Networks of Resilience: Online Sharing and Visions of Community in Cambridge Bay, NU

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Abstract

In the context of Canada's history of colonial control over the North, research on digital media in Nunavut has shifted from viewing the Internet as a source of cultural destruction to a tool for cultural revitalization and the transmission of Inuit Qaujimatquqangit or Inuit traditional knowledge. In this thesis, I draw on Glen Coulthard's critique of colonial politics of recognition to argue that by attending to the impact digital media has on relationships with the land and living conditions, research on Inuit cultural revitalization online could have a significance beyond supporting the politics of recognition. Through an ethnographic study of Cambridge Bay News, a Facebook group for the community of Cambridge Bay, NU, I examine the sharing practices of the mixed Indigenous economy and the politicization of local concerns in the Facebook group. I argue that the mixed Indigenous economy on Cambridge Bay News expands sharing networks that contracted following Arctic settlement. Group members raise concerns frequently but the group is not a space of dissent. Through these case studies, this thesis takes a critical look at how this local Facebook group impacts its member's relationships with the land, community, territorial and federal government.

Résumé

Dans le contexte historique du contrôle colonial sur le nord du Canada, la recherche sur les médias numériques au Nunavut a récemment décalé. Au lieu d'être un outil de destruction culturel, l'Internet est maintenant conçu comme un outil de transmission du savoir traditionnel des Inuit Qaujimatquqangit. Dans cette thèse, j'appuie sur la critique de Glen Coulthard de la politique coloniale de la reconnaissance, pour soutenir qu'en étant conscient aux relations entre les médias numériques et les conditions de vie, la recherche sur la revitalisation culturelle des Inuits en ligne pourrait avoir une signification au-delà de l'appui de la politique de reconnaissance. En employant une étude ethnographique de Cambridge Bay News, un groupe

Facebook pour une communauté au Nunavut, j'examine les pratiques de partage de l'économie autochtone mixte et la politisation des préoccupations locales dans le groupe Facebook. Je soutiens que l'économie autochtone mixte sur Cambridge Bay News élargit les réseaux de partage qui ont contracté suite au peuplement colonial. Les membres du groupe soulèvent souvent des préoccupations, mais le groupe n'est pas un espace de contestation. Grâce à ces études de cas, cette thèse explore la façon dont ce groupe Facebook impacte les relations des membres avec la terre, la communauté, et le gouvernement territorial et fédéral.

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Introduction

> "We need to consider what we are trying to achieve with the young people, using the Internet and social media… they speak Inuktitut, but write in English. Although our language is alive we need to utilize it through computers, we need to think about that."
>
> Mary Simon
>
> Former president of Inuit Tapirit Kanatami at the *Unification of the Inuit Language Writing System Conference* (qtd in Ducharme)

In Cambridge Bay, the free Internet access point at the local library hits its 30 GB per month data-transfer limit almost every month. In a busy month, this can happen after only a few weeks, so the organization often buys a 30 GB top-up to the account that costs about 370 dollars. It is worth it, to continue to offer free Internet access at the local N-CAP site. On an average day there is a small line-up to use one of the six computers, but once the download/upload limit is hit, the connection speed slows to a crawl and the line-up disappears (Langan). Pushing the limits of northern satellite Internet connections, people across Nunavut are lining up to create and consume content online.

An explosion of Inuit cultural materials and traditional knowledge online has matched the high demand for content in Nunavut. Individuals, communities, governments and land claims organizations, are actively working to bring significant cultural knowledge into online spaces. Inuit land claims organizations, non-profit organizations and government institutions have released language learning apps, websites and software designed to protect and facilitate Inuit languages and culture online. For example, the Piruvik centre just released an Inuktut keyboard for iPhones and iPads, to add to the considerable number of language tools they have created. IsumaTV hosts thousands of videos of Inuit traditional knowledge. Inuit Qaujisarvingat, the Inuit knowledge centre, is creating a user generated online database of *Uqaujjusiat*, Inuit words of

wisdom. These projects attend to Mary Simon's call to focus on how Inuit languages are used on the Internet and social media.

Individuals and communities are also actively producing Inuit culture online on platforms like YouTube, Facebook and Twitter. Facebook groups like "Inuit Hunting Story of the Day" and "Learning Inuktitut Words" make Inuit language and culture a regular feature in northern Facebook newsfeeds. Inuit language and identity are celebrated on YouTube in videos like Kelly Fraser's Inuktitut cover of "Diamonds" by Rihanna and lovingly caricatured on the Facebook page "Inuk Memes" and in the viral video "Feel the Inukness". Most of Nunavut's twenty-eight isolated communities boast a local Facebook group that connects residents who want to sell or swap food, tech, clothing and household items.

This resurgence of Inuit cultural content online is part of a widespread response to Canada's colonial efforts to eliminate Inuit languages and culture. In the 1950s the Canadian government forced Inuit off the land motivated by a desire to modernize Inuit through cultural assimilation. This included forcibly relocating Inuit families from Nunavik in Northern Quebec to settlements on Ellesmere and Cornwallis Islands in the High Arctic (Tester, 119). Further efforts to assimilate Inuit and eliminate their culture included the Canadian Government's Indian residential school system, which nearly wiped out generations of Inuit language speakers (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada). These assimilationist policies have driven Inuit to fight hard to protect and promote their culture, especially online, in order to ensure its continued existence.

Arctic researchers from across the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, linguistics and communications policy have paid attention to the explosion of Inuit cultural content online. In this research, digital media is often theorized as a tool of cultural revitalization (Pasch, Hot, Maire, Castelton). This idea of cultural revitalization is dependent on an understanding of colonialism as primarily a cultural process of assimilation and oppression. Since this form of

assimilationist colonial power came to an end with the closure of residential schools and the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement as an attempt to recognize the Inuit as a unique culture, it appears as though colonialism has come to an end and the work of revitalizing Inuit culture can begin. This understanding of the workings of colonial power and culture is rooted in Charles Taylor's *Politics of Recognition*. Culture, from this perspective, can be condensed down to a set of concrete values, beliefs, stories, languages and transmitted online. Viewing digital media as a tool of cultural revitalization implies that since colonial oppression has ended, Inuit values can be brought back to life, given the right tools.

However, Inuit accounts of the relationship between colonialism and cultural change are more complex. Rosemarie Kuptana explains that in her experience cultural loss was initiated by government settlement strategies that reduced access to the land and the loss of skills necessary to sustain a hunting economy.

> The settlement of Inuit in hamlets has resulted in many people being unskilled in hunting and the ways of life on the land. And this settlement was government policy. This policy resulted in a society which is resettled with some of the amenities of the south but in a society devoid of the economy which sustained it (10).

Kuptana sees hunting skills as intimately linked to the land and the way of living on it. When Inuit were settled in hamlets, these skills could not be isolated, itemized and brought into town. This points to a different understanding of culture that goes beyond forced cultural assimilation. If cultural knowledge is developed and maintained in relationship with the land, then protecting culture goes beyond protecting cultural artifacts like language or art forms. In order to examine this more complex understanding of culture, I will draw on Indigenous political theorist Glen Coulthard's book "Red Skin, White Masks" to re-read culture as something that informs and is informed by the material conditions of life and a relationship with the land. This re-reading

disrupts the contemporary mythology that cultural oppression has come to an end. Instead, as I will explain in chapter one, the inadequate implementation of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement reveals that while the NLCA was created to protect Inuit culture and promote Inuit self governance, the government used it to appropriate Inuit resources. In this context, I argue that any claims to protect or revitalize culture must be approached with caution. As Mary Simon suggests, “we need to consider what we are trying to achieve with the young people, using the Internet and social media” (Ducharme).

Research Question

The explosion of Inuit culture in digital media suggests that something powerful is taking place online. The goal of this thesis is to examine discourses of cultural revitalization in light of Glen Coulthard’s theory of the colonial politics of recognition. I ask the question: What does cultural revitalization online mean in the context of ongoing colonial dispossession? In my exploration of this question, I turn to the settlement of Cambridge Bay and the Facebook group *Cambridge Bay News* to understand how cultural resilience, rather than cultural revitalization, takes shape in the group through the Indigenous Social Network Economy and competing visions of community that are negotiated in the group’s moderation policies

Methodology

My aim and approach to this thesis was in great part defined by three summers that I was privileged to spend living and working in Cambridge Bay. Supervising the hamlet swimming pool for my first two summers introduced me to the kids of the hamlet. The youth I taught swimming lessons to are now teens or pre-teens and so are the kids who would line up for free swims in the shallow above-ground indoor pool. As the summer student at the Kitikmeot Heritage Society, I coordinated a series of digital literacy workshops with my co-worker Jorden

Lyall and came to know some the users of the local N-CAP, community Internet access point quite well. I also had the good fortune to spend a week helping to document the Inuinnait Traditional Knowledge Land Camp organized by the Kitikmeot Inuit Association and Kitikmeot Heritage society. Between interviews, I was lucky enough to get to know the elders in Cambridge Bay out on the land, join in a seal hunt and experience camp life. Nonetheless, I originally lived in town as an ordinary Qablunaaq who was drawn up north by stories of the tundra and the prospect of earning twenty-five dollars an hour. I had no intention of carrying out research until my last summer working there and the month I spent in Cambridge Bay conducting Interviews. As a result, the contextual knowledge that I gained by living in the community was implicit, bound to a way of speaking, entering a home or socializing while getting groceries at the Co-Op. It was not until I began to do research that I came to understand these practices as concepts or view them in the context of other research on Arctic life. This thesis represents my attempt to translate some of this implicit knowledge into language.

Important to the methodology of this research were the relationships I formed while living in Cambridge Bay. Pamela Gross, my friend and supervisor at the Kitikmeot Heritage Society helped shape the initial direction of the research and I discussed its development with her as my research proceeded. I decided to change the topic of my research to focus on Cambridge Bay in the summer of 2014 and this was in large part because of the friendships I found with the elders and community members. While this thesis is informed and shaped by the perspectives of many Inuit and non-Inuit, Cambridge Bay is a diverse place and there are certainly voices that are not represented in this project. There are Inuit who support extensive resource development and who view the wage economy as the only alternative to crippling poverty. Still others see traditional economies based on food sharing as a system that are better left behind because they sometimes left people out.

Nonetheless, this research is grounded in ten months of total time living in Cambridge Bay, observation of the Facebook groups Cambridge Bay News and Cambridge Bay Sell/Swap from August of 2014 to June 2015, and interviews with thirteen community members, including two administrators of the *Cambridge Bay News* Facebook group and one of the librarians who oversees the local Internet access point. Most of these participants were recruited based on my prior relationship with them. Friends and acquaintances were both the most accessible participants and those who gave the most candid responses. Other research participants were recruited through a posting on the *Cambridge Bay News* Facebook group that elicited a huge response. I observed the Facebook group daily from August 2014 to June 2015 and took screen shots of posts that seemed likely to be deleted by administrators. This included negative or controversial posts. I also took screenshots of posts that involved sharing country food, since they would often be deleted once all the meat had been picked up.

The observation of *Cambridge Bay News* was possible because Cambridge Bay News is an open Facebook group, available to any Facebook member. In order to conduct this research, I received permission from both the Nunavut Research Institute and the McGill Research Ethics Board. Through first hand observation of life in Cambridge Bay online and offline, as well as through conversations with Cambridge Bay Facebook group users, I explored the potential for Cambridge Bay residents, through their day-to-day negotiations of life within Canada's arctic strategy on local Facebook groups, to resist capitalist logics and create a shared vision of community.

In chapter one, I introduce the land and people of Cambridge Bay and situate Cambridge Bay within the political context of Nunavut and its relationship to the federal government's arctic strategy. This chapter asks the question: How is it possible for Inuit to have the largest land claim in the history of Canada as well as the shortest life spans, highest rates of suicide and the greatest food insecurity? Using Glen Coulthard's analysis of recognition politics,

I argue that as a result of the profound power imbalance between NTI and the federal government, the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement serves as a non-violent way to sustain practices of primitive accumulation. Instead of leading to Inuit self-government, neoliberal strategies have meant that the government of Nunavut has been denied the resources necessary to support its people once the legal right to license resource extraction was secure.

