed “what the beluga had eaten, how old and healthy it was, what to eat and leave aside” (Patrick et al., 2017, para. 9, citing Gombay, 2010, 66). Whenever a community member arrived, plastic bag in hand, Itee helped parcel out the country food according to his mother’s wishes. Unless someone had a special need, like a family member was sick and craved a certain animal part, most accepted what was offered. Almost everyone received a portion of maktaq, the thick white skin and thin layer of fat underneath it. For a brief time, two young mothers stood by idly debating which tasted better: fresh or fermented maktaq. Some left with bags containing small portions of intestines and sections of meat; very few left with any internal organs because these were becoming less popular than when Paulassie was a young hunter. One traditional seamstress asked for the back sinew so she could transform it into thread to sew a parka she was making for her grandson. As she said goodbye, she cheerfully promised Isshungituk to bring some of her famous misiraq, rendered fermented fat, that tasted far better than Southern ketchup or mayonnaise. At one point, Isshungituk prepared a care package of maktaq and meat to send to family members living in Montreal (Tyrrell, 2008).

Throughout all this, Paulassie had been placing onto a separate tarp-cover slabs of meat, the heart, kujapik and other organs beside the beluga’s fluke, the centrepiece of the women’s feast. Itee asked his father, “If the person who first hit the animal did not have a wife, would he still take the kujapik,” the lower part of the backbone to be eaten by women? (Nunavut Arctic College, 1999b, p. 134) Paulassie explained that when a hunter did not have a wife, one of his relatives would look after the kujapik. If he had a daughter or a sister, she would take the kujapik and ask women to come over and eat it together (p. 134). His mother added, “Itee, when you have a wife, please do not be

stingy about your food, and do not question whatever food is being finished because when you are a woman, food can be a cause of intimidation. When you have a wife, you should be doing that” (p. 84). When the cover was full, Paulassie told Itee to come help move the living room furniture for the women’s whale tail party.

As father and son organized the living room (see **FIGURE 4.9**), Issuhungituk was showing her 10-year-old niece Annie how to cut the inaluujaq dough into long strips with scissors while she kept an eye on the lard that was just beginning to boil in the cooking pot. When it was boiling, Issuhungituk gently coiled a few strips into the lard. Once they were lightly golden on the bottom, she turned the coils over with a fork. When they were cooked on both sides, she removed the bannock from the oil with a large fork. Then started the process all over again.

Figure 4.9. Annie Pootoogook. *Preparing for the Women’s Beluga Feast*, 2001–2002.



As the woman and girl worked side by side, Issuhungituk told Annie about a ring seal feast she remembered from when she was Annie's age and lived in an iglu. The "women had their meal up on the bed platform. They would eat part of the ribs and also the back bone. The men would eat the hip area sitting on the floor. The shoulders were set aside for the person who caught the seal to eat as cooked meat when meat was not scarce" (Nunavut Arctic College, 1999b, p. 135). Annie asked if, after the ring seal feast, they had eaten any inaluujaq, or were they only eating food from the land and sea around them. Issuhungituk chuckled and raised her eyes yes: "We always ate a lot of meat. We did not have qallunaat food. The only foreign foods we had were tea, sugar, and bannock" (1999a, p. 18). She continued, "Most Inuit food is eaten frozen, raw, or boiled with very little mixture ingredients and with very few spices. Today, bannock is one of the only Inuit food with ingredients that are store bought" (Searles, 2002, p. 66). Issuhungituk motioned Annie to bring another plate as she began removing the final batch from the cooking pot. She reminisced some more: Once when your grandfather was younger than you and "living in a camp generally east of" Kingnait (Hallendy, 2016, p. 225), someone brought back a bag of flour from the traders. Everyone was astonished when they first opened the bag because they did not know what it was, its purpose, or how to use it. "They grabbed the flour in their hands. They blew it in the air. They let the flour fluff fly. They created a fluffy cloud of flour powder. ... They emptied the entire bag. ... Completely enchanted with the wonder of seeing the flour for the first time, they laughed and laughed" (Avataq Cultural Institute, 2006, p. 121). Annie and Issuhungituk laughed too at Annie's grandfather's amazement and surprise.

As their laughter trailed off, Paulassie and Itee entered the kitchen. Paulassie poured himself a cup of tea while Itee bit into a fresh inaluujaq. Issuhungituk looked at the children and said, "Now, go tell family and friends the feast is ready." Soon after, they could be heard calling out invitations as they ran through the community pausing every few houses to inform the women they were invited to a beluga feast at

Issuhungituk's house (Wenzel, 1995).

Gradually, the house filled with women (see **FIGURE 4.10**). Some could not stay, leaving shortly after they arrived with containers filled with slices of beluga tail to be eaten with women in their household. Some brought their toddlers and young girls. When Melitta entered the house, she jumped for joy and with a huge smile on her face she announced it had been so long since she last ate beluga tail, adding “eating Inuit food never tastes good when I eat it alone” (Searles, 2002, p. 72).

Figure 4.10. Annie Pootoogook. *Composition: Whale Tail Party*, 2003–2004.



Although mothers never told their children “what or how they should eat, they did help them whenever they noticed the girls were confused about how much and

from which part of the animal they could cut” (Searles, 2002, p. 72). Sometimes they cut off large pieces that the girls could easily cut into smaller pieces. Issuhungituk noticed Annie observing such an interaction, nodding at the mother and child, she said to Annie: When you are an adult and you have a child, you should be doing that (Nunavut Arctic College, 1999b, p. 84). Until they are ready to choose pieces and cut on their own, you can teach them how to eat by cutting off pieces for them (Searles, 2002, p. 72) (see **FIGURE 4.11**).

Figure 4.11. Annie Pootoogook. *Memory of Eating with Family*, 2005.



Uqsuralik, an elder and family friend who had always lived in or near Kingnait since she was born in 1924, also instructed Annie:

I have lots of children myself, and lots of grandchildren. They all have different eating habits. Some eat lots, some don't. But I don't force them. ...Don't say, 'Eat the whole thing.' They will go through a stage for a while where they don't want to eat, and they will go through another stage where they will eat and eat and eat. Some children don't want to eat that much at each stage and some of them do. That's how it's always been (Nunavut Arctic College, 2000, p. 87).

As the feast continued, Melitta began talking about her part-time job as an aide at the nursing station. She said, "I love my work. I get to inform people in the community of the best choice to make regarding their health; I get to know everything important for the community to be healthy" (Quintal-Marineau, 2017, p. 341). Her income allowed her husband to continue hunting and helped her family pay for heating, housing, and hunting equipment like skidoos, motorboats and fuel. Ruth, 65 years old, remembered before her family moved to Kingnait (p. 340):

We were independent at that time. Everyone had roles and responsibilities; everyone had a 'job' to do. It was just a different kind of job where no cash is needed. Now it's all about money ...for the bills, for food, for kids, for the house ... Even to go out (on the land) you can't rely on yourself, you need money.

Hearing this, Melitta confided that her family was unsure how to share her wages or the things they were able to buy with her money. They knew it was customary to share food, natural resources and social assistance; still, they were uncertain how to share their wages (Pauktuutit & Boulton, 2006).

Alukie, the matriarch of a prominent family in Iqaluit, joined the conversation. Most of the women already knew that Alukie and her husband had good-paying jobs and could afford to purchase Qallunaat foods regularly. They had a reputation as a generous family and regularly provided meals and food gifts to a broad network of kin, friends, and neighbours. Alukie told the women that for the last two years "distant relatives started to join in on meals and help themselves to the family's storeroom

of food supplies” (Searles, 2002, p. 62) Because they did not want to be called *minik* (stingy, a source of shame and stigma), they quickly ran out of the large supply of food that was sent by cargo ship once a year from Montreal. By this point in Alukie’s story, some of the listening women were wondering whether Alukie would quit her job to solve the dilemma of supporting an ever-expanding network of family and friends, yet somehow continue to share and redistribute their wealth with those they shared closer ties. Alukie said, “This year, we decided to stop ordering annual food shipments and to stop making large purchases from the local store. Now, I buy enough food to feed my husband and other family members who drop by to visit [see **FIGURE 4.12**]. My distant relatives have started to look elsewhere for food and other supplies” (Searles, 2002, p. 63). Many women believed Alukie had found a way to be generous and giving without being “blamed for being stingy” (p. 63). In the silence filled with the women’s thoughts, they gradually became aware of the interview with Zebedee Nungak.

The radio host was chuckling as Zebedee (2004) read from his recent humorous article, “Qallunaat 101: Inuit Study White Folks in this New Academic Field” (n.p.):

We know Qallunaat, of course, by the way they eat: with a fork and a dull knife known by Inuit *asnuvuittuq* (without point). There is a whole etiquette to eating too cumbersome to describe in detail. But, if one has the misfortune to burp, belch, or fart during the meal, one has to be civil and say “Excuse me!” in a sincere enough demeanor. Never forget to say “please” in asking for the salt or potatoes to be passed. Don’t ever just up and walk away from the table.

The women laughed and laughed. Then they all got ready to leave for Thursday night bingo at the community hall.



Figure 4.12. Annie Pootoogook. *Three Men Carving a Seal, Three Women Cleaning*, 2006.

Discussion

Many art critics and historians emphasize that Annie's artwork overflows with small pieces of information such as a zebra bar code and nutritional information on the side of a box of Ritz crackers, or all the dates for a calendar month hanging on a wall. Feheley (2004) constructs the artist as "a witness to the most minute details of her daily environment, from the trade name on a house thermostat to the varied shades of green found in the leaves of a houseplant" (p. 13). Much of her work illustrates scenes from her girlhood in the 1970s. These "drawings recreate interiors of government-supplied housing in photographic detail" (p. 12). For Igloliorte (2009), Annie like many Inuit

artists “reflect[s] upon and respond[s] to the multiple stressors of contemporary life”, an approach that seems to be on the rise “and includes social commentary and critique” (p. 120). This growing body of “intercultural or transcultural subject matter”, she explains, “directly calls into question the legacy of trauma and colonization of the Arctic” (p. 121). In this regard, I suggest that Annie transmits knowledge through her graphic art.

Specificity and Annie’s Inuit Foodway Images

Annie’s meticulous details do more than, for example, inform us about trade names on household appliances and serial numbers on food boxes. They also resonate with the nature of Inuit knowledge contextualized by Alexina Kublu, Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich Oosten (Nunavut Arctic College, 1999a) in the Introductory volume of *Interviewing Inuit Elders*. For centuries, Western society has upheld the notion that “knowledge should be objective and true” (p. 8):

The image formed in the mind is true if that image is adequate to the thing itself. The truth of a statement is therefore not based on the authority of the speaker but its relation to reality. If the form of the statement and reality itself correspond to each other, the statement is true.

The assumption that knowledge could be completely taken out of context, untethered from social relationships, allows information to be presented “in such a way that the distinctions between observations, inferences, hearsay and so on are by no means clear” (p. 9). Thus, moving from the specific to the general means statements such as “Inuit live in igloos” can be said by anyone without giving a clear indication of how the speaker arrived at that particular conclusion. In contrast, for Inuit the authority of the speaker carries far more value because most speakers try to express their own personal ideas, opinions and values.

Inuit language and culture tends to set little value on generalizations. ...the movement from the general to the specific is what is important. One should be precise in statements, specifying time, place, subject, and object. General statements are viewed as vague and confusing, whereas specific statements are seen as providing much more interesting information. (p. 9)

I suggest that Annie's drawings transmit this level of specificity. Her expressive works of art tell stories that contain her own knowledge based on her lived experience. Thus, her attention to detail conveys her authority as a speaker.

The details that Annie includes in her drawings represent her contextualized knowledge. This form of Inuit knowledge becomes evident when we look at the Site Media (2006) transcripts (referred to previously in **CHAPTERS 2 and 4**). Recall, the transcripts come from interviews that inform the 30-minute eponymous documentary directed by Marcia Connolly (2006). In several transcripts, Annie Pootoogook mentions Inuit food, a reoccurring theme in her regularly exhibited artwork. The transcripts include descriptions for unidentified drawings such as a scene in which a wife serves boiled duck broth to her husband and for identifiable drawings such as her translated comment that "the husband is just waking up and the wife is pumping up the Coleman stove. She's going to make tea" (Transcript 32, p. 23) (see **FIGURE 4.1**). As an adult, the artist spent less time on the land than she did as a girl. She states, "The good positive memories I have are when we were out on the land as a family, with my parents. I really cherish those memories" (Transcript 23, p. 11). She reminisces that her mother would thoroughly clean and dry the skull of a seal, then flip it while saying, "I hope your father comes home with a seal and if the head landed upright then it would be good luck" (p. 11). Annie associated time spent at the camp with learning "traditional Inuit way and Inuktitut" (Transcript 17, p. 2), stating that her mother "used to show me many things too, like woman's job" (Transcript 16, p. 8), among them: how to dry fish and to clean oil off seal skin. She described her father as a printmaker who worked

for 40 years at the Co-op (now known as the Kinngait Studios) and as “taking good care of us and not trying to make us hungry. He would buy so much grocery for us” (Transcript 17, p. 1). She adds that he was a hunter who frequently went boating to hunt seafood, “He would come home with seal or fish or ptarmigan so we can all eat seafood” (p. 2). The Site Media interviews lasted for a few days, apparently on one particular day they waited for someone to bring a portion of a beluga tail or fluke, typically the centrepiece for a women’s feast. After describing how women cut up and eat the whale’s fluke, Annie comments, “I hope there’s going to be beluga soon. I hope. It’s been a while I haven’t tasted it. Since last year. So, there should be beluga soon. I hope soon” (Transcript 16, p. 1). Her anticipation for beluga meat indicates how much she liked traditional food. These transcript excerpts demonstrate Annie’s exposure to foundational Inuit skillsets such as hunting and the food preparation it entailed and that she distinguished between food her father hunted and food he purchased. Evidently, her familiarity with country food dates back to her girlhood experiences on the land and in the Kinngait hamlet. These experiences connect back to the point made in the chapter’s introduction that Inuit families have adapted Inuit foodways to settlement living.

As mentioned earlier, the first time I looked at *Eating Seal at Home* (see **FIGURE 4.4**) and *Composition: Whale Tail Party* (see **FIGURE 4.10**), they held little meaning because I was unable to make sense of the lived reality the artist had illustrated with such exacting detail. Gradually, I connected the image to its source: Annie’s Kinngait girlhood in the 1970s. The artist transmits knowledge through the elaborate details contained in her images. These details function as precise statements that express her personal ideas, opinions and values. Her artwork shows characters involved in hunting, butchering, sharing and eating Inuit food, while also teaching viewers what she understands and knows about Inuit foodways. Although I am unable to communicate directly with Annie about the larger truths her drawings may or may not contain, *Eating Seal at Home*

(see **FIGURE 4.4**) and *Composition: Whale Tail Party* (see **FIGURE 4.10**) have led me to better understand and appreciate that when Inuit gather together to feast on country food, they resist food insecurity that originates from settlement living and they emphasize cooperation, sharing and generosity.

Vignettes Revisited: Food and Girls

Both vignettes contained a multitude of themes that (in)directly pertain to Inuit girlhood. Some themes made brief appearances, while others appeared in a different guise depending on the unfolding events. An example of the former, mothers teaching their children how to eat raw meat and of the latter, Annie listening to radio broadcasts to find out where feasts were being hosted or running through the settlement to invite women to her aunt's house for a feast. Both vignettes highlighted habits particular to Inuit lifestyles such as families sleeping together on mattresses in the living room, eating on the floor without any dishware, and storytelling to transmit family history and customary practices such as women's responsibility to distribute food to family and friends, kin and community. However, *ningituq* was the primary focus for both vignettes. The sharing practice was in evidence when food was distributed and shared in both scenarios.

Ningituq: Starvation and Sharing

In "Saturday Night Feast," the narrative about Ataguttaaluk surviving starvation adds several layers of meaning to the customary sharing of marine and other animals. More than a survival story, the various versions of Ataguttaaluk's story intertwine cultural identity and individual autonomy with eating and exchanging food. Ataguttaaluk's cannibalism becomes an option for listeners who may one day find themselves in a situation where refraining from eating human flesh could be perceived as suicide-by-starvation. As Napatchie explains in her drawing *Starvation* (see **FIGURE 4.6**), Inuit

resorted to cannibalism because they were starving, not because they were evil or intentionally choosing human flesh over available animal meat. For Inuit, starvation informs their cultural identity in ways that Tagaq points out many contemporary Southerners find hard to grasp. Ataguttaaluk's story also becomes a moral lesson to show compassion for the suffering of others like Ataguttaaluk, as well as to look out for one another and in Apphia's words, "[to] never let anyone go hungry" (Wachowich et al., 2014/2011, p. 71). Ataguttaaluk's survival story reverses a time-honoured Western storytelling device whereby a woman's suffering furthers the male heroic journey³⁵. The ultimate hunter, unable to bring her meat Ataguttaaluk's husband provides his own body instructing her twice: "If I die you are going to have to eat me." (Nunavut Arctic College, 1999b, p. 117, 118). In fact, both starvation stories included in "Saturday Night Feast" feature women as essential to the survival of Ataguttaaluk's family line, in Apphia's case, and to the survival of an entire camp, in the case of Lucassie Nutaraaluk whose mother killed some polar bears that added to the walrus his father had hunted earlier in the week. The presence of women as powerful individuals and community leaders, combined with settings in which women and men contributed and participated as equals, suggest that Annie's girlhood occurred in a context where partnership and cooperation were foundational to male-female relationships—the underpinnings of mutual dependence and a strong family orientation. As a girl, this context would have informed her understandings about Inuit social expectations that she would eventually grow into her adult role as an equal partner who carried an equal responsibility to care for her family and her community.

On one hand, "Saturday Night Feast" presented a more traditional version of sharing; on the other, "Women's Feast" showed a continuation of "the strong tradition

³⁵ In 1999, Gail Simone, professional comic writer and popular comic book blogger, identified and named the Women-in-Refrigerator trope when she posted a long list of female comic characters who either did or did not survive extreme (sexual) violence as a plot device to motivate the grief-stricken male hero (<https://www.lby3.com/wir/>).

of sharing” (Pauktuutit & Boulton, 2006, p. 33) as it underwent changes due to Inuit working in the wage economy. Alukie’s strategy to stop ordering a year’s supply of food highlighted the confusion around how money and the things it purchased should be shared in a system based on sharing “food, natural resources and one’s labour” (p. 33). The general confusion could have been more easily resolved if it were limited to divvying up wage earnings and store-bought goods. However, many more factors were at play such as food insecurity and work opportunities.

Inuit Girls and Food Insecurity

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), a national Inuit organization that works to promote the health and well-being of Inuit in Canada, highlights four factors that are linked to Inuit food insecurity. Their website (ITK, 2018b) lists them as:

1. negative impacts such as climate change;
2. resource extraction and containments, all of which reduce access to country food;
3. costs associated with hunting (e.g., ammunition, gas, snowmobiles) that make Inuit food unobtainable; and
4. market foods that often spoil because of weather-related shipping delays and the imbalance between high food costs and employment income.

Alethea Arnaquq-Baril (2016) explains:

In all of North America, our region has the highest poverty and unemployment rates and the highest cost of living. When I tell Southerners that we’re sometimes paying \$28 for a cabbage, \$82 for 12 cans of ginger ale, and \$18 for a jar of Cheese Whiz, they are stunned.

Though Annie’s mother and grandmother would have referred to it as starvation, they experienced food insecurity due to weather conditions and/or due to the absence of a full-time hunter in the (extended) family. In addition to these reasons, food insecurity for girls from the Settlement Generation (Collings, 2005) and onward stems from

earnings that fail to keep up with rising living costs. Actually, from 1991–2001, statistics broadly representative of Nunavut show a six percent increase in living costs compared to a two percent increase in earnings. Searles (2016) points out that “the cost of living in the Arctic continues to rise at a faster rate than in other parts of Canada, and the average salary rates of low-skilled and unskilled jobs cannot keep pace with the rising cost of living” (p. 205). In their publication “Food Insecurity among Inuit Women Exacerbated by Socio-economic Stresses and Climate Change” geographers Maude Beaumier and James Ford (2010) list several determinants for food insecurity experienced by 36 women living in Igloolik, Nunavut. They are:

budgeting skills; decline in the practice of traditional activities and absence of hunters in household or close family; environmental conditions; gambling and substance addiction; high hunting costs; store food affordability, availability, quality, and knowledge (e.g., lack of knowledge constrains their ability to substitute country food with affordable, healthy store-bought food); and weakening of food sharing (p. 198–200).

Most of the women reported regularly skipping meals and reducing food intake so that family members could eat. Beaumier and Ford suggest broadening their exploratory analysis of the determinants of Inuit women’s food insecurity in Igloolik, Nunavut, to include women in other Inuit communities, especially because so little research has focused on food insecurity and Inuit women.

Research literature appears to emphasize the thin ideal for Southern adolescent girls and food insecurity for Northern women. The decision to skip meals or reduce food intake for some Southern girls revolves around individual eating-related beliefs and behaviours, while for some Northern women this decision involves a preference to let others eat first. Typically, Northern women were “the last to eat in the household to ensure that members of their family, especially children, eat enough” (Beaumier & Ford, 2010, p. 197). Certainly, being the last to eat is a decision made by countless Southern

and Northern women confronting food insecurity. However, the Canadian average of 14.7% for food insecurity contrasts with 56% reported in Nunavut, the highest incidence of food insecurity in Canada. While the seriousness of eating disorders and food inadequacy merit our attention, narrowly focusing on these issues could have a cumulative effect that may lead to stereotyping white middle-class girls as susceptible to anorexia and Inuit girls as vulnerable to food insecurity. In either case, all the girls are in need of rescue—a public discourse girlhood scholars have challenged for some time. In 2014, the *Girlhood Studies Interdisciplinary Journal* published a special edition to interrogate popular and policy discourse that reinforces the girls-in-crisis construction. In the introduction, feminist researchers Carrie Rentschler and Claudia Mitchell recognize that in some instances the girls-in-crisis construction persists for good reason. Especially when “the marginalization and oppression of racialized, indigenous and poor girls, for instance, continues to be excluded from research and when policy-making conducted in their name similarly excludes these girls they are, surely, in crisis” (p. 2). However, many crises may not necessarily be adverted as long as research frameworks remain anchored in white-settler-identified feminism (de Finney, 2014) and the media remains disposed to sensationalize girls’ lived experience in the manner the Toronto news handled the murder of Reena Virk in British Columbia (Fyfe, 2014) and the murders of young Shafia women (Jiwani, 2014). Effectively, Rentschler and Mitchell ask that scholars “re-construct and re-describe what constitutes a state of crisis for girls” (p. 3). Possibly, some future lines of inquiry into Inuit girls and food insecurity will shed light on systems of colonization and racism that surely contribute to environmental conditions and socio-economic stresses.

Girls’ Preparation for the Workforce

In the vignette “Women’s Feast,” the characters reflected on modern sharing practices. Melitta and Alukie represented the increasing number of women entering the labour

force around the 1980s, something Annie may have observed during her girlhood. In fact, Quintal-Marineau (2017) reports that the trend where Inuit women enter the workforce in larger numbers than Inuit men has continued into the present. Before the 1980s, work opportunities for Inuit were scarce; therefore, both women and men “had limited experience in the wage economy” (p. 337). However, both the 1983 European seal fur ban³⁶ followed by the creation of the Nunavut territory greatly reconfigured “the economic landscape and working opportunities for individual women and men” (p. 337). The seal fur ban severely disrupted many communities’ hunting economies and their access to locally harvested food, forcing families to seek alternative cash incomes.³⁷ Between 2011 and 2013 (eight months overall), using semi-structured interviews and life history calendars in the community of Kangiqtugaapik (Clyde River), Nunavut, Quintal-Marineau explored women’s participation in the labour force. The 29 participants ranged from women employed full time and heading a household to unemployed women who were heavily involved in land-related work. For a time, women remained at home while men combined traditional harvesting activities with part-time or seasonal jobs. By the early 2000s, women began to enter the workforce. Quintal-Marineau argues that women’s wage labour “replicates Inuit traditional gender roles, identities, and work allocation” (p. 341). The types of jobs they undertook—teacher, health employee, administrator—entail maintaining the order and well-being of the community, a role many women performed as keepers of the camp while men were away hunting for extended periods of time. The women often described paid work as enjoyable and as “a way to identify myself” (p. 341). In light of the fact that “hunting remains an important male character,” is valued by both women and men, while women’s participation in hunting is less important than before,

³⁶ In the 1980s the European Union instituted the boycott of sealskins. Eight years later, Inuit earned \$47,000 from the fur trade compared to \$320,00 in 1978 (Gombay, 2006).

³⁷ For further details and analysis on the European seal fur ban see the documentary *Angry Inuk* by Alethea Arnaquq-Baril (2016) and Wenzel, 1991.

employment has become an important identity marker for the girls and women living in Kangiqtugaapik. Additionally, Searles (2016) asserts that family members' primary obligation is to "channel their resources" to the head of the extended family, meaning "every member works to sustain the functioning of the group" (p. 205). The extended family's collective effort ensures they can "organize themselves and their resources in ways that are resilient in response to adverse social, economic, and ecological conditions" (p. 205). It would seem although women's sewing has been partially replaced by wage work, both "waged employment and land-related work were both valued" (p. 343).

Quintal-Marineau explains that "the female/male differences in wage employment patterns" involves, among other things, the socialization of boys and girls. In this realm, Inuit girls appear to be socialized in ways similar to Southern girls. She rarely observed boys assigned to or performing household chores, an observation that echoes findings from Ulukhaktok, Northwest Territories (formerly Holman) where girls were socialized at a young age to do female tasks "and later to hold a wage-earning position while boys "play hockey, drive snowmobiles, hang out with friends" (p. 342 quoting Condon & Stern 1993, 411). Quintal-Marineau found that (p. 342):

Girls were often described as helpers and boys as kids. Parents might require their young daughter to help with a variety of domestic chores while young boys were left to themselves. Girls were observed carrying around siblings in their amauti at a young age. This socialization into responsibility was even greater for a girl whose mother participated in wage work.

Quintal-Marineau argues that continuity in gender roles and identities better prepare girls for the workforce. Further traditional roles impart traits and behaviours that "apply more directly to wage employment requirements" thus this socialization process puts women in a better position to find and keep a job.

As discussed in **CHAPTER 3**, both Annie's grandmother and mother began drawing in an effort to earn a cash income to care for their family. Due to the fact that both women had little formal education, it is plausible that in the 1990s they were ineligible to work as an administrator, health employee, or teacher. By the early 2000s when "employment in local organizations or in territorial and federal agencies" required holding "a certificate, diploma, or degree of any kind" (Quintal-Marineau, 2017, p. 338), Annie's high-school education would bar her from applying for any of these types of occupations. However, as artists all three women played an undeniable role in establishing and furthering the commercialization of Inuit art that began over 70 years ago in the late 1940s. According to the 2017 report, *Impact of the Inuit Arts Economy*, authored by Big River Analytics and commissioned by Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), in 2016 "Inuit visual arts and crafts contributed over \$64 million to Canada's Gross Domestic Product and 2,106 full-time equivalent jobs" (para. 2). Clearly, despite barriers to Western jobs and education, all three women have contributed to the Inuit art-based economy. Yet, I wonder whether their artwork was devalued much the same way as women's art appears to have been in 2016. Big River Analytics reported that "women visual artists (2,510) outnumber men (1,720), but women have lower average incomes from their art (\$5,200 vs. \$11,600 for men)" (para. 6). The report attributes this discrepancy to product type: men carve; women sew. The report explains why men earn more than women by comparing the product type by gender to retail and wholesale sales. Carving was the most popular item for retailers and wholesalers, taking up 75% of the sales; men produced 56% of the carvings and women 4%. When divided by gender, sewing essentially reverses the numbers for carving, with women accounting for 57% of sewing products and men accounting for 3%. However, sewing only accounts for 7% of sales. Finally, print graphics represents 14% of retail and wholesale sales, with men (6%) once again producing more than women (3%). Future studies may shed light on why women and men produce different

arts and craft pieces, as well as whether the fact that because more Inuit women than men have entered the workforce, in addition to supporting men's hunting activities, their earnings also support men's production of Inuit arts and crafts. Future research may also investigate Northern artists' income compared to Southern artists' income, paying particular attention to incomes by gender based on the reality that "art produced by women has been marginalized through the imposition of patriarchal conceptions of aesthetics" an interpretation that has had a profound effect on Indigenous women's art (Miller & Chuchryk, 1996, p. 8; M'Closeky, 1996). Both Inuit and Qallunaat women artists confront similar gender inequalities. Based on an analysis of auction data and experiments with thousands of respondents, researchers at the University of Luxembourg found that an artist's gender consistently increased or decreased the value of their work. Because male buyers consider women's artwork inferior their art sells for 47.6% less than works by men (Sutton, 2017).