Chapter two, reviews existing Inuit digital media literature in light of Coulthard's theory of recognition politics. Coulthard argues that by distinguishing between "cultural" practices, values and beliefs and the material basis and economic practices of Indigenous cultures, the settler state contain political momentum to protect Indigenous way of life. Current research on Inuit digital media views digital media as an important way to protect traditional knowledge, language and culture. With Coulthard's more robust definition of culture as a mode of production based on an intimate relationship with the land, I ask whether Inuit digital media's focus on certain forms of cultural revitalization contributes to recognition politics? And if so, what would a more robust form of revitalization look like?

In conversation with this question, chapter three explores the day-to-day economy of the Facebook groups *Cambridge Bay Sell/Swap* and *Helping Our Community of Cambridge Bay Nunavut "One and All"*. This chapter looks at the role of *Cambridge Bay News* in the mixed economy, especially with regards to the sharing of non-traditional items. I argue that while sharing country foods maintains an important significance, many other things such as sewing patterns, snowmobile parts and graduation dresses are frequently shared. The Indigenous Social Network Economy provides an example of the "seamlessness" of culture theorized by Peter Irniq and Frank Tester since *Cambridge Bay News* is used to facilitate sharing networks as well as the values and skills necessary to participate in sharing networks.

Chapter Five examines the cultural and class dynamics at play in expressing local concerns about inequality in Cambridge Bay News. Though residents are often vocal critics of

Hamlet government policies and social programs, these interactions are interpreted through traditional Inuit values that emphasize maintaining social harmony. As a result, group members request that any posts perceived as negative be moderated. Through a close reading of a discussion about the Food Bank in Cambridge Bay, I discuss different visions of community that come into conflict on the group and how these visions conceive of the role of traditional culture in the community. Significantly, this chapter speaks to the challenges of making change in a community that is increasingly divided between those overseeing or developing government services and those receiving them.

1. Colonial Dispossession by Force and by Recognition

> "When you hand anything over to the government it sometimes comes out all different."
>
> Allen Maghagak,
>
> Chief Negotiator for the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut 1980-1986

If Nunavut were a country, the sheer size of the territory would make it the 15th largest country in the world. In 1999, the creation of a new territory north of the tree line was an exciting victory for Inuit who had begun mobilizing to create the territory in 1978. At the signing of Nunavut's land claim it appeared as though the Canadian state was finally recognizing Inuit rights to the land that had always been in their care. In the paradigm of recognition politics the harm of colonialism is primarily understood as cultural harm that can be redressed by recognizing and protecting Indigenous culture through land claims and cultural programming. In this context government, land claims organizations, academics, Inuit and non-Inuit turn to digital media as a tool of cultural revitalization, one of the many forms of cultural programming designed to recognize Inuit language culture and identity. Digital media is an ideal tool for cultural revitalization in the North because, despite the high cost and slow speed of Internet in Nunavut, social networking sites like Facebook and Bebo are widely popular (Dupré).

Fourteen years after Nunavut became a territory, it seems paradoxical that Inuit can have one of the greatest land claims in an industrialized country, and yet suffer rates of hunger as high as three in five children and the highest suicide rates of all Aboriginal groups in Canada, eleven times the rate of Canadians in the south (Kielland et al 2; Council of Canadian Academies). What limited the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement's capacity to deliver better conditions for Inuit people and culture? What are the limitations of government recognition of

Inuit rights to their land and culture and what are the implications of these limitations for cultural revitalization through digital media?

The purpose of this chapter is to answer these questions and arrive at a working definition of Inuit cultural revitalization. I begin to approach the question of Inuit cultural revitalization with a tour of Cambridge Bay the site of my research, and an overview of life in the settlement. Next I provide a brief history of Canadian Arctic policy with a focus on Cambridge Bay. I examine three periods of Canadian Arctic policy, preservation-ism, modernism and finally, land claims and recognition politics in conversation with work by anthropologist David Damas and Frank Tester. Through Glen Coulthard's theory of the colonial politics of recognition, I analyze the structural barriers to a full implementation of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA). As a result of these structural barriers the NLCA facilitated government access to Inuit lands, rather than Inuit self-governance. Crucial to Coulthard's critique of the colonial politics of recognition is a robust definition of culture as "as the interconnected social totality of distinct *mode of life* encompassing the economic, political, spiritual, and social" (65). I draw on this definition to show how failures in the implementation of the NLCA were rooted in a limited interpretation of Inuit culture that did not take seriously Inuit indigenous economies or political authority. Following Coulthard's call for a more robust understanding of culture, I argue that research on cultural revitalization through digital media should privilege the relationships that digital media facilitates with the land and its impacts on the material conditions of life in Nunavut. Finally, I revisit the question what does Inuit cultural revitalization mean in light of Coulthard's critique of the colonial politics of recognition?

Cambridge Bay, Nunavut

The settlement of Cambridge Bay has grown significantly since it began as a Hudson's Bay trading post. Houses with grey, green, brown and orange siding have filled in the bank of

the river and the edge of the bay. The town stretches about a kilometer and a half wide, and it is expanding out into the tundra on the north and west sides of the community. Cambridge Bay has 540 dwellings according to the most recent Government of Nunavut housing assessment (2011). The hamlet of 1,600 people is officially a municipality.

Supplying the town are two grocery stores, the Northern store and the Co-Op. The Kitikmeot Foods fish and meat processing plant, the Arctic Closet gift shop, Calgens convenience store and a hardware store supply most other goods. Students can attend elementary school, high school and some college programs through the Kitikmeot campus of the Arctic College. Inside the school building there is the Kitikmeot Heritage Society, where my research was based. Cambridge Bay has a branch of RBC bank, an RCMP detachment, a health centre and a wellness centre that houses the food bank and provides most of the social services in the community. The town also offers a daycare centre for working parents, a youth drop-in centre, and an elders' centre, called the Elders Palace. There is an active radio station, a game hall where kids hang out, a tourist centre, a hockey arena and curling rink in the winter and a small swimming pool in the summer. Currently under construction are the new hamlet offices and the Canadian High Arctic Research Station, which is planned to open in 2017.

Gravel roads connect all of these places and buildings; the roads allow for water and sewage to be delivered to homes, schools and businesses. Each building is outfitted with a water, sewage and fuel tank. The hamlet oversees the delivery of municipal services, which ensure that a sewage truck arrives regularly to pump out full tanks, followed by a water truck to refill tanks with fresh water. The trucks draw drinking water from the nearby Water Lake and sewage trucks discharge into Sewage Lake, located on the edge of town. Water and sewage services are subject to weather conditions. With driver shortages and depending on weather conditions, residents sometimes wait a day or two before they can use running water again.

Planes bring goods and people to and from the community every day. From Cambridge Bay, flights connect to Yellowknife, Kugluktuk, Taloyoak, Kugaaruk and Gjoa Haven. The nearest major airport is Yellowknife, so even a flight to Iqaluit, Nunavut's capital, must go through the North West Territories. As a result, ties with the NWT and Inuvialuit peoples remain close, though Cambridge Bay is officially part of Nunavut. Until recently, mothers in Cambridge Bay were sent to Yellowknife to give birth, so most of Cambridge Bay's adult residents arrived in town by plane (George). Though the Health Centre has nurses on call and often a doctor, serious medical care requires a flight to hospitals in Edmonton or Yellowknife. When weather or mechanical problems disrupt regular flights, people have unexpected overnight stays, fresh food sits in boxes for days at the Yellowknife airport and the produce sections of the Northern and Co-Op grocery stores grow empty.

Transportation by sea is becoming increasingly possible in the Arctic Archipelago, due to the effects of climate change. The deep bay on which the town is built serves as a natural port for ships traveling the Northwest Passage. Barges leave Halifax or Vancouver and usually begin to reach Cambridge Bay at the end of August. Barges carry goods whose weight would make air transport expensive, like canned or dry food, trucks, snowmobiles and building supplies. This means that construction projects can become delayed easily. Barge orders are placed in the spring and if supplies arrive late in the fall, the construction season is generally over and building must wait until the following spring. Depending on ice conditions on the Northwest Passage, barge orders can sometimes be delayed until October or postponed until the next year. The limitations on transportation to and from the community mean that the cost of living in Cambridge Bay is very high.

Life In Cambridge Bay

1,600 people live in Cambridge Bay, but the Hamlet's Economic Development officer estimates that the number is actually closer to 1,800 (Mathisen). The town has a reputation for being inclusive and friendly to newcomers and new technology. In 2012 it became the first of Nunavut's hamlets to be added to Google street maps. While many other Nunavut hamlets voted to change their English names in order to restore Inuinnaqtun or Inuktitut place names in the 1990's, Cambridge Bay has not yet voted to return to its Inuinnaqtun name, *Iqaluktutiak,* meaning place of many fish.

Inuit make up about eighty percent of the population of Cambridge Bay and come from a variety of regions across the Arctic, but primarily the Kitikmeot. Inuit of the Kitikmeot are referred to as Inuinnait, meaning "the people" in Inuinnaqtun, the local language. Inuinnait are a people made up of smaller regional groups and families that lived in the regions spanning what is now western Nunavut and the eastern NWT. The 'miut' suffix in Inuinnaqtun means "people of" and smaller groups that moved to Cambridge Bay would define themselves by this suffix in relation to where they were from, for example Inuks from Umingmaktok referred to themselves as Umingmaktuurmiut (Bennett et al) . Amongst the Inuit, Inuinnait people were known for their skill in working with copper that was gathered along the Coppermine River and in early anthropological texts are referred to as the Copper Eskimos or Copper Inuit.

Qablunaaq or non-Inuit make up about eighteen percent of the population of Cambridge Bay. These are Canadians with British or European heritage as well as Canadians with Caribbean, Filipino, Chinese or South Asian heritage (Government of Canada). On average, non-Inuit stay in Nunavut for about 3.8 years working on contracts as teachers or government administrators before returning to the South (PricewaterhouseCoopers 45). From my experience, this is no less true in Cambridge Bay. Non-Inuit in Cambridge Bay are divided into

two categories: Southerners and Northerners. Southerners are transient, taking government contracts and leaving when their contract ends. Northerners are long-term residents who have committed to Cambridge Bay in some way by having an Inuit partner, raising their children in town or fostering Inuit children.

One of the greatest challenges of living in Cambridge Bay is housing. At the 2014 Annual General Meeting for the Cambridge Bay Housing Association, residents described using unheated porches as bedrooms because of dangerous levels of overcrowding and houses in deep disrepair (George). When the land claim was signed in 1993, the Federal government's funding for public housing in Nunavut was withdrawn and the responsibility was handed over to the cash-strapped new territory, deeply exacerbating the existing housing crisis. Overcrowding is linked to family tensions, respiratory illnesses, mental health problems, suicide and domestic violence (The Government of Nunavut). In summer months, overcrowding is eased by the warm weather, since many elders and families move into tents and cabins outside of town or along the river to enjoy the space and closer proximity to areas of good fishing and hunting. In winter, tensions can run high since there is very little indoor public space where residents can spend time outside of their homes. Even for *Qablunaaq* who do not receive housing from their employer, finding accommodation in Cambridge Bay can be prohibitively expensive.

Everyone in Cambridge Bay experiences two months without a sunset because of the town's high latitude. With constant daylight, someone is always taking a walk and kids play basketball outside at all hours. To use a cliché of the North, without the predictable rising and setting of the sun, summer can feel timeless. The workday, however, structures the rhythm of the town, regardless of twenty-four-hour daylight or darkness. Cambridge Bay is a hub for the territorial government in the Kitikmeot region and public administration makes up a quarter of all employment in Cambridge Bay (The Government of Canada). Thirty percent of the population is youth under the age of eighteen and school is mandatory so the rhythm of the school schedule

also punctuates the day. The roads come to life just before eight am, when work starts at the offices of the government of Nunavut, Hamlet of Cambridge Bay, Nunavut Tungavik Incorporated and the Kitikmeot Inuit Association. At noon, an air raid siren sounds the lunch hour when working people go home to eat with their families. At ten p.m. the hamlet siren sounds again, as it has since the 1990s, to signal the start of a curfew created under the *Nunavut Curfew Act* that requires residents under 18 go home at night (Minogue).