The value of Inuit women's artwork and their work opportunities may seem a long way off from Inuit food. However, these connections rise to the surface when we seek to heighten our understandings of images produced by Annie that have been organized into a series based on Inuit foodways. The *Inuit Foodways* series highlights the fact that country food enriched her Inuit girlhood with a space to retain a cultural identity that has been in the making for some time, an identity that adapts and adjusts to the Canadian workforce without assimilating into it.

Overall, the *Inuit Foodways* series links girlhood to food in ways that re-construct and re-describe food on many levels, many of which require further research to validate. First, for many Inuit girls, food has been constructed as belonging to everybody, in contrast to Qallunaat households that conceive it as belonging to the person(s) who bought it (Searles, 2002). Second, food is to be enjoyed—especially, for instance, the taste of a raw baby seal, beluga fluke, or kujapik. Notably though Qallunaat nutritionists may classify this as a healthy food choice, Inuit expand their

notion to include *ningiqtua*, a definitive act of Inuitness. Of course, most Inuit girls, like most girls everywhere, enjoy junk food. Third, where some Inuit girls substitute country food with market food that includes junk food, some Qallunaat girls seem to have less choice and can only substitute healthy food with junk food. Fourth, Inuit girls are encouraged to choose when, what, and how much to eat, a significant contrast to mainstream food practices that insist on meal times, serving sizes, and nutritional balance. Fifth, many Inuit girls, especially those whose families and or extended families have successful hunters, have direct experience with traditional food, while Qallunnaat girls whose families serve packaged, processed, and ready-made food have little, if any, direct experience with Southern food. Sixth, Inuit girls may perceive Inuit food and work wages as central to the longevity of the extended family and women's role as a critical to sustaining both traditional harvesting activities and the production of Inuit arts and crafts. Possibly, Inuit girls may not necessarily link wages to home ownership or independent lifestyles in ways that some Qallunaat girls may observe in their households.

Summary

This chapter contrasted adolescent girls' attitudes toward eating and food with Inuit girls' attitudes that are bound up with hunting, butchering, sharing and eating country food. In an effort to both disrupt negative images of Inuit eating raw flesh and to dovetail Inuit girlhood and foodways, I created two vignettes: "Saturday Night Feast" and "Women's Feast." Both revolve around *ninigniq*; broadly defined, *ninigniq* entails sharing food, labour, and natural resources. However, for the most part, both vignettes focus on the sharing of meat obtained from hunting activities, with the former focusing on pre-settlement sharing and its links to starvation and the latter focusing on post-settlement sharing and its links to the wage economy. I interpreted the *Inuit Foodways* series as a pedagogical tool that shows, for example, how to eat raw meat and to use

tableware when feasting on country food and as a point of entry into discussions around how Inuit women experiment with *ninigniq*, so that this traditional practice continues to guide and shape Inuit as they blend incomes from hunting and art production with incomes from the workforce. Overall, Annie's drawings represent a possible Kingnait girlhood which constructed country food as owned by everyone; as something to be eaten at the times and in the quantities girls desired; and as enjoyable because it tastes good and is a source of shared pleasure. Taken as a whole, Annie's artwork characterizes country food as a significant part of her Kingnait girlhood.

5

Indigenous Sexuality: Annie Pootoogook's Images of Inuit Erotica

What drove me to continue on this quest to bring the erotic back into Indigenous arts? Largely it was that I instinctively knew that the erotic is essential to us as human beings and that it had to take its rightful place in our lives and cultures before we could truly decolonize our hearts and minds.

Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm (Anishinaabe, Nawash First Nation, 2008, p. 112)

Previous chapters have drawn upon Western understandings of girls' bedroom culture and girls' eating practices to reflect on the interplay between Inuit girlhood and the basic everyday necessities of life (shelter and food). In this chapter I add another element to the daily life portrayed in Annie Pootoogook's artwork: sexuality. Here, I argue that Annie Pootoogook's erotic drawings contribute to a broad conversation among Indigenous artists, academics, activists and writers that focuses on positive aspects of Indigenous sexuality. This conversation addresses enforced colonial

standards of “monogamy, heteronormativity and the nuclear family” (Sanader, 2018, p. 42) across Turtle Island, yet insists on “the agency of sexual exploration and fun,” “multiple gendered-sexualized identities” (Barker, 2017, p. 27), and relationships that sustain self-determined alternatives to these standards. Both Annie’s artwork and this broader conversation assert that Indigenous ways of knowing and being are sources of healing and power for Indigenous girls whose sexuality has been and continues to be damaged, denied, and suppressed by settler society; for Indigenous girls who experience an overall healthy view of their sexuality; as well as for those girls in-between and on either side of these first two social categories. I suggest that Annie’s artwork and Indigenous scholar Kim Tallbear’s work on nonnormative sexuality converge and that this convergence demonstrates Indigenous girls and young women have been practicing Indigenous sexualities for some time now. As we begin to listen to conversations about Indigenous sexuality, to engage with the artistic and intellectual output rooted in this conversation, we have an opportunity to reflect on adolescent girls’ sexuality in remarkably generative ways.

Since Annie Pootoogook’s rise to fame in 2006, much has been written about the artist by Qallunaat curators and journalists. Revealingly, most comment, either in passing or at length, on one specific drawing out of what are only a handful of drawings about domestic abuse that the artist produced. Possibly due to the curators’ and journalists’ selectivity, very little attention has been paid to Annie’s erotic images—even though among the artwork I have been able to access her erotic images outnumber those depicting violence. Often, in her erotic drawings sexual intimacy appears to be fun, healthy and safe, with women’s pleasure taking precedence. The body of work I refer to is limited to Annie’s works on paper that have been circulated by art historians and enthusiasts, as well as by gallerists and curators. For the purposes of this study, I organized *Sexual Imagery*, a series of 11 drawings that are divided into abuse and erotic:

- Abuse (3): *A Man Abusing His Partner* (2002); *A Fight* (2003); *Mother Falling with Child* (2003)
- Erotic (8): *Erotic Scene, 4 Figures* (2001); *Man Approaching Woman* (2001); *Untitled* (2001); *Woman at her Mirror (Playboy Pose)* (2003); *Composition: Woman Masturbating* (2003/4); *Making Love* (2003/4); *Composition: Watching Porn on Television* (2005); *Composition: Woman Above Man* (2003).

The chapter has been organized into two parts: the first situates stereotypes about Inuit girls' and women's sexuality; the second looks at Annie's visual representations of Inuit erotica from the broad lens of Indigenous sexuality.

Part 1: Stereotyping-in-the-Making Damage Narratives about Annie Pootoogook

The Social Consequence of Stereotypes

To contextualize the first portion of the chapter, I examine centuries-old stereotypes that characterize Indigenous girls and women as princess or squaw. Then, I link those stereotypes to media coverage about murdered and missing Indigenous girls and young women. From there, in a new section, I examine how stories about Annie were circulated by curators and journalists from the start of her career to her untimely death in 2016. From there, in the third and final section of the first part of this chapter, I use Erving Goffman's ritualization of subordination to compare *A Man Abusing His Partner* and *Making Love*. This comparison serves as the springboard into the second major theme discussed in this chapter: Indigenous sexuality.

For decades, Indigenous girls' and young women's disappearances and murders were not taken seriously by local police, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), or the provincial and federal governments. This inattention to the rising number of unsolved murders and disappearances in government jurisdictions, along with each and every unique individual the numbers represent, has been referred to by the acronym

MMIWG, which stands for missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls. From 2014 to 2015, mainstream media provided an unprecedented volume of coverage devoted to MMIWG (Drache, Fletcher, & Voss, 2016). A year later, 13% of stories dedicated to Indigenous issues focused on the crisis. This volume of coverage leads me to wonder whether average readers may be learning about Indigenous girls and young women in ways that confirm an implicit bias³⁸, or in ways that may seem familiar to readers. Augie Fleras, a social scientist, (2011) affirms that media coverage distorts Aboriginal realities by infrequently situating news stories within a historical context and, rarer still, by presenting “Aboriginal concerns from Aboriginal perspectives” (p. 16). In his comprehensive audit of media coverage, Fleras demonstrates that essentially negative stories about Indigenous issues are compounded by:

a criticism of Aboriginal peoples as social problems because of a seeming dependency on welfare, predilection for alcohol and other substance abuse, abusive violence toward one another or turned inward as suicide, pervasive laziness and lack of ambition, and tendency to mismanage what little they have by hiding behind the smoke screen of Aboriginal rights (or victimhood) to justify illegal activities or rationalize shortcomings. (p. 217)

In truth, mainstream news coverage constructs news stories from a white cultural paradigm or dominant perspective; these stories reinforce existing discourse that determines what can and cannot be said about Indigeneity. Stereotypes compress unwieldy themes into digestible and identifiable themes; they simplify complex individuals into stock characters. Social psychologists Craig McGarty, Vincent Yzerbyt, and Russell Spears (2002) organized the social psychology of stereotypes into three

³⁸ Greenwald and Krieger (2006) introduce implicit bias as an aspect of implicit cognition. This science “suggests that actors do not always have conscious, intentional control over the processes of social perception, impression formation, and judgment that motivate their actions.” See their article for an explanation of implicit biases as discriminatory biases based on implicit assumptions and implicit stereotypes.

principles: they are 1) aids to explanation; 2) energy-saving devices; and 3) shared group beliefs. Over time, stereotypes begin to carry the weight of authority. Although they appear realistic, Fleras (2011) reminds us that they “are not real in the conventional sense, [but they] can be very real in their social consequences” (p. 64). Over the centuries, stereotypes have circulated in dominant Canadian discourse that portray Indigenous women as Indian princesses—the noble savages’ female equivalent—or “squaws”—constantly available sexual objects³⁹. Recently, a third stereotype appears to be emerging: missing and murdered. Compared to projecting onto individuals the role of princess or the reputation for sexual promiscuity, the creation of this third stereotype represents an (allowable) action (e.g., murder, physical and verbal abuse, sexual assault) inflicted by perpetrators on Indigenous women and girls. The three stereotypes collide, easily blending into one another: a squaw can be murdered, a princess can go missing, while a missing person or murder victim can be categorized as a princess or a squaw. Put differently, the MMIWG acronym seems to replace all individuals with a single characterization. If this is the case, it becomes problematic because while the acronym sustains public attention on a very real, very urgent reality that Indigenous girls and women are disappearing and being murdered, it also becomes entangled with stereotypes and the vicious cycle they engender.

The Native Girl Syndrome

For centuries, mainstream discourse about Indigenous young women drew upon descriptions “by white men—explorers, traders, missionaries, and scholars” (Barman, 1998, p. 239). Originating in the mid-19th century, these descriptions, coupled with colonial racist attitudes and Canada’s developing political and nationalistic agendas, contributed to the conceptualization of opinions and attitudes about Indigenous girls

³⁹ For a discussion of these stereotypes and how they continue to dehumanize Indigenous women and uphold Canadian colonialism, see Bird, 1999; Glennie, 2018; Merskin, 2010.

and women (Accose-Miswonigeesikokwe, 2016). As we saw in **CHAPTER 1**, in 1892 the Mohawk writer and performer Emily Pauline Johnson criticized Anglo-Canadian authors for basing fictional Indian girls on existing literary accounts written by other Anglo-Canadian writers instead of on actual girls from specific tribes. Johnson exposed Victorian Canadian literature's fixed depiction of Indigenous young women as dishonourable, detestable, and — frequently, by the novel's end — dead. Tellingly, Janice Accose-Miswonigeesikokwe (2016), a writer and scholar from the Sakimay (Saulteaux) First Nation and the Marival Metis Community, demonstrates that over 100 years later Canadian authors continued to uphold literary traditions that had been criticized by Johnson at the turn of the 19th century. She demonstrates how Manitoba Métis author Beatrice (Culleton) Mosionier (1999) upends these fixed depictions in her young adult novel *In Search of April Raintree*. Originally published in 1983, Mosionier's novel features white characters who typify racist behaviours and attitudes commonplace in Canadian society such as the defendants who nonchalantly justify raping April Raintree because she is Native. Accose-Miswonigeesikokwe (2016) examines Mrs. Semple, April Raintree's social worker, who believes that "all Native girls inevitably" become pregnant, consume alcohol, end up as petty thieves or prostitutes, incarcerated or homeless, and "live with abusive men and ultimately live off society" (p. 38). The beliefs of these white characters, including Mrs. Semple, rely on several categories listed earlier in Flera's (2011) description of negative media coverage of Indigenous issues. Accose-Miswonigeesikokwe (2016) explains that Culleton created Mrs. Semple to illustrate the Native girl syndrome and as a reminder that white supremacy prevailed in 1960s–1980s Canadian society. She claims the degree to which Indigenous young women are portrayed as Indian princesses, or as squaws available for sexual assault and murder, promotes "dangerous cultural attitudes that affect human relations and inform institutional ideology" (p. 40). In sum, Accose-Miswonigeesikokwe argues that literature read uncritically allows readers to presume that many Indigenous

girls and young women behave in the same manner as the stereotypes circulating in dominant discourse. Because news stories of our day are arguably contemporary ‘fairy tales⁴⁰,’ meant to teach the reader what to be wary of and what to fear, I would assume that Accose-Miswonigeesikokwe would critique the tendency to read news stories uncritically.

Media Coverage Reinforces Stereotypes

Political scientists Daniel Drache and Fred Fletcher, along with environmentalist Coral Voss (2016), analyzed the coverage of Indigenous issues, especially MMIWG, from 2006 to 2015 in eight major Canadian English daily newspapers. Overall, they found that prior to 2013, media coverage about MMIWG was sluggish, with the heaviest occurring in 2014–2015. They attribute increased mainstream attention to well-focused Indigenous mobilizations that “pushed the issue into mainstream discourse” (p. 44). Most newspapers reported on these incidents by decontextualising homicides and disappearances from Canadian settler colonialism. Typically, storytelling in sex crime reporting alludes to, or asserts that risk factors are to blame for the crime. Risk factors “include alcoholism, drug abuse, homelessness, participation in sex work and/or coming from a difficult family situation” (p. 28). Although one-third of MMIWG coverage advanced “straight-forward reporting” (p. 4), with several articles denying that the victims were at fault, one in four MMIWG-related articles touched on victims’ so called “high-risk behaviour” (p. 28). This form of media storytelling has the potential to reinforce stereotypes, to give implicit permission to blame the victim. Historical root causes are crucial elements of the MMIWG narrative; without them readers seem unlikely to make sense themselves of the issue. When journalists overlook or are silent about the “social and economic conditions, and the underlying causes for

⁴⁰ Thanks to Andrew Smith for the comparison (personal communication, August 17, 2018).

these conditions” (p. 31), then readers are not given critical information that might help them understand why sexual violence is perpetrated on Indigenous girls and young women at higher rates than on their non-Indigenous counterparts. In the period under study, 2006 to 2015, with few exceptions, journalism, rather than reshaping public understanding and informing the public agenda, has tended to perpetuate negative stereotypes and misconceptions and thereby left the Canadian public without a historical context in which to understand sexual violence more broadly, nor their responsibility to stop it.

The Continuum of Sexual Violence

Gender-based violence occurs in any number of private, public, and institutional settings; it comes in many forms—economic, physical, political, psychological, and sexual. Violence occurs on a continuum, affecting many individuals as they transition from girlhood to womanhood. The 1993 *UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women* acknowledges that female children and Indigenous women count among 13 groups identified as especially vulnerable to violence. This acknowledgement can be substantiated in the Canadian context by the examples below that show that Aboriginal girls and women are exposed to violence disproportionately to their representation in the general population, subjected to violence for cumulative reasons inseparable from gender and race, and ill-treated by the justice system—a treatment indicative of Canadian society’s pervasive and pernicious attitude that Indigenous girls and women are disposable sex objects. Overall, violence against Indigenous girls and women exists on a continuum, leaving them vulnerable to several forms across their lifespans.

Sexual Violence Directed at Indigenous Girls and Women

In 1996 the Aboriginal population made up 2.8% of the total Canadian population. According to the Correctional Service of Canada, up to “75% of Aboriginal young women under the age of 18 have experienced sexual violence, 50% are adolescents

under 14, and almost 25% are girls younger than 7 years of age” (McIvor & Nahanee, 1998, p. 65 cited in Jiwani, Berman, & Cameron, 2010, p.137). Second, according to the Native Women’s Association of Canada (NWAC) (2015), from 1996 to 2006 Aboriginal females were seven times more likely to be murdered than non-Aboriginal females. Amnesty International (2004) brought to light how police forces failed to “provide an adequate standard of protection” (p. 2) for Indigenous girls and women, and failed to investigate their disappearance or deaths, an example of negligence which in turn has been ignored by municipal, provincial, and national leadership. Since negligence can be criminal and it was ultimately the state’s duty to provide protection, in my eyes, their negligence is criminal. In 2005, the NWAC launched the *Sisters in Spirit* initiative to address Aboriginal women and girls who were missing or had been murdered, a number that seems to rise without end. Keeping in mind that one act of racialized, sexualized violence is one too many, their report (2009) brought attention to extremely high rates of racialized, sexualized violence directed at Aboriginal women and girls, with young women up to 30 years of age disproportionately affected.

Initially, the RCMP dismissed what NWAC identified as root causes, viewing the murders and disappearances as individual crimes. By late 2013, however, they appear to have responded to NWAC’s pressure (Drache, Fletcher, & Voss, 2016) and initiated an RCMP-led study across all Canadian police jurisdictions to investigate the reported incidents of girls and women who had disappeared or been murdered. According to their report (2015), 1,017 Aboriginal female homicides⁴¹ and 164 missing occurred in the 32-year period from 1980 to 2012. However, several factors undercut the numbers their study revealed: flaws in police investigations, reporting inconsistencies, and allegedly

⁴¹ Significantly, strangers and acquaintances were responsible for a majority of deaths. Indigenous girls and young women are seven times more likely to be murdered by an acquaintance than all other women in Canada. These casual acquaintances include friends, co-workers, neighbours, authority figures and other people known to, but not intimate with, the victim. (Amnesty International, n.d., n.p.)

defective practices—all these factors cast doubt on the RCMP's figures (Amnesty International, n.d., n.p.). Further, in their book, *Forever Loved: Exposing the Hidden Crisis of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls in Canada*, Dawn Lavell-Harvard (member of the Wikwemikong First Nation), past NWAC president, and Jennifer Brant (Tyendinaga Mohawk Nation), Program Coordinator for the Gidayaamin Indigenous Women's Certificate Program, Brock University, (2006) point out that the way the report was presented is problematic because it cites a large number of statistics, such as a history of illegal drug use and involvement in illegal activities, in such a way that suspicion is cast on the victims' own actions and behaviours. In Lavell-Harvard and Brant's opinion, the RCMP report failed to examine the ways in which colonialism and racism ensnarled the disappeared and the murdered.

Regardless of the numbers cited in the RCMP report, statisticians typically group Indigenous girls and women into one general category, blurring, for example, regional differences. Nonetheless, whether we look at them as a generalized or a specific category, disproportionate levels of violence remain evident in the lives of Indigenous girls and women (Hawkins, Reading, Barlow, & Canadian Aboriginal AIDS Network, 2009). According to Pauktuutit (2016), a national non-profit organization representing all Inuit women in Canada, although abuse and violence have always existed in Inuit society, numerous communities in Nunavut have reported an increase in incidents. Pauktuutit reports that many communities are "feeling overwhelmed by the extent of the problem and the lack of knowledge and resources to respond" (p. 3). Additionally, the Nunavik Inuit Health Survey reaffirms the continuum of sexual violence: women respondents reported experiencing attempted or actual sexual violence in both childhood (49%) and adulthood (27%) (Anctil, 2008). In 2004, the violent crime rate in Nunavut was eight times higher than Canada's overall rate (Crime Statistics in Canada). For Pauktuutit (2006), this increase attests to the selective characteristics of violence because Inuit women and children were most often victims. The organization identifies

two main reasons for the high levels of violence: “1) loss of culture and tradition; and 2) loss of control over individual and collective destiny” (p. 3). Further, in the early 1990s, professionals vastly underreported child sexual abuse throughout the Canadian Arctic. Pauktuutit (1991) based this assertion on “responses from the medical field, police and child/social welfare agencies in which 85% stated that they knew of a specific child’s sexual abuse or had heard about an abuse that had not been reported” (p. 7). Their organization pointed to Qallunaat’s (in)actions and attitudes as part of the problem. For example, the court accepted interpretations of Inuit values and attitudes that supported the myth that “child sexual abuse was, or is acceptable in the Inuit culture” (p. 10); often this acceptance led to very light sentences imposed on the sexual offenders. The justice system also tolerated statements made by court personnel that could be construed as saying that child sexual abuse is commonplace in Inuit cultures and, therefore, more acceptable than in non-Indigenous communities. It seems likely that these public service professionals uncritically accepted the above myth and any stereotypes informed by it. The acceptance of information of this nature as reliable without verifying its accuracy contributes to the circulation of stereotypes as common knowledge. In turn, this knowledge is used to make sense of behaviours that appeared to mirror either the myth or its stereotypes. Plausibly, this acceptance reflects institutional ideology upheld by government bureaucrats and politicians.

Telling Pootoogook’s Stories: A Process of Stereotyping

Up to now, I have offered several examples for the way some centuries-old stereotypes circulate in present-day society, particularly through media coverage of MMIWG from 2014 to 2015. I hope these examples demonstrate how stereotypical thinking can have devastating consequences in the ordinary lives of young Indigenous women. With this context in mind, I return to stories told about Annie Pootoogook to describe the processes I have observed that lead to what I perceive as stereotyping-in-the-making.

Fixation and Repetition

This section calls attention to a narrative thread noticeable when curators first began to discuss Annie's artwork amongst themselves. Unequivocally, Qallunaat curators and journalists credit the artist's drawings with "bringing new understandings of what Inuit art could be, while showing the North to the South in a manner it had never seen before" (Igloliorte, 2016, n.p.). Overall, curators clearly articulate appreciation and delight for what Feheley (2004) describes as a blend of global and profoundly personal references: "[Pootoogook's] artistic statements fuse disparate elements of contemporary Inuit life in which televisions share floor space with whale meat" (p. 11). In what appears to be the first article written about the artist, Feheley combines high praise with autobiographical details that seem unobtrusive, yet odd. For example, she mentions "a stormy period...filled with unhappy relations" (p. 12); elsewhere, she explains that "Annie exorcises old demons by drawing painful events from her past" (p. 13). Later, three separate exhibition catalogues add details to Feheley's slim narrative thread. Two catalogues include Campbell's curatorial essays that share the same title as the catalogues' title: *Annie Pootoogook* (2006, 2007) and the third exhibition catalogue is Jan Allen's (2011) *Annie Pootoogook: Kinngait Compositions*. In 2006, Campbell acknowledges that during an interview the artist "reluctantly tells of her own experience" (p. 15). Despite Annie's reluctance, Campbell includes this material in her essays. Connolly (2006) also repeated Feheley's narrative in the 30-minute eponymous documentary, *Annie Pootoogook*, she directed. The DVD's back cover describes the documentary as an "intimate portrait" of the artist. Then, in 2011, Allen states that the artist's images drew "from her personal experience: the artist suffered severe abuse by a former partner" (p. 14). In each text—Feheley's article, Campbell's two essays and Allen's essay—Annie's erotic images are cursorily mentioned. For me, the unequal attention suggests the curators seemed to have been incurious about these images. By watching Connolly's documentary, it is fairly obvious that Annie spoke basic English. I was able to confirm

that assessment while reading the 11 transcripts from interview material provided by Site Media (2006), the company that produced the documentary. The first four transcripts document Pootoogook's English responses to the interviewer's questions; for the remaining seven, her Inuktitut responses were interpreted into English by unidentified and an unknown number of interpreters⁴². This language divide brings attention to the layers of complexity involved from the moment Annie said something in Inuktitut to the moment her words were put into writing for an English-reading audience. Therefore, for me, instead of relying solely on the curators' interpretations of Annie's drawings, it becomes crucial that whenever possible my understandings of her artwork be guided by Inuit perspectives and interpretations.

The layers of complexity that accompany the curators' narrative bring to mind an interaction between an Inuk participant and Janet Billson and Kyra Mancini (2007). This interaction occurred at the outset of their fieldwork that focused on challenges facing Inuit women as they enter the 21st century. Billson and Mancini describe meeting an Inuk man by chance on two occasions. They recall that when they first met, it was only after the Inuk man had sized them up, that he began to talk with them. Even though he slowly offered up information, "Still, we feel he is holding back" (p. 4). The next day as they happened to walk past his house, he invited them inside. At one point during their visit,

The man says that Inuit are perfectly comfortable sitting in silence with an occasional grunt, joke, or grin. He adds that we, on the other hand, come from a culture that views silence as 'dead space' — a concept that makes us uneasy and overly talkative or inquisitive. (p. 4)

Later, when showing Billson and Mancini his copy of a Knud Rasmussen volume published in 1908, he spoke about trusting writers whose English publications stay

⁴² I am cautious about assuming there was only one interpreter based on the possibility the individual(s) hired may have been unavailable for the entire length of time the film crew interviewed and filmed Annie.

close “to the people’s words” although they never publish in Inuktitut (p. 4). Then, looking at the old book again he softly said, “We Inuit hold our thoughts inside. I don’t know why. Then you just get a part of our life” (p. 4). Billson and Mancini acknowledge that through his subtle yet direct lesson, they understood it would be “difficult to learn about Inuit culture but not impossible” and that to do so would entail “deliberate patience” (p. 4). They also acknowledge his warning that straying far from Inuit daily life and from the meanings of peoples’ words would produce untrustworthy English-language publications.

I include here some material from the Site Media transcripts. Wary that this gesture contributes to developing the existing damage-narrative (Tuck, 2009) that accompanies mainstream discourse about Annie, the lengthy quote I selected comes from a moment when she described to Connolly (2006) events that may have inspired her drawing *A Man Abusing His Partner*. My selection adds an element that seems to be missing from the story repeated by Allen, Campbell, Fehleley, and Connolly — Annie fighting back and the pride that accompanied it. After being imprisoned for five months, she recounts:

I have to do something to get out of that house before he brokes my bone. So, I took off the wood from the door with a knife ‘cause there was no crow bar or no hammer. So, I had to use knife to take off the wood. There... from there I escaped. All I can say is I escape myself from that fucking house. So, I went out without broken bones. I escape myself. (p. 12)

Intrusion: A Stereotype is Born

Earlier, I discussed the curators’ fixation on Pootoogook’s drawings of domestic abuse and how this led to the repeating of personal information about the artist. Here, I consider how some journalists picked up and furthered the curators’ story. In what comes next, I focus on examples wherein some Canadian journalists dig for evidence that fits the curators’ story.