Arctic Policy in Cambridge Bay: from Preservation to Modernization

In the North, hamlets like Cambridge Bay are generally referred to as communities, suggesting that northern hamlets with small populations are cohesive groups. Instead, I will refer to Cambridge Bay as a settlement, in order to draw attention to the colonial processes that brought these groups together. In doing this, I follow anthropologist Peter Collings' approach to describing Ulukhaktok, a nearby Inuinnait hamlet, as a settlement ("Economic Strategies" 208). He argues that while these settlements may exist spatially as communities, in that they share a space and access to certain government services and amenities, they are composed of diverse groups of people who may share a sense of isolation more than community. I use the term 'community' to describe the social bonds, interdependence and shared goals that can be produced within settlements. Community in Cambridge Bay is based around families, churches, organizations and, at times, the whole town feels like a community.

The colonial history of the settlement of Cambridge Bay is important because the process was a complex interaction between the enforcement of colonial government policies and Inuit interests and priorities. In examining these processes, I trace Canadian government policy from the early preservationist period to the modernist policies of assimilation in the 1950s. Regarding this period, Inuit accounts differ from some major historical accounts of how Inuit came to live in town. The most comprehensive history of government policy during the

settlement of the Arctic, David Damas' *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers*, argues that government coercion played no part in the settlement of Cambridge Bay (75). This is likely because of the decision to rely on government reports, memoranda and anthropological accounts for evidence and the absence of oral history. While there is not space in this chapter to provide a comprehensive history of the settlement of Cambridge Bay, I will draw on the work of Frank Tester and a first-hand account by area administrator Wilf Bean that brings to light some examples of the coercive forces involved in the settlement of Cambridge Bay. I argue that Inuit in Cambridge Bay moved off the land in a period when colonial powers significantly limited and determined Inuit choices.

Settlement began in 1916 with the first trading posts in Inuinnait territory (Condon 91). The Canalaska company and the Hudson's Bay Company began the shift from hunting to trapping as Inuit began to rely on income from silver fox pelts to buy rifles and ammunition (KHS). Stephen Angulalik became well known as an Inuit trader for the Canalaska company in the Perry river region (Kulcheski and Tester, *Kiumajut* 43). The Hudson's Bay company came to dominate trade in the area, outcompeting Canalaka and functioning as a form of relief for Inuit when animal populations were low by providing supplies on credit that would be paid for with the profits from next season's fox furs (Damas, *Arctic Villagers* 39). The government's policy of dispersal required that Inuit who camped near trading posts must move back out on the land (43). The government framed its preservationist policies were framed as a way of protecting Inuit from the contaminating influences of the South and strongly emphasized maintaining the traditional lifestyle of the Inuit. At the same time, these policies also motivated by administrator's desire to avoid providing aid and relief to Inuit in times of famine and epidemics (43).

Transitioning from the policy of dispersal to the policy of modernization began in the 1940s. The failure of local caribou herds and plummeting fur prices during the Second World War drove some Inuit to settle near the Cambridge Bay Hudson's Bay Post and RCMP

detachment in order to obtain wage labour building the LORAN navigation tower (158). This began the transition between the preservationist government policies and policies of modernization. Still concerned that Inuit would become dependent on government relief, long-term dwellings near the DEW line and the LORAN tower were prohibited (71). This concern was not for the wellbeing of Inuit. Instead, as pointed out by Frank Tester in his study of this period, the debate was limited to bureaucrats who preferred Inuit to be dependent on the state and those preferring that Inuit remain subject to market logic and wage labour in order to secure their own housing ("Iglu" 233).

Later, government policy shifted to see modernization as inevitable and synonymous with assimilation (Tester 231). Families were convinced to move into settlements in order to receive state housing. Former area administrator for Cambridge Bay, Wilf Bean, describes an encounter with a previous area administrator, who successfully convinced a Perry Island family to move into town.

> He had … made it clear to them that only in Cambridge Bay would government housing and 'rations' be available. There too, the family could be together with the children who were in grade school. As my predecessor saw it, it was his success at convincing the last remaining family group to move to the settlement that was primarily responsible for his promotion to a new position in the regional office (Bean 130).

Using Inuit children as bargaining tools to bring families into Cambridge Bay seems quite close to coercion, and depending on the availability of game at the time, 'rations' might be necessary to prevent starvation. In any case, these circumstances did not leave Inuit much choice. Bean's interaction with the former area administrator for Cambridge Bay also makes clear that government administrators felt incentivized to attract or compel Inuit to move into town.

Accounts such as this one by Wilf Bean would have been left out of a study such as *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers* because Damas focused on government documents and historical records. He argues:

> the centralization at Cambridge Bay was mainly due to employment possibilities there … the main movements in the entire area were by means of native transport, and there is no evidence of coercion being applied in any of these migrations (75).

Damas has a limited understanding of coercion. As Wilf Bean mentioned in his account, the residential schools played a huge role in compelling Inuit to move into settlements. Frank Tester explains how residential schools raised the stakes of settlement in Cambridge Bay. Many Inuit families "refused to abandon their children to the unseen and unknown whims of Qablunaaq educators and instead became resident in the communities where the children attended school" (234). Residential schools effectively forced Inuit off the land by taking children away from families.

Unlike Inuit who were relocated to Gries Fijord and Resolute,[2] Inuit in Cambridge Bay were not taken off the land en mass by force. Many Inuit had their own reasons for moving into town. In an interview with Frank Tester, Walter Pokiak from Cambridge Bay explains the appealing aspects of moving into town.

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[2] The High Arctic relocation took place when the government of Canada moved eighty-seven Inuit from Inujuak in Nunavik, northern Quebec, to settlements on Cornwallis Island. For an in-depth account see Tester and Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic 1939-63*

> *Question:* Why do you think so many people moved off the land, because the number of people living here in Cambridge Bay went way up? How do you explain that? Why did that happen?
>
> *Walter Pokiak:* The supplies were much easier to get. You know, the Hudson's Bay had the supplies, so the people would come off the land to do some of their shopping, sell their furs and move back out on the land. And then they started building more houses. Then they started moving in because it was warmer to live in a house than it was out on the land—like in a tent or an igloo. (Quoted in Tester 235).

Despite the appeal of warmer houses and supplies, during the settlement of Cambridge Bay many Inuit found themselves confronted with options that were increasingly determined by government agents at a time when resources were scarce.

The policies of modernization and settlement have created a lasting impact on Inuit life and especially Inuit economics. Residents of these new settlements found themselves forced to travel long distances to find hunting grounds. Though Cambridge Bay is close to good fishing areas in the Ekaluk River and Ferguson Lake, many residents travel to traditional caribou and muskox hunting territories on the mainland like Umingmaktok or Bay Chimo. Settlement, and the housing policies that came with it, completely reshaped the Indigenous economy, requiring increased participation in the wage economy to pay for goods (Stern). While preservationist policies allowed the government to avoid responsibility for the people whose territories the government was exploiting, policies of modernization enforced government control over nearly all areas of life in the Arctic. Resistance to modernization came in many forms but one significant movement was the creation of the Inuit Tapirit of Canada, the first Inuit political

organization. Through Inuit Tapirit of Canada, now Inuit Tapirit Kanatami, Inuit began to form the organizations that would rally for the creation of Nunavut.

Nunavut Land Claims Agreement

In the years leading up to the creation of Nunavut, Cambridge Bay was split on whether or not the NWT should be divided in order to create a new territory. In a 1982 plebiscite on the division of the NWT, 59% of Cambridge Bay residents voted against the division and 41% supported it (Abele and Dickerson 7). However, amongst the majority of NWT voters support was strong for the new territory and excitement was growing. For Cambridge Bay residents, the implications of a new territory were complex. Inuit would gain many rights and some autonomy over the land through the land claim. But, since the capital of Nunavut would be Iqaluit, rather than Yellowknife, Cambridge Bay's position would change from being a short two-hour flight away from the territorial capital of the NWT, to being on the western periphery of Nunavut. This new political project was not without some risk, and communities on what would become the border between Nunavut and the NWT felt some anxiety about how the new territory would impact their region (Abele and Dickerson 10).

Nunavut came into being on April 1, 1999 as a result of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA). The agreement was signed in 1993 by the Government of Canada, Government of the North West Territories and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI), the legal representative of the Inuit of Nunavut. The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) or *Agreement Between the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area and Her Majesty in Right of Canada,* outlined a new model for government in which a territory would have greater political autonomy than other land claims regions, but where the federal government would still retain certain powers usually considered to be provincial jurisdiction, such as control over crown land and non-renewable resources (Légaré 210).

Through the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, Inuit gained the right to harvest wildlife throughout Nunavut, along with the outright ownership of 350, 000 square kilometres of the Arctic. Of these 350,000 square kilometres Inuit would get 38,000 square kilometres of subsurface title, along with $1.148 billion to be paid to the government of Nunavut over 14 years. Additionally, the agreement provided constitutionally protected rights for Inuit to co-manage lands, water, wildlife and resources with the federal government through the creation of a new system of management boards with mandatory Inuit representation. Other gains included government support in attaining a "representative" civil service, meaning that the Nunavut government staff would be approximately 85% Inuit. Finally, the agreement stated that, should resource extraction take place in Nunavut, outside the 38,000 square kilometers of Inuit subsurface rights, the Inuit would be entitled to 50% of the first two million dollars of federal royalties and 5% of any additional federal royalties (Canada et al). Inuit land claims negotiators saw in these gains the institutional tools and resources sufficient for Inuit to achieve self-determination and to protect traditional land use (Kusugak 25-6).

They were not naïve. This was a reasonable expectation based on the rhetoric of the agreement. Government expectations for Nunavut were also high and the agreement was referred to as a marriage between Nunavut and Canada. However, internal documents leading up to the agreement reveal that the government's expectations were that Inuit would gain some limited rights and the federal government would gain access to non-renewable resources. According to a 1989 government information sheet, "it is expected that the negotiated settlements will provide the aboriginal groups with land, money, wildlife harvesting rights, participation in environmental and wildlife management and some subsurface rights as well as, *or instead of* a share of revenues from non-renewable resources" (qtd in Mitchell 343). With these expectations, it is clear that the Inuit had to negotiate firmly to secure the small percentage of federal royalties they ultimately received.

In contrast with the federal government's expectations as expressed in internal documents, one of the objectives of the NLCA outlined in the broad intent of the agreement was "to encourage self-reliance and the cultural and social well-being of Inuit" (Canada et al.). In exchange for what was seen as the rights and benefits necessary to ensure cultural and social well-being, NTI agreed to a clause in which the Inuit release all claims to Aboriginal title elsewhere in Canada. Amongst the Inuit this clause was controversial but for the federal government, it was essential. This clause was designed to provide protection from potentially expensive litigation and opened up the territory to resource development corporations. Resource extraction corporations were hesitant to initiate development while claims to Aboriginal title linger.

With the signing of the NLCA, the question of Aboriginal title to the land was settled and Canada was able to safely begin to develop resource extraction interests across Nunavut (Campbell 34). While the benefits of signing the NLCA could be immediately realized by the federal government in the form of leases and licenses issued for natural resource development, the full extent of Inuit benefits from the NLCA could not be realized without the continued partnership of the federal government (Campbell 34). Though the federal government was interested in building responsible and representative government in Nunavut, it appeared that their primary goal had been achieved. This created a difference between the levels of investment in the federal government and NTI, which deepened the existing power imbalance.

Throughout the implementation phase of the land claim, this power imbalance would prove to be challenging. A thorough implementation plan was drafted in 1993 and a panel was created to review its implementation every five years. However, as time passed it became clear to NTI that implementation was falling short of their goals. By the second independent review in 2005, the review panel noted the federal government's pattern of simply transferring land and cash to Inuit while missing deadlines and backsliding when it came to more complex obligations

(Fenge 84). Dealing with these problems became increasingly difficult because of the arbitration process outlined in the NLCA. The agreement required consent from both parties for a complaint to be brought to arbitration. Since the federal government systematically refused arbitration for all financial matters, NTI was unable to resolve any funding disputes. After many attempts to restart negotiations, including a conciliator's report by Supreme Court Justice Thomas Berger, NTI sued the government of Canada for breach of contract in the implementation of the NLCA in December of 2006.

In NTI's statement of claim, the federal government is accused of breaching three key aspects of the NLCA. First, it states that there has been a lack of funding and support for boards and organizations that the federal government had agreed to support, including the Nunavut Impact Review Board, the Nunavut Water Board and the Hunting and Trapping Associations (Brown). Second, the statement outlines how the federal government has failed to provide adequate support for Nunavut to achieve a representative level of Inuit employment in the civil service as agreed to in the NCLA (Brown). Finally, NTI argued that federal government's refusal to refer disputes to arbitration was a breach of its fiduciary responsibility to negotiate in good faith (Brown). In filing the claim, NTI President Paul Kaludjak said,

> The Government of Canada keeps Inuit dependent and in a state of financial and emotional despair despite promises made when the Nunavut Agreement was signed in 1993. The Government of Canada is not holding up its end of the bargain. Canada got everything it wanted immediately upon signing the Nunavut Agreement. Inuit are still waiting for full implementation of the Agreement.

In Cambridge Bay, the sense of financial and emotional despair in the territory is sometimes quite palpable. There is a sense that in the fifteen years following the creation of Nunavut, the new territory has not alleviated the pressures and stresses that Inuit hoped it would and now, there is no where else to turn.

Inadequate implementation of the NLCA means that funding for all Government of Nunavut services is limited. With the creation of Nunavut the Federal government transferred responsibilities for public housing to the new territory. However, with the limited implementation of the agreement, Nunavut does not have the funding to provide adequate housing. Since the Federal government can simply walk away from negotiations to increase the level of funding for the territory, leaders in Nunavut cannot force negotiations for more funding. The territory has no power to raise taxes and instead residents are left to survive in overcrowded and dilapidated public housing. Though land claims policies appear to return land and control to Inuit, in reality Inuit remain living under unresponsive Federal powers and without any significant change in their power to negotiate their own circumstances. Through the NLCA Inuit gained official constitutional recognition of their land and cultural rights but no serious change in their relationship with the federal government.

Dispossession through Recognition

The NLCA was developed during a period when the recognition of Indigenous rights became government policy, replacing modernist policies of assimilation such as settlement and residential schools. With the NLCA it appeared that this kind of overt colonial domination would come to an end. And yet, once the claim was settled it became clear that, for the Canadian government, the land claims agreement actually facilitated federal government approvals for resource extraction industries, and little more. For Inuit, the land claim did not create the circumstances for self-reliance and social wellbeing. In fact, it meant Nunavut's new government was left to determine how to distribute clearly inadequate funding with no access to negotiation with the federal government. In *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*, Dene political theorist Glen Coulthard claims that colonialism in Canada has changed forms from overt and often violent forms of domination to a dominance that works

through state recognition and accommodation. Despite this change, he argues that both structures of colonial domination work to dispossess Indigenous peoples of their land and authority over their own lives (25). In this section I will draw on Glen Coulthard's theory of the colonial politics of recognition to illuminate the power imbalances that shaped the implementation of the NLCA. I argue that the inadequate implementation of the NLCA reveals a pattern of colonial dispossession that was continued rather that disrupted by the signing of the land claims agreement.

To understand how the politics of recognition function as a contemporary form of colonial domination, Coulthard turns to Marx's theory of primitive accumulation. Primitive accumulation is the conquest of land and resources by force, such as, for example, the conquest of gold and silver in the Americas. Primitive accumulation reveals the power of the state in structuring ownership so that certain raced and gendered bodies own lands or resources and others do not. Coulthard argues that the power of the state can take different forms. In order to investigate land claims agreements as a contemporary incarnation of state power Coulthard adapts the theory of primitive accumulation in three important ways. First, primitive accumulation must be understood as an ongoing process since, as demonstrated in the case of Nunavut, primitive accumulation is still well underway in Canada. In its original iteration, primitive accumulation was firmly located in the past as a foundational moment of capitalism that was necessary for industrialization to take place (9). Secondly, Coulthard argues that the theory must be stripped of its normative developmentalism, the 19th-century belief that history tells a story of societal progress, expressed in a hierarchy of stages of development through which every society must pass in order to reach the full development of "mankind"(10). Though later in life, Marx re-examined his position on this historical metanarrative, in his initial exploration of the concept, Marx understood primitive accumulation as part of the natural and necessary development of a people, and that capitalist dispossession was a stepping stone to a redeeming socialist future.

Finally, Coulthard argues that capitalist dispossession in Canada is no longer marked by overt violence and is instead carried out through settler-state recognition of rights to land and self-governance (15).

The politics of recognition, as presented in Glen Coulthard's *Red Skin, White Masks*, refers to the state's acknowledgement of the rights of Aboriginal peoples within a legal and political framework. For example, the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement was negotiated under the *Comprehensive Land Claims Policy*. The policy was created in order to provide a framework for Canada to recognize Aboriginal rights to the land for groups whose rights were not already negotiated through treaties.

In Canada, theories of the politics of recognition have been shaped in large part by philosopher Charles Taylor. Taylor's work is based in the Hegelian theory of recognition as an inter-subjective process of identity formation. Since, for Hegel, our sense of self is shaped and dependent on our relationships with others, one becomes an individual subject by being recognized by another subject and by recognizing them (111). These relations are facilitated by the state, which is itself based in a politics of mutual recognition and colonial power relations. In his essay "The Politics of Recognition" Taylor draws on Hegel to argue that identities are formed in conversation with the identities of others. Since identity is formed through relationships, and not in isolation, damaging relations can harm identities. This is referred to as misrecognition, in which society reflects back a limited or degrading representation to certain groups. Misrecognition causes harms such as self-hatred, which causes Taylor to consider misrecognition as equal to other forms of oppression (36). However, since recognition, as a method of dealing with diversity, is limited to questions of identity, the politics of recognition allow states to accommodate certain rights of minority groups without threatening the core values of the liberal state (61). Through the politics of recognition, minority groups can protect their cultural identity by demanding state recognition of their distinct cultures. For Taylor,

recognition has the potential to heal and prevent the social and psychological disorientation caused by misrecognition.

Taylor draws on Franz Fanon's work, *Black Skin, White Masks*, to support his argument for the cultural recognition of minority groups by larger political powers. For Fanon, colonial domination operates on two levels: it operates on the level of objective material conditions of exploitation and the subjective internalization of the derogatory image projected onto colonial subjects. When Taylor argues for cultural survival of distinct societies, he focuses on the symbolic rather than the material conditions of domination (61). And yet, both levels of colonial domination are important because, as Fanon argues, colonial hegemony is maintained and strengthened because of the way these two dimensions influence each other (34).

Coulthard argues that Taylor is missing an important dimension of political domination in his interpretation of *Black Skins, White Masks* (31). Re-reading Fanon, in light of Canadian politics of recognition, Coulthard argues that colonial powers like Canada will only recognize the collective rights of Indigenous peoples to the extent that it does not threaten the legal, political or economic underpinnings of the colonial relationship. Taylor's theory aims to minimize the harms caused by misrecognition, while keeping the values of the state intact. Coulthard points out that the state cannot have it both ways. The harms suffered by Indigenous peoples are rooted in threats to their material existence *and* identity.

In this light it seems unsurprising that Nunavut has achieved a historic land claim that has effected no tangible change in the quality of life for its beneficiaries. However even the language of land claims agreements, naming certain groups as 'beneficiaries' hides the fact that the tools of recognition are not designed to inhibit colonial dispossession. For those who have dealt with these terms of recognition, demands for recognition from the state seem to achieve anything but the intended goal. Words do not match outcomes, or as Allen Maghagak put it in a speech about Inuit language protection "when you hand over anything to the government, it

sometimes comes out all-different". The politics of recognition function as a tool of primitive accumulation because through the recognition of Inuit culture and rights in land claims agreements, the state legitimizes their legal claim to extract resources in Inuit territories.

Examining Nunavut's Land Claims Agreement through the lens of the politics of recognition reveals the structural problems with the agreement that materialized inadequate implementation and government stonewalling, under the banner of state recognition of Inuit rights. Coulthard's argument that land claims agreements are a tool of non-violent colonial primitive accumulation, explains the Inuit struggle to implement the NLCA quite accurately. As Allen Maksagak's quote suggests, dealing with government forms of recognition can be an uncanny experience. Agreements that seemed to protect Inuit rights to the land result in government control over those lands. While the deployment of force as a tactic of primitive accumulation was visible in the forced relocations and residential schools of modernization policies, through the politics of recognition force is hidden. What is actually a tool to facilitate the privatization of Inuit lands, appears as a check on state power and increased independence and cultural protection for the Inuit.

I apply Coulthard's argument to the context of Nunavut, with one limitation. I argue that the causal relationship he establishes between Indigenous people's identification with the settler state and society and the success of recognition politics does not describe the strategic choices made by Inuit leaders in signing the land claim. Coulthard draws on Fanon to argue that

> in situations where colonial rule does not depend solely on the exercise of state violence, its reproduction instead rests on the ability to entice Indigenous peoples to *identify*, either implicitly or explicitly, with the profoundly *asymmetrical* and *nonreciprocal* forms of recognition either imposed on or granted to them by the settler state and society (25).

However, looking at the example of the NLCA, the decision to mobilize for the recognition of Nunavut was a strategic move that was carefully considered. I argue that by establishing identification with the state as the mechanism through which indigenous peoples become vulnerable to the politics of recognition Coulthard risks pathologizing those who decided to negotiate their rights to the land through and with the state.

Coulthard's move to psychologize the motives of those engaged in recognition politics is based on Fanon's psychoanalytic understanding of colonized subjectivities. In *Black Skin, White Masks* Fanon examines the social and psychological effects of trauma experienced by colonial subjects as a result of colonial racism and dehumanization. He argues that, through colonial relations of power, colonized peoples tend to develop "psycho-affective" attachments to being recognized by colonial powers (169). For Coulthard, the attachment to and identification with state recognition are key to bringing about colonial dispossession through the politics of recognition. In his framework, Indigenous groups agree to land claims because they have a psychological need for recognition of their rights from the state that prevents them from establishing their rights independent of the state. He argues

> the empowerment that is derived from this critically self-affirmative ethics of desubjectification must be cautiously directed *away* from the assimilative lure of the statist politics of recognition, and instead be fashioned toward our own on-the-ground struggles for freedom(48).

Coulthard's use of Fanon's psychoanalysis of the colonial subject reveals productive insights into colonial power relations. However, attributing Indigenous participation in the politics of recognition to psychoanalytic factors robs Indigenous actors of their agency. Erasing agency means that Coulthard's theorization of the politics of recognition reinterprets difficult and strategic decisions to work with the state as a psycho-affective identification with the state.

In examining recognition politics in Nunavut, it is important to focus on the effect of recognition politics rather than fixating on the cause of Inuit participation in it. Many Inuit have committed to working within the state. While other Indigenous groups such as the Haudenosaunee do not recognize Canada's sovereignty over their territories, Inuit created a new territory within the federation of Canadian provinces and territories. Joe Kusugak, an Inuit leader who was involved in creating Nunavut from the very beginning, explains in *Nunavut: Inuit Regain Control of their Lands and Lives* that Inuit acknowledged Canadian sovereignty early on in the process because it looked like the most strategic move politically (23). Kusugak explains that the decision to pursue recognition was a tactical one that involved taking calculated risks,

> at one time we refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the North West Territories Legislative assembly; after 1979, we switched gears completely and worked out a close alliance with the members of the assembly elected from the Nunavut area (23).

This not to deny that the psychology of the colonized can strongly shape what looks like a strategic decision. However, to psychologize the pursuit of recognition de-politicizes what was a political decision to gain protection for Inuit lands and culture, whether or not it was ultimately successful.