In her essay mentioned above, Allen (2011) describes the period from 2001 to 2006 as a moment when Pootoogook's art production met with "a phenomenal rise to critical acclaim and international recognition" (p. 7). She then lists the artist's landmark forms of recognition such as inclusion in major art venues, prestigious awards, sales, and acquisitions by important museums. Finally, Allen remarks that since moving to Ottawa the artist has been on hiatus. The next year, *Up Here*, self-described as the only magazine covering the entire North, published "Where Have You Gone Annie Pootoogook?" The article's sub-title informs us that the artist "vanished as quickly" as she shot to fame, then asks "what happened...and why?" Jasmine Budak (2012), the author and freelance journalist, recounts her unsuccessful efforts to solve the artist's mysterious disappearance. Her investigative journalism explodes themes established by art curators—abuse, alcoholism, and autobiographical drawings. By the third paragraph, Budak alerts readers that second-hand accounts reveal that Annie "bunks with friends or crashes in shelters. There have been reports of benders and bad relationships..." (p. 44). She then lists the artist's achievements, asserting that "domestic abuse is a prominent theme in Annie's work" (p. 45). Though she does clarify that Pootoogook is not the only artist "to capture the discord and ugliness of modern Arctic life" (p. 45), Budak fails to mention that a majority of Pootoogook's drawings depict cosy domestic scenes without mentioning that only three of the artist's drawings depict domestic abuse. This omission points to the tendency to reduce Indigenous individuals to social problems (damage-centred narrative) and to repeat what has already been said about Pootoogook. Budak's article also represents another part of the process under consideration: the exposure of Pootoogook's life without permission, a violation of privacy.

Violation: Ownership of Pootoogook's Story

A few examples of newspaper headlines create a recognizable pattern of what I view as a journalists' violation of privacy. A pattern summed up by Alex Jacobs (2016), a member of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesane writing for *Indian Country Today*, a national news source for and about Native American peoples in North America and Indigenous peoples worldwide. Jacobs writes:

All this success in a short time affected Annie Pootoogook and although the media was quick to describe her rise and fall, her life story has become a recounting of issues like violence, trauma and addiction that are prevalent in modern indigenous communities. (n.p.)

The media's persistent recounting of selective details about Pootoogook eventually cast her into an established stereotype.

- The 'It girl' of Inuit art is in a dark place: Once on the fast track to fame, Annie Pootoogook has slipped into an itinerant life (Gessel, 2012, *Ottawa Citizen*);
- Inuit artist back at women's shelter while work displayed at gallery (Adami, 2015, *Ottawa Citizen*)
- Tragic Death of *documenta* Artist Investigated by Ottawa Police (Muñoz-Alonso, 2016, *Artnet News*)
- Ottawa Cop Charged for Making Racist Facebook Comments About Annie Pootoogook: Sergeant Chris Hrnchiar said the Inuit artist likely 'got drunk and fell in the river' (Krishnan, 2016, *Vice*)

These sample headlines show that when reporting on her death, Qallunaat frequently cast Annie as mostly broken or mostly damaged, just as they had reported on her life. The final headline shows that stereotyping is pervasive, degrading and violent. It provided Sergeant Hrnchiar yet another media platform for his bigoted and racist

views⁴³ while highlighting law enforcement discrimination and improper investigations as significant factors for why the murders and disappearances both remain unsolved and continue. As pointed out by Aboriginal Peoples' Television Network reporter Jorge Barrera (2016), Annie's case contains several themes that led to the launch of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls in December 2015, almost a year before the artist's suspicious death in September 2016.

Erving Goffman's Coding Category: Ritualization of Subordination

Here, I compare *Man Abusing His Partner* to *Making Love* to complicate curatorial messages that popularize the former image as challenging Southern viewers' expectation about what "pictures of the North should look like" (Campbell, 2017a, p. 58). Basically, I claim that this image invites its audience to look past interpersonal violence to examine the 'everydayness' of violence and how it connects to social systems and social institutions, without forgetting "the individuals who perpetrate and experience violence" (Montesanti & Thurston, 2015, p. 11).

In 1979, Erving Goffman analyzed the ways in which advertisers make use of visual meanings to display gender difference. He performed a visual analysis of nearly 400 advertisements using a technique he had developed to decode the ways we perform socially expected gender roles, performances that advertisers made visible when they used gender behaviour for marketing purposes. Goffman contends that "carefully posed models and carefully selected settings" (Kang, 1997, p. 982) mirror our thinking about the ways men and women behave. Although advertisements cast both sexes in stereotypic fashion (Belknap & Leonard, 1991), images of women overwhelmingly

⁴³ Shortly after posting his comments, Hrnchiar plead guilty to two counts of discreditable conduct under the Police Services Act. Since then, he has taken multicultural sensitivity training, publicly apologized, and continues to learn about Canadian history from an Indigenous perspective. He has become a family friend to Annie's 4-year-old daughter Napachie, her 8-year-old biological cousin Ellie, and Veldon Coburn, the girls' adoptive father who reported Hrnchair's Facebook comments to Mayor Jim Watson and police Chief Charles Bordelau (Crawford, 2017).

demonstrate the broader social idea that North American culture defines feminine as “a subordinate relationship to what the culture defines as masculine” (Jhally, 2009, p. 8). Almost 20 years later, in her article, “The Portrayal of Women’s Images in Magazine Advertisements: Goffman’s Gender Analysis Revisited,” Mee-Eun Kang (1997) reminds that by 1991, women’s entry into the workforce revolutionised the social landscape. She reasons that surely portrayals of women would reflect any accompanying changes in their social status and in society’s underlying ideological foundations. However, she found little difference since Goffman’s study: “Overall the sexism in ads remained approximately the same from 1979 to 1991” (p. 988) and concluded that for Goffman this characterization of women “serves the social purpose of convincing us that this is how women are, or want to be, or should be” (p. 994). Thirty years later, Communications professor Sut Jhally’s (2009) thorough assessment of contemporary advertisements also confirmed North America’s unchanged ideological foundations. Recently, mass media specialists Chelsea Butkowski and Atushi Tajima (2017) used Goffman’s gender posing categories to observe visual correspondence between 514 historical European paintings and 1,151 contemporary American advertisements. They explain that the structural similarities shared by these two-dimensional images merit comparing the paintings and photographs. They found that gender posing appeared in 98% of the advertisements, once again confirming the strength of Goffman’s analysis and decoding methods. These studies have convinced me that Goffman’s gender posing categories could be a worthwhile method through which to observe Annie’s drawings.

In the *Sexual Imagery* series curated for this doctoral study, the abuse section contains two gender posing categories: feminine touch and ritualization of subordination. Yet when these two categories appear in an erotic image the roles are reversed (e.g., men are in submissive positions). For brevity’s sake, I only discuss the ritualization of subordination. This pose telegraphs social power and stature through strategically positioning and placing individuals. Women are commonly positioned

lying down on their sides or on their backs, and, most often, men are physically above them. This presentation reinforces stereotypical imagery of women as subordinate, powerless, and dependent; in turn, these visual cues reinforce broad cultural definitions of femininity as passive and powerless. In *A Man Abusing His Partner* (2002)⁴⁴, Annie uses the rule of thirds to portray a scene of claustrophobic violence. This composition technique entails dividing an image horizontally and vertically, then placing important elements along the two horizontal and two vertical lines, or where they intersect.

The room has no door, the only window is closed, a third of the frame is filled with a television, a suitcase, and two coats hanging on hooks. The floor, with a checkerboard pattern, shrinks the room's length to three squares. The bed commands two thirds of the floor space, cornering the woman positioned on top of the mattress. At the foot of the bed, a man wielding a length of wood approaches, his raised arm hides his face. The woman angles away from him with her legs extended, her arms supporting her weight as her stiff upper body stretches as far back as possible, and her mouth agape. The man's fury and the woman's fear portray violence as unavoidable.

Making Love (see **FIGURE 5.1**) presents a completely different experience.

Principally, the man holds the ritualization of subordination pose. The drawing's blank background conveys an open horizon along which lies a bed, the only piece of furniture depicted in a room of which little else is shown. In the image of violence, the bed imprisoned the woman; here, the bed is the centre of the world and the woman sits on it, straddling her lover. Resting his weight on one elbow with outstretched legs, the man smiles up at her as she raises her hair away from her neck. This gesture partially hides her face emphasising her smiling red-lipsticked lips. Some viewers could interpret the woman's sexual pleasure as taking precedence with the man's individuality

⁴⁴ I deliberately omitted the image *A Man Abusing His Partner* for two reasons. First, its inclusion could reinforce some of the very biases I seek to overturn. Second, the image has been heavily reproduced in several forms (e.g., exhibition catalogues, internet, magazine and newspaper articles) making the image relatively easy to access for those interested in viewing it.

subsumed into the couple's sexual intimacy that appears enjoyable, healthy, and safe. Alternatively, *Making Love* reproduces the popular woman-on-top image, colloquially known as 'the cowgirl' and anecdotally described as a popular sex position amongst heterosexual couples because the woman controls both her partner's and her orgasm.

Figure 5.1. Annie Pootoogook. *Making Love*, 2003–2004.



A Man Abuses His Partner also seems to provide audiences with a recognizable subject matter due largely to the widespread distribution of sexually violent media in advertising, film, music videos, and television. The drawing seems to substantiate “socially learned and socially patterned expressions” of masculinity and femininity

(Gornick, 1979, p. vii)—expressions that reinforce dominant society’s underlying ideology that women are subservient to men. However, it is premature to conclude my analysis at this juncture because while it tells us something (already known to us) about Western culture, it says little about Inuit culture.

The Subject is Not the Model

I suggest that some curatorial interpretations of Annie’s images of violence are incomplete. To begin, they single out *A Man Abusing His Partner* as an example of the artist addressing darker aspects of Inuit society, giving more weight to the image’s autobiographical component than to the sexual violence it depicts. To do so, they use Annie’s description of her artistic process to explain that drawing the image seemed therapeutic for her (Campbell, 2006; Connolly, 2006). This weight reveals that some curators undervalued the drawing’s subject matter. For Goffman (1979), composers of print advertisements want viewers to infer “what is going on in the make-believe pictured scene... The issue is subject, not model” (p. 15). He elaborates that pictured scenes share one important feature—“they are all *scenes*, that is, representations, whether candid, faked, or frankly simulated, of ‘events’ happening” (p. 16, italics in original). I argue that Annie, like Goffman’s ad composers, could have wanted viewers to fixate on the make-believe scene depicted in the drawing, not on the model that happened to be herself. Rather than reducing sexual violence to an isolated event in Pootoogook’s life, viewers have an opportunity to, for instance, reflect on questions posed by Cheryl McDonald, a Mohawk woman from Kanesatake, whose sister Carleen Marie McDonald was murdered in 1988: “What do you have to learn? We’ve told you. Where are you?” (Gould, 2016, n.p.). Insisting that Pootoogook herself is the subject of the image could distract viewers from something that keeps happening—Canada’s inattention to rising sexual violence directed at Indigenous girls and young women. Possibly, rather than circulating stories about a former boyfriend abusing Pootoogook,

curators could have made a greater effort to understand and acknowledge the role Canadians play in the crisis of disappeared and murdered Indigenous girls and women. Instead, art critic Leah Modigliani (2009) suggests that curators appear to shape a redemption narrative around Annie—the woman whose trauma was healed by art. When reviewing the solo exhibition of Pootoogook’s drawings mounted at the National Museum of the American Indian, Modigliani raised critical questions about the way the artist had been received by the art world, especially its heightened interest in a handful of images depicting abuse. This is a problematic preference as Modigliani emphasises:

Rather than reflecting an enlightened embrace of artists from non-Westernized environments into the fold of the international contemporary art world, the fixation on these particular aspects of Pootoogook’s art may signal the ongoing impulse of Westerners to locate an image of themselves through constructing, finding, and/or highlighting an image of otherness in Native cultures. (p. 47)

For Modigliani, discourse that frames Annie as an Inuk woman previously a victim of intimate partner violence who has triumphed personally through her work as an artist protects the formal and conceptual aspects of her artwork from criticism, favouring instead “a general enthusiasm for her personal story of artistic triumph” (p. 48). This favoritism may very well mean that while curators were willing to consider categorizing Inuit art as contemporary, they may have been less willing to accept Annie as an actual contemporary artist on par with, for example, Rebecca Belmore (Anishinabe) and Jane Ash Poitras (Cree). I agree with criticism included in Emily Lawrence’s (2018) MA thesis⁴⁵, that the closed-loop curator-driven narrative contains Annie’s artwork “within a Western art historical analytical framework, rather than granting the work agency to speak for itself” (p. 8). I propose that curators’ tendency to shift focus from Annie’s

⁴⁵ Lawrence criticizes curators’ oft-repeated claim that Annie’s artwork disrupts the dominant cultural gaze that tends to prefer visions of imagined primitive authenticity because the claim led many to overlook her unmediated depictions of what I describe as her 1970s-girlhood situated largely in Kingnait, Nunavut.

artwork to fixate on intimate details of her life demonstrates the pervasive nature of stereotypes and stereotypical thinking about young Indigenous women.

Part 2: Indigenous Sexuality and Annie Pootoogook's Erotic Images

The second part of the chapter addresses adolescent girls' sexuality, a human characteristic that historically has been framed as a source of problem and risk by academics, journalists and parents. This section takes a sex-positive perspective to interpret the erotic images in the *Sexual Imagery* series that is followed by an analysis of some of Annie's erotic images. I use this perspective to demonstrate how her artwork contributes to an ongoing conversation about Indigenous sexuality by infusing it with Inuit sexual happiness.

The way curators and journalists talked about Annie's artwork and its links to sexual abuse symbolize what girlhood scholars Sandrina de Finney and Johanne Saraceno (2015) describe as the "hyper-visibility of [Indigenous girls'] bodies—scrutinized, gendered, sexualized, pathologized—and their invisibility as diverse and complex subjects (p. 126). I suggest that framing Annie as simultaneously hyper-visible and invisible becomes possible in part when female adolescent sexuality continues to be perceived as a source of problem and risk. This idea, which seems to be deeply ingrained in Canada's collective social consciousness, expects girls to fend off boys' sexual(ly violent) overtures and to manage the risk for pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases. Before examining some of the erotic images in my series *Sexual Imagery*, I begin with scholarship on adolescent girls' sexuality. After introducing Kim Tallbear's (2018a) thinking around decolonizing settler sexuality, I show some of the ways her theorization aligns with sex positive frameworks for research on adolescent girls' sexuality. To do this, I bring in ideas around settler sexuality and solo polyamory introduced by Indigenous scholar Kim Tallbear during both a keynote lecture (2018a)

and two podcast discussions (2018b, 2018c). I use these sex positive frameworks to view Annie's erotic images from the perspective of Indigenous art and Indigenous sexuality. I argue that the artist's images are part of a larger discussion among Indigenous artists, academics, activists and that awareness of this discussion is crucial to better understand the sexual and sensual expressions of Indigenous girls and women.

Solo Polyamory and 'Being in Good Relation'

An anthropologist specializing in the intersection of science and technology with culture and an enrolled Sisseton-Wahpeton Oyate, descended from Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, Tallbear encourages focussing on sex positive bodies and relationships over a focus on negative bodies and relationships. However, she cautions, a singular focus on the positive caters to the (settler) state's preference that "we focus our eagle eye on our own shortcomings exclusively, and not on its extractive and oppressive structures" (2018a, para. 6). This aspect of a decolonizing sexuality resonates with discussions about neoliberalism offered by girlhood scholars Aapola, Gonick and Anita Harris (2005). Overall, neoliberalism presses individual change upon girls and young women. They describe the neoliberal project as an ideal social world populated by fully self-responsible individuals. The project attempts to convince girls that self-invention, self-realization, and individual choices are all that stands between a meaningful life and systemic barriers such as racism, sexism, and colonialism, barriers that have different meanings at different times for different girls. Returning to Tallbear, she explains that the (settler) state and its structures "not only indoctrinate us with settler ideals, but they have legally and economically enforced certain forms of sex and relationships throughout the existence of these nation states" (para. 5). Her point is that without a structural analysis, individual change will have limited impact on societal change. This co-constitutive process—where "individual and societal change help produce one another" (para. 4)—stands a greater chance of transforming settler

relations than settler sexuality makes possible.

In her keynote lecture given at the Second Annual International Solo Polyamory Conference in Seattle, Washington, Tallbear (2018a) brought her particular Indigenous standpoint to the conversation around settler sexuality initiated by non-Indigenous queer theorist Scott Morgensen (2010). Morgensen's concept of settler sexuality is rooted in the colonial tendency to measure "diverse practices of gender and sexuality" against white heteronormativity, a measurement that interpreted diverse practices as signs of primitivism, eventually framing Indigenous as "queer populations marked for death" (p. 106). Over time, this colonial mindset produced modern or settler sexuality that forces compulsory monogamy and marriage onto a nation's population. Tallbear (2018b) boils down theories informed by Morgensen and other Indigenous and non-Indigenous queer theorists to define settler sexuality as the "imposition of sexual modernity" (3:39) that dates back to the late 19th to early 20th century when the USA and Canada were developing into nations. These nation-states promoted sexuality, marriage and private property "as a bundle" (04:13) in ways that ensured their ongoing existence. Often, Tallbear points out, many people attribute normative monogamous forms of sexuality to religion. However, she, and the queer theorists she is in conversation with, contends that settler sexuality involves the Church, "the State and academic disciplines ... health authorities, psychologists" who monitor people's compliance with emerging sexual norms that were tied up with "the State, private property, and regulating and controlling people" (04:00–04:36). For Tallbear, our sexuality is heavily regulated by the Church, the State and science, all of which have been "overwhelmingly run by straight white men" (09:13). Another aspect of settler sexuality entails being "a good, productive normal citizen" (07:04), a status that can be obtained or proven by producing biological children housed in a nuclear family. When homosexuals strive to achieve the same status—"having children, being good homeowners"—in an effort to access "the full array of rights that citizens are supposed

to have” (07:30), then homonormativity blends into heteronormativity. Both of which maintain relationships to family and property that “support the state” (07:55). Finally, rather than spend time qualifying who is and is not a settler, Tallbear views the term to mean “the imposition of settler colonial institutions, cultures, and authorities” (12:40)—in this regard, the term ‘settler’ does not refer to individuals, instead ‘settler’ refers to state structures. Because “all of us are capable of upholding” these impositions (12:51), she strongly insists we pay more attention to state sanctioned marriages and private property ownership than to categorizing individuals and social groups as settlers, to focus more on structures than on individuals.

In North America, Tallbear (2018a) writes, “the forced conversion to Christianity and the shaming that came with that” supplanted her Dakota ancestors’ practices. Before the imposition of settler structures of sexuality and family, her ancestors relied on marriage to forge important kinship alliances. Dakota marriages recognized more than two genders, supported economic independence (e.g., women owned household property) and interdependence for all, and made divorce possible for women and men. She asserts that today many Dakota commingle their “21st-century loves with these long-held kinship structures” (para. 21). “Many of us continue to live in extended family,” she clarifies, “where the legally married couple is not central, where children are raised in community, and where households often spill over beyond nuclear family and across generations” (para 21). These contemporary lifestyles tap into the notion of ‘being in good relationship’ with both human and other-than-human relatives that existed long before settler-imposed monogamy and state-sanctioned marriage.

Tallbear (2018a) brings to the settler-sexuality discussion the concept of Indigenous relationality, an umbrella term used by many Indigenous “academics, artists, activists and Indigenous Twitterati” (para. 18) to “help us think beyond race, the nation state, biology, and other settler conceptual impositions” (para. 19). She links ‘being in good relation’ to ‘solo polyamory.’ Citing the conference definition, Tallbear

informs us that people who practice solo polyamory have a range of “honest, mutually consensual nonexclusive relationships (from casual and brief to long-lasting and deeply committed)” (para. 20). The single most defining characteristic for solo polyamory is an ethic of autonomy and non-hierarchy. Solopoly people refrain from or choose not to actively seek “a conventional primary/nesting-style relationship: sharing a household and finances, identifying strongly as a couple/triad, etc.” (para. 20). Sociologist Elisabeth Sheff (2013), an expert on polyamory and on children in polyamorous families, defined polyamory in her article “Solo Polyamory, Singleish, Single and Poly: What is Solo Poly, and What Does It Have to do with Stigma and Couple Privilege” published in the popular magazine *Psychology Today*. For Sheff, the characteristics that define solo polyamory, a fluid category, are a range of relationships most of which are “emotionally primary, but not primary in a logistical, rank, or rules-based sense,” most polyamorists “don’t want the kinds of expectations and limitations that come with a primary romantic/sexual relationship” (para. 1). Solo polys often view themselves as “singlish,” rather than forming a couple, they identify “primarily as individuals,” an identity “strongly motivated by autonomy” (para. 2). Sheff writes, “Some solo polys say that they are their own primaries, either because they find autonomy compelling or they are repelled by the primary-partnership relationship model” (para. 4). Although, solo polyamorists refrain from a solitary primary relationship, they create a social network that consists of multiple primary relationships that may or may not have a sexual component with individuals ranging from family and friends who have become family, a network that resembles Indigenous kinship alliances according to Tallbear (2018b). Solo polyamory is not necessarily a haven from the “intense social emphasis on coupling and living happily ever after” (Sheff, 2013, para. 10), this intensity reinforces the status quo that deems the couple as “a legitimate unit worthy of recognition” (para. 10). Sheff adds, “the assumption that the couple is the basic unit of society is so deeply embedded in our collective conscience that people are generally unaware of

how it shapes their thoughts and directs their actions (para. 13). Because the potential to impose restrictive rules that protect the primary relationship exists for non-monogamous and monogamous alike, sex positivity asks practitioners to bring critical analysis (Fabello, 2014) or deep intellectual work (Tallbear, 2018a) to their sexuality.

Tallbear (2018a) remarks that as she has become increasingly outspoken about practicing solo polyamory, either through comments on her blog or at university lectures, younger Indigenous people confide in her that they “would like to embrace open and honest nonmonogamy” (para. 25). But, not only is there a shortage of willing Indigenous partners, but also “they worry about the judgement of their elders” whose values the youth perceive as “holdover[s] of residential schools and the church” (para. 25). This is significant: Indigenous youth seem drawn to her because she describes an Indigenous sexuality that appears desirable, to use Tuck’s (2009) meaning. I raise this point because the youths’ actions indicate that her ideas about Indigenous sexuality resonates with Indigenous young women, many of whom may already be putting into practice the forms of sexual expression and relationships Tallbear has begun to theorize. Given these youths stated preference for nonmonagmous relationality, theorization around human sexuality that focuses exclusively on individuals may benefit by following through on Tallbear’s suggestion to look carefully at the settler state and its structures.

Artistic Expressions of Indigenous Sexuality

Inuit art carries knowledge and tradition and can become a process of self-examination. Inuit art historian and curator Heather Igloliorte (2016) explains that although many Inuit artists prefer to continue producing art representative of life prior to colonization, several others expand this framework by “depicting the intercultural encounter between Inuit and Western worlds” (p. 120). When artists move beyond preserving cultural tradition, she views this as a form of resilience. For Igloliorte, Annie’s work represents “[the] willingness of Inuit artists to begin the difficult process of self-

examination and [the] desire to rebound from adversity to become fortified and more resourceful—the essence of resilience” (p. 121). Indigenous literature also intertwines cultural knowledge and cultural resilience with artistic expression. In both domains, Indigenous art and literature, several artists and writers have been holding a broad discussion around sexuality and sexual pleasure. Annie’s erotic images from the *Sexual Imagery* series demonstrate that she has been participating in this ongoing conversation.

In his introduction for *Me Sexy*, playwright, author and journalist Drew Hayden Taylor (Ojibway, Curve Lake First Nations, ON) (2008) highlights mainstream media’s disproportionate negative coverage of Native sexuality; although many stories “are unfortunately true, they are only a minuscule portion of the stories out there that reflect the vast ocean of Aboriginal sexuality” (p. 3). Annie’s erotic series tells some of these stories through her images of women self-pleasuring, receiving oral sex in a group setting, and viewing pornography as depicted in *Composition: Watching Porn on Television* (2004) (see **FIGURE 5.2**).

Laden with domestic detail, *Composition: Watching Porn on Television* conveys the mutual use of pornography along with companionship and continuity: a set of weights scattered on the floor; nail polish, perfume, a purse and a flower on a dresser; clothes strewn beside the bed—the word “sexy” decorates underwear lying in the pile. The couple gazes (and us along with them) upon a naked woman fondling her breasts and exposing her vagina. I return to this full-frontal-nudity pose shortly because three of the seven erotic images in this series contain a version of this pose. The scene gives the overall impression that watching pornography is acceptable and that the couple routinely enjoys watching it together. This image corresponds to the pursuit of a safe and satisfying sexuality that the WHO (2006) includes as part of their definition of sexuality. Although the couple appears to have agreed to watch porn on television, the image leaves open to interpretation whether the couple is monogamous, nonmonogamous, or something altogether different. Several images in the



Figure 5.2. Annie Pootoogook. *Composition: Watching Porn on Television*, 2005.

Sexual Imagery series, including *Composition Watching Porn on Television*, expresses sex as enjoyable and natural; these images bring to mind Marius Tungilik's (Inuk) (2008) essay about Inuit community and individual healing from child sexual molestation in residential schools. As a survivor, he believes that:

there is a world of difference between good, healthy sex and sex that is dark and abusive. In an environment where one can feel safe and loved, the dark side of sex is nowhere to be seen. It is not even something that I think about in the slightest. I have reason to believe that everyone feels exactly the same way no matter what their past. (p. 58)

His belief and assurance that survivors enjoy sex resonates with Annie's images. Her series also resembles a form of medicine envisioned by Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm (2008), an Anishnaabe writer of mixed ancestry from the Chippewas of Nawash First Nation, who considered writing Indigenous erotica an antidote "to the fear Native girls are taught...to the shame so many of us had learned growing up Native, growing up Native and female" (p. 115). Tungilik's and Akiwenzie-Damm's perspectives connect to a roundtable discussion hosted by Rick Harp (a citizen of the Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation in what's now known as northern Saskatchewan) for his weekly Indigenous current affairs podcast *Media Indigena*. Joining Harp are Candis Callison, a Tahltan Nation located in northwestern British Columbia and professor in journalism, and Tallbear. The three discuss a conversation between Tallbear and Janet Rogers (Mohawk/Tuscarora writer, poet and broadcaster) that occurred during the 2018 Converge Con conference they were both invited to present at in Vancouver, BC.

Tallbear credits Rogers' 2010 book *Red Erotic* as one of the first publications by Indigenous about Indigenous sexuality. Tallbear asks what it meant to Rogers that none of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's calls for action address sexuality, sexual abuse, and sexual decolonization. Rogers heartily agrees that these themes have no place in the TRC because for her "the government and my body have nothing to do with one another" (15:23). She explains that in 2013 her sister was murdered in Chicago and because the government "brought my sister into that situation" (16:07), Rogers will never seek healing from the government. She prefers community forums over government interventions, a preference that connects with the girls groups that Clark (2016a, 2016b) discusses in her publications regarding Red intersectionality (see **CHAPTER 2**). Rogers clarifies:

In this generation that we're experiencing now, I think it's almost fair to say that the words sexual health and residential school trauma are one in the same. Once we heal that, we heal our sexuality, our sensuality, we reconnect. We

remember how to do these things. I think that we have to remember to do those things on our own terms. I don't think it's fair to even put it into the hands of a government. What can they possibly do or say that speaks to the individual experience? So, that's where I'm at with that and that's very Haudenosaunee" (56:00–56:44).