In applying Coulthard's theorization of the colonial politics of recognition to the Nunavut Land Claims agreement I find that it describes the power imbalances accurately. Recognizing a limited set of Inuit rights to the land and providing those rights with constitutional protection, enabled the federal government to legally grant licenses to resource extraction industries. I find this to be a key insight of how the colonial politics of recognition function as a tool of primitive accumulation. Recognition politics appear to disrupt colonial power relations, but in fact land claims agreements serve to reinforce and legitimize colonial rights to the land while limiting Indigenous rights to the land. In Coulthard's articulation of the colonial politics of recognition,

Indigenous peoples engage in recognition politics because of psycho-affective attachments to the state caused by colonial misrecognition. In my use of his theory I argue that while psycho-affective attachments may have some impact on the decision to demand recognition, strategic political aims motivated the negotiators of the NLCA to a much greater extent.

As an Inuit territory in Canada, Nunavut is here to stay. In a collection of essays titled *En Nilliajut: Inuit Perspectives on Security Sovereignty and Patriotism*, Inuit express patriotic feelings towards Canada mixed with disappointment with the inadequate implementation of the land claims agreement. Pujjuut Kusugak expresses this in his essay "*Sarimasuktitigut:* Make Us Proud" arguing that "Inuit will stay patriotic as long as we are looked after and helped to succeed in Canada" (18). There are others who feel that in creating Nunavut the federal government committed to a political project and that it should be held to these promises through its own institutions. No matter how those who identify with the state have come to hold this position, it is necessary to take them seriously.

Having thought through Coulthard's critique of the colonial politics of recognition, I would like to return to the question of what I mean by Inuit cultural revitalization. An explicit definition of cultural revitalization might be too broad to hold any meaning or too strict to allow for cultural fluidity and change. As Coulthard demonstrated, and as revealed through the example of the NLCA, this limited definition of culture facilitates capitalist primitive accumulation and dispossesses Indigenous peoples of their land. Neither can Inuit culture be defined so narrowly that it restricts Inuit to traditional hunting and trapping such as the preservationist policies of the Canadian government did in the early 20th century. Instead, I would like to propose two criteria for cultural revitalization to take place, which I draw from Coulthard, via Fanon. Cultural revitalization must occur on the level of identity and on the level of the material conditions of life, with attention to how these two aspects influence and reinforce each other. But what would it mean to accept this formulation of cultural revitalization in an online context? Can virtual

platforms restructure the material conditions of life and if so how can they do this? These are questions I will take up in chapter two.

2. Literature Review of Digital Media Research in Nunavut

> The pathways of the past were forged by dogsled and snowmobile. The pathways of the present are travelled by air. The pathways of the future will be traveled electronically. The resources of the future are information and the people who use it. Nunavut must be linked to the "Information Highway"
>
> Nunavut Implementation Commission
>
> *Footprints In New Snow*

The research on digital media in Nunavut has been predominately motivated by the question of the impact of the Internet on Inuit culture. Over the years this question has developed from anxiety over digital media's capacity to harm Inuit culture to the capacity for digital media to revitalize Inuit culture. Following the trajectory of this research question, I look at how Canadian government policy approaches to the arctic operated as a subtext of the research. In the 1990s, early debates between anthropologists about the arrival of the Internet in the Arctic reanimate the same preservationist beliefs of the Federal government's policies of dispersal in the early 20th century. While modernist values of assimilation do not appear in the academic literature on digital media, I argue that the politics of recognition subtly shape the assumptions and values at work in discussions of Inuit cultural revitalization through digital media. Without mentioning Charles Taylor's theory of the politics of recognition, research on cultural revitalization is often implicitly motivated by the assumption that recognizing and promoting certain aspects of minority cultures can ease the oppression of misrecognition. Cultural revitalization comes to resemble recognition politics when it focuses only on aspects of

Inuit culture that can be easily reconciled with the capitalist settler state such as language and artistic productions and used to legitimize inaction on issues important to Indigenous peoples.

Digital media has been seen as an important tool for Nunavumiut since the territory's earliest days. In 1995, the Nunavut Implementation Commission, a team of federally appointed Inuit leaders emphasized the importance of the Internet to bridge the distance between remote settlements and connect settlements with Southern services in their report "Footprints In New Snow". Pauktutiit, the Inuit women's association campaigned early on for Internet access and community-by-community control over access points (Roth, 93). When the federal government cut funding for free Internet access at libraries and community centers across Canada, Nunavut was the only territory to take up the project and continue funding for free community Internet access in the N-CAP program (Canadian Press). Digital media has since grown to be a part of daily life in Inuit communities across Nunavut via social networks like Bebo and later Facebook (Hot). In this chapter I will review literature on digital media in Nunavut to understand how research on Inuit cultural revitalization online could have a significance beyond supporting the politics of recognition.

Appropriation vs. Assimilation Online

One of the primary themes in Inuit digital media literature is the question of whether Inuit can appropriate digital media in order to preserve their culture or the technology will cause Inuit to be assimilated into a dominant global culture. This question was first raised by Arctic anthropologists such as Louis McComber and Jean Francois Savard when it became clear that Nunavut would be linked to public Internet (Savard, "A Theoretical Debate"). Despite widespread support for increased Internet access by the Nunavut Implementation Committee Savard expressed concern that the Internet's language, content and technological affordances would dominate Inuit culture ("A Theoretical Debate" 88). Savard, Christensen, Hot and Pasch's

work has roots in theories about the cultural affordances of the Internet drawn from early Science Technology and Society Studies. The debate between appropriation and assimilation via the Internet was framed by broader debates in digital media studies about the impacts of the Internet on society as it entered the mainstream in the 1990s. Savard especially draws on theorists such as Neil Postman and Raymond Barglow, who suggested that the Internet could result in some loss of social meaning and cultural specificity for all Internet users, let alone those of minority languages and cultures.

Savard approaches the question of digital media's impact on Inuit culture through André Burrell's concept of cybernetic metaculture, which describes how the values of cyberculture are based in the local culture in which the technology was created (88). Since the Inuit were traditionally an oral culture before missionaries introduced written syllabics and roman orthography, Savard argues that even if Inuit symbols could be made functional online, the Inuk user would be operating in a foreign written culture (89). For Savard, what it means to be Inuit also draws defined by a set of values and characteristics with the expectation that these values should remain somewhat constant over time. Working through the framework of cybernetic metaculture, Savard must define the culture of the user in terms of explicit characteristics rather than allowing it to be defined by the user. Savard's concern about the threat of new communications technologies is based on prior research on the impacts of radio and television on Inuit culture.

In contrast with Savard's dismal predictions, the first study of Inuit uses of digital media suggested that the impacts of digital media on Inuit might be different from the impact of print or broadcast mediums. Neil Blair Christensen's 2003 cyber-ethnography Inuit in Cyberspace suggested that Inuit used the Internet to assert their social and political identities and the boundaries of these identities. Christensen defines Inuit web pages as any webpage created or maintained by Inuit as well as those that Inuit cultural signifiers such as syllabics, maps of arctic

geographies or Inukshuks. Christensen shows that that the Inuit do not lose what he calls “Inuit-ness” when they connect online and that Inuit should not be bound to the time/space of their ancestors (43). Instead, he argues that these websites are being used in a way that emphasizes the local by asserting local identities and Inuit political power (103).

One key difference between Christensen and Savard is the way they define Inuit culture. While Savard looks at it in relation to dominant western culture as cybernetic metaculture, Chistensen resists defining Inuit culture except through his sampling methods. Christensen used web searches as well as language and symbols of Inuit identity to indicate that a website is Inuit. As a result, Christensen privileges web users’ claims to Inuit identity, over the degree to which Inuit Internet usage conforms to external criteria such as language, values or cultural traits (46). Christensen’s view of Inuit culture remains grounded in the self-identification of Inuit online rather than essentialist values or characteristics. Rather than having greatly downplayed a genuine threat to Inuit culture, Christensen simply defines what it means to be Inuit more flexibly than Savard, Pasch and Hot. While Christensen touches on the question of appropriation vs. assimilation, his research is more descriptive and less normative.

Residential Schools, Media and Language Loss

While Christensen found that Inuit identities and culture were strengthened by Inuit web presence in 2003 however, later research suggested that digital media could be a serious threat to Inuit languages. A 2008 study by linguist Timothy James Pasch and a 2010 study by anthropologist Aurélie Hot found that English was encroaching on the use of Inuktitut in the communities of Inujuak, Iqaluit and Igloolik. They share the concern that unless changes are made to social networking tools in Nunavut, English will come to dominate online life, which is becoming and increasingly important part of every day life in Nunavut. The recent Uqausivut report confirms the findings of Pasch and Hot, showing that over ten years the percentage of

Inuit who report Inuktitut or Inuinnaqtun as their first language has dropped (11). However while Pasch and Hot emphasize the influences of media on this change in the use of languages, the Uqausivut report suggests that Indian residential schools played a large part in the decline of Inuit language and culture.

Comparing social media with earlier forms of popular media in Nunavut, Hot looks at McGrath's study of local Inuit newspapers that became popular in the 1970s (63). At the time, there were several local papers published in Inuktitut and English associated with Inuit organizations, as well as local news bulletins that were published independently. However in the 1980s the number of local periodicals in Inuktitut dropped, leaving only Nunatsiaq News published in Iqaluit and Inuktitut magazine published by the Inuit land claims organization Inuit Tapirit Kanatami (66). McGrath attributes the collapse of Inuktitut newspapers to a combination of three factors: the decrease in government funding, the cost of publishing in aboriginal languages and the challenges of maintaining an editorial team. Hot emphasizes an association between the decreasing number of Inuit publications and increasingly Anglophone content. "En ce qui concern la presse écrite, l'anglicisation des échanges a accompagné la diminution des titres de périodiques. L'anglicisation de l'écrit se confirme par ces données tirée d'un site de réseaux sociaux" (68). Looking at the time period of the decline of magazines and periodicals in Inuktitut, suggests another factor causing the decreasing number of Inuktitut publications, the decreasing number of Inuit who could read or write in Inuktitut because of residential school policies.

Residential schools operated in the North since 1867 but when the federal government took over educating Inuit from missionaries the program began to reach greater numbers of Inuit, drastically limiting their use of home languages. Residential school attendance in the western Arctic jumped from 1,755 students to 3,341 between 1956 and 1963 (61). Many Inuit had been taught written Inuktitut by missionaries, but at government schools only English was

permitted. Residential schools operated in the North until the 1970s, so a whole generation of Inuit lost access to their language. By 1980, most Inuit under 40 would have spent at least a few years in residential school and been denied the opportunity to learn written Inuktitut, making it difficult to create or consume media exclusively in Inuktitut. This is only a glance at the highly complex period of cultural change and language loss in Nunavut, however it would be worthwhile to re-evaluate earlier literature on cultural change and media in the Arctic to understand the role of residential school in these changes. Nonetheless, it seems probable that these media are rendering cultural change visible as much as they are causing cultural change to take place.

Savard also looks back to earlier research by Valaskaki on Inuit radio and television broadcasting and Stephen Riggin's research on community newspapers to suggest that that when Inuit adopt the technologies of non-Inuit, they become vulnerable to the control that non-Inuit exercise over these technologies because of their greater expertise and access (86-7). He also does not mention the impacts of residential schools and colonial relationships. Instead, Savard attributes these changes to the Inuit's "tendency to appropriate these media, to want to make them tools for the promotion of their culture. But when all is said and done, what we are left with are issues, ways of doing things and rhetoric that are essentially Anglo-European rather than Native" (89). In this passage Savard seems to have a better sense of what is authentically Inuit than the people who are working to protect their culture. This paternalist rhetoric echoes the preservationist ideologies behind Canadian arctic policy in the early 20th century.