Her response resonates with the discussion in **CHAPTER 4** about the nature of Inuit knowledge—and more broadly with Indigenous knowledge—in that the specific matters far more than the general and that putting knowledge into practice on one's own terms increases one's own knowledge systems. Rogers instructs us that her response comes from her personal experience dealing with trauma around both residential schools and the murder of her sister. She seems both curious and willing to find out about sexual health in a community setting and uninterested in what governments or institutions have to say about Indigenous healing from sexual trauma at the hands of residential schools' employees, abuses that went unchecked by (un)intentionally complicit Canadian officials and settlers. Rogers' stance also echoes reproductive health rights activist Jessica Yee Danforth (Mohawk and Chinese), founder and executive director of the Native Youth Sexual Health Network. In a conversation with Sam Kegney (2014) she states:

Sexuality is not just having sex. It's people's identities. It's their bodies. It's so many things. A lot of elders that I work with say that you can actually tell how colonized we are as a people by the knowledge about our bodies that we've lost. The fact that we need systems and institutions and books to tell us things about our own bodies is a real problem. If we don't have control over our bodies, then what do we have? If something like body knowledge no longer belongs to community and is institutionalized, then what does that really mean? (p. 119)

Both Rogers and Danforth bring a much-needed perspective to frameworks that limit Indigenous girls and young women as sexually vulnerable due to colonial violence,

sexually dysfunctional due to intergenerational trauma, and missing and murdered due to these two social realities. They insist on addressing difficult histories of sexual violence “within Indigenous ways of knowing and being in the world grounded in Indigenous epistemologies” (Barker, 2017, p. 27). Although Tallbear (2018b) considers the TRC’s lack of attention problematic, she does agree that the state may not do “a good job” (57:14) of addressing sexuality, sexual abuse and sexual decolonization and that Rogers’ perspective merits further consideration. All three *Media Indigena* podcast discussants, Callison, Harp and Tallbear, agree that sex positivity is the next conversation after sexual trauma has been acknowledged and addressed (Tallbear, 2018b 59:49). They ask: How do Indigenous peoples want to be in the world as beings who are sexual, sensual and Indigenous? In a separate unrelated interview, Rogers (2018) offers a possible answer: “Reclaim Indigenous sensuality and sexuality in good healthy ways: speak it, live it, own it, enjoy it” (15:30–15:43). For those who are still in the middle of healing from sexual trauma, Rogers concludes that making visible the Indigenous erotic gives them permission to reclaim their sexuality.

Returning to the erotic images in the *Sexual Imagery* series, Inuit erotica indicates that Annie may have reflected on the question posed above (Tallbear, 2018b): How do Indigenous peoples want to be in the world as beings who are sexual, sensual and Indigenous? If this is the case, then her artwork could represent willingness to self-reflect and a desire to treat adversity as pedagogy. Recall that Igliolorte (2016) points to both willingness and desire as the essence of resilience. Also, I have brought together eight perspectives around Indigenous sexuality from eight individuals who self-determine as Indigenous. This demonstrates that Annie contributed to an ongoing conversation that extends beyond artists to include academics, activists, journalists.

Now, I return to the full-frontal-nudity pose in *Composition: Watching Porn on Television*. As previously mentioned, several erotic images include variations on this pose. For example, *Erotic Scene, 4 Figures* spotlights a naked woman leaning back on her

arms, groaning with pleasure, eyes closed as she receives oral sex from an individual. The background reveals a second couple with another person straddling an unseen individual. Although all the characters form a profile view, there is no mistaking the naked woman's legs are spread wide open providing access to her vagina. Annie invites her audience to puzzle out whether the orgy is bisexual, heterosexual or homosexual, perhaps all three. Actually, the puzzle seems incidental to the naked woman's arousal, desire and ecstasy—the essence of the piece. In *Composition: Woman Above Man* (see **FIGURE 5.3**), Annie repeats full frontal nudity more explicitly by drawing an Inuuk couple holding what appears to be an acrobatic pose. In this scene, a crouching man serves as the base for the woman above him holding the same stance. Her feet push into his hands while she holds an unidentifiable object in her left hand (a condom? a pack of matches? a piece of paper?). The couple look directly at the audience, they appear relaxed and unconcerned. Annie has placed the woman's exposed vagina and pubic hair in the centre of the page. Here, Annie infuses the image with female pleasure, power, and fantasy.

Full Frontal Nudity: Four Plausible Readings

There are at least four plausible ways to interpret the full frontal nudity displayed in these three images (*Composition: Watching Porn on Television*, *Erotic Scene, 4 Figures*, and *Composition: Woman Above Man*). The first two draw upon theorizations of female sexuality and the last two come from art historians. First, Annie's images resist pornography that presents women as sexual objects or commodities consumed by men and loving it. The American poet and theorist Adrienne Rich (1983) viewed pornography as presenting a climate where sex and violence were interchangeable while widening acceptable men's sexual behaviour to include violence in heterosexual couplings, "thus stripping women of autonomy, dignity and sexual potential, including loving and being loved by women" (Tolman, 2006, p. 76). Although her images depict



Figure 5.3. Annie Pootoogook. *Composition: Woman Above Man*, 2003.

women's bodies, "a subject matter with long and loaded histories in all forms of artmaking," her drawings are also "drawings of houseplants and electrical outlets, a TV and stereo set in the corner ... They show desire in its everyday, mundane complexities" (Sanader, 2018, p. 44). The second reading contradicts the first. Annie's images can be perceived as duplicating sexual acts portrayed in porn videos and magazines. This reading ties into concerns that the porn industry has become girls "unofficial site of sex education" (Aapola et al., 2005, p. 142). The concern being that girls may believe pornography accurately reflects sexual behaviour, going so far as to agree to sex acts suggested by their boyfriends, such as group sex, only to regret their involvement and then seek out support from women's crisis centres (Saarilahti, 2002 cited in Aapola et al., 2005). This second reading becomes complicated when we factor in the *MediaIndigena* roundtable discussion (Tallbear, 2018b) that enjoying and promoting sensual and sexual pleasure indicate negative sexual attitudes and experiences have somehow been transformed. In this case, Annie's erotic images represent positive sexual health that follows healing from trauma. A positive sexuality that includes "wishes, desires, fantasies, attitudes, roles and relationships" (p. 2) as defined by the WHO (2006). Finally, in her article "Crafted Soft Shapes and Hard Mattress: Sex and Desire in Contemporary Inuit Graphic Art and Film" Daniella Sanader (2018) writes that looking at *Composition (Woman Masturbating)*, it neither seems as if the audience has caught the woman doing something illicit or private, nor that she needs our gaze for her fulfillment. Her pleasure is her possession. She turns "a cold shoulder to dynamics of artist and subject, settler economies of entitlement and systems that would otherwise police [her] desire" (p. 46). Sanader's comments easily carries over to the images of Inuit erotica included in the *Sexual Imagery* series.

The third interpretation for the frontal nudity that appears in three of Annie's erotic images gestures toward a presentation at the symposium *Seizing the Sky: Redefining American Art* that commemorated the opening of the major retrospective *Kay*

WalkingStick: An American Artist at the National Museum of the American Indian. In her presentation, “Erotic Topographies in the Work of Kay WalkingStick,” Berlo (2015) discusses the Cherokee artist’s painting *Il Regalo (The Gift)*⁴⁶ that blends the mountains and valleys of an Italian countryside with the outline of a nude woman bearing her vagina to the audience’s gaze. For Berlo, WalkingStick gifts her audience with “a visual representation of the sensual, the natural, the female and the divine ... as a unified vision” (05:31–05:38). The artist has painted a self-portrait of “she who has given birth to her own powers of creativity and generativity with the help of the beauty and the grace of nature” (08:07–08:11). Berlo frames the artist as birthing her own source of creative and generative power. Building on this interpretation, WalkingStick’s and Annie’s artwork extends Tallbear’s (2018) conceptualization of ‘being in good relation’ that strives for healthy generative kinship ties between human and other-than-human relatives, by adding ‘being in good relation’ with one’s own self.

The fourth interpretation draws on Sanader (2018), mentioned above, who insists on viewing Annie’s erotic images from the context of Inuit erotic art instead of through the eyes of settler desire. She places Annie’s erotic art alongside several contemporary Inuit artists including Shuvini Ashoona whose drawings *Happy Mother* (2013) and *Birthing Scene* (2013) (see **FIGURE 5.4** and **FIGURE 5.5**, respectively) show two seated naked pregnant figures in the birthing process. Where Annie and WalkingStick portray the potentiality of an open vagina, Shuvani goes further. Sanader explains, “her pregnant figures become dense, entangled meeting places for the ecstatic and the grotesque, for myth and landscape, for tradition and fantasy, for soft skin and total, monstrous strangeness” (p. 48). Shuviani’s two drawings, like WalkingStick’s painting, traces back to Tallbear’s (2018a) notion of being in good relation. Shuviani’s images open my eyes

⁴⁶ Several of Kay Walkingstick’s paintings superimpose onto the natural environment a female figure opening her vagina to the viewers’ gaze. For more about Berlo’s interpretation of these erotic topographies, the recorded lecture has been uploaded to YouTube (https://youtu.be/vHc_wvxjj1Y).

to other-than-human relatives, they challenge me to replace notions of sexual deviance with a willingness to gaze upon “Inuit desire on a completely new plane of existence” (Sanader, 2018, p. 48). Undoubtedly, many more interpretations exist for *Composition (Woman Above Man)*, *Watching Porn on Television*, and *Erotic Scene, Four Figures*; nevertheless, Annie’s images point her audience beyond Western understandings of human sexuality to the possibilities of an Inuit framework for sexuality.



Figure 5.4. Shuvinai Ashoona. *Happy Mother*, 2013. Private Collection.



Figure 5.5. Shuvinai Ashoona. *Birthing Scene*, 2013. Private Collection.

Clearly, I question Qallunaat curators' and journalists' fixation on Pootoogook's life and suggest they have made an incomplete interpretation of her artwork because it leaves us with pre-existing ideas born of stereotypical thinking. This questioning aligns with Igloliorte's (2014, 2016, 2017b) assertion that Annie's artwork disrupted southern Canadian's exotic assumptions that Inuit were frozen in time, exposing how little the South knows about contemporary Inuit. The case of Annie Pootoogook demonstrates how isolated—emotionally, socially, and physically—Southerners are from Indigenous communities, how little we know about history from their perspective, and the limitations of any mainstream interest in confronting our alienation and ignorance (Drache et al., 2016). Assuredly, I do not mean to dismiss the extensive literature on Inuit art in Canada, nor the fact that “in 2015 the Inuit arts economy contributed \$87.2 million to the Canadian Gross Domestic Product” (INAC, 2017, n.p.). Instead, I return to point mentioned at the outset of this chapter: recall Billson and Mancini (2007) described several interactions that drew attention to their inability to write in Inuktitut. While visiting an Inuk man in his home, he impressed upon them that in his lifetime virtually all Qallunaat published in English and even though they were writing about Inuit culture, knowledge, traditions, and peoples, they would continue this habit. Igloliorte (2017a) builds upon this truism when she asserts that very little of the extensive literature about Inuit art has been written by Inuit.

In some ways, Pootoogook has come to symbolize the moment when the contemporary art seemed to recognize it was clinging to the incorrect expectation that Inuit art depict a pristine Arctic, consisting of “sublime images of the natural world and traditional ways of life” (Root, 2007, p. 23). This recognition falls short based on the conspicuous absence of new ways to look at and understand Annie's drawings. Rather than contemplate her art within the topic of Western art, I contemplate her drawings within the art world of her people framed by Indigenous sexuality. When Annie's images of Inuit erotica are interpreted from “counternormative conceptual

frameworks” (de Finney, 2014, p. 11) such as Inuit sexuality, they reveal what de Finney refers to as presencing as a girlhood praxis (see **CHAPTER 2**). For example, through her artwork, Annie (re)occupies “places that hold their ancestral connections” as Inuit (p. 18). Her artwork makes visible this occupation, its symbolic content makes visible Inuit desire, sensuality and sexuality that was practiced long before settler colonialism seized land now called Canada. Annie’s Inuit erotica contributes to Tallbear’s (2018a) theorizing around solo polyamory linked to ‘being in good relation’ and fuelled by deep intellectual work on settler structures.

I also brought in Western notions of solo polyamory informed by Indigenous conceptualizations of being in good relation. This viewpoint sustains what Tallbear (2018a) terms a co-constitutive process where individuals change by focusing on sex and body positivity, a focus that helps girls and young women to “cultivate the energy to fight systematically” (Tallbear, 2018a, para. 5), while pressing for societal change by decolonizing settler sexuality. Tallbear confides that she is a practicing solypoly because for the time being it resembles her Dakota ancestor’s sexual practices. While settler-imposed shame around these practices and its accompanying enforced monogamy have interrupted Dakota sexuality, settler sexuality has been unable to eradicate it. Today, we can also catch glimpses of Inuit sexuality that was practiced for millennia “in a world before settler colonialism and its notions of gender, sex, and sexuality” existed (Tallbear, 2018a, para. 21). Alethea Arnaquq-Baril’s Inuktitut-language film *Aviliaq: Entwined* (2014) is one such case in point. Her 15-minute narrative takes place during the 1950s. Sanader (2018) explains that at this time “as the presence of Christian missionaries grew in the North—and the first residential schools were established—Inuit forms of intimacy, partnership and sexuality were increasingly stifled and suppressed” (p. 42). *Aviliaq*, a love story, revolves around Inuuk lovers, Ulluriaq and Viivi, who convince Viivi’s husband Pitsiulaaq to take Ulluriaq as a second wife. Because of their age all three were still close enough to Inuit sexual practices and remembered “they had seen times when

a man had two wives or a woman had two husbands. ‘Like in the old days,’ Viivi says” (p. 42). Unfortunately, an RCMP officer thwarts their attempts to sneak away and in doing so he spoils their commitment “to each other as mutual partners-lovers-friends” (p. 42), thereby forcing the two lovers and Pitsiulaaq into a Christian heterosexual marriage. Sanader maintains that “in choosing to enter a non-monogamous marriage, the three rejected a settler-enforced structure for sex that thrives on deep anxieties about the complexity of human intimacy” (p. 42). Ironically, the so-called happy ending is on the side of the colonial Christian agenda. However, the point here has little to do with the story in and of itself—what is important is that the filmmaker (re)introduces “plural marriage common among nomadic, pre-colonized Inuit families” (p. 42). Alethea Arnaquq-Baril’s film and Annie Pootoogook’s erotic imagery create pathways for Inuit girls that lead away from settler sexuality toward Inuit sexuality.

Returning to Berlo’s 2015 presentation on WalkingStick’s paintings, at the close of her presentation she said:

As a side note, I find it fascinating that there’s little overt exploration of female sexuality in contemporary art made by younger Native women. With few exceptions, their generation has chosen to explore themes other than the sensual: the colonized body, the missing body, or as in Rebecca Belmore’s majestic work *Fringe*, the wounded body (13:51–14:15).

In some ways, silence about Annie’s erotic images, and Indigenous women artists more broadly, resembles silence about women’s sexual pleasure and prowess, two qualities that challenge discourse that objectifies women as sex objects, positioning them as available to be violated and murdered with impunity. Goffman (1979) regards pictured scenes as offering “an angle and distance of vision [into which] vast hordes of viewers can be thrust” (p. 19). This visual point of view serves as a social license to gaze at the activity depicted in the image. Annie controls what we see. On one hand, in her three drawings about abuse, she instructs us to avert our gaze away from the model, to see

the bigger picture of gender-based violence as more than a painful personal situation situated in a specific social historical context. These three drawings illustrate the direct ties between “400-plus years of occupation of Native lands, genocide, and colonization” and “contemporary damage-centered narratives (of abuse, addiction, poverty, illness)” (Tuck, 2009, p. 415). On the other, her erotic imagery offers viewers social licence to learn to gaze upon Indigenous women enjoying their sexuality and sexual happiness without the intent to annihilate, discipline, or possess them.

Summary

Against the backdrop of increased attention from the Canadian government, media and public that focused on the continued murders and disappearances of Indigenous girls and women, damage narratives about Annie’s artwork and lived experience were circulated by curators and journalists. In the context of these narratives, Annie’s sexuality was unquestionably normative, a settler sexuality. In the first part of the chapter, I criticize discourse used by curators and journalists to contain Annie Pootoogook within the damage-centred framework (Tuck, 2009) that I have referred to throughout this manuscript. Quickly, in this context, damage narratives link Annie’s abuse to “historical exploitation, domination, and colonization” (p. 413). True as this may be, the danger arises when damage narratives singularly define Annie as only broken, only damaged, as I demonstrated they have, while simultaneously doing very little to actually put a halt to sexual violence directed at Indigenous girls and women. Indigenous academics, activists, artists, and writers have been circulating a discourse on Indigenous sexuality that challenges normative conceptions about negative or unwanted health consequences of sex and about sexual acts restricted to biological purposes and limited to being in love with the opposite sex. Their ambition does not end with healing from sexual trauma, for many that is the starting point to decolonize sexual relations and sexualities.

In this chapter, it has been difficult to make any declarations about either traditional or contemporary Inuit girlhood and sexuality, due partly to conversations about Indigenous sexuality by Indigenous peoples that become increasingly accessible to non-Indigenous since roughly 2010. Annie's erotic images contribute to this conversation and at the same time provide various standpoints to gaze upon her images. From this vista, in the manner Akiwenzie-Damm's (2008) describes in the opening quote, Annie infuses ordinary life with the erotic—she makes visible its rightful place in her life and culture. This chapter suggests these viewpoints make it abundantly clear that the artist's visual representations of Inuit desire portray sexuality as a vital means of pleasure, play, and personal agency, as well as a space for shared emotional and erotic intelligence.

6

Conclusion

Learning through paper is not as important as learning through experience. Inuit take hold of what is presented—this is who we are.

Paul Quassa in interview with Kunnuk (1999, p. 16)

In seeking to foster renewed relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians through education, this thesis, *Annie Pootoogook's Visual Representations of Girlhood: Acknowledging and Recognizing the Presence of Inuit Girls*, joins girlhood scholars intent on decolonizing girlhood studies. Specifically, sparked by Inuk artist Annie Pootoogook's extraordinary art, the thesis participates in a discussion about Inuit girlhood. On the whole, the artist's drawings reflect ordinary life that streams through an Inuit girl's daily reality. Her images of everydayness suspend action and time, inviting viewers to observe girls, for example, walking to or from the store, washing dishes, or watching television. Her interior scenes illuminate obvious and inconspicuous details that telegraph *ningiqtua*, a definitive act of Inuitness, such as girls eating raw seal, observing women make bannock, playing traditional games, sleeping

in summer tents, wearing amautiit and kamiik, or *Untitled* (2006) (**FIGURE 6.1**) which pictures a girl in a room that has a drawing of a traditional skin tent hanging on the wall, possibly a print of Napatchie Pootoogook's *Drawing of My Tent* (1982) (see **CHAPTER 3, FIGURE 3.6**). Seated before a television with a can of soda by her side, the girl watches a televised scene of a woman cutting raw meat using an ulu.

By some accounts, Annie has been credited with producing approximately 1,000 works on paper (Powless, 2017), yet, as far as I know, art exhibitions continue to circulate the same 50–100 drawings that she created in the early 2000s. Usually, these works on paper are accompanied by curators' initial readings of a narrow range of subject matters they highlighted when Southern audiences became interested in Annie's work. Earlier readings of the artist's work frequently dwelled on details of her personal life. Paradoxically, Annie, the Inuk female artist, has become hypervisible, while narratives either Annie or Inuit audiences may have attributed to her art remain largely invisible. At the same time, her work has been hailed as contemporary art, while some Southerners seem to view the artist as less worthy due to her lack of formal art training in Western institutions. This paradox demonstrates the importance of seeing Annie and her artwork from the centre of Inuit knowledge, perspectives and resilience. The study contributes to an emerging conversation that seeks to better understand Inuit girlhood as a central component of a strong, unique culture that guides girls in their everyday life, a culture grounded in "close ties to the land, a dedication to community, and a strong sense of self-reliance" (Pauktuutit & Boulton, 2006, n.p.).

Summary of the Thesis

The **PROLOGUE** introduced Inuk artist Annie Pootoogook, a third-generation artist, whose art simultaneously continued the storytelling tradition established by her grandmother, Pitseolak Ashoona, and her mother, Napatchie Pootoogook. Unlike her grandmother and mother, whose work documented pre-settlement life, Annie's frank drawings of

contemporary Inuit life illuminated the interplay of colonization and modernization in the Arctic. **CHAPTER 1** contextualized the study and my motivations for addressing the absence of authentic images of Inuit girlhood both in the academy and in Canadian public life. It emphasized some of the ways Inuit girls and Inuit girlhood rarely appear in academic publications compared to copious amounts of literature written about Inuit art by Qallunaat from a Western perspective, and the reality that term ‘Indigenous’ frequently gives the impression that Inuit girls have been included in academic discussions when actually First Nations and/or Métis girls are being written into research literature at a faster rate than Inuit.

CHAPTER 2 situates the study in the interdisciplinary field of girlhood studies. Based on Annie’s visual representations of Inuit girlhood, the study adds to work that interrogates visual constructions of girlhood. The chapter builds on Johnson’s criticism of Victorian Canadian authors’ tendency to circulate a stock character for every fictional Indian girl in print, even when she was featured as a central character. Johnson advocates for fictional characters based on actual girls who possess unique tribal characteristics grounded in close regular contact with their culture, family and tribe. The work of three contemporary Indigenous scholars seems attuned to aspects of Johnson’s version of Indigenous girlhood. These scholars insist that research based on Indigenous girlhood frames young women and girls as complex contradictory individuals (Tuck, 2009) whose Indigenous presence (de Finney, 2014) occurs in spaces (temporal, spatial, relational (human and otherwise)) they determine. Diverse stories are a vital aspect of girls’ presence; their stories may lie beside, between, or beyond narratives recounted by girls disconnected from or uninterested in an Indigenous identity, girls with deep or shallow roots to their Indigenous background, girls whose ancestral and community connections are (ir)relevant (de Finney, 2014). Further, research based on Indigenous girlhood must be grounded in Red intersectionality (Clark, 2016a; 2016b)—a framework that centres girls’ and communities’ knowledge,

a framework grounded in Indigenous epistemologies that supports the research and policy processes they inform. Tuck, de Finney and Clark resist contextualizing Indigenous girls and young women as perpetually unfixable (Tuck, 2009), as insignificant and dispensable (de Finney, 2014). Instead, they foreground contemporary Indigenous girls' resistance to gendered colonialism that operates within Canadian society and Indigenous communities (Clark, 2016a).

CHAPTERS 3, 4 and 5 offer my interpretations of Annie's work read across three areas of girlhood studies ('bedroom culture' and everyday practices, food, and sexuality). Using a three-generation narrative lens, **CHAPTER 3** contextualizes Annie's girlhood as it unfolded in the post-WWII era (approximately 1945 to 1979). Most Inuit view this era as the colonial period (1950–1975) when Inuit moved—voluntarily, forcibly or under pressure—from their ancestral camps to government-sanctioned settlements furnished with government-issued Southern-style homes (QIA, 2013a). Since this “massive delocalisation [occurred], ... housing units have chronically been insufficient, badly adapted to the weather, quick to fall in disrepair and too small to meet the cultural preference for having many generations under the same roof” (Pepi, Muckle, Moisan, Forget-Dubois, & Riva, 2018, p. 1). Although the bulk of this chapter recounts the mother-daughter trio's narrative, I argued that Inuit girlhood artistic practices such as sewing and drawing were analogous to some everyday practices associated with Southern girls' bedroom culture because, regardless of whether these practices occurred in a girl's bedroom or in a housing unit without walls, in both Northern and Southern contexts aspects of girlhood involved rehearsing for certain gendered tasks that prepared girls for adult life. To support this argument, based partly on the point that Inuit architecture emphasized functionality over leisure, I linked literature from art history, social anthropology and human geography to describe the types of homes Annie, her mother, and her grandmother lived in during their respective girlhoods. **CHAPTER 2** compared working- and middle-class Southern

girls' bedroom culture to Kingnait girlhood sewing practices that expanded to include drawing. Through insights gained from girlhood studies, I viewed sewing as a virtual bedroom that enabled Inuit girls to remove themselves from the gendered tasks expected of them such as meal preparation and supervising younger children. Based on an intergenerational narrative, I traced the Inuit gendered practice of sewing as it transmuted from a skill that produced skin clothing to one that produced drawings. I showed how Pitseolak, Napatchie, and Annie learned these skills by observation, an educational approach contemporary Inuit use to transmit culture and knowledge. Although Annie never sewed, she did learn to draw by observing Kinngarmiut, including her mother and grandmother, produce graphic art. When she was 22 or 23 years of age, possibly 29 (Site Media, Transcript 13), the artist began applying what she had observed to produce nearly 1,000 drawings, many of which represented mundane scenes of domestic life that she remembered from her girlhood.

Many of Annie's visual representations of domestic life involve meals. After noticing the recurrence of this subject matter, I organized 10 of Annie's images into the series *Inuit Foodways*. In **CHAPTER 4**, I argued that for many girls Inuit food plays an important role in their girlhood because country food is shared with both extended family and community members, and when eaten with them, traditional food is a source of shared pleasure. To make this argument, I blended literature from primary and secondary sources to create two vignettes, "Saturday Night Feast" and "Women's Feast." I drew upon literature from communication studies, girlhood studies, health, and psychology to show that some Canadian and European girls' attitudes toward eating and food are linked to Western definitions around healthy eating and to Western beauty standards, especially the ideal thin body. Of the research surveyed for this chapter, very few Western adolescent girls' food choices were motivated by food's good taste and the pleasure of communal eating. Additionally, most of the girls in all of the studies rarely handled either plant or animal food in its raw form. I

compared these adolescent girls' experience with store- or restaurant-bought food to Inuit girls' connection to food in its natural state—either animal or plant form. The two vignettes illustrated these intimate connections by describing ordinary activities and the socialization that accompanied them, such as when a fictional Annie listened to adults discuss *ningirniq*, the customary sharing of food. These discussions linked both vignettes. The conversation in "Saturday Night Feast" focused on pre-settlement sharing and its links to starvation; in "Women's Feast," the women discussed post-settlement sharing and its links to the wage economy. By intermixing material produced by researchers, as well as Inuit artists and community members, alternatively by combining the site of production with the site of the image, visual methods suggested by Gillian Rose (2001), I read Annie's drawing as representative of her Kingnait girlhood that constructed country food as owned by everyone and as a source of shared pleasure. I also read the images as the artist's commentary that country food remains a space to retain a cultural identity that has been in the making for some time, an Inuit identity that adapts and adjusts to Canadian food and its workforce without assimilating into it.

Throughout the artist's career, curators paid selective attention to Annie's drawing *A Man Abusing His Partner* (2006); in the mid-2000s, they often referred to the drawing to circulate details about Pootoogook's life. Eventually, this curator-fuelled narrative was repeated by journalists. The repetition seems to have become the only available narrative about the drawing. To disrupt this closed-loop narrative, I organized the *Sexual Imagery* series, a collection made up of three images of sexual abuse and eight erotic images. In **CHAPTER 5**, I argued that Annie's Inuit erotica contributes to a broad conversation about Indigenous sexuality among Indigenous artists, academics, activists and that awareness of this discussion is crucial to better understanding the sexual and sensual expressions of Indigenous girls and young women. Overall, I made the claim that what has been a fixation on intimate events in Annie's life demonstrates

the ongoing necessity to deepen our understanding regarding the pervasive nature of stereotypes and stereotypical thinking about young Indigenous women. Annie's artwork contests stereotypes and stereotypical thinking that limit Indigenous girls and young women as sexually vulnerable due to colonial violence, sexually dysfunctional due to intergenerational trauma, and missing and murdered due to these two social realities. To support my argument, I turned primarily to Kim Tallbear's (2018a, 2018b, 2018c) theorizing around settler sexuality and Western notions of solo polyamory informed by Indigenous conceptualizations of 'being in good relation.' Overall, Annie's erotic images depict sex as enjoyable and natural, an interpretation that frames the images as representations of sexual health that includes or follows healing from intergenerational and personal sexual trauma. In reference to Tallbear's (2018a) conceptualization of 'being in good relation' that strives for healthy generative kinship ties between human and other-than-human relatives, I suggested that the artist's Inuit erotica adds the category of 'being in good relation' with one's own sexuality to these kinship ties. Annie situates sexuality within Inuit ways of knowing and being, and promotes images of sensual and sexual pleasure. By making these images visible, she gives viewers permission to reclaim their sexuality; she points her audience beyond Western understandings of human sexuality to the possibilities of an Inuit framework for sexuality. More importantly, the artist's erotic imagery creates pathways away from settler sexuality toward Inuit sexuality for Inuit girls and young women.

Responding to the Research Questions

Looking for Answers Across the Chapters

The first question asks: What understandings about girlhood situated in Kingnait can be drawn from a series of Annie Pootoogook's drawings? Overall, Annie Pootoogook's artwork speaks to a Kingnait girlhood shaped by what Kingnaitmiut refer to as the colonial period from 1950 to 1975. Initially, Annie's art appears to present Kingnait

girlhood as a recognizable object: a taken-for-granted girlhood embedded in colonial structures that value nuclear families, property ownership, and the labour economy; a girlhood that rotates around family activities and chores; and, finally, a girlhood that reflects a multicultural Canada where images, for example, of country food, hunting, and kamiik reinforce Inuit art as an emblem Canada's national identity (Mahood, 2010; Pupcheck, 2001). These meanings, centred on Western understandings of Inuit art, gradually receded as they were replaced with readings linked to Inuit knowledge and perspectives. I provide two alternative meanings below.

First, as tangible objects, Annie's drawings signify that, during the colonial period, her grandmother Pitseolak and her mother Napatchie abided by and adjusted customary gendered practices exemplified by the bifurcation of sewing into drawing. The girls in their lives, including Annie, inherited Inuit knowledge through experiential learning and oral teachings while observing Pitseolak and Napatchie absorbed in these two gendered artistic practices. As Inuit society was impacted by the colonialization and modernization of the Arctic, Kingnait girls from the Settlement Generation, Collings's term that describes "Inuit who were born and raised in structured settlements" (2005, p. 51), adapted millennia-old skillsets and roles of Inuit women to their present circumstances. During Annie's Kingnait girlhood, art-making emerged as a way for women to access the wage-labour economy and as a source of revenue that women could use to sustain the Inuit hunting economy. Today, unlike girls living in Nunavut communities with either a more modest art infrastructure or none whatsoever, girls living in Kingnait can still tap into a prominent local art-making culture.

Second, as visual communication, the *Inuit Foodways* series emphasizes that Inuit girlhood reflects Inuit's functional and practical adaptations as they resist assimilating into the colonial landscape, adaptations that are intrinsically linked to Inuit cultural practices and identity. Instead of being reserved for special holidays or social occasions, Inuit foodways, like gendered artistic practices, consistently play a role in the ordinary

lives of Kingnait girls. Annie's drawings document Inuit girls being socialized into an Inuit girlhood, rather than a typical Canadian girlhood, a socialization process that valued, among other things, collective ownership of food, and the sharing and consuming of raw meat. Although Annie's girlhood occurred amidst enormous social pressure by the federal government for Inuit to modernize, in a settlement that gave her access to Southern schools, health care, and material goods, the *Inuit Foodways* series demonstrates that her girlhood was steeped in the cultural underpinnings of an emerging modern, distinct Inuit lifestyle.

The *Sexual Imagery* series, in addition to offering ways to better understand Kingnait girlhood, contests meanings some Qallunaat audiences attributed to three drawings whose subject matter was intimate-partner abuse. I refer to this reading before focusing on ideas about a girlhood situated in Kingnait during the colonial period when Inuit were increasingly pressured to modernize and to enter Canada's labour economy. Many curators paid attention to *A Man Abusing His Partner* (2006) to illustrate details about the artist's life and to frame her artistic career, which they played a large role in elevating to celebrity status, as a redemption narrative. Eventually this curator-fuelled narrative was repeated by journalists. On one hand, the repetition made it seem as if there could be some truth to what was being said about the drawing and its links to Annie's life as a young woman and to her status as a young Inuk artist on the rise. On the other, the repetition seemed to become the only narrative about the drawing. These selective details cast Pootoogook into existing stereotypes directed at Indigenous girls and young women. The fixation on intimate events in Annie's life demonstrate the pervasive nature of stereotypes and stereotypical thinking about young Inuit women. Qallunaat audiences contained Annie's artwork within Canadian contemporary art using Western art history analytic tools. Some Southern curators and journalists created a stereotypical narrative that characterized the artist as triumphing over alcoholism and domestic abuse. Yet, unable to handle success, gradually sinking into circumstances that

may have contributed to her death.

The *Sexual Imagery* series include eight drawings of Inuit erotica. The response to the research questions refers to the ways Annie uses these images, especially the ways the artist poses and presents women's bodies, to disrupt the objectifying gaze. Regarding question one—what understandings about girlhood situated in Kingnait can be drawn from a series of Annie Pootoogook's drawings?—the *Sexual Imagery* series gestures toward a Kingnait girlhood that intertwines three elements:

1. Inuit cultural knowledge: looking back at Inuit ancestral life to adapt remaining practices to the ongoing imposition of colonialism in the lives of 21st-century Inuit.
2. Inuit cultural resilience: reflecting on the intercultural encounter between Northern and Southern societies.
3. Artistic expression: communicating desire and willingness, the essence of resilience (Igloliorte, 2016), to Inuit audiences undergoing the effects of rapid colonization.

In Annie's lifetime, these effects included but were not limited to the imposition of Western health and education models, and of Qallunaat governance and social structures; sudden and drastic moves to permanent settlements, and a lack of employment opportunities in the Southern wage-based economy used by the government to supplant Inuit hunting society. Recall, the *Sexual Imagery* series contains two categories: abuse and erotic. These combined categories suggest an internal narrative that the encounter with Southern society has exacerbated pre-existing sexual violence in Inuit society. Thus, the abuse images acknowledge that adolescent girls and young women cope with an increase in abuse and violence (Pauktuutit, 2006) and sexual ill-health (Pauktuutit, 2017), and are vulnerable to sexual exploitation (Kishigami, 2015). However, Annie's artistic expression complicates this narrative by communicating images of young women's sexual practices that promote Inuit sexuality

as encompassing a positive body image, healthy relationships, pleasure and intimacy, and consensual sex, all of which are included in Pauktuutit's (2017) vision of a healthy Inuit sexuality. Her images of Inuit young women enjoying sexual activities in a group, as a couple, or self-pleasuring suggest that some contemporary Inuit girls may seek alternatives to a repressive shame-based sexuality. In their search, they may be engaged in the process of looking back at ancestral Inuit sexuality to reflect on what remains for Inuit women to creatively express their sexual practices. Her artwork aligns with an emerging pan-Indigenous conversation amongst First Nations and Métis young women seeking to heal their sexuality and sensuality, and to (re)connect through an Indigenous sexuality.

The second research question asks: How do these images use common girlhood experiences (e.g., eating a family meal, shopping, sleeping, sexual practices) to disrupt stereotypes about Inuit girls? In the *Sexual Imagery* series, rather than pose Inuit women as hypersexual, Annie's Inuit erotica positions Inuit young women in control of their sexuality and sexual fulfillment. Rather than offer up to the audience's gaze female subjects who are sexually ready, decorative body parts clad in sexualized clothing, or who emulate Western beauty standards (e.g., Disney's Pocahontas' Barbie-esque figure), Annie portrays Inuit young women as consenting, leading and orgasming. Their naked bodies appear as human as their sexual desires. In many images, the characters look directly at one another or at the viewer. The images of gender-based violence that appear in this series point to intergenerational trauma with its links to shame-based sexuality and sexual health issues, while Annie's erotic images offer an alternative vision of Inuit sexual health. Her sexual images inform the idea of 'picturing resistance' (Mitchell & Ezcurra, 2018) through portrayals of positive body image, pleasure and intimacy, and Inuit sexual health. Annie's visual representations of Inuit sexuality portray sexual activities and desire as a universal human experience that blends in with the rhythms and routines of ordinary life (Sanader, 2018) that include eating, shopping and sleeping.

The *Inuit Foodways* series disrupts stereotypes that eating raw meat represents primitivism, an uncivilized culture. This series also disrupts stereotypes that Southern-style homes structured Inuit family routines. In what follows, I elaborate in sequential order these responses drawn from **CHAPTER 4** and **3**, respectively. The 10 images contained in *Inuit Foodways* reference ningiqutuq, the Inuit customary sharing practice, and Inuit subsistence practices of hunting, butchering, sharing and consuming marine and other animals. As visual objects, Annie communicates knowledge about these two Inuit practices in scenes that portray family feasts and hunters distributing meat. As pedagogical tools, they demonstrate how to eat raw meat and, when feasting on country food, how to use tableware; they illustrate traditional gendered knives and gendered eating practices for women; they document individuals eating when and how much they need. Taken as a whole, the *Inuit Foodways* series informs viewers that country food is an expression of Inuit culture and its resilient adaptable nature. The series also brings to light Inuit societal values that construct food as owned by everyone, not by the hunter or the individual who purchased it.

The *Inuit Foodways* series also highlights the inadequacy of Southern-style homes that were incompatible with Inuit food practices. These images challenge stereotypical thinking that Northern girls lived in homes that used space in the same fashion as Southern girls. On the contrary, Southern architecture interfered with sewing practices, the preparation and consumption of Inuit food, and sleeping arrangements. In **CHAPTER 3**, *Pitseolak Drawing with Two Girls on the Bed* (**FIGURE 3.8**) underscores the reality that Inuit girls and their families used bedrooms and Southern-style homes differently than Southern girls and their families. In both Southern and Northern contexts, girls' everyday practices prepared them for adult married life. However, unlike Southern girls, Northern girlhood practices seemed to occur in a single room that served communal purposes, such as sleeping, eating, and socializing. Reading across all three chapters, because Inuit women and girls participated equally in a hunting society,

Annie's artwork disrupts stereotypical thinking that sewing was of less value than hunting. Her expertise and success as a graphic artist attests to the fact that Inuit women and girls adapted ancestral sewing practices to contemporary drawing practices—both of which involve pattern, outline, two-dimensional form and producing quantity.

Contributions to New Knowledge

Indigenous scholars (de Finney, 2014, 2017; de Finney, Loiselle, & Dean, 2018; Tuck, 2009, 2013, 2014; Clark, 2016a, 2016b) insist that damage-centred narratives marginalize and mute Indigenous girls and young women and abandon them in social contexts where their social determinants of health and well-being are compromised or negatively impacted. My study acknowledges that Inuit girls and young women cope with these forms of social situations in both Northern and Southern contexts; however, I frame Annie's girlhood as a complex site that offers multiple points of entry into a Kingnait girlhood rich with ancestral traditions, intimate family relations, and a strong sense of Inuitness, *ningiqtua*, despite overwhelming Church and State pressure to reproduce Southern lifestyles and values. These entry points included her identity as a third-generation artist, her role as a truth-telling activist educator, to use Clark's descriptors (2016b), in a cultural context where observation, role-modelling, and storytelling are important pedagogical tools. Many call for a critical approach to citation practices and politics (Ahmed, 2013; Mott & Cockayne, 2017; Tuck, Yang, & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2015) so that scholars remain alert to power dynamics that (un)intentionally reproduce erase and marginalize social groups that have historically encountered and continue to face systemic barriers. The study offers one example of a "radical citation practice" (Tuck & Yang, 2016, p. 3) to acknowledge the discrepancy between how much is written about Inuit art and how little is (co-)authored by Inuit and to call attention to a Qallunaat seeking to integrate Inuit knowledge and perspectives into a doctoral study. Finally, for over a decade, girlhood studies has accepted and promoted visual texts as

astute, palpable, communication devices. Increasingly, the field has been cultivating and refining participatory arts-based methods with girls and young women as producers of visually rich text and as knowers and actors who inform and influence social policy and social change in areas central to their everyday lives (Mitchell & Moletsane, 2018). The doctoral study broadens this engagement by reading Annie's artwork as a visual expression of Inuit girlhood.

Overall, I placed Annie Pootoogook's artwork firmly in girlhood studies to contribute to a conversation about Inuit girlhood. To do so, I drew on aspects of Gillian Rose's (2001) visual analysis framework, in particular the site of the image—its content and potential message; the site of production—who produced the image and where; and the site of the audience—the meaning audiences make about the image that involves how they look, what they know about what they see, as well as where and how the image is exhibited. By situating Annie in Kingnait and locating her girlhood in the post-WWII era, a historical moment (site of production) when the girlhood practice of sewing became a bifurcated system that includes drawing, I presented both this dynamic and the act of drawing as significant features of Annie's girlhood. I organized two series of images (site of the image) produced by the artist, *Inuit Foodways* and *Sexual Imagery*, to highlight Inuit naming practices, customary sharing of meat, and sexuality. From the context of these three Inuit cultural expressions, I gestured towards other ways to be a girl: I added Inuit cross-gendered names to assigned sex, gender and gender identity; I added food as belonging to everyone and as a source of pleasure to food constructed as (un)healthy; I added Inuit sexuality as what comes after healing from settler sexuality and (intergenerational) sexual trauma and as an emerging choice for Inuit young women. I disrupted stereotypical thinking circulated by Canadian curators and art historians (site of audience) to interpret Annie Pootoogook's artwork from the context of Inuit knowledge and the discipline of girlhood studies. As a Qallunaat engaged in an academic discussion about Inuit girlhood, I interrupted

damage-centred narratives to frame Annie and her girlhood from a position of strength. Finally, as an educator researcher practicing the Commission's principles of reconciliation (2015a), I produced my thesis as an act of reconciliation. To my knowledge, in the interdisciplinary field of girlhood studies, this is the first descriptive qualitative study to address Inuit girlhood as its own separate category, rather than group it under the umbrella term Indigenous girlhood.

The doctoral work connects girlhood studies to various academic conversations. For example, Inuit curator and scholar Heather Igloliorte (2017) argues that little has been said about the ways Annie's artwork interweaves the historical and continual colonization of the Arctic with the ways the Inuit art industry adapts to colonial structures that seek to modernize Inuit Nunangat. This study makes these themes visible by connecting government-issued housing to Annie's girlhood and by offering two vignettes, 'Saturday Night Feast' and 'Women's Feast', that revolve around Inuit women's theorizing about and practicing Inuit customary sharing as they adjusted to sedentary settlement living and its dependence on the wage-labour economy. Indigenous scholar Kim Tallbear (2018a, 2018b, 2018c) brings an Indigenous perspective to settler sexuality and solo polyamory. She theorizes that Indigenous sexuality continues—though in altered forms—despite centuries-long efforts to eradicate it made by the Church, Science and the State. My study positions Annie's Inuit erotica as indicative that the artist viewed her sexuality in ways that complicate stereotypical thinking around Indigenous young women as perpetually sexually traumatized. When set alongside an Indigenous academic discussion about, activism around, and artistic expressions of Indigenous sexuality, Annie's erotic images simultaneously add her voice to the pan-Indigenous conversation while distinguishing Inuit sexuality from First Nations and Métis sexuality.

Limitations

Because I was unable to travel to Kingnait and the focus on Annie Pootoogook's artwork led to the exclusion of Inuit girls or girls actually living in or from Kingnait, this study lacks their valuable insights and perspectives. While the post-WWII Kingnait girlhood I presented may provide historical context for present-day research on Inuit girlhood, it does not necessarily represent 21st-century Inuit girlhood. As part of the Settlement Generation, Annie grew up in a social reality that shared closer ties to year-round living on the land than girls born in the 21st century who may or may not spend the summer living on the land. During her girlhood, the land Annie lived on was Canadian-owned and under the jurisdiction of Quebec. Today, girls in Kingnait live on Inuit-owned land under the jurisdiction of the Nunavut government which consists mainly of Inuit. Annie was born into a family immersed in the Kingnait art community; in 2016, one in three Kinngaitmuit produced visual arts and crafts either for sale or for personal use. After nearly 40 years of settlement living (between 1980, when Annie was 11 years of age, and 2018), although economic and workforce opportunities have grown, the cost of living in the Arctic has continued to rise faster than wages. The impact of growing up in a context where settlement living and the increasingly complex effects of globalization and climate change runs in the background of contemporary Kingnait girls' daily lives, combined with changes to this context motivated by the Nunavut government, and a deeper analysis of uncertain access to food, housing, and the workforce, as well as of girlhood practices beyond art production, went unexamined in my study.

I drew heavily on research and primary material produced by and for Inuit; however, some Inuit may be suspicious of the Southern literature I drew upon because it was written in English and produced by researchers who, like me, speak little if any Inuktitut. While much of the Southern literature involved Inuit participants, most studies rarely focused exclusively on young women or girls; also, very few of the studies drew upon participatory or community-based research practices, muting

research topics that Inuit girls themselves may identify. Overall, I encountered a lack of research devoted in whole or in part to Inuit girls or girlhood in fields such as art, education, feminism, health, and sports. More to the point, in the interdisciplinary field of girlhood studies, increasingly participatory-based studies with Indigenous young women appear in the literature; however, Inuit girls appear infrequently, rarer still do they appear as authors. For example, Inuit girls and girlhoods were subsumed in the special section on Indigenous girls that accompanied the 2016 *Girlhood Studies Journal* issue “Breaking Boundaries in Girlhood Studies.” Mitchell (2016) writes, “apart from its being the first assemblage on Indigenous girls as far as we know” (p. 1), the guest editorial team involved two young First Nations women from the National Indigenous Young Women’s Council with “submissions on Indigenous girls and girlhoods in Canada, South Africa, and Mexico” (p. 1) from First Nations and non-Indigenous (including me) contributors. Due to this sparse literature across several academic disciplines, this study seeks to amplify Annie’s visual representation of Kingnait girlhood to a broad audience without necessarily augmenting girlhood theories or methodologies.

Indigenous research included very few Inuit participants and/or scholars on topics such as Indigenous activism, art, and women. To date, most Indigenous girlhood research in Canada has involved participants who self-identify as First Nations and Métis; it also includes participatory and/or art-based projects for and with First Nations and Métis girls in university settings, in rural and urban areas such as British Columbia and Ontario, and in cities such as Prince Albert, Saskatoon. When I turned to research about Inuit art, experience of colonialism, food and housing insecurity, and women, this literature rarely focused on girls’ lived experience in these areas. Most oral histories and life stories told by Inuit women focused more on adulthood than girlhood. In fact, my study’s most significant limitation stems from the absence of Inuit girls in the primary and secondary sources I was able to access that combined with my over-focusing (or

stubbornness) on locating source material that offered alternatives to narratives of damage. By limiting the scope of my research to better understanding shared ordinary girlhood experiences such as where girls live, what they eat, how they spend their time, and how they express themselves sexually and sensually in ways that were less entangled with racialized colonialism and its negative impacts, I may have permitted a bias toward glorifying, romanticizing, or simplifying Inuit girlhood during the colonial period 1950–1975. For all the above reasons, it is possible that my study is yet another Qallunaat interpretation of Inuit art and girlhood, as well as of Inuit experiences, knowledge, and perspectives. At the same time, I also present my study as an invitation to engage in an academic conversation by, with and about Inuit girls, a collaborative conversation whereby they shape its directions, topics, methodologies, as well as inform what is done, made, or produced as a result of the research.

Principles of Reconciliation

In **CHAPTER 1**, the claim was made that the study involved a practice of reciprocity that sought to contribute to the understanding of Inuit girls' experiences, going so far as generating research useful for them. As the study progressed this original intent transitioned into a process of reconciliation anchored in the **sixth principle of reconciliation** that identifies "all Canadians, as Treaty peoples, [who] share responsibility for establishing and maintaining mutually respectful relationships [with Aboriginal peoples]" (TRC, 2015a, p .4). Since the early years of the doctoral work, I fostered and maintained numerous relationships with mostly First Nations and Métis individuals studying and working at McGill, as well as living in the area. Over the course of the study, these ties and the labour that nourishes them supported efforts to refrain from using Indigenous experiences and knowledge in an extractive fashion that would benefit my academic aspirations and the academy's knowledge system, an approach potentially harmful to reconciliation. The real test of my commitment to the

sixth principle will occur *after* graduation. Despite my resolve to co-create enduring relationships, what will happen to these bonds? Will they evaporate as can happen when leaving one social setting for another? If they continue, in what ways, if any, will they interact with public discourse around renewed relationships between non-Indigenous Canadians and Indigenous nations? These questions connect to Paulette Regan's settler call to action that rests on the premise "*how* people learn about historical injustices is as important as learning truths about *what* happened" (2010, p. 11, original italics). Regan promotes an unsettling pedagogy, one that connects reason and emotion and is established in a space for collective critical dialogue. In other words, reconciliation goes beyond learning counter narratives that remedy ignorance (or "*denial, in extremis*" as Alfred (2010) puts it) about Canada's origins and its peacekeeper mythology; reconciliation also goes beyond admitting that Indigenous peoples never surrendered the right to self-government despite Canada's unflagging historical and contemporary colonial efforts to control their cultures, identities and homelands. Crucial as these elucidations may be, for Reagan, they fail to spur settlers into action—sustained and generative action—reconciliation's mainstay.

Since the early 2000s, the discourse of reconciliation has spilled into practically all areas of society—art, business, culture, education, governance, health, law, media, politics—yet, according to a 2015 Angus Reid survey nearly "one in five settler-Canadians remains oblivious to the TRC and most have not participated in reconciliation initiatives" (Denis & Bailey, 2016, p. 138). Regan (2010), among others (Davis et al., 2016; Simon, 2013), assert that despite being educated and informed about the historical and ongoing colonial nature of Indigenous-settler relationships, "settler Canadians have a deep emotional and cultural investment in the status quo and are the beneficiaries of past and present injustices, particularly with respect to the occupation of Indigenous lands which settlers consider to be their own" (Davis et al., 2016, p. 2). Australian scholars Sarah Maddison and Angélique Stastny (2016) report

similar findings with regard to non-Indigenous attitudes to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and/or reconciliation. Jeffrey Denis and Kerry Bailey (2016) interviewed 40 participants who attended TRC events, as public statement providers, volunteers, and observers. They found most lacked a vision for a dramatic transformation of Canadian society, especially one that prioritized decolonization and supported Indigenous land struggles. Overall, the above research investigated “the process of transforming settler consciousness” (Davis et al., 2016, p. 5). As implied above, Regan (2010) pairs critical self-reflection with action, without this pairing the risk remains to perpetuate settler consciousness and all it involves. Regan (2010) and Davis et al. (2016) consider the transformation to be “an uncomfortable but necessary first step in a lifelong and urgent journey of dismantling colonial systems and structures” (p. 5).

Throughout the study I practiced the sixth principle of reconciliation which led to a commitment that the dissertation would actualize a portion of the **tenth principle** that “requires sustained public education and dialogue...about the historical and contemporary contributions of Aboriginal peoples to Canadian society” (TRC, 2015a, p. 4). A commitment that resulted in equating the dissertation to a physical record of reconciliation. Certainly, reading Annie’s visual representations of Inuit girlhood from an Inuit-informed standpoint fulfills the tenth principle, as well as supports the Commission’s claim that (2015b, p. 179):

Through their work, Indigenous artists seek to resist and challenge the cultural understandings of settler-dominated versions of Canada’s past and its present reality. Sharing intercultural dialogue about history, responsibility, and transformation through the arts is potentially healing and transformative for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples.

In reality, a doctoral project and its required dissertation has limited reach. Some may view the physical record and/or the reading of it as a ‘settler moves to innocence’ to use the term coined by Eve Tuck and Wayne Yang (2012). These attempted strategies or

positionings relieve settler “feelings of guilt or responsibility without giving up land or power or privilege, without having changed much at all. In fact, settler scholars may gain professional kudos or a boost in their reputations for being so sensitive or self-aware” (p. 10). In short, critical consciousness does not rectify “Canadian sovereignty on stolen Indigenous lands” (Davis et al., 2016, p. 11), nor does it return enough land and power for Indigenous nations to be self-sufficient (Alfred, 2009). All this to say, I believe in a Québec context reconciliation efforts must extend beyond graduate studies.

In 2016, Chelsea Vowel (Métis from the Plains-Cree-speaking community of Lac Ste. Anne, Alberta) wrote that the Québec Ministry of Education website did not “make a single mention of the TRC” (n.p.). She adds, “in November of 2015, only months after the release of the TRC summary report, the Quebec Provincial Association of Teachers [QPAT] annual conference didn’t include a single workshop on the TRC, or indeed on any Indigenous issues” (n.p.). After checking the QPAT conference program, I found the same to be true for 2016 and 2017. Apart from that, two 2018 workshops were delivered in the ELA Literacy and Social Science categories. The former addressed First Nations voices, writers, and artists in both comics and graphic novels; the latter surveyed Canada’s history from residential schools up to contemporary issues facing Indigenous communities, as well as shared resources for educators seeking to teach in a more respectful way and those wanting to be an ally. Indeed, the 2016 and 2018 Karios report cards offer a similar assessment. The organization states that the goal of the report cards is to determine whether and to what degree each province’s and territory’s educational curriculum implements the topics and subjects outlined in Call to Action 62.i.

We call upon the federal, provincial, and territorial Governments, in consultation and collaboration with Survivors, Aboriginal peoples, and educators, to make age-appropriate curriculum on residential schools, Treaties, and Aboriginal peoples’ historical and contemporary contributions to Canada a mandatory education requirement for Kindergarten to Grade Twelve students.

In 2016, Kairos assessed Quebec's public commitment and actual implementation as significant work required; in 2018, their public commitment needed improvement while implementation remained unchanged. Kairos found Québec failed to consult with Indigenous peoples on the curriculum and inattentive to all subsections of the education-related Calls to Action. Most provinces and territories were evaluated as making good progress, however Québec and New Brunswick showed the least progress, with Québec scoring a national low in the area of implementation. To sum up, my future actions will determine whether the study and the dissertation, its companion piece, serve as the first step in a lifetime commitment to work for and with Indigenous people to "address questions of land reclamation, reparations, Indigenous sovereignty and jurisdiction" (Davis et al., 2016, p. 11).

Implications

My study focused on three areas: bedroom culture and everyday practices, food, and sexuality. By taking such a wide approach for my initial attempt to conceptualize Inuit girlhood, my study has several implications. This section consists of two parts: methodological and research implications.

Methodological Implications

Throughout my study I wondered whether Annie's artwork supported girlhood theories or girlhood studies supported her artwork. Ultimately, her artwork supports girlhood theories because without her visual representations of girlhood I would have been unable to frame my arguments. Interestingly, art historians and curators often frame Inuit artists' work as intergenerational, a frame found in girlhood studies. This frame is well suited to interpret Annie's work because she frequently emphasizes that her artwork builds off and extends her grandmother's and her mother's work that represents their lived experience. What happens when Annie's artwork, or Inuit art

more broadly, is viewed from the lens of age disaggregation (separating girlhood into various age cohorts)? Alternatively, what happens when girlhood scholars interrogate Inuit girlhood practices that span a lifetime such as traditional sewing and graphic art? What forms of individual and collective memory and knowledge are archived in these lifetime practices?

For this study, I visited numerous art galleries and museums in Montreal and Toronto. As noted in **CHAPTER 1**, I also briefly conducted fieldwork at two major museums, the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian in the U.S. and the McMichael Canadian Art Collection. Typically, art galleries and museums are the purview of curatorial work and museum studies. Most educator researchers situate their research in formal and informal learning environments such as school classrooms, bathrooms, hallways and yards, community centres and summer camps. My study broadens these by introducing museums as potential sites of study for educational research. Knowing that most Southern educator researchers may be unable to conduct a research project in Nunavut, what calls for action can be answered by accessing the McMichael's or Winnipeg Art Gallery's vast holdings of Inuit art? For those living in Ottawa-Gatineau, Edmonton, and Montreal, urban areas where the Inuit population is on the rise (Kishigami, 2008, 2015), how can educator researchers use Inuit artwork to disrupt stereotypical thinking about Inuit and to develop curriculum for their learners? What happens when sites of study are taken out of the classroom and off campus, and how can educator researchers use non-academic spaces, such as museums and art galleries, to better understand Inuit girlhood? To answer the Commission's calls for action?