Despite the association between communication technology and the decline of Inuktitut both Pasch and Hot argue that digital media is not an unredeemable tool for Inuit cultural and political efforts. Hot and Pasch focus on the potential for technological protections for Inuit language, culture and heritage. Both suggest that improvements to Inuktitut software, along with the increasing accessibility of online video offer Inuit the benefits of online connections while

managing the threat of cultural domination, Hot hopefully suggests that “les échanges sur Internet permettent de diversifier les modes de communication (oral, écrit, visual), ce qui introduit des variables intéressantes concernant les choix langagiers en tant que resources identitaires” (68). Echoing Savard’s focus on Inuit culture as an oral culture, Pasch and Hot look to video as a way of remaining true to this aspect of the culture online.

The question of the potential for Inuit to appropriate digital media was revisited recently using an Actor-Network-Theory. In an M.A. thesis looking at Inuit youth practices on Facebook, Castleton argues that though Inuit Facebook users must adopt the scripts of Facebook, the primary requirement of these scripts is to share images, video, text or hypertext. This sharing impulse, though it originates in western technology, works as a catalyst to increasingly build more content related to Inuit knowledge, identity and culture (106). Thus while there may be a cultural difference between the platform and user, their goals are somewhat aligned through content creation.

Since Internet’s arrival in Nunavut the debate about appropriation vs. assimilation has gone from Savard’s pessimism to the cautious optimism expressed by Pasch, Hot and Castleton. For now, it might be best to lay this question to rest. It is clear that even while Savard was cautioning cultural assimilation, many Inuit and Inuit organizations were actively campaigning for Internet access and worked to maintain access when federal funding was cut. Revisiting the question of assimilation vs. appropriation in 2010, Savard urges that since the Internet is clearly present it is time to stop asking whether or not appropriation is possible. Instead he asks suggests the question “comment les peuples autochtones s’approprient-ils ces réseaux virtuels ? (“Communautés” 101)”. This question is much more relevant to modern life in Nunavut; placed alongside the coercive forms of assimilation Inuit experienced at the hands of the settler state, critiquing Inuit for engaging in their own assimilation through digital media seems absurd. The question of assimilation vs. appropriation does have productive elements

that can inspire new ways to increase access to language and culture online. However, at its worst, the question of appropriation vs. acculturation puts the researcher in the position of deciding what could or could not be truly Inuit, limiting cultural change and erasing the agency of Inuit.

Avoiding essentialist discourses can be surprisingly difficult, since discussion of what truly constitutes Inuit culture is widespread. This is compounded by the fact that the territory is going through its own crisis of identity brought on by colonial assimilationist projects. Institutions like Inuit land claims organizations and the government of Nunavut are self-consciously defining an official Inuit culture based on traditional knowledge, which is often far removed from the lives of many Inuit who do not have access to the land (Graburn, 146). In an examination of YouTube accounts by Inuit Youth, Wachowich and Scobie found that many youth use YouTube as an outlet for identities and perspectives that are outside the representational politics of Inuit identity and to tell stories that complicate Inuit nation building (100). Understanding the narratives of Inuit youth today requires a definition of "Inuit-ness" broader than government endorsed forms of traditional culture. However, a definition of Inuit culture that is completely based on self-identification cannot account for the social aspect of identity and real concerns amongst Inuit elders that the rhythms and patterns of a way of life will be lost to colonial processes and ways of life.

Seamless Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit

One way of approaching what constitutes "Inuit-ness" as defined by Inuit rather than researchers, has been the concept of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ). Leaders have used IQ to try to adapt the structures of modern public government to a government more suited to Nunavut and an Inuit way of life. In a very thoughtful article Peter Irniq, a former Commissioner of Nunavut from the Kivalliq region and Qablunaaq researcher Frank Tester, explore what IQ

means, how it differs from western forms of knowledge, and the extent to which it can be integrated into the structures and policies of modern public government. Rather than providing a definition of IQ they emphasize seamlessness as an important quality of this type of knowledge.

Something that is seamless has no discernable parts. In other words, everything is related to everything else in such a way that-counter to the logic of Western science-nothing can stand alone, even in the interest of gaining an appreciation of the whole. The Inuktitut word that best captures the concept is avaluqanngittuq 'that which has no circle or border around it (49)..' IQ is most often used in wildlife management but emphasizing seamlessness challenges the ways in which IQ can be integrated into any structure. Tester and Irniq point out that integrating IQ into wildlife policy with attention to seamlessness would mean that wildlife preservation would have to attend to social relations since ecological and community health are integrated (55).

The second important facet of IQ is its development as a form of resistance to western ecological science that in the 1950s was used to develop wildlife quotas far too limited to allow Inuit to live off the land (52). Tester and Irniq point out IQ as a tool of resistance because of its potential to return power to Inuit. At an IQ workshop in 1999, the elders refused to create a definition of IQ that would fit into a checklist (Henderson). Refusing to define IQ and emphasizing seamlessness also allows Inuit to retain power and resist the subversion of IQ values. When IQ is formulated as a checklist it becomes a set of qualities that Qablunaaq administrators can check off, instead of a way for Inuit to have meaningful input. For this reason, IQ is not limited to “traditional” knowledge, meaning knowledge from the past. If the past is seamlessly linked to the present IQ is understood as “past present and future knowledge of Inuit” (Bell qtd in Tester and Irniq 49).

As Tester and Irniq point out, the refusal to define Inuit culture except by its seamlessness is politically productive for challenging colonial power relationships (50). It maintains Inuit control over what is and is not Inuit culture, allows for cultural change, and

prevents administrators from deciding that culture has been “taken into account”. There is a resonance here between Tester and Irniq’s emphasis on seamlessness and Coulthard’s argument for a robust definition of culture as all aspects of a way of life, emphasizing the relationship between identity and materiality. The quality of seamlessness challenges the recognition politics of multicultural Canada because it resists the recognition of one aspect of cultural knowledge without the social, spiritual and political implications of this knowledge. IQ is Inuit not only because it refers to specific forms for cultural knowledge, but also because it returns power to Inuit people and perspectives.

Communications Policy research connects to the debate about whether or not the Inuit can Indigenize digital media. For Roth, Indigenizing has to do with “the degree to which they are able to use the net for purposes of cultural persistence, to be present on the net visually, socially, technically, locally, discursively - to make their presence felt” (93). From a communications policy perspective however, the barriers to appropriating digital media are not only within the technology, it is also associated with the ownership and control of these technologies. Using a communication rights framework, Lorna Roth argues that for First People’s communication rights to be respected, the government must provide public service access, but that the political climate of the North at the time makes this option seem unlikely (97). These arguments remain relevant since the problems that Roth emphasizes of cost and speed are ones that exist to this day.

Communications Policy Research

Ruiz’s article “Arctic Infrastructure: Tele Field Notes” contextualizes the barriers to Internet access in Nunavut and ways in which these barriers are being challenged, by Indigenous projects such as Isuma TV, as well as the material consequences that these barriers have for post colonial peoples (7). McMahon also deals with the barriers to access in the North,

looking at it as a digital divide. Focusing on first mile infrastructure, technology that brings telecommunications from larger networks to the user's door, McMahon shows how three Indigenous organizations: Kativik Regional Government in Nunavik, Keewatin Tribal Council and KO-KNET, pooled funding resources to create the "first inter-provincial community-owned and operated broadband satellite network in Canada" (2015). Both authors approach the infrastructure from an ethnographic perspective. Ruiz's article takes the form of field notes at a distance in preparation for ethnographic work and McMahon provides an account of how politically autonomous nations are taking control over their infrastructure.

Control over the first-mile infrastructure and access is considered a minimum for Alexander et. al (227). They argue that respecting Indigenous communication rights requires that Inuit have access to Inuit traditional knowledge online. An article, "Inuit Cyberspace: The Struggle for Access to Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit" and a book chapter "From Igloos to iPods: Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit and the Internet in Canada" detail the design and implementation of an interactive website for teaching Inuit traditional knowledge. Alexander argues that Inuit face barriers to accessing traditional knowledge such as language loss and inter-generational trauma that can be overcome using online resources. She suggests that when assessing the digital divide in Canada, a lack of cultural and language resources in Indigenous languages should be taken into account. Creating resources like this however is challenging because of the fast paced changing nature of the Internet, Though Roth, McMahon and Alexander agree that Inuit need greater access and Inuit controlled infrastructure, Alexander stands alone in extending the role of communications policy to creating language and cultural resources.

In 2001, Zacharias Kunuk responded to the lack of cultural resources with the production of the first feature film in Inuktitut Atanarjuat, Fast Runner. Following the success of this film, Kunuk created the online platform IsumaTV for video sharing based in Igloolik. The site allows Inuit to be content producers rather than simply consuming southern online content. In a 2006

article, Katarina Sookup writes about the philosophical underpinnings of the platform using the Inuktitut word for Internet, ikiaqqivik meaning traveling through layers, to connect modern Internet practices with traditional Inuit shamanistic practices of traveling through time and space spiritually (240). Touching on the theme of Inuit appropriation of southern technologies found throughout the academic literature, Sookup celebrates IsumaTV's docudrama style as a formal realization of *ikiaqqivik* by bringing the past into the present.

Adding to Sookup's vision of IsumaTV as a tool for Inuit to travel through space and time, an interview with one of IsumaTV's developers revealed that the platform was developed with the goal of representing Inuit life to Inuit, non-Inuit, settlers and other First Peoples (26). It is also designed to facilitate two-way exchange between Inuit and researchers. Stéphane Rituit a producer at Isuma explains, "avec des projets comme la chaîne consacrée à l'anthropologue Bernard Saladin d'Anglure par example, c'est initier et developer le retour d'un certain nombre de saviors (conferences, films, texts) dans les communautés (Dupré, "Isuma TV" 24). Along with returning knowledge to the communities in which it was collected, Isuma TV is designed to ease the burden of interviews on elders, who are frequently interviewed to collect traditional knowledge. However, since the cost of high speed Internet is still a barrier for many Inuit in Nunavut and Nunivak, most Nunavut residents access content from Isuma TV through the Digital Indigenous Democracy program which shows locally curated content on the cable channel 51in Cambridge Bay.

The role of IsumaTV in facilitating communication between first peoples, is confirmed by a large anthropological look at IsumaTV's content and user base. The 2013 study by Frédéric Laugrand and Galo Luna-Pena found that IsumaTV's videos focused on cultural, religious or spiritual content more frequently than any other topic (41). Additionally, they found that while the IP addresses of most of IsumaTV's broadcasters and audience are Canadian, the site is also extremely popular in Mexico, Greenland, Ecuador, Brazil, Colombia and Australia (38). They

argue that IsumaTV is contributing to a global Indigenous movement through the sharing of Indigenous culture and religion, which are used to ground and justify political claims to land and ways of life (44). The example of IsumaTV speaks back to early concerns that Inuit culture would be lost amongst vast global networks by showing the power of Inuit platforms to create strong political and spiritual networks of Inuit and First Peoples.

Theoretical approaches to Inuit digital media are varied but the role of Inuit intellectual traditions in interpreting Inuit culture is one debate that may develop in future studies of digital media. Both Pasch and Sookup turn to Inuit words and concepts as theoretical frameworks for understanding Inuit digital media. In “Starting Fire with Gunpowder revisited: Inuktitut New Media Content Creation in the Canadian Arctic,” Pasch argues that theories of Inuit cultural revitalization should avoid critical theory from North American and European intellectual traditions, specifically Saïde, Spivak, Foucault, Bourdieu, Hall, and Gramsci (67). Instead, he draws on the documentary “Starting Fire With Gunpowder” by the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation as an example of how other western technologies have been turned to Inuit uses. He also explores the Inuktitut word airaq, meaning nourishing edible roots, as a metaphor through which to understand the potential power of networked digital media in language revitalization.