Research Implications

Many of Annie's drawings provide her perspective on ordinary activities situated in Inuit homes and summer tents. They show how little we know about Inuit girl-defined

space and bring attention to the need to ask Inuit girls themselves how they define and use domestic space. What spaces do they avoid or are closed to them? What does this mean for and to them? Is there such a thing as a girl-defined space in the way it has been constructed in a Southern context as a girl's bedroom, or in a school setting as a girl's bathroom and locker room? How do Inuit girls construct girl-defined space? Does it depend on a physical structure, does it expand and collapse depending on the social relationships that appear and disappear as girls move from house to house in their settlement? Moreover, does Inuit girl-defined space do something altogether different? When Inuit girls spend time together in a girl-defined space, what do they talk about? What kinds of everyday practices do they perform? What can be learned about Southern and Northern girlhood culture by interrogating the shared use of domestic space by Inuit families crowded into Southern-style homes?

Often described as a third-generation artist, generally this description refers to Annie's mother, Napatchie, and grandmother, Pitseolak, both renowned artists whose artwork has been exhibited in numerous Southern museums. When we look beyond these two relatives, according to her family tree (see **PROLOGUE**), Annie had at least 15 aunts and uncles and 14 cousins who identified as graphic artists, sculptors, carvers and printmakers. In all likelihood, many of her friends came from similar families with strong artistic identities. Thus, for most of her life in Kingnait, Annie was surrounded by family and friends whose everyday practices involved the production of arts and crafts (e.g., carvings, graphic art, and sewing). Although the artist has produced several drawings whose subject matter refers to art—a character presents a drawing or art supplies to the viewer, watches Pitseolak and Napatchie draw, or receives an art award—Annie never produced drawings whose subject matter concentrated on classroom learning, school settings, or extracurricular activities such as dance and sports, all of which are commonly associated with Southern girlhood. In what ways are Kingnait girls' experiences different from those of girls like Annie whose family

played a prominent role in the Inuit art community for over three generations? What alternative girlhood practices are available for Inuit girls who prefer school learning over learning to draw or sew by observing their mothers, grandmothers and aunties engaged in those activities? What alternative everyday activities, if any, exist for Inuit girls interested, for example, in acting, dancing, sports, teaching? Many of Annie's drawings portray families sharing food, feasting on raw meat seated on the floor, and eating store-bought food at the table. Research shows that although hunting remains a central feature of ordinary life, fewer Inuit than before have either the expertise or the time to hunt. Increasingly, many Inuit families eat store-bought Qallunaat food, with some youth preferring it over country food until they reach adulthood. Research about Inuit foodways frequently provided perspectives from an Inuit adult point of view, as well as focused on boys' participation in hunting activities. As Southern ideals about beauty and healthy food continue to enter Inuit realms through education and popular culture, in what ways are girls' experiences different from those of boys and adults? In what ways do they experience hunting, butchering, sharing, and consuming Inuit food? Do they perceive Qallunaat food as (un)appetizing? As part of their overall food choices? How do Inuit girls respond to the Southern thin ideal and its beauty standards? What motivates their food choices, and are those choices linked to body (dis)satisfaction? To social pressure to consume country food as a way to construct an Inuit cultural identity?

If research indicates girls and women are preoccupied by the thin ideal, what does it mean when we meet girls raised in Inuit households who may view obesity as a "positive physical attribute" (Willows, 2005, p. 534)? When the food most Western youth eat has been prepared for them or purchased by adults, what happens when we are in the company of Inuit young women who are hunters and whose friends and relatives are hunters, young women who relish using their traditional knives to slice off pieces from freshly killed animals? When we are accustomed to framing girls as

disconnected from, disgusted by, or uninterested in raw meat, how do we react when invited to an Inuit feast and we eat alongside Inuit girls whose blood-smeared mouths and blood-covered hands mirror our own? Evidently, additional research could shed light on the differences in these research conclusions, as well as present Inuit girls' weight perceptions and experiences of body pride.

Most of Annie's erotic images can be read as presenting a settler or normative sexuality. With few exceptions, most of her graphic art configures families as consisting of a mother, a father, a grandmother, children and/or adolescents; these can also be easily interpreted as presenting a monogamous heterosexual family. At the same time, her erotic art demonstrates a very clear sense of her sexuality, one that she willingly revealed to her audience. Her images disrupt notions that narrow Indigenous adolescent girls' sexuality as tainted by (intergenerational) sexual trauma, or that frame Inuit teen girls as asexual mothers. How would Inuit girls read Annie's erotic images? Do the artist's images represent an individual's experience, or do they indicate that some Inuit girls confidently express their sexuality in a similar fashion? In what ways, if any, have Inuit girls been reclaiming their sexuality, along with reclaiming an ancestral Inuit sexuality that rejects state- and church-sanctioned monogamy and settler sex practices? Given the growing body of Inuit erotic art, does Annie's work reflect everyday reality, an imaginary future, a combination of the two that frames Inuit sexuality as increasingly decolonized?

Tallbear (2018a) remarks that after hearing her lectures on decolonizing settler sexuality and Indigenous sexuality or after reading her blog posts at *Critical Polyamorist*, increasingly young Indigenous people confide in her that they "would like to embrace open and honest nonmonogamy" (para. 25). This is significant: the youths' actions indicate that her ideas about Indigenous sexuality resonates with Indigenous young women, many of whom may already be putting into practice the forms of sexual expression and relationships Tallbear has begun to theorize. Given these youths stated

preference for nonmonogamous relationality, theorization around human sexuality that focuses exclusively on individuals may benefit by following through on Tallbear's suggestion to look carefully at the settler state and its structures. "How do Indigenous peoples want to be in the world as beings who are sexual, sensual and Indigenous?" (Tallbear, 2018b, 59:49).

Inuit cross-gendered naming practices are featured in *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Education Framework for Nunavut Curriculum* published by the Nunavut Department of Education (2007). This inclusion exemplifies that ancestral naming practices, like so many other Inuit practices, has taken on a new form and new meanings in contemporary Inuit settlements. Inuit cross-gendered naming practices complicate Southern notions about age and gender. How have cross-gendered names contributed to the ways individuals construct themselves as girls? What do Inuit girls think about cross-gendered names? What are their experiences with this practice, and how do those experiences shape their sense of themselves as girls over their lifetime?

Reflecting Forward

Throughout the doctoral project, a comment made by Eulalie Irkok, an Inuk carver, guided my work. In 1988, Emily Auger (2002) interviewed Eulalie for a study on Inuit women artists and Western aesthetics. The carver asserted that when interpreting Inuit art, Southerners must pay greater attention to the artist's intentions. "In most cases," Auger informs us, women carvers "believe, words are necessary to make their intentions clear even if the artwork actually presents some idea or image more clearly than words can" (p. 7). Eulalie explains that Qallunaat's ability to easily recognize an Inuit carving does not necessarily translate into an ability to draw conclusions about an artist's intentions or aesthetic approaches. She concludes, "It would be hard to know about me from my work unless that person was magic" (p. 8). Mindful that I may be mistaken about Eulalie's meaning, I imagine she suggests that Qallunaat

take into consideration Inuit perspectives before circulating ideas about Inuit artists and their artwork. Following Flicker (2018), I write about Eulalie's comment in the spirit of offering encouragement to graduate students who may find themselves daunted by or uncertain how to begin "fostering and maintaining ethical relationships with disenfranchised and dispossessed communities" (Tuck, 2009, p. 409). In 2015, I moderated the panel 'Resisting Gendered Violence and Indigenous Sovereignty' for a symposium hosted by the Institute for Gender, Sexuality, and Feminist Studies. When I met with the panelists to prepare the question-and-answer period, one woman made it very clear that I was to refuse any questions whose answer could easily be found online or in publications. She explained that these types of questions interrupted or sidetracked important conversations long overdue about issues the panelists intended to bring to and discuss with the audience. Since then, I apply her criteria whenever possible. After completing my doctoral study, I feel better prepared to work with and for Inuit communities because of the amount of time I spent learning about the historical relationship between Canada and Inuit, as well as about some of their customs and values.

In the historical moment when Canada aims to redress nation-to-nation issues, when Ministries of Education, school boards and educators intend to answer some or all of the Truth and Reconciliation's education-related calls to action, I contend that much of the publications about Annie and her art has been written, edited, and published by Southerners unable to speak Annie's language—culturally, linguistically, visually—still, they insisted on interpreting her art from a point of view embedded in Western art traditions and art markets. A point of view that uses Inuit art as an emblem Canada's national identity, yet reluctantly accepts that supposed untrained Inuit artists are on equal footing with artists formally trained in Western art programs. As educators, I would like to suggest a starting point with which to recognize whether we are providing learners "news ways of looking at Inuit art and understanding how Inuit

view their artistic production” (Igloliorte, 2017a, p. 113). Inuit art addresses Western audiences, more importantly, “Inuit works are anchored in local reality” (Duchemin-Pelletier, 2014, p. 75). Inuit artists embed their artistic practice and products with their own meanings and internal narratives. When we find ourselves coming away with comfortable and familiar narratives or conclusions—what Eulalie the Inuk carver might regard as magical thinking—this very sameness is our cue to become uneasy, to undertake the work required to see what the artists themselves intend to communicate through the wisdom of Inuit knowledge and epistemology.

References

- Aapola, S., Gonick, M., & Harris, A. (2005). *Young femininity: Girlhood, power and social change*. Houndsmill, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Acoose-Miswonigeesikokwe, J. (2016). *Iskwewak Kah' Ki Yaw Ni Wahkomakanak: Neither Indian princesses nor easy squawss*. Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars' Press and Women's Press. (Original work published in 1995).
- Adami, H. (2015, October 9). Inuit artist back at women's shelter while work displayed at gallery. *Ottawa Citizen*. Retrieved from <http://ottawacitizen.com/news/local-news/adami-inuit-artist-back-at-womens-shelter-while-work-displayed-at-gallery>
- Akiwenzie-Damm, K. (2008). Red hot to the touch: WRi[gh]ting Indigneous erotica. In D. H. Taylor (Ed.) *Me sexy: An exploration of native sex and sexuality* (pp. 74–83). Vancouver, BC: Douglas & McIntyre.
- Ahmed, S. (2013, September 11). Making feminist points [Blog post]. Feminist Killjoy Blog. Retrieved from <https://feministkilljoys.com/2013/09/11/making-feminist-points/>
- Alfred, T. (2009). Restitution is the real pathway to justice for Indigenous peoples. In G. Younging, J. Dewar & M. DeGagné (Eds.), *Response, responsibility, and renewal: Canada's truth and reconciliation journey* (pp. 179–190). Ottawa, ON: Aboriginal Healing Foundation.
- Alfred, T. (2010). Foreward. In P. Regan (Au.), *Unsettling the settler within: Indian residential schools, truth telling, and reconciliation in Canada* (pp. ix–xi). Vancouver, BC: UBC Press

- Alia, V. (1994). Inuit women and the politics of naming in Nunavut. *Canadian Woman Studies*, 14(4), 11–14.
- Alia, V. (2005). Inuit names: The people who love you. In D. Newhouse, C. Voyageur & D. Beavon, (Eds). *Hidden in plain sight: Contributions of Aboriginal Peoples to Canadian identity and culture* (pp. 251–266). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Alia, V. (2007). *Names and Nunavut: Culture and identity in Arctic Canada*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Allan, G., & Crow, G. (1991) Privatization, home-centredness and leisure, *Leisure Studies*, 10(1), 19–32. doi: 10.1080/02614369100390031
- Allen, J., Pootoogook, A., & Agnes Etherington Art Centre. (2011). *Annie Pootoogook: Kinngait compositions*. Kingston, ON: Agnes Etherington Art Centre.
- American Psychological Association. (2002). *A reference for professionals: Developing adolescents*. Washington, DC: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.apa.org/pi/families/resources/develop.pdf>
- Amnesty International. (n.d.). Missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls: Understanding the numbers [Blog post]. Retrieved from <http://www.amnesty.ca/blog/missing-and-murdered-indigenous-women-and-girls-understanding-the-numbers>
- Amnesty International. (2004). *Stolen sisters: A human rights response to discrimination and violence against Indigenous women*. London, UK: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.amnesty.ca/sites/amnesty/files/amr200032004enstolensisters.pdf>
- Amorevieta-Gentil, M., Daignault, D., Robitaille, N., Guimond, E., & Senecal, S. (2014). Intergenerational patterns of fertility among registered Indian teenage girls in Canada. *The International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 5(3), 1–21. doi: 10.18584/iipj.2014.5.3.7

- Anctil, M. (2008). Qanuippitaa? How are we? Nunavik Inuit health survey 2004. Survey highlights. Quebec: Institut national de santé publique du Québec (INSPQ) & Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services (NRBHSS). Retrieved from https://www.inspq.qc.ca/pdf/publications/774_ESISurveyHighlights.pdf
- Anderson, E. K., & Behringer, A. (2010). Girlhood in the Girl Scouts. *Girlhood Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 3(2), 89–108. doi: 10.3167/ghs.2010.030206
- Anderson, K. (2011). *Life stages and native women: Memory, teachings, and story medicine*. Winnipeg, MN: University of Manitoba Press. Retrieved from <http://www.deslibris.ca.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/ID/443725>
- Anderson, K. (2016). *A recognition of being: Reconstructing Native womanhood*. Toronto, ON: Sumach Press. (Original work published in 2000). Retrieved from <https://www-deslibris-ca.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/ID/407678>
- Angus Reid. (2015). Truth and reconciliation: Canadians see value in process, skeptical about government action. Retrieved from <http://angusreid.org/aboriginal-truth-and-reconciliation/>.
- Aodla Freeman, M. (2015). *Life among the qallunaat*. Winnipeg, MA: University of Manitoba Press. (Original work published in 1996).
- Archibald L., & Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada. (2004). *Teenage pregnancy in Inuit communities: Issues and perspectives*. Ottawa, ON: Pauktuutit Inuit of Canada. Retrieved from https://www.pauktuutit.ca/wp-content/uploads/TeenPregnancySummary_e.pdf
- Arnaquq-Baril, A. (Director), Thompson, B. (Producer), Unikkaar Studios, & Eyesteelfilm (Firms). (2016). *Angry Inuk* [Documentary]. Canada: National Film Board of Canada.
- Auger, E. (1999). Inuit women artists and Western aesthetics. *Inuit Art Quarterly*, 14(4), 4–10. Retrieved from <http://iaq.inuitartfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/14.4.pdf>

Avataq Cultural Institute. (2006). ᐅᓂᓃᓴᐅᓴᓴᓴ *Unikkaangualaurtaa Let's tell a story: A collection of 25 stories and songs from Nunavik, with activities for young children.* Montréal, QC: Avataq Cultural Institute. Retrieved from <http://www.avataq.qc.ca/en/content/download/2388/33526/file/Lets%20tell%20a%20story.pdf>

Barker, J. (Ed.). (2017). Introduction. In *Critically sovereign: Indigenous gender, sexuality, and feminist studies* (pp. 1–44). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Barman, J. (1997/1998, Autumn/Winter). Taming Aboriginal sexuality: Gender, power, and race in British Columbia, 1850-1900. *BC Studies*, 115/116, 237–266.

Barrera, J. (2016, October 4). Annie Pootoogook remembered during MMIW vigil attended by PM Trudeau. *APTN News*, Retrieved from <http://aptnnews.ca/2016/10/04/annie-pootoogook-remembered-during-mmiw-vigil-attended-by-pm-trudeau/>

Beaumier, M. C., & Ford, J. D. (2010). Food insecurity among Inuit women exacerbated by socio-economic stresses and climate change. *Canadian Journal of Public Health/Revue Canadienne de Santé Publique*, 101(3), 196–201. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41995440>

Belknap, P., & Leonard, W. M., (1991). A conceptual replication and extension of Erving Goffman's study of gender advertisements. *Sex Roles*, 25(3), 103–118. doi:10.1007/BF00289848

Berlo, J. C. (1989). Inuit women and graphic arts: Female creativity and its cultural context. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 9(2), 293–315. Retrieved from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.694.6452&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

Berlo, J. C. (1993). Autobiographical impulses and female identity in the drawings of Napachie Pootoogook. *Inuit Art Quarterly*, 8(4), 4–12.

Berlo, J. (2015, November 5). Erotic topographies in the work of Kay WalkingStick. Presented at the symposium *Seizing the Sky: Redefining American Art*, National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, DC. Retrieved from https://youtu.be/vHc_wvxij1Y

- Billson, J. M. (2001). Inuit dreams, Inuit realities: Shattering the bonds of dependency. *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 31(1–2), 283–299. doi: 10.1080/02722010109481595
- Billson, J. M., & Mancini, K. (2007). *Inuit women: Their powerful spirit in a century of change*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. Retrieved from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Bird, S. E. (1999). Gendered construction of the American Indian in popular media. *Journal of Communication*, 49(3), 61–83.
- Blodgett, J., Boyd, L., Mitchell, M., Tobin, P., Ashoona, P., Pootoogook, N., & Ashoona, S. (1999) *Three women, three generations: Drawings by Pitseolak Ashoona, Napatchie Pootoogook and Shuvina Ashoona*. Kleinburg, ON: McMichael Canadian Art Collection.
- Brant, B. (1994). *Writing as witness: Essay and talk*. Toronto, ON: Women's Press.
- Briggs, J. (1998). *Inuit morality play: The emotional education of a three-year-old*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Brodey, K. R. (2008). Anorexia. In C. Mitchell, & J. Reid-Walsh (Eds.), *Girl culture: An encyclopedia* (pp. 149–149). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Brown, L. M. (2008). The “girls” in Girls’ Studies. *Girlhood Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 1(1), 1–12. doi:10.3167/ghs.2008.010102
- Budak, J. (2012). Where Have You Gone Annie Pootoogook? *Up Here*, 43–49.
- Butkowski, C. P., & Tajima, A. (2017). A critical examination of visualized femininity: Selective inheritance and intensification of gender posing from historical painting to contemporary advertising. *Feminist Media Studies*, 17(6), 1037–1055. doi: 10.1080/14680777.2017.1300830
- Campbell, N. (2006). Annie Pootoogook. In A. Pootoogook, N. Campbell, & Power Plant (Eds.), *Annie Pootoogook*. Toronto, ON: Power Plant.

- Campbell, N., Pootoogook, A., Baerwaldt, W., Root, D., & Illingworth Kerr Gallery. (2007). *Annie Pootoogook*. Calgary, AB: Illingworth Kerr Gallery.
- Campbell, N. (2017). *Cracking the glass ceiling: Contemporary Inuit drawing*. (Doctoral dissertation). York University, Toronto, ON, Canada. Retrieved from https://yorkspace.library.yorku.ca/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10315/33528/Campbell_Nancy_G_2017_PhD.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y
- Campbell, N., Pootoogook, A., & McMichael Canadian Art Collection (2017). *Annie Pootoogook: Cutting ice*. Fredericton, NB: Goose Lane Editions.
- Canadian Art, (2016). Trailblazing art dealer Av Isaacs remembered. Retrieved from <https://canadianart.ca/features/trailblazing-art-dealer-av-isaacs-remembered/>
- Cardinal, D., Cardinal, C., Waugh, E., & Baddour, D. (2013). Voices from the land: Reflections on teenaged pregnancy in Aboriginal communities today — The voices of traditional healers. *The International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 4(1), 1–15. doi: 10.18584/iipj.2013.4.1.7
- Carter, T. (1997). Current practices for procuring affordable housing: The Canadian context. *Housing Policy Debate* 8(3), 593–631. Retrieved from https://www.innovations.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/hpd_0803_carter.pdf
- Cheater, C. (2010). Stolen girlhood: Australia's assimilation policies and Aboriginal girls. In J. C. Helgren & C. Vasconcellos (Eds.), *Girlhood: A global history* (pp. 250–267). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Clark, N. (2012). Perseverance, determination and resistance: An Indigenous intersectional-based policy analysis of violence in the lives of Indigenous girls. Retrieved from http://www.learningcircle.ubc.ca/files/2013/10/7_Indigenous-Girls_Clark-2012.pdf
- Clark, N. (2016a). Red intersectionality and violence-informed witnessing praxis with Indigenous girls. *Girlhood Studies*, 9(2), 46–64. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.3167/ghs.2016.090205>

- Clark, N. (2016b). Shock and awe: Trauma as the new colonial frontier. *Humanities*, 5(1), 14–30. doi:10.3390/h5010014
- Cohen, (2008). Thin ideal. In C. Mitchell, & J. Reid-Walsh (Eds.), *Girl culture: An encyclopedia* (pp. 575–577). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Collett, A. (2001). Red and white: Miss E. Pauline Johnson Tekahionwake and the other woman. *Women's Writing* 8(3), 359–374. doi: 10.1080/09699080100200140
- Collignon, B., & Müller-Wille, L. (2006). *Knowing places. The Inuinnaït, landscapes and the environment*. Edmonton, AB: CCI Press (Canadian Circumpolar Institute, University of Alberta).
- Collignon, B. (2010). Domestic spaces and cultural geography. In L. Mercatanti (Ed.), *Percorsi di geografia. Tra cultura, società e turismo* (pp.131–142). Bologna, Italia: Pàtron. Retrieved from: <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00488019/document>
- Collings, P. (2005). Housing policy, aging, and life course construction in a Canadian Inuit community. *Arctic Anthropology*, 42(2), 50–65. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1353/arc.2011.0037>
- Condon, R. G., & Stern, P. R. (1993). Gender-role preference, gender identity, and gender socialization among contemporary Inuit youth. *Ethos* 21(4): 384–416.
- Connolly, M. (Director), Site Media, Bravo, Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (Producers). (2006). *Annie Pootoogook* [Documentary]. Canada: McNaab & Connolly.
- Crawford, B. (2017, August). The continuing education of Sgt. Hrnchiar: An Ottawa cop's journey toward reconciliation. *Ottawa Citizen*. Retrieved from <https://ottawacitizen.com/news/local-news/the-continuing-education-of-sgt-hrnchiar-an-ottawa-cops-journey-toward-reconciliation>
- Cromley, E. C. (2008). Bedrooms. In C. A. Mitchell and J. Reid-Walsh (Eds.), *Girl Culture: An Encyclopedia* (pp. 173–177). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

- Culleton Mosionier, B. (1999). *In search of April Raintree* (C. Suzack, Ed.). Critical Edition. Winnipeg, MB: Portage & Main Press (Original work published 1983).
- Dawson, P. C. (2006). Seeing like an Inuit family: The relationship between house form and culture in northern Canada. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 30(2), 113–135. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42870213>
- Dawson, P. C. (2008). Unfriendly architecture: Using observations of Inuit spatial behavior to design culturally sustaining houses in Arctic Canada. *Housing Studies*, 23(1), 111–128, doi: 10.1080/02673030701731258
- Davis, L., Hiller, C., James, C., Lloyd, K., Nasca, T., & Taylor, S. (2016): Complicated pathways: Settler Canadians learning to re/frame themselves and their relationships with Indigenous peoples. *Settler Colonial Studies*, 7(4), 398–414. doi: 10.1080/2201473X.2016.1243086
- Debicka, E., & Friedman, A. (2009). From policies to building: Public housing in Canada's Eastern Arctic 1950s to 1980s. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 18(2), 25–39.
- De Cicco, G. (2013, July) Idle no more: Women leading action for Indigenous rights in Canada. Association for Women's Right in Development (AWID). Retrieved from <https://www.awid.org/news-and-analysis/idle-no-more-women-leading-action-indigenous-rights-canada>
- de Finney, S. (2008). *"It's about us!": Racialized minority girls' transformative engagement in feminist participatory action research* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Victoria, Victoria, BC, Canada. Retrieved from: <http://hdl.handle.net/1828/2366>
- de Finney, S. (2010). "We just don't know each other": Racialised girls negotiate mediated multiculturalism in a less diverse Canadian city. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 31(5), 471–487. doi: 10.1080/07256868.2010.513082
- de Finney, S. (2014). Under the shadow of empire: Indigenous girls' presencing as decolonizing force. *Girlhood Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 7(1), 8–26. doi: <https://doi.org/10.3167/ghs.2014.070103>

- de Finney, S. (2015) Playing Indian and other settler stories: Disrupting Western narratives of Indigenous girlhood. *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies*, 29(2), 169–181.
- de Finney, S., Loiselle, E., & Dean, M. (2011). Bottom of the food chain: The minoritization of girls in child and youth care. In A. R. Pence, & J. H. White (Eds.), *Child and youth care: Critical perspectives on pedagogy, practice and policy* (pp. 70-94). Vancouver: UBC Press.
- de Finney, S., & Saraceno, J. (2015). Warrior girl and the searching tribe: Indigenous girls' everyday negotiations of radicalization under neo-colonialism. In C. Bradford & M. Reimer (Eds.), *Girls, texts, cultures* (113–138). Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press.
- Denis, J. S., & Bailey, K. A. (2016). 'You can't have reconciliation without justice': How non-Indigenous participants in Canada's truth and reconciliation process understand their roles and goals. In S. Maddison, T. Clark, & R. de Costa (Eds.), *The limits of settler colonial reconciliation: Non-indigenous people and the responsibility to engage* (pp. 137–158). Singapore: Springer. doi:10.1007/978-981-10-2654-6
- Department of Health and Social Services. (2013). *Nutrition fact sheet series*. Government of Nunavut. Retrieved from https://livehealthy.gov.nu.ca/sites/default/files/NutritionFactsheetsEnglish11-13-13-low%20res_0.pdf
- Devereux C. (2014) Fashioning the colonial girl. In K. Moruzi & M. J. Smith (Eds.), *Colonial girlhood in literature, culture and history, 1840–1950* (p. 30–44). Palgrave Studies in Nineteenth-Century Writing and Culture. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137356352_3
- Douglas, K., & Carless, D. (2016). A history of autoethnographic inquiry. In S. Holman Jones, T. E. Adams & C. Ellis (Eds.), *Handbook of autoethnography* (pp. 84–106). New York: Routledge. Retrieved from <https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315427812.ch2>

- Downe, P. (2006). Aboriginal girls in Canada: Living histories of dislocation, exploitation and strength. In C. Steenbergen, Y. Jiwani & C. Mitchell (Eds.), *Girlhood: Redefining the limits* (pp. 1–14). Montreal: Black Rose Books.
- Drache, D., Fletcher, F., & Voss, C. (2016). What the Canadian public is being told about the more than 1200 missing and murdered Indigenous women and First Nations issues: A content and context analysis of major mainstream Canadian media, 2014–2015. Retrieved from <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2758140>
- Duchemin-Pelletier, F. (2014). Catharsis in Inuit art: A way to heal wounds. *Public*, 25(49), 74–89. Retrieved from <https://www.ingentaconnect.com/contentone/intellect/public/2014/00000025/00000049/art00007?crawler=true>
- Duits, L. (2008). In *Multi-girl-culture: An ethnography of doing identity* (Doctoral Dissertation). Amsterdam University. Retrieved from ProQuest Ebook Central
- Duke, A. (2008). Bulimia. In C. Mitchell & J. Reid-Walsh (Eds.), *Girl culture: An encyclopedia* (pps. 205–206). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Dunning, N. (2017). *Annie muktuk and other stories*. Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press. Retrieved from desLibris Books.
- Eber, D., & Ashoona, P. (2003). *Pitseolak: Pictures out of my life*. Montréal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press. (Original work published in 1971). Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/stable/j.ctt7zq2j>
- Elliott, C. (2014). Food as people: Teenagers' perspectives on food personalities and implications for health eating. *Social Science & Medicine*, 121, 85–90. doi. [org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2014.09.044](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2014.09.044)
- Ellis, C., & Bochner, A. P. (2000). Autoethnography, personal narrative, reflexivity: Researcher as subject. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd ed.) (pp. 733–768). Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.

- Eni, R., Phillips-Beck, W. (2013). Teenage pregnancy and parenthood perspectives of First Nation women. *The International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 4(1) 1–22. doi: 10.18584/iipj.2013.4.1.3
- Erasmus, G., & Dussault, R. (1996). *Looking forward, looking back. Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Vol. 1*. Ottawa, ON: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.
- Everett-Green, R., & Galloway, G. (2016, September 30). Annie Pootoogook: A life too short, built on creativity but marred by despair. *Globe & Mail*. Retrieved from <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/art-and-architecture/the-remarkable-life-of-inuit-artist-anniepootoogook/article32198919/>
- Ezcurra, M., & Mitchell, C. (2018). (Ad)ressing sexual violence: Girls and young women creatively resisting through dress. In C. Mitchell & R. Moletsane (Eds.), *Disrupting shameful legacies: Girls and young women speaking back through the arts to address sexual violence* (pp. 155-175). Leiden, Netherlands: Brill/Sense.
- Fabello, M. A. (2014). Three reasons why sex-positivity without critical analysis is harmful. *Everyday Feminism*. Retrieved from <https://everydayfeminism.com/2014/05/sex-positivity-critical-analysis/>
- Fee, M., & Nason, D. (Eds.). (2016). *Tekahionwake: E. Pauline Johnson's writings on native North America*. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press.
- Feheley, P. (2004). Modern language: The art of Annie Pootoogook. *Inuit Art Quarterly*, 19(2), 10–15. Retrieved from <http://iaq.inuitartfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/19.2.pdf>
- Fernie, E. (1995). *Art history and its methods: A critical anthology*. London, UK: Phaidon Press.
- Field, H. (2012). “A story, exemplified in a series of figures”: Paper doll versus moral tale in the nineteenth century. *Girlhood Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 5(1), 37–56. doi:10.3167/ghs.2012.050104

- Fleras, A. (2011). *The media gaze: Representations of diversities in Canada*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Flicker, S. (2018). Unsettling: Musings on ten years of collaborations with Indigenous youth as a white settler scholar. In C. Mitchell & R. Moletsane (Eds.), *Disrupting shameful legacies: Girls and young women speaking back through the arts to address sexual violence* (pp. 313–322). Leiden, Netherlands: Brill/Sense.
- Forman-Brunell, M. (2010). Foreward. In J. Helgren & C. Vasconcellos (Eds.), *Girlhood: A global history* (pp. xi–xiii). New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.
- First Nations Studies Program. (2009). *Terminology*. Indigenousfoundations. arts.ubc.ca. Retrieved from <https://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/terminology/#indigenous>
- Frith, S. (1978). *The sociology of rock*. London, UK: constable.
- Fyfe, A. (2014). News and the social construction of risky girls. *Girlhood Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 7(1), 46–64. doi:10.3167/ghs.2014.070105
- Garner, R., Guimond, E., & Senécal, S. (2013). The socio-economic characteristics of First Nation teen mothers. *The International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 4(1) 1–25. doi: 10.18584/iipj.2013.4.1.9
- Gehl, L. (2000). “The queen and I”: Discrimination against women in the Indian Act continues. *Canadian Woman Studies*, 20(2), 64–59. Retrieved from <https://cws.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/cws/article/viewFile/7611/6742>
- Gehl, L. (2013). Indian rights for Indian babies: Canada’s “unstated paternity” policy. *First Peoples Child & Family Review*, 8(2), 54–73.
- Gehl, L., & Jarombek, L. (2017). Status anxiety: Lynn Gehl fought for decades before Canada recognized her as officially Indian. *World Policy Journal*, 34(4), 36–40. doi: 10.1215/07402775-4373506
- Gerson, C., & Strong-Boag, V. J. (Eds.) (2002). *E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake: Collected poems and selected prose*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

- Gerson, C., & Strong-Boag, V. J. (2005). Championing the native: E. Pauline Johnson rejects the squaw. In K. Pickles & M. Rutherford (Eds.), *Contact zones: Aboriginal and settler women in Canada's colonial past* (pp. 47–66). Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Gessel, P. (2012, June 23). The 'It girl' of Inuit art is in a dark place. *Ottawa Citizen*. Retrieved from <https://www.pressreader.com/canada/ottawa-citizen/20120623/281487863434088>
- Gilligan, C. 1982. *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (38th ed.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Girls Action Foundation, Glass, J., & Tunstall, L. (2013). Issue Brief on the Main Issues Facing Girls in Canada. Prepared for Status of Women Canada. Montréal, QC: Girls Action Foundation. Retrieved from: http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2016/cfc-swc/SW21-166-2013-eng.pdf
- Glennie, C. (2018). "We don't kiss like that": Inuit women respond to music video representations. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 14(2), 104–112. doi: 10.1177/1177180118765474
- Glyptis, S. A., & Chambers, D. A. (1982). No place like home. *Leisure Studies*, 1(3), 247–262. doi: 10.1080/02614368200390211
- Goeman, M. (2013). *Mark my words: Native women mapping our nations*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Goffman, E. (1979). *Gender advertisements*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Goldring, P. (2015). Historians and Inuit: Learning from the Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 2007–2010. *Canadian Journal of History*, 50(3), 492–523. doi: 10.3138/cjh.ach.50.3.005
- Gombay, N. (2006). From subsistence to commercial fishing in Northern Canada: The experience of an Inuk entrepreneur. *British Food Journal*, 108(7), 502–521. Retrieved from doi.org/10.1108/00070700610676343

- Gombay, N. (2010). *Making a living: Place, food, and economy in an Inuit community*. Saskatoon, SK: Purich Publishing.
- Gonick, M. (2003). *Between femininities: Ambivalence, identity, and the education of girls*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press. Retrieved from Project MUSE <https://muse.jhu.edu/>
- Gornick, V. (1979). Introduction. In E. Goffman, *Gender advertisements*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gould, K. (2016, October 4). Protesters denounce violence against Aboriginal women. CTV News, Montreal. Retrieved from <http://montreal.ctvnews.ca/protesters-denounce-violence-against-aboriginal-women-1.3101891>
- Graburn, N. (1986). Inuit art and Canadian nationalism: Why Eskimos? why Canada?" *Inuit Art Quarterly*, 1(3), 5–7.
- Graburn, N. (1987). Graburn replies to Vastokas. *Inuit Art Quarterly*, 2(2), 2 & 18.
- Graburn, N. (2004). Authentic Inuit art: Creation and exclusion in the Canadian North. *Journal of Material Culture*, 9(2), 141–159.
- Grayson, A. (2014). *The Arabella Grayson collection: Two hundred years of black paper dolls*. Retrieved from <https://www.arabellagrayson.com>
- Greenwald, A. G., & Krieger, L. H. (2006). Implicit bias: Scientific foundations. *California Law Review*, 94(4), 945–967. doi: 10.2307/20439056
- Green, J. (Ed.). (2017). *Making space for indigenous feminism* (2nd ed.). Black Point, NS: Fernwood Publishing.
- Hall, G. S. (1904). *Adolescence: Its psychology and its relations to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion and education* (vol. 2). D. Appleton & Company.
- Hall, S., & Jefferson, T. (2006). *Resistance through rituals: Youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (original work published in 1975). London, UK: Routledge.
- Hallendy, N. (2016). *An intimate wilderness: Arctic voices in a land of vast horizons*. Vancouver, BC: Greystone Books.

- Hanson, E. (2009). *Indian Act*. Vancouver, BC: First Nations and Indigenous Studies, University of British Columbia. Retrieved from http://indigenousfoundations.web.arts.ubc.ca/the_indian_act/
- Hawkins, K., Reading, C., & Barlow, K. (2009). *Our search for safe spaces: A qualitative study of the role of sexual violence in the lives of Aboriginal women living with HIV/AIDS*. Vancouver, BC: Canadian Aboriginal AIDS Network, Réseau canadien autochtone du SIDA. Retrieved from <http://librarypdf.catie.ca/PDF/ATI-20000s/26290.pdf>
- Healey, G. K., & Meadows, L. M. (2007). Inuit women's health in Nunavut, Canada: A review of the literature. *International Journal of Circumpolar Health*, 66(3), 199–214. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.3402/ijch.v66i3.18256>
- Helgren, J., & Vasconcellos, C. (Eds.). (2010). *Girlhood: A global history*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Higginbotham, J. (2013). *The girlhood of Shakespeare's sisters: gender transgression, adolescence*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Igloliorte, H. (2009). Inuit artistic expression as cultural resilience. In G. Younging, J. Dewar & M. DeGagné (Eds.), *Response, responsibility and renewal: Canada's truth and reconciliation journey* (pp. 123–136). Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation.
- Igloliorte, H. (2014). Arctic culture/global indigeneity. In L. Jessup, K. Robertson & E. Morton (Eds.), *Negotiations in a vacant lot: Studying the visual in Canada* (pp. 150–70). Montréal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Igloliorte, H. (2016). Annie Pootoogook: 1969–2016. *Canadian Art*. Retrieved from <https://canadianart.ca/features/annie-pootoogook-1969-2016/>
- Igloliorte, H. (2017a). Curating Inuit qaujimajatuqangit: Inuit knowledge the qallunaat art museum. *Art Journal*, 76(2), 100–113. doi: 10.1080/00043249.2017.1367196
- Igliorte, H. (2017b). Annie Pootoogook: Depicting Arctic modernity in contemporary Inuit art. *Artlink*, 37(2), 56–61.

- Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC). (2017). *Impact of the Inuit arts economy. Report prepared by Big River Analytics*. Retrieved from <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1499360279403/1534786167549>
- Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK). (2014). *Social determinants of Inuit health in Canada*. Ottawa, ON: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. Retrieved from https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/ITK_Social_Determinants_Report.pdf
- Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK). (2018). *Inuit Statistical Profile 2018*. Retrieved from <https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Inuit-Statistical-Profile.pdf>:
- Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK). (2018b). *Food insecurity challenges*. Retrieved from <https://www.itk.ca/nuluaq-mapping-project/inuit-food-insecurity-canada-background/#challenges>
- Irniq, P. (2007, February 16). Language watchdog needed in Nunavut. *Nunatsiaq News*. Retrieved from http://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/language_watchdog_needed_in_nunavut/
- Isaac, P., Meadwell, H., & Campbell, A. (2017). *Provost's task force on Indigenous Studies and Indigenous Education: Final Report*. McGill University. Retrieved from https://www.mcgill.ca/equity_diversity/files/equity_diversity/final_report_of_the_provosts_task_force_on_indigenous_studies_and_indigenous_education_0.pdf
- Issenman, Betty K. (2014). *Sinews of survival: The living legacy of Inuit clothing*. Vancouver: UBC Press. Retrieved from Ebook Central Perpetual Titles.
- Jackson, M. E. (1982). The Ashoonas of Cape Dorset: In touch with tradition. *North/Nord*, 29(3), 14–18.
- Jacobs, A. (2016, March 3). Akunnittinni: A Kinngait family portrait. *Indian Country Today*. Retrieved from <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/culture/arts-entertainment/akunnittinni-a-kinngait-family-portrait/>

- Jamieson, K., Canada. Advisory Council on the Status of Women, & Indian Rights for Indian Women. (1978). *Indian women and the law in Canada: Citizens minus*. Ottawa, ON: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.
- Jamieson, R. (2017). Reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples requires action on education [Blog post]. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/roberta-jamieson/indigenous-reconciliation-education_b_15828986.html
- Jiwani, Y. (2014). Posthumous rescue: The Shafia young women as worthy victims. *Girlhood Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 7(1), 27–45. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.3167/ghs.2014.070104>
- Jiwani, Y., Mitchell, C., & Steenbergen, C. (2006). *Girlhood: Redefining the limits*. Montreal: Black Rose Books.
- Jiwani, Y., Berman, H., & Cameron, A. (2010). Violence prevention and the Canadian girl child. *International Journal of Child, Youth and Family Studies*, 1(2), 134–156. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.18357/ijcyfs122010672>
- Jhally, S. (Director). 2009. *The codes of gender: identity and performance in pop culture* [Documentary transcript]. Amherst, MA: Media Education Foundation. Retrieved from <http://www.mediaed.org/transcripts/The-Codes-of-Gender-Transcript.pdf>
- Johnson, E. P. (2002). A strong race opinion: On the Indian girl in modern fiction. In E. P. Johnson, C. Gerson, & V. J. Strong-Boag (Eds.), *E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake: Collected Poems and Selected Prose* (pp. 177–184). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Johnson, D. M., & Ginsberg, A. E. (Eds.). (2015). Girls' Studies: What's new? In *Difficult Dialogues about Twenty-First-Century Girls* (pp. 1–16). NY: State University of New York Press. Retrieved from ProQuest Ebook Central.

- Kairos. (2018). *Education for reconciliation report card: A report card on provincial & territorial school curriculum concerning Indigenous Peoples in Canada*. Toronto, ON: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.kairoscanada.org/what-we-do/indigenous-rights/windsofchange-report-cards#qc>
- Kang, M-E. (1997). The portrayal of women's images in magazine advertisements: Goffman's gender analysis revisited. *Sex Roles*, 37(11/12), 979–996. Retrieved from <https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/BF02936350.pdf>
- Kaplan, S. A. (2012). Labrador Inuit ingenuity and resourcefulness: Adapting to a complex environmental, social, and spiritual environment. In L. Felt, A. H. Procter, D. C. Natcher & EBOUND Canada (Eds.), *Settlement, subsistence and change among the Labrador Inuit: The Nunatsiavummiut experience* (pp. 15–42). Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press.
- Khanna, N. (2011). *Decolonizing youth participatory action research practices: A case study of a girl-centered, anti-racist, feminist PAR with Indigenous and racialized girls in Victoria, BC* (Master's thesis). University of Victoria, Victoria, BC, Canada. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/1828/3256>
- Kassam, K. S. (2001). North of 60 degrees: homeland or frontier? In D. Taras & B. Rasporich (Eds.), *Passion for identity: Canadian studies for the 21st century* (pp. 433–455) (4th ed.). Scarborough, ON: Nelson Thompson Learning.
- Kearney, M. C. (2009). Coalescing: The development of Girls' Studies. *NWSA Journal*, 21(1), 1–28. doi: 10.1353/nwsa.0.0065
- Kehily, M. J. (1999). More sugar? Teenage magazines, gender displays and sexual learning. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 2(1), 65–89.
- Kenny, Carolyn. (2006). When the women heal: Aboriginal women speak about policies to improve the quality of life. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 50(4), 550–561.
- Kett, J. F. (2003). Reflections on the history of adolescence in America. *The History of the Family*, 8(3), 355–373. doi: 10.1016/S1081-602X(03)00042-3

- Kingsley, C., & Mark, M. (2000). Sacred lives: Canadian aboriginal children & youth speak out about sexual exploitation. Vancouver, BC: Save the Children Canada. Retrieved from: https://www.gov.mb.ca/fs/traciastrust/pubs/sacred_lives.pdf
- Kirk, J., & Taylor, S. (2004). Gender, peace, and security agendas: Where are girls and young women? The Gender and Peacebuilding Working Group (GPWG) of the Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating Committee (CPCC). Retrieved from <http://www.peacebuild.ca/documents/girlsywomensumdoc.pdf>
- Kirk, J., Mitchell, C., & Reid-Walsh, J. (2010). Toward a political agency for girls: Mapping the discourses of girlhood globally. In J. Helgren & C. Vasconcellos (Eds.), *Girlhood: A global history* (pp. 14–29). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Kishigami, N. (2008, August 22-26). Homeless Inuit in Montreal. Paper presented at the 2008 International Congress of Arctic Social Scientist, Nuuk Greenland. Retrieved from http://www.minpaku.ac.jp/sites/default/files/research/activity/organization/staff/kishigami/pdf/ueban_Inuit_ICASS.pdf
- Kishigami, N. (2015). Low-income and homeless Inuit in Montreal, Canada: Report of a 2012 research. *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology*, 39(4), 575–624. Retrieved from <http://doi.org/10.15021/00003804>
- Kovach, M. (2009). *Indigenous methodologies: Characteristics, conversations and contexts*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Krishnan, M. (2016, October 24). Ottawa cop charged for making racist Facebook comments about Annie Pootoogook: Sergeant Chris Hrnchiar said the Inuit artist likely ‘got drunk and fell in the river’. *Vice*. Retrieved from https://www.vice.com/en_ca/article/exk7k7/ottawa-cop-charged-for-making-racist-facebook-comments-about-death-of-inuit-artist

- Kunuk, Z. (Director), Apak Angilirq, P. (Producer). (2001). *Atanarjuat: The fast runner*. [Film]. Igloolik, Nunavut: Igloolik Isuma Productions.
- Kunuk, Z., & Cohn, N. (Directors). (2006). *The journals of Knud Rasmussen* [Film]. Canada & Denmark: Kunuk Cohn Productions, Igloolik Isuma Productions, and Barok Films.
- Kunuk, Z. (Director), FilmCAN, & Primitive Entertainment (Producers). *Sirmilik* [Documentary]. Sirmilik National Park (near the Nunavut community of Pond Inlet). Retrieved from <http://www.isuma.tv/kingulliit-productions/sirmilik>
- Kuunuk, S. (1999). Nunavut background with Paul Quassa. *Inuktitut: Commemorative Edition*, 85, 6–16. Retrieved from <https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/1999-0085-InuktitutMagazine-IUCANS-IULATN-EN.pdf>
- Lachover, E., Preis, H., & Peled, E. (2018). From research on girls to girlhood studies: Exploring Israeli girlhood studies from an international and historical perspective. *European Journal of Women's Studies*. doi: 10.1177/1350506818767461
- Lalonde, C. (1995). How can we understand Inuit Art? *Inuit Art Quarterly*, 10(3), 6–14.
- Lalonde, C. (2015). *Pitseolak Ashoona: Life and work*. Toronto, ON: Art Canada Institute. Retrieved from <https://www.aci-iac.ca/art-books/pitseolak-ashoona>
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation (Learning in doing)*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lavell-Harvard, D. M. & Brant, J. (Eds.). (2016). *Forever loved: Exposing the hidden crisis of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls in Canada*. Bradford, ON: Demeter Press.
- Lepage, M. (Director), Productions Virage (Producer). (2008/2010). *Martha qui vient du froid: Martha of the north* [Documentary]. Canada: National Film Board of Canada.
- Lerner, L. (2016). “What this picture of a girl means to me”: The place of girlhood images in the Art History university classroom. In C. Mitchell & C. Rentschler (Eds.), *Girlhood and the Politics of Place* (pp. 175–194). New York: Berghahn. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt14jxn16.15>

- Leroux, O., Jackson, M. E., Aodla Freeman, M. & Canadian Museum of Civilization. (1994). *Inuit women artists: Voices from Cape Dorset*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.
- Lesko, N. (1996a). Past, present, and future conceptions of adolescence. *Educational Theory*, 46(4), 453–472. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-5446.1996.00453.x
- Lesko, N. (1996b). Denaturalizing adolescence: The politics of contemporary representations. *Youth & Society*, 28(2), 139–161. doi: 10.1177/0044118X96028002001
- Lesko, N. (2002). Adolescence and development-in-time. *Journal of Human Growth and Development* 12(1), 52–56. Retrieved from <http://www.revistas.usp.br/jhgd/article/view/39685>.
- Lesko, N. (2012). *Act your age!: A cultural construction of adolescence* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Lincoln, S. (2015). Bedroom culture: A review of research. In K. Nairn, & P. Kraftl (Eds.), *Space, place and environment* (pp. 421–439). Springer Reference. Retrieved from <https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/978-981-287-044-5.pdf>
- Lindeman, M. & Stark, K. (1999). Pleasure, pursuit of health or negotiation of identity? Personality correlates of food choice motives among young and middle-aged women. *Appetite*, 33(1), 141–161. doi: 10.1006/appe.1999.0241
- Light Echo Productions (Producer). (2014). *Tanya Tagaq: Passion for food*. (Video interview). Retrieved from <https://vimeo.com/84979351>
- Loh, P. E. (2015). *What is wrong with this picture?: Indigenous artists contest the 'place' of Indigenous people in Canada*. (Master's thesis). Queen's University, Kingston, On, Canada. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/1974/13098>
- Loiselle, E., de Finney, S., Khanna, N. & Corcoran, R. (2012). 'We need to talk about it!': Doing CYC as politicized praxis. *Child & Youth Services*, 33(3-4), 178–205.

- Maddison, S., & Stastny, A. (2016). Silence or deafness? Education and the non-Indigenous responsibility to engage. In S. Maddison, T. Clark & R. De Costa (Eds.), *The limits of settler colonial reconciliation: Non-indigenous people and the responsibility to engage* (pp. 231–247). Springer Verlag. doi:10.1007/978-981-10-2654-6
- Macleod, C. (2009). Danger and disease in sex education: The saturation of ‘adolescence’ with colonialist assumptions. *Journal of Health Management*, 11(2), 375–389. doi: 10.1177/097206340901100207
- Maheux, H. (2011). *Mixed unions in Canada*. Statistics Canada, Minister of Industry. Retrieved from https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-010-x/99-010-x2011003_3-eng.pdf
- Mahood, G. (2010). *The art of colonialism: Inventing Canadian identity through Inuit soapstone carving* (Master’s thesis). Concordia University, Montreal, QC, Canada. Retrieved from https://spectrum.library.concordia.ca/7130/1/Mahood_MA_S2011.pdf
- Mannay, D. (2010). Making the familiar strange: Can visual research methods render the familiar setting more perceptible? *Qualitative Research*, 10(1), 91–111. doi:10.1177/1468794109348684
- Marchessault, G. D. M. (2001). *Far from ideal: Talking about weight with mothers and daughters from Winnipeg, Southern Manitoba and a First Nations community* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Manitoba, Alberta, Canada. Retrieved from <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk3/ftp04/NQ62653.pdf>
- Martínez Cobo, J. R. (2004). *The concept of Indigenous People*. Background paper prepared by the Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/publications/martinez-cobo-study.html>
- Mazzarella, S., & Pecora, N. (2007). Revisiting girls’ studies: Girls creating sites for connection and action. *Journal of Children and Media*, 1(2): 105–125. doi: 10.1080/17482790701339118

- M'Closkey, K. (1996). Art or craft: The paradox of the Pangnirtung weave shop. In C. Miller, P. M. Chuchryk, & National Symposium on Aboriginal Women of Canada (Eds.), *Women of the First Nations: Power, wisdom and strength* (pp. 113–126). Winnipeg: MB: University of Manitoba Press. Retrieved from <http://www.deslibris.ca/ID/413010>
- McGarty, C., Yzerbyt, V. Y., & Spears, R. (2002) *Stereotypes as explanations: The formation of meaningful beliefs about social groups*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from <http://catdir.loc.gov/catdir/samples/cam033/2002073438.pdf>
- McGregor, H. E. (2013). Situating Nunavut education with Indigenous education in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 36(2), 87–118. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/canajeducrevucan.36.2.87>
- McGregor, H. E. (2015). Listening for more (hi) stories from the Arctic's dispersed and diverse educational past. *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation*, 27(1), 19–39. Retrieved from https://historicalstudiesineducation.ca/index.php/edu_hse-rhe/article/view/4411.
- McHugh, T.-L. F., Coppola, A. M., & Sabiston, C. M. (2014). "I'm thankful for being Native and my body is part of that": The body pride experiences of young Aboriginal women in Canada. *Body Image*, 11(3), 318–327. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2014.05.004>
- McIvor, S. D. (1999). Self-government and Aboriginal women. In E. Dua & A. Robertson (Eds.), *Scratching the surface: Canadian, anti-racist, feminist thought* (pp. 167–186). Toronto, ON: Women's Press. Retrieved from Ebook Central.
- McIvor, S. D., & Nahanee, T. A. (1998). Aboriginal women: Invisible victims of violence. In G. S. Rigakos, & K. Bonnycastle (Eds.), *Unsettling truths: Battered women, policy, politics and contemporary research in Canada*. Vancouver BC: Collective Press.

- McKegney, S. (Ed.) (2014). Our bodies, our nations: A conversation with Jessica Danforth. In *Masculindians: Conversations about Indigenous manhood* (pp. 118–124). Winnipeg, MA: University of Manitoba Press. Retrieved from <https://www.deslibris.ca/ID/447266>
- McRobbie, A. (Ed.) (1997). More! New sexualities in girls' and women's magazines. In *Back to reality? Social experience and cultural studies* (pp. 190–209). Manchester, England: Manchester University Press.
- McRobbie, A. & Garber, J. (2006). Girls and subcultures. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.), *Resistance through rituals: Youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 177–189). London: Routledge. (Original work published in 1975).
- Mendes, K., Silva, K., Duits, L., van Zoonen, L., Lamb, S., Banaji, S., & Edwards, N. (2009) Commentary and criticism: Girls, boys and 'girlhood studies.' *Feminist Media Studies*, 9(1), 109–125. doi: 10.1080/14680770802619540
- Merskin, D. (2010). The S-word: Discourse, stereotypes and the American Indian woman. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 21(4), 345–366. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/10646175.2010.519616>
- Miller, C., Chuchryk, P. M., & National Symposium on Aboriginal Women of Canada. (Eds.). (1996). *Women of the First Nations: Power, wisdom and strength*. Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press. Retrieved from <http://www.deslibris.ca/ID/413010>
- Miller, R. (2000). A brief introduction to holistic education. *The Encyclopaedia of Informal Education*. Retrieved from <http://infed.org/mobi/a-brief-introduction-to-holistic-education/>
- Mitchell, C. (2015). Rebellion and resistance. *Girlhood Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 8(3), 1–2. doi: 10.3167/ghs.2015.080301
- Mitchell, C. (2016). Breaking boundaries in girlhood studies. *Girlhood Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 9(2), 1–2. doi: 10.3167/ghs.2016.090201

- Mitchell, C., de Lange, N., & Moletsane, R. (2017). *Participatory visual methodologies: Social change, community and policy*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Mitchell, C., & Moletsane, R. (Eds.) (2018). Introduction. *Disrupting shameful legacies: Girls and young women speaking back through the arts to address sexual violence* (pp. 2–17). Leiden, Netherlands: Brill/Sense
- Mitchell, C., & Reid-Walsh, J., Kirk, J. (2008a). Welcome to this inaugural issue of *Girlhood Studies: An interdisciplinary journal* (GHS). *Girlhood Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 1(1), v–xiii. doi:10.3167/ghs.2008.010101
- Mitchell, C., & Reid-Walsh, J. (Eds.) (2008b). How to study girl culture. In *Girl culture: An encyclopedia* (pp. 17–24). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press
- Mitchell, C., & Reid-Walsh, J. (2009). Girlhood practices. *Girlhood Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 2(1), v–viii. doi:10.3167/ghs.2009.020101
- Mitchell, C., & Rentschler, C. (Eds.). (2016). *Girlhood and the politics of place*. New York: Berghahn Books. doi:10.26530/OAPEN_606216
- Mitchell, C. & Weber, S. (1999). *Reinventing ourselves as teachers: Beyond nostalgia*. London, UK: Falmer Press. Retrieved from <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781135714864>
- Modigliani, L. (2009). Annie Pootoogook's drawings of contemporary Inuit life. *C Magazine*, 103, 46–48. Retrieved from <http://www.leahmodigliani.net/uploads/2/6/5/3/2653262/c103pootoogook.pdf>
- Moisan, C., Baril, C., Muckle, G., & Belanger, R. E. (2016). Teen pregnancy in Inuit communities: Gaps still needed to be filled. *International Journal of Circumpolar Health*, 75(31790), 1–8. doi:10.3402/ijch.v75.31790
- Moletsane, R. (2005). "I do know who I am": Writing, consciousness, and reflection. In C. Mitchell & J. Reid-Walsh (Eds.), *Seven going on seventeen: Tween studies in the culture of girlhood* (pp. 148–162). New York: Peter Lang.