Honouring Inuit intellectual traditions in my own work, I have attempted to use to Inuit interpretations as much as possible, turning to Rachel Qitsualik, Peter Irniq as well as elders and residents of Cambridge Bay when it comes to explaining Inuit perspectives on culture and tradition. However, many of the theorists that Pasch finds unacceptable to apply to Inuit contexts such as Foucault or Spivak work as frameworks for interpreting colonial government practices, rather than interpreting Inuit culture. This is not an easy distinction to make, since colonial government practices and Inuit culture have developed in relation to one another. However, there is a difference between using Fanon, as Coulthard does, to theorize the

Canadian government's contemporary methods of colonial appropriation and using Fanon to explain or prescribe Inuit responses to this appropriation. Colonial practices such as the politics of recognition are grounded in western traditions of thought and theories of identity like Hegel's master/slave dialectic, which can be productively critiqued on their own terms. In my research I attempt to theorize governmental practices, while taking an ethnographic and descriptive approach to Inuit responses to these practices. While I agree that Inuit intellectual traditions are the best frameworks for understanding revitalization, the ways in which revitalization parallels recognition politics suggests that it is important for researchers to be aware of the western theoretical underpinnings of colonial practices in order to avoid reinforcing them.

Pasch makes an important point by emphasizing that each colonial interaction takes place in a different historical context; he argues that theorization of colonial practices can not travel from one cultural and historical context into another. However, I would argue that there are qualities of colonial capitalism that are more or less constant around the world and that the perspectives of other scholars of governmental power and colonialism can provide valuable insight into these practices. Examining the differences between the object of study and theoretical approach is an important part of a researcher's responsibility to ask whether or not a theory can travel in applying it to a new context. No theoretical approach, Inuit or post-colonial can offer a perfect description of the object of study and the points where the object of study escapes or overflows the theoretical approach are often the points where the examination is most productive. In my research I work to draw on and celebrate Inuit thinkers and intellectual traditions in order to resist colonial powers that have worked to erase these forms of knowledge, not because Inuit experiences of, and responses to, colonialism are so different that they cannot be approached through post-colonial or critical theory.

Another theme in the research is the everyday-ness of digital media, especially social networking in Nunavut (Christensen 47; Wachowich; Hot; Dupré). Dupré's dissertation shows

how this everyday quality of Facebook means that birth, death and traditional family relations and kinship patterns are established through Facebook and Bebo. Hot shows that Bebo is so popular in Igloolik that for the three-hundred and fifty residents who are between the ages of ten and twenty, there are two-hundred and fifty-five Bebo profiles (58). Since there are more Bebo users in Igloolik than personal computers, Hot found that youth logged on when they visited family and friends with computers. Broadband connections in Nunavut are expensive. It costs about eighty dollars a month for a connection that 1.5 megabyte per second with speed restrictions after only ten gigabytes. This means that in the North the everyday-ness of social network systems requires a much greater investment of either money or effort than in the South.

To return to the question posed at the end of chapter one about what it would mean to consider online Inuit cultural revitalization as encompassing both identity and material conditions requires some re-orientation in approach. Much of the research emphasizes the potential for digital media to strengthen Inuit identity by increasing access to language or culture online. Savard, Roth Christensen, Hot, Dupré, Pasch, Alexander et al., Laugrand and Luna Pena and Castleton all focus on the importance of preserving Inuit culture and identity in terms of either language or Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit. This is in large part because of disciplinary conventions that focus on the creation of identity. McMahon and Ruiz, as scholars of communications policy, emphasized the importance infrastructure and Inuit ownership as material conditions that shape the potential for Inuit culture online.

Revitalizing language and identity can have material impacts and drawing on Tester and Irniq's seamless understanding of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit could mean looking more closely at the material consequences of online identity and culture.

> The promotion of IQ and a cosmology that melds the distinction between human and other living forms and that requires special (i.e., non-Western) consideration of other living and non-living forms in the course of human activity constitutes a

> social cost for those interested in conventional resource development. Treating other living forms in this way is an impediment to development within the logic of Western capitalist economies. Operating with a seamless definition of IQ clearly involves struggle and resistance (16).

Recently Scobie and Rodgers examined how mobilizing forms of IQ online have challenged resource extraction industries in Baker Lake and Pond Inlet through campaigns and interventions in the community consultation processes (97). Seamlessness thus challenges academic understandings of digital media, which are rooted in disciplines such as anthropology, linguistics or communications, to take an interdisciplinary approach to digital media in order to approach IQ online with greater depth.

IsumaTV also has a vision of how digital media could materially revitalize Inuit culture. Part of Zacharias Kunuk's passion for the Internet is the capacity it has to facilitate what Soukup calls a "contemporary nomadism". Contemporary nomadism would combine "tradition with the modern, remaining out on the land, living a traditional life of hunting and gathering, all the while being in contact with the rest of the twenty-first century through the Internet" (224). For Kunuk, this would ideally allow him to return to the areas where his family lived pre-settlement and work at an outpost media lab, which would mean "being able to edit a movie, take email, and if you see a seal in the bay, you drop everything and go out after it" (qtd in Soukup 244). With this vision of digital media, it seems clear that digital media has the potential to profoundly decolonize the spatial organization of Arctic people.

While there are few studies of digital media's capacity to change the material conditions of life in the arctic, some of the local economies that have appeared in Nunavut have southern parallels. Research on the sharing economy is new and growing alongside the technology that facilitates these economies but provides a useful point of comparison. The sharing economy is largely defined by four categories of sharing: recirculating goods and materials through websites

like craigslist.com, maximizing the use of durable assets such as renting out rooms on Airbnb, the exchange of services through sites like Task Rabbit and sharing skills such as bike co-ops. All of these forms of sharing have historical precedents and Web 2.0 technologies decreased the transaction costs of reselling goods by matching buyers and sellers quickly and crowdsourcing information about the reputations of sellers (Schor, “Debating” 3). Initially these technologies were heralded as a way to increase social connection, reduce environmental impacts, decrease dependency on employers, and provide more value to consumers (Botsman). These technologies however, have in many cases shifted from non-profit to for-profit models and shifted risk from employers to individuals (Morozov).

There are many differences between the sharing economies of the South and the North, starting from the category of recirculating goods. In the south, websites like Craigslist and Kijiji were propelled by two decades of inexpensive imports and access to cheap consumer goods (Schor, *Plenitude*). In the North however, consumer goods have remained expensive because of the small market and extremely high transportation costs. For example a cheap towel that might be found at a dollar store in the south can cost fifty dollars at the Northern Store in Cambridge Bay. Recirculation and sharing in the North are based on minimizing transportation costs, rather than an abundance of consumer goods. Though sharing is increasingly taking place online, in the North sharing is primarily an offline practice rooted in an Inuit tradition of sharing food and resources and in some forms follows traditional sharing relationships. In Anglophone cultures of the south, sharing connotes communication as well as distribution and linked to forms of Christianity (John 170). In the North reputation is not grounded in peer reviews online, since many residents grew up in the place where they live. Whether or not they have a relationship, most people know each other. The stranger sociality that is facilitated by sharing economies of the south takes a different form in the North (Benkler 17). Despite these

differences, research on the commercialization of sharing economies in the south suggests that online sharing economies in the North could offer real risks as well as benefits.

Exploring the literature on Inuit digital media reveals that many aspects of this form have yet to be explored. So far, academic thought regarding Inuit digital media has focused on the question of whether or not digital media can be appropriated by Inuit and this question seems to have been best answered not by research, but by the vitality of Inuit digital media. While digital media certainly results in change and new technological fluencies, many Inuit use digital media to advocate for Inuit rights to the land, reinforce traditions such as kinship relationships, and to subvert rigid cultural identities of nation building (Dupré, Wachowich). Examining this literature also suggests a potential new area for research: re-examining early literature on Inuit media in light of contemporary understandings of massive colonial projects such the Indian residential school system.

The newness of digital media means that it is sometimes viewed as a panacea. In the North, it is particularly easy to turn to online solutions when flights between most northern settlements cost at least two thousand dollars. Websites such as *Tukitaarvik: Inuit Student Centre* help students who are interested in post-secondary education connect with other Inuit students. Piruvik Centre just launched an app for iPhones to enable keyboards with Inuktitut syllabics. These are examples of some great initiatives that will facilitate the use of Inuktitut online and ease transition from high-school into post-secondary for students.

However, in some cases digital media can work as a form of recognition politics. Recently Bernard Valcourt announced $500,000 in funding for an app for Indigenous youth called A4W. Featuring a profile on Inuit throat singer Tanya Tagaq along with quizzes and articles about identifying cultural appropriation, health, sex, violence, substance abuse and Indigenous culture, the objective of the app is to create “a digital community to end violence against Indigenous women and girls” (Walker). Responding to Valcourt’s announcement Dawn

Harvard president of the Native Women's Association of Canada found that the app shifted blame for violence against women onto the choices women must make and away from the conditions that limit the choices of these women. In the context of a government that has consistently refused an inquest into missing and murdered Aboriginal women, funding this app works as a form of recognition politics by providing cultural recognition of Indigneous artists and concerns while facilitating an ongoing colonial relationship. A digital media scholarship that is serious about Indigenous cultural must to attend to issues of both identity and material conditions of life when working within a colonial context.

Looking at Inuit digital media and southern examples of sharing economies shows that digital media can have great impacts on material way of life. Zacharias Kunuk proposes contemporary nomadism as a reordering of colonial spaces through digital media, while Inuit activists contest mining projects by mobilizing online through social media. In the context of the colonial politics of recognition, digital media that is capable of sharing IQ, in a seamless form could present a real challenge to extraction industries that profit from Inuit lands. Orienting further scholarship on Inuit digital media towards its capacity to create new economic arrangements and to challenge old economic arrangements would support new forms of revitalization. Through this lens, in chapter 3 I will turn to the Facebook groups Cambridge Bay News and Cambridge Bay Sell/Swap and the relationships, identities and economies they facilitate.

3. Indigenous Social Network Economy

> I've always given my stuff to elders. I gave away my couch to [one family]. I'm giving a TV to [another elder]. I've given shelves to everybody. I just ask people on Facebook who needs this? I gave away a microwave last year… there's always somebody else, poorer than me. I remember I've been poor all my life… so if somebody needs it they're just going to get it.
>
> Peggy Tologanak
>
> Cambridge Bay resident

While literature on Inuit digital media has focused on questions of identity, Inuit have been shaping Arctic economies through Social Network Systems. Local Facebook groups like *Cambridge Bay News* and *Cambridge Bay Sell/Swap* allow hunters to share or sell meat and arrange for it to be sent to other settlements. Selling meat online has become so widespread that the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board warned the Kitikmeot Inuit Association that Inuit should stop selling country food online. Country food is meat from wild game such as fish, seal, caribou, muskox or whale. KIA's executive director Paul Emingak explained, "they were concerned that, especially with caribou, that if caribou was sold to other communities for profit, then that would diminish the herds in other communities" (qtd in CBC News, "Kitkmeot Inuit"). Selling country food outside of the community is controversial because hunters have traditionally established, and followed, a deep obligation to share their catch within the community. Nonetheless, hunters still have to find a way to maintain and replace hunting equipment, housing and other costs. Since settlement, Inuit have struggled and innovated ways to fulfill the responsibility to share food and other staples while meeting the demands of the market economy. The integration of the market economy into Indigenous modes of production is referred to as the mixed economy. On Facebook, Inuit have been using local Facebook groups

to support the Indigenous mode of production by sharing country food, sharing knowledge necessary to participate in the Indigenous economy, and to earn money to fill cash needs.

In this chapter I will look at the Facebook groups *Cambridge Bay News* and *Cambridge Bay Sell/Swap* as an Indigenous Social Network economy. Since the group's membership determines who can and cannot participate in the economy, I begin with an overview of the group and one administrator's account of her criteria for group membership. Next, I contextualize sharing practices in the group through accounts of the material, spiritual and social impacts of traditional sharing networks by Inuit researchers Aaju Peter et. al. and anthropological accounts by Pamela Stern and Peter Collings. I explore the material and social impacts of the Indigenous Social Network economy through an analysis of the frequency of sharing on *Cambridge Bay News* through three categories: country food sharing, offers of goods for pick-up and requests for goods in the group. I argue that these practices, especially sharing country food, strengthens relationships within the community and with the land for those who have limited access. Through a close reading of a post about country food sharing, I find that *Cambridge Bay News* also works to reinforce and reproduce the skills and values necessary to participate in the Indigenous economy. Finally, drawing on historical accounts of the Indigenous economy I argue that *Cambridge Bay News* helps buffer the effects of the market economy of northern resource extraction industries physically by providing food and socially by creating networks of relationships with the community and the land.