- Montesanti, S. R., & Thurston, W. E. (2015). Mapping the role of structural and interpersonal violence in the lives of women: Implications for public health interventions and policy. *BMC Women's Health*, 15(1), 100–113. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12905-015-0256-4>
- Monture, R. (2014). *Teionkwakhashion tsi niionkwariho:ten (We share our matters): Two centuries of writing and resistance at Six Nations of the Grand River*. Winnipeg: MB: Universit of Manitoba Press. Retrieved from Scholars Portal Books.
- Monture-OKanee, P. A. (2008). Women's words: Power, identity, and Indigenous sovereignty. *Canadian Woman Studies*, 26(3). Retrieved from <https://cws.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/cws/article/viewFile/22125/20779>
- Morgan-Feir, C. (2018). Revisiting Annie Pootoogook: The spirit, the self, and other stories. *Inuit Art Quarterly*, 31(3). Retrieved from <http://iaq.inuitartfoundation.org/revisiting-annie-pootoogook-spirit-self-stories/>
- Morgensen, S. L. (2010). Settler homonationalism: Theorizing settler colonialism within queer modernities. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 16(1), 105–131. Retrieved from <http://muse.jhu.edu.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/article/372447>
- Morin, B. (2017, July 28). A survivor's perspective: Don't give up on MMIWG inquiry. *CBC News*. Retrieved from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/mmiwg-inquiry-brandi-morin-opinion-1.4224745>
- Morrill, A, Tuck, E., & and the Super Futures Haunt Collective. (2016). Before dispossession, or surviving it. *Liminalities: A Journal of Performance Studies*, 12(1), 1–20. Retrieved from: <http://liminalities.net/12-1/dispossession.pdf>
- Mott, C. & Cockayne, D. (2017). Citation matters: Mobilizing the politics of citation toward a practice of 'conscientious engagement'. *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 24(7), 954–973. doi: 10.1080/0966369X.2017.1339022

- Muñoz-Alonso, L. (2016, September 29). Tragic death of documenta artist investigated by Ottawa Police. *Artnet News*. Retrieved from <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/death-inuk-artist-annie-pootoogook-investigated-675701>
- Nappaaluk, M., & Avataq Cultural Institute. (2014). *Sanaaq: An Inuit novel* (P. Frost & B. Saladin d'Anglure, Trans.). Winnipeg, MA: University of Manitoba Press.
- National Coalition Centre for Aboriginal Health. (2012a). *The sacred space of womanhood: Mothering across the generations*. Prince George, BC: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.ccsa-nccah.ca/docs/health/RPT-SacredSpaceWomanhood-Bckgrnd-EN.pdf>
- National Coalition Centre for Aboriginal Health. (2012b). *The sacred space of womanhood: Mothering across the generations* [Documentary]. Prince George, BC: Author. Retrieved from <https://vimeo.com/nccah/mothers>
- Native Women's Association of Canada. (2009). *Voices of our sisters in spirit: A report to families and communities* (2nd ed.). Ottawa, ON: Author. Retrieved from [Retrieved from https://www.nwac.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/NWAC_Voices-of-Our-Sisters-In-Spirit_2nd-Edition_March-2009.pdf](https://www.nwac.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/NWAC_Voices-of-Our-Sisters-In-Spirit_2nd-Edition_March-2009.pdf)
- Native Women's Association of Canada. (2015). *Fact sheet: Violence against Aboriginal women*. Ottawa, ON: Author. Retrieved from https://nwac.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Fact_Sheet_Violence_Against_Aboriginal_Women.pdf
- Neighbors, L. A. (2008a). Binge eating. In C. Mitchell, & J. Reid-Walsh (Eds.), *Girl culture: An encyclopedia* (pp. 185–187). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Neighbors, L. A. (2008b). Disordered eating. In C. Mitchell, & J. Reid-Walsh (Eds.), *Girl culture: An encyclopedia* (pp. 575–577). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Nungak, Z. (2004). Qallunaat 101. *Utne Reader*. Retrieved from <https://www.utne.com/community/qallunaat-101>

- Nunavut Department of Education. (2007). *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Education framework for Nunavut curriculum*. Iqaluit, NU: Author, Curriculum and School Services Division. Retrieved from <https://www.gov.nu.ca/sites/default/files/files/Inuit%20Qaujimajatuqangit%20ENG.pdf>
- Nunavut Arctic College, Nakasuk, S., Hervé, P., Ootoova, E., Angmaarlik, P., Oosten, J., Laugrand, F., Kublu, A., & participating students (as listed within). (1999a). *Interviewing Inuit elders, vol. 1: Introduction*. Iqaluit, NU: Nunavut Arctic College.
- Nunavut Arctic College, Aupilaarjuk, M., Tulimaaq, M., Joamie, A., Imaruittuq, E., Nutaraaluk, L., Oosten, J., Laugrand, F., Rasing, W., Kublu, A., & participating students (as listed within). (1999b). *Interviewing Inuit elders, vol.2: Perspectives on traditional law*. Iqaluit, NU: Nunavut Arctic College.
- Nunavut Arctic College, Ekho, N., Ottokie, U., Briggs, J., Kublu, A. & participating students (as listed within). (2000). *Interviewing Inuit Elders, vol. 3: Childrearing Practices*. Iqaluit, NU: Nunavut Arctic College.
- Nunavut Arctic College, Ootoova, I., Atagutsiak, T. Q., Ijjangiaq, T., Pitseolak, J., Joamie, A., Joamie, A., Papatsie, M., Therrien, M., Laugrand, F. & participating students (as listed within). (2001). *Interviewing Inuit Elders, vol. 5: Perspectives on traditional health*. Iqaluit, NU: Nunavut Arctic College.
- Nunavut Impact Review Board (NIRB) (n. d.). *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*. Cambridge Bay, NU: Author. Retrieved from <http://www.nirb.ca/inuit-qaujimajatuqangit>
- Nunavut Travel (n.d.) The Inuit year (Infographic seasons). Iqaluit, NU: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.nunavuttourism.com/plan-and-book/visitor-information/weather-climate/>
- Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated. (1998, March). *Report on the traditional knowledge conference*. Igloolik, NU: Nunavut Social Development (NSDC).
- Nunatsiq News. (2010, March, 11). Photo: Ottawa's real seal meal. Retrieved from https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/photo_ottawas_real_seal_meal/

- Palmater, P. D. (2013). Matnm tel-Mi'kmawi: I'm fighting for my Mi'kmaw identity. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 33(1), 147–167.
- Palmater, P. D. (2014). Genocide, Indian policy, and legislated elimination of Indians in Canada. *Aboriginal Policy Studies*, 3(3), 27–54. doi: <http://10.5663/aps.v3i3.22225>
- Patrick, D., Shaer, B., & Budach, G. (2017). Language and territorialisation: Food consumption and the creation of urban Indigenous space. *Semiotic Review*, (5). Retrieved from <https://www.semioticreview.com/ojs/index.php/sr/article/view/8/9>
- Pauktuutit (Inuit Women of Canada). (1991). *No more secrets: Acknowledging the problem of child sexual abuse in Inuit communities: The first step toward healing*. Ottawa, ON: Author.
- Pauktuutiit (Inuit Women of Canada), & Boulton, D. (2006). *The Inuit way: A guide to Inuit culture*. Ottawa, ON: Author. Retrieved from https://www.relations-inuit.chaire.ulaval.ca/sites/relations-inuit.chaire.ulaval.ca/files/InuitWay_e.pdf
- Pauktuutit (Inuit Women of Canada). (2016). *National strategy to prevent abuse in Inuit communities, and sharing knowledge, sharing wisdom: A guide to the national strategy*. Ottawa, ON: Author. Retrieved from http://pauktuutit.ca/wp-content/blogs.dir/1/assets/InuitStrategy_e.pdf
- Pauktuutit (Inuit Women of Canada). (2017). *Taava: National Inuit sexual health strategy*. Ottawa, ON: Author. Retrieved from https://www.pauktuutit.ca/wp-content/uploads/Tavva_SexualHealth_English.pdf
- Pauktuutit (Inuit Women of Canada). (2019). *Violence and Prevention: Residential Schools*. Ottawa, ON: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.pauktuutit.ca/abuse-prevention/residential-schools/>
- Pepin, C., Muckle, G., Moisan, C., Forget-Dubois, N. & Riva, M. (2018). Household overcrowding and psychological distress among Nunavik Inuit adolescents: A longitudinal study. *International Journal of Circumpolar Health*, 77(1), 1-11. doi:10.1080/22423982.2018.1541395

- Peter Pitseolak School (n.d.) *A short history of Cape Dorset*. Iqaluit, NU: Nunavut Teachers' Association. Retrieved from https://ntip.gov.nu.ca/sites/default/files/short_history_of_cape_dorset_by_peter_pitseolak_school.pdf
- Petrone, P. (Ed.). (2002). *Northern voices: Inuit writings in English*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press. (Original work published in 1992). Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Pirurvik. (n.d.) What is Inuktitut? *Inuktitut Tusaalanga*. Iqaluit, NU: Author. Retrieved from <https://tusaalanga.ca/node/2502>
- Powless, B. (2017, September 29). Annie Pootoogook: Caught between two worlds. *The Nation*. Retrieved from <http://www.nationnews.ca/12844-2/>
- Pupchek, L. S. (2001) True North: Inuit art and the Canadian imagination. *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 31(1), 191–208. doi: 10.1080/02722010109481590
- Purdy, S. (2003). “It was tough on everybody”: Low-income families and housing hardship in post-World War II Toronto. *Journal of Social History*, 37(2), 457–482. Retrieved from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3790406>
- Qikiqtani Inuit Association. (2013a). QTC Final report: Achieving saimaqatigiingniq. In *Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC) Thematic Reports and Special Studies*. Iqaluit, NU: Inhabit Media. Retrieved from http://qtcommission.ca/sites/default/files/public/thematic_reports/thematic_reports_english_final_report.pdf
- Qikiqtani Inuit Association (2013b). Nuutauniq: Moves in Inuit Life. In *Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC) Thematic Reports and Special Studies*. Iqaluit, NU: Inhabit Media. Retrieved from http://qtcommission.ca/sites/default/files/public/thematic_reports/thematic_reports_english_nuutauniq.pdf
- Qikiqtani Inuit Association. (2013c). Igluliriniq: Housing in Qikiqtaaluk. In *Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC) Thematic Reports and Special Studies*. Iqaluit, NU: Inhabit Media. Retrieved from http://qtcommission.ca/sites/default/files/public/thematic_reports/thematic_reports_english_igluliriniq.pdf

- Qikiqtani Inuit Association. (2013d). Cape Dorset. In *Qikiqtani Truth Commission: Community Histories 1950-1975*. Iqaluit, NU: Inhabit Media. Retrieved from https://www.qtcommission.ca/sites/default/files/community/community_histories_cape_dorset.pdf
- Qikiqtani Inuit Association. (2013e). Iqaluit. In *Qikiqtani Truth Commission: Community Histories 1950-1975*. Iqaluit, NU: Inhabit Media. Retrieved from https://www.qtcommission.ca/sites/default/files/community/community_histories_iqaluit.pdf
- Qikiqtani Inuit Association. (2013f). The official mind of Canadian colonialism. In *Qikiqtani Truth Commission: Thematic Reports and Special Studies 1950–1975*. Iqaluit, NU: Inhabit Media. Retrieved from http://qtcommission.ca/sites/default/files/public/thematic_reports/thematic_reports_english_official_mind.pdf
- Qikiqtani Inuit Association. (2013g). Aaniajurliriniq: Health care in Qikiqtaaluk. In *Qikiqtani Truth Commission: Thematic Reports and Special Studies 1950–1975*. Iqaluit, NU: Inhabit Media. Retrieved from https://www.qtcommission.ca/sites/default/files/public/thematic_reports/thematic_reports_english_aaniajurliriniq.pdf
- Quintal-Marineau, M. (2017). The new work regime in Nunavut: A gender perspective. *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe canadien*, 61(3), 334–345. doi: 10.1111/cag.12387
- RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police). (2015). *Missing and murdered Aboriginal women: 2015 update to the national operational overview*. Retrieved from <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/en/missing-and-murdered-aboriginal-women-2015-update-national-operational-overview>
- Regan, P. (2010). *Unsettling the settler within: Indian residential schools, truth telling, and reconciliation in Canada*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press. Retrieved from EBSCO.
- Reid-Walsh, J. (2016). Modding as making: Religious flap books created by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Anglo-American girls. In C. Mitchell, & C. Rentschler (Eds.), *Girlhood and the Politics of Place* (pp. 195–211). New York: Berghahn Books. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt14jxn16.16>

- Rentschler, C., & Mitchell, C. (2014). The re-description of girls in crisis. *Girlhood Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 7(1), 2–7. doi: <https://doi.org/10.3167/ghs.2014.070102>
- Rentschler, C., & Mitchell, C. (2016). Introduction: The significance of place in girlhood studies. In C. Mitchell & C. Rentschler (Eds.), *Girlhood and the politics of place* (pp. 1–16). New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt14jxn16.5>
- Resilience Project (2018). Resilience, The national billboard exhibition project: Introduction. Retrieved from <https://resilienceproject.ca/en/introduction>
- Rich, A. (1983). Compulsory heterosexuality and lesbian experience. In A. Snitow, C. Stansell & S. Thompson (Eds.), *Powers of desire: The politics of sexuality* (pp. 177–205). New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Rickard, J. (2006). The Local and the global. In G. McMaster (Ed.) *Vision, space, desire: Global perspectives and cultural hybridity*. Washington, DC: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution.
- Riggins, S. H. (Ed.) (1994). Fieldwork in the living room: An autoethnographic essay. In *The socialness of things: Essays on the socio-semiotics of objects* (pp. 101–147). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ritchie, W. (2014). The Inuit world [blog post]. *Musing about Kinngait Studios*. Retrieved from <http://www.williambritchie.com/blog/2014/10/5/the-inuit-world>
- Robertson, K. (2016, December 26). What is the importance of a legend on a map? *Quora* blog/post [?]. Retrieved from <https://www.quora.com/What-is-the-importance-of-a-legend-on-a-map>
- Rodon, T., Lévesque, F., & Kennedy Dalseg, S. (2015). Qallunaaliaqtut: Inuit students' experiences of postsecondary education in the south. *McGill Journal of Education/Revue des sciences de l'éducation de McGill*, 50(1), 97–118. Retrieved from <http://mje.mcgill.ca/article/view/9052/7049>

- Rogers, J. (2010). *Red erotic: Indigenous erotica in pictures and words*. Place of publication not identified: Ojistah Publishing.
- Rogers, J. (2018). Red erotic with Mohawk poet Janet Marie Rogers. *Artgasm with Allison Moon* [Podcast]. Retrieved from <https://youtu.be/3YiVaVdayw0>
- Rogoff, I. (1998). Studying visual culture. In N. Mirzoeff (Ed.), *The Visual Culture Reader* (pp. 14–26). London, UK: Routledge.
- Root, D. (2007). Inuit art and the limits of authenticity. In N. Campbell, A. Pootoogook, W. Baerwaldt, D. Root & Illingworth Kerr Gallery (Eds.), *Annie Pootoogook*. Calgary, AB: Illingworth Kerr Gallery.
- Rose, G. (2001). *Visual methodologies: An introduction to the interpretation of visual materials*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. Retrieved from ProQuest Ebook Central.
- Ryan, L. B. (2005). “Mannarulujujuq” (not so long ago): The memories of Napachie Pootoogook. *Inuit Art Quarterly*, 20 (3), 9–16. Retrieved from <http://iaq.inuitartfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/20.3.pdf>
- Ryan, L. B., Wight, D. C., & Winnipeg Art Gallery. (2004). *Napachie Pootoogook*. Winnipeg, MB: Winnipeg Art Gallery.
- Sanader, D. (2018). Crafted soft shapes and hard mattresses: Sex and desire in contemporary Inuit graphic art and film. *Inuit Art Quarterly*, 31(2), 40–47. Retrieved from <https://www.pressreader.com/canada/inuit-art-quarterly/20180615/281590946272006>
- Sanchez-Soares, K. (2013). “Ukiurtatuq”: A ‘novel’ exploration of a white teacher’s and an Inuit student’s journeys to graduation (Doctoral dissertation). McGill University, Montreal, QC, Canada. Retrieved from http://digitool.Library.McGill.CA:80/R/-?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=116909&silos_library=GEN01
- Scott, J. (2014). *A dictionary of sociology* (4th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from Oxford Reference.

- Searles, E. (2002). Food and the making of modern Inuit identities. *Food and Foodways: Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment*, 10(1), 55–78. doi: 1080/07409710212485
- Searles, E. (2016). To sell or not to sell: Country food markets and Inuit identity in Nunavut. *Food and Foodways: Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment*, 24(4), 194–212. doi: 10.1080/07409710.2016.1210899
- Sheff, E. A. (2013, October 14). Solo polyamory, singleish, single and poly [Blog]. The Polyamorists Next Door at *Psychology Today*. Retrieved from <https://www.psychologytoday.com/ca/blog/the-polyamorists-next-door/201310/solo-polyamory-singleish-single-poly>
- Sheppard, L. & White, M. (2017). *Many norths: Spatial practice in a Polar territory*. New York: Actar.
- Silman, J. (Ed.). (1987). *Enough is enough: Aboriginal women speak out (as told to Jane Silman)*. Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars' Press and Women's Press.
- Simon, S. (2013). 'Towards a hopeful practice of worrying': The problematics of listening and the educative responsibilities of Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. In J. Henderson & P. Wakeham (Eds.), *Reconciling Canada: Critical perspectives on the culture of redress* (pp. 129–42). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Simpson, L. (2011). *Dancing on our turtle's back: Stories of Nishnaabeg re-creation, resurgence, and a new emergence*. Winnipeg, MB: Arbeiter Ring.
- Site Media. (2006). Unpublished transcripts from documentary *Annie Pootoogook*.
- Smith, Jaune Quick-to-See. (1991). Paper dolls for a post Columbian world with ensembles contributed by US government (series). Retrieved from <http://sam.nmartmuseum.org/people/636/jaune-quicktosee-smith/objects>
- Statistics Canada. (2017). *Aboriginal peoples in Canada: Key results from the 2016 census*. Retrieved from <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/171025/dq171025a-eng.htm>

- Statistics Canada. (2018). Aboriginal identity of person. Retrieved from <http://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p3Var.pl?Function=DEC&Id=42927>
- Stevenson, C., Doherty, G., Barnett, J., Muldoon, O., Trew, K. (2007). Adolescents' views of food and eating: Identifying barriers to healthy eating. *Journal of Adolescence*, 30(3), 417–434. doi:10.1016/j.adolescence.2006.04.005
- Strong-Wilson, T. (2016). Returns and departures through girlhood: Memory-work as an approach to the politics of place in mother-daughter narratives. In C. Mitchell & C. Rentschler (Eds.), *Girlhood and the politics of place* (pp. 137-153). New York: Berghahn Books. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/j.ctt14jxn16.13.pdf>
- Speak, D. (2000). Three women, three generations: Drawings by Pitseolak Ashoona, Napatchie Pootoogook, and Shuvina Ashoona reviewed by Dorothy Speak. *Inuit Art Quarterly* 15(3), 38–41. Retrieved from <http://iaq.inuitartfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/15.3.pdf>
- Sutton, B. (2017, December 14). Art by women sells for 47.6% less than works by men, study finds. *Hyperallergic*. Retrieved from <https://hyperallergic.com/417356/art-by-women-gender-study-sexism/>
- Suzack, C. (2010). *Indigenous women and feminism: Politics, activism, culture*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Suzack, C. (2017). *Indigenous women's writing and the cultural study of law*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press. Retrieved from Scholars Portal Books.
- Tagalik, S. (2010a). *Inunnguiniq: Caring for children the Inuit way*. Prince George, BC: National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health. Retrieved from <https://www.nccah-ccnsa.ca/docs/health/FS-InunnguiniqCaringInuitWay-Tagalik-EN.pdf>

- Tagalik, S. (2010b). *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: The role of Indigenous knowledge in supporting wellness in Inuit communities in Nunavut*. Prince George, BC: National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health. Retrieved from <https://www.ccnsa-nccah.ca/docs/health/FS-InuitQaujimajatuqangitWellnessNunavut-Tagalik-EN.pdf>
- Tallbear, K. (2018a, April 22). *Yes, your pleasure! yes, self-love! and don't forget, settler sex is a structure* [Blog]. Critical Polyamorist. Retrieved from <http://www.criticalpolyamorist.com/>
- Tallbear, K. (2018b). *Settler sexuality's slippery slope*. *MediaIndigenia with Rick Harp*, episodes 112 and 113 [podcast]. Retrieved from <https://mediaindigena.libsyn.com/ep-112-settler-sexualitys-slippery-slope> and <https://mediaindigena.libsyn.com/ep-113-a-second-slide-into-settler-sexuality>
- Tallbear, K. (2018c). *Settler sexuality (with Dr. Kim Tallbear)* [video]. Multiamory, episode 118. Retrieved from <https://youtu.be/Gvb1XgQhbFs> and transcript retrieved from <https://www.multiamory.com/podcast/181-kim-tallbear#transcript>
- Taylor, D. H. (Ed.). (2008). *Me sexy: An exploration of native sex and sexuality*. Vancouver, BC: Douglas & McIntyre.
- Taylor, L.K., Sollange, U., & Rwigema, M-J. (2015). The ethics of learning from Rwandan survivor communities: Critical reflexivity and the politics of knowledge production in genocide education. In S. High (Ed.) *Beyond testimony and trauma: Oral history in the aftermath of mass violence* (pp. 88–118). Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Tester, F. & Irniq, P. (2008) Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Social history, politics and the practice of resistance. *Arctic* 61(1), 48–62. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/40513356
- Tester, F. (2017). Transition and assimilation. In L. Sheppard & M. White (Eds.), *Many Norths: Spatial practice in a polar territory* (pp. 42–53). New York: Actar Publishers

- Tierney, B. (2016, December 6). Bill Tierney: A little bit of the reconciliation story was told at John Abbott. *Montreal Gazette*. Retrieved from <https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/west-island-gazette/bill-tierney-a-little-bit-of-the-reconciliation-story-was-told-at-john-abbott>
- Travel Nunavut. (n.d.). *How to get here*. Retrieved from <https://www.nunavuttourism.com/plan-and-book/how-to-get-here/>
- Tolman, D. (2006). In a different position: Conceptualizing female adolescent sexuality development within compulsory heterosexuality. In L. Diamond (Ed.), *Rethinking positive adolescent sexual development* (pp. 71–89). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission. (2015a). *What we have learned: Principles of truth and reconciliation*. Winnipeg, MB: Author. Retrieved from http://nctr.ca/assets/reports/Final%20Reports/Principles_English_Web.pdf
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission. (2015b). *Canada's residential schools: Reconciliation. The final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada Volume 6*. Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press. Retrieved from http://nctr.ca/assets/reports/Final%20Reports/Volume_6_Reconciliation_English_Web.pdf
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission. (2015c). *Canada's residential schools: The Inuit and Northern experience. The final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada Volume 2*. Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press. Retrieved from http://nctr.ca/assets/reports/Final%20Reports/Volume_2_Inuit_and_Northern_English_Web.pdf
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission. (2015d). *Honouring the truth, reconciling for the future: Summary of the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*. Winnipeg, MB: Author. Retrieved from http://nctr.ca/assets/reports/Final%20Reports/Executive_Summary_English_Web.pdf
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission. (2016). *Murray Sinclair: What is reconciliation?* [Video]. Winnipeg, MB: Author. Retrieved from: <https://youtu.be/swo9flbACho>

- Tuck, E. (2009). Suspending damage: A letter to communities. *Harvard Educational Review*, 79(3), 409–428. Retrieved from <https://proxy.library.mcgill.ca/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/212268515?accountid=12339>
- Tuck, E. (2017, July). Biting the university that feeds you: Theories of change in the settler state and its universities. *Public Engagement and the Politics of Evidence in an Age of Neoliberalism and Audit Culture Symposium*. University of Regina, Saskatchewan. Retrieved from <https://youtu.be/lXEEzqIjA3I>
- Tuck, E. & Ree, C. (2013). A glossary of haunting. In S. Holman Jones, T. E. Adams & C. Ellis (Eds.), *Handbook of Autoethnography* (pp. 639–658). Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1(1), 1–40.
- Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2016). What justice wants. *Critical Ethnic Studies*, 2(2), 1–15. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/jcritethnstud.2.2.0001>
- Tuhiwai Smith, L. (2012/1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books.
- Tuck, E., Yang, K. W., & Gaztambide-Fernández, R. (2015, April n.d.). Citation practices challenge. *Critical Ethnic Studies* [Blog]. Retrieved from <http://www.criticaethnicstudiesjournal.org/citation-practices/>
- Tuhiwai Smith, L. (2013). *Decolonizing methodologies* [video]. Guest lecture for Reassessing Inequality and Reimagining the 21st Century, Graduate Center City University of New York. Retrieved from <https://youtu.be/rIZXQC27tvg>
- Tulugarjuk, L., Christopher, N., Niutaq Cultural Institute, & Qikiqtani Inuit Association. (2011). *Ilagiinniq: Interviews on Inuit family values from the Qikiqtani region*. Iqaluit, NU: Inhabit Media.
- Tungilik, M. P. (2008). The dark side of sex. In D. H. Taylor (Ed.) *Me sexy: An exploration of native sex and sexuality*. Vancouver, BC: Douglas & McIntyre.

- Tyrrell, M. (2008) Nunavik Inuit perspectives on beluga whale management in the Canadian Arctic. *Human Organization*, 67(3), 332–334. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.17730/humo.67.3.47826252k0623352>
- United Nations, General Assembly. (1993). *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (A/RES/48/104)*. UN General Assembly. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/48/a48r104.htm>
- VACHA women's resource center with Jackie Kirk. (2005). Reclaiming girlhood: understanding the lives of Balkishori in Mumbai. In C. Mitchell & J. Reid-Walsh (Eds.), *Seven going on seventeen: Tween studies in the culture of girlhood* (pp. 135–147). New York: Peter Lang. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42978696>
- Vowel, C. (2016). Coming together: Canada's response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission so far. *Alberta Views: The Magazine for Engaged Citizens*. Retrieved from <https://albertaviews.ca/coming-together/>
- Wachowich, N., Awa, A., Katsak, S. P., & Katsak, R. (2014). *Saqiyuq: Stories from the Lives of three Inuit Women*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press. (Original work published in 2011). Retrieved from Ebook Central Perpetual Titles.
- Watt-Cloutier, S. (2015). *The right to be cold: One woman's story of protecting her culture, the Arctic and the whole planet*. Toronto, ON: Allen Lane.
- Weber, S., & Mitchell, C. (2004). *Not just any dress: Narratives of memory, body, and identity*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Wenzel, G. (1991). *Animal rights, human rights: Ecology, economy and ideology in the Canadian Arctic*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Wenzel, G. (1995). Ningiqtuq: Resource sharing and generalized reciprocity in Clyde River, Nunavut. *Arctic Anthropology*, 32(2), 43–60. Retrieved from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40316386>

- Whyte, M. (2006, June 25). Northern art without artifice: Artist depicts the pain and tedium of everyday life. *Toronto Star*.
- Whyte, M. (2017). The death, and life, of Annie Pootoogook on vivid display at the McMichael gallery. *The Star*. Retrieved from <https://www.thestar.com/entertainment/visualarts/2017/09/16/the-death-and-life-of-annie-pootoogook-on-vivid-display-at-the-mcmichael-gallery.html>
- Willows, N. D. (2005). Determinants of healthy eating in Aboriginal Peoples in Canada: The current state of knowledge and research gaps. *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, 96, 32–36. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41994470>
- Wilson, K. (2013). Introduction to Indigenous Peoples: Inuit. In *Pulling together: A guide for Indigenization of post-secondary institutions*. Foundations guide: A professional learning series. Retrieved from <https://opentextbc.ca/indigenizationfoundations/>
- Wilson, S. (2008). *Research is ceremony: Indigenous research methods*. Black Point, NS: Fernwood Pub.
- World Health Organization. (2006). Defining sexual health: Report of a technical consultation on sexual health, 28–31 January 2002, Geneva. Retrieved from http://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/publications/sexual_health/defining_sexual_health.pdf
- Young T. K. (2003). Review of research on aboriginal populations in Canada: relevance to their health needs. *BMJ*, 327(7412):419-22. doi: 10.1136/bmj.327.7412.419