Cambridge Bay News

The Indigenous Social Network Economy in Cambridge Bay takes place primarily on *Cambridge Bay News* and *Cambridge Bay Sell/Swap*. In this section I will provide a description of the group and its membership practices. In person, sharing networks are well established, but Facebook has one thousand, four hundred and forty-four billion users. If the Indigenous mode of

production is based on sharing networks, how are these networks determined online? *Cambridge Bay News* is a Facebook group of 2,100 members who post updates about local activities and events. In the official description in the group's "about" section, administrator Michele Tologanak writes "Cambridge Bay News is about sharing your news with others in the Community and elsewhere, events, jobs or just looking for something to purchase. You can find it all on this site".

In addition to the events, jobs and news that Michele Tologanak mentioned in the group's general description, members often post lost and found items, cancellations due to weather, and concerns about the community. This sample of posts from February 26th provides a sense of what the group is like from day-to-day.

- Pamela Gross promoted a Qulliq workshop at the Heritage Centre, for Inuit women who want to learn to carve traditional soapstone lamps.
- Pattie Bligh announced that curling is starting up again at the arena.
- Nadine Bianca asked if anyone who is travelling down south would be willing to carry a package to her Mom in Edmonton.
- Presley Taylor announced that the Canadian High Arctic Research Centre would be hosting a drop-in science camp for kids.
- Susie Kemukton responded to Vicki Aitok's offer to help do her taxes this year.

These posts promote local activities and are either looking for or offering some form of help for Cambridge Bay residents. The group is fairly active with an average of six posts in a day plus comments.

Cambridge Bay News was started in 2011 by Hugh MacIsaac, after he moved to Cambridge Bay to work as a resident geologist for the Government of Nunavut. He found that *Cambridge Bay Sell/Swap* was becoming too cluttered with events and announcements, so he

decided to create a group just for news (MacIsaac). Having split off from *Sell/Swap* means that members of *Cambridge Bay News* are still fairly strict in redirecting any posts that appear to be selling items to the *Sell/Swap* page. As the group grew, Hugh recruited Shannon Kemukton and later Michele Tologanak to be administrators. Knowing that they were both already active members of the group and grew up in Cambridge Bay, Hugh felt that they would have a better sense of how to moderate the group than he did (MacIsaac).

When they are not busy with young families and work, all three administrators monitor activity on *Cambridge Bay News*. Hugh wanted the group to "control itself and to give [the other administrators] the freedom to do what they want" (MacIsaac). As a result, each administrator has his or her own style of moderating the group. Though they work together in various ways, they have never discussed how the group should be moderated. Of the administrators on *Cambridge Bay News*, I have known Shannon Kemukton the longest. Shannon is also one of the most active administrators in *Cambridge Bay News.* We first met in 2011 while we were working for Fred Muise, the hamlet's Recreation Coordinator. Shannon was the Youth Centre Coordinator and I was starting as the Pool Supervisor. Shannon had her daughter Cheyenne in 2006 as a single mother, and successfully finished high school in 2009. She completed the social services diploma at the Nunavut Arctic College Campus in Cambridge Bay. Since then she worked at the Wellness Centre as a youth outreach worker. When I interviewed Shannon in April 2015, her son Skyler had been born just a few months earlier. We met at her home where she lives with her two children and a roommate, in one of the newer buildings managed by the housing corporation. Shannon is particularly friendly and enthusiastic about discussing the role of administrator. In Cambridge Bay, Shannon is well known and as an administrator she has significant community support.

Since Cambridge Bay News is public, any Facebook user can look at the group, but only members can post, comment or "like" content. Users can request to join the group and requests

are accepted or declined by the administrators and group members. This process sets the limits of who can join the group. Administrators have no agreed upon requirements for accepting or declining requests, but Shannon looks at their profile to check that the account is real, not a spammer and that they currently live in Nunavut (April 8). Requests to join the group from users outside Nunavut are treated with a little more caution.

> We have many job opportunities within Nunavut and [southerners] move to the community and I still don't accept them [into the group]. But let's say they work at RBC [bank] and they know a lady for example Janet Stafford, or Vicky Aitok. They would message me and say there is this lady who is trying to get on Cambridge Bay News and they're not accepting her.
>
> And I would say 'oh I'm sorry I wasn't accepting them but, reason being – they're not within Nunavut and I don't know if they live in Cambridge Bay or not' and they say, 'okay her name is this, this is how you spell it, she's got this kind of picture' and I'm like 'okay I'll keep an eye out for her and if I see her I'll accept her'" (Kemukton April 8).

In this hypothetical vignette, Shannon explains how she responds to southerner's requests to join the group. A Qablunaaq who has lived in the community a long time vouches for a southerner who would like to join the group and then Shannon accepts the request.

Now at 2,100 members Cambridge Bay News has grown to be larger than the population of the hamlet. In order to maintain the privacy of group members, it is not possible to get an exact number of group members who live in Cambridge Bay, but Shannon estimates about half of Cambridge Bay is a member of the group (April 8). For the most part, group members who do not live in Cambridge Bay are from nearby settlements or previously lived in the community. Residents access Cambridge Bay News through their cellphones and home computers. Residents without computers access Facebook through the N-CAP Internet access

site at the May Hakongak Library. Those without Facebook accounts can be contacted through the group by asking a neighbour or family to go and knock on their door. The broad reach of the group is significant since access to the group determines who can and cannot benefit from sharing practices in the group.

Indigenous Economy

The sharing and selling that takes place on *Cambridge Bay News* is rooted in Inuit beliefs and way of life. Three main terms have been used to describe this way of life and economic form that produces and is produced by these values is referred to in three ways. In anthropological accounts Jenness, Damas, Wenzel and Collings describe hunting and sharing practices as a subsistence economy, because of the perception that this way of life only barely ensures survival. Nicole Gombay points out in *Making a Living*, the concept of subsistence economy carries connotations of bare survival, which does not reflect the reality of these economies (10). Instead, Gombay refers to this way of life as a vernacular economy, in order to draw attention to the place based aspects of the economy (11). Marybelle Mitchell, and Glen Coulthard use the Marxist term “mode of production” to describe the “the resources, technologies and labour that a people deploy to produce what they need to materially sustain themselves over time, and the forms of thought, behaviour, and social relationships that both condition and are themselves conditioned by these productive forces” (65). In my analysis I use the term Indigenous economy to emphasize the practices of exchange.

The market economy arrived in Cambridge Bay with the Hudson’s Bay Company, the DEW line radar site in Cambridge Bay and the LORAN tower. Money mediates transactions in the market economy, which minimizes the social relationships inherent in an exchange and facilitates a transaction based on commodities and market values. The market economy began to be integrated into the Indigenous economy with the arrival of traders. With settlement, Inuit

found participating in the market economy to be increasingly necessary to pay for housing and the equipment necessary to travel to traditional hunting territories (Stern, 70). Over time the market economy and Indigenous mode of production have developed in tandem to include significant areas of overlap and interrelation (Gombay 12). The term “mixed economy” is used to refer to the integration of the Indigenous economy with wage labour (Southcott; Wenzel 306).

In the mixed economy, earning money is not necessarily the primary goal of any economic activity. Instead the goal of economic activity is drawn from the values of the Indigenous mode of production (Gombay 403). Through their examination of the role of the seal in Inuit culture, Aaju Peter, Myna Ishulutak, Julia Saimaiyuk, Jeannie Shaimaiyuk, Nancy Kisa, Bernice Kootoo and Susan Enuaraq articulate some of the values and beliefs at work in the Indigenous mode of production. Spiritually, when a hunter saw a seal, the seal was understood as having shared itself with the hunter by making itself available to be caught.

> From the time that the seal gave itself, the hunter had an obligation. His obligation was to share the seal with the people of his camp. If he failed to honour this obligation, the seal would not give itself to the hunter again. Inuit believed that animals have spirits and could come back again and again. Sharing the seal ensured that there would always be more seals to be caught (168).

Materially, sharing networks had the effect of distributing the risk of an unsuccessful hunt, so that no one would go home empty handed no matter how little they caught. The interdependence of these networks produced strong relationships that families depended on when food was scarce. Sharing meant that when animal populations were low, everyone would still have something to eat (168). In a broad sense, traditions of getting, sharing and eating country foods situates the hunter, giver and recipient in a network of relationships that link those participating to each other, their community, and the land (Gombay 51).

Though the Indigenous mode of production has economic impacts, producing social bonds is emphasized as much as producing food or other goods (Stern 68). The mixed economy draws on the values of the Indigenous economy so that producing food or money is only part of the real goal, which is to produce a complex set of social relations and relations with the land. One of the hallmarks of the mixed economy is that money is used as a tool to achieve ends rather than seen as an end in itself. Wage labour is seen as an opportunity to earn money but not valuable in and of itself (Wenzel, "Sharing"). For example, at the Nanisivik mine in Arctic Bay, rather than working year round, employees often worked until they had saved enough to purchase major hunting equipment (Lim Tee Wern 44). Money and employment were used as tools to secure the equipment to participate in the mixed economy. Sharing networks on *Cambridge Bay News* are a product of the mixed economy since sharing country food distributes resources acquired by hunters and sharing other goods can help mitigate hunter's reliance on the cash economy.

Indigenous Social Network Economy

The Indigenous Social Network economy appears on *Cambridge Bay News* as sharing practices, which take three basic forms. There is the sharing of country food, requests for foods or goods and offers of goods. These forms of sharing are different from the sharing structures typical of the mixed economy. Amongst Inuinnait, in the past and in contemporary times, the level of sharing that takes place is determined by need in the camp. "If ten seals, for example, are caught in one day, and there are only six families in the camp, it is obviously unnecessary to send more than a tiny portion of the meat to each household. On the other hand, if only one seal is caught, the whole of the meat must be distributed, otherwise some of the people would go hungry" (Collings, "Modern Food"). In the eastern Arctic, Elders Mariano Aupilaarjuk and Emile

Imaruittuq recall that in times of need sharing extended beyond the camp and hunters would travel to other camps with food to share (Peter et al. 168).

Though sharing continues to focus on need, it has changed significantly in some respects. In the past, Inuinnait had formal structures for sharing country food within a camp amongst family and hunting partners. In a study of Inuinnait in Ulukhaktok, these formal structures of food sharing no longer exist amongst Inuinnait food continues to be shared (Collings “Modern Food”). Food sharing now takes place primarily within family networks and is frequently limited to the siblings or parents of the male head of the household (Collings “Modern Food”). This kind of sharing likely also takes place on Facebook but sharing on *Cambridge Bay News* is markedly different from sharing within households, online or offline because anyone could respond to a post for free food or other items on *Cambridge Bay News*.

Research on country food sharing in Ulukhaktok such as Colling’s study in 2011 and Stern’s study in 2005 suggests that Inuinnait sharing networks have become smaller and increasingly limited to the nuclear family. Online however, it appears that local Facebook groups support the expansion of sharing relationships. *Cambridge Bay News* connects residents who are not family and are not necessarily “friends” on Facebook. Shannon’s practice of accepting and declining requests to join the group prioritizes being located in Cambridge Bay or Nunavut as the primary criteria for participating in sharing.

Sharing country food is the least common form of sharing on *Cambridge Bay News* but it is also the most valued form of sharing on the group. On average there is about one post sharing country food per month, with more sharing taking place during months when caribou or geese are available and none when fewer animals are available (see Table 1). These posts usually specify that the meat is free for anyone to come and pick up. Participants who have gone to pick up country food that was posted in the group say that it goes very quickly. Though sharing country food could fit into the category of offering items to share, I have chosen to

examine it separately because of the significance it has to group members. Compared with requests or offers to share any other item, sharing country food on *Cambridge Bay News* is seen as extremely positive for the community. In June of 2014 one member shared six geese with anyone who would come pick them up, to which other members commented “the old way of sharing still exists” and “way to go… you make your grandparents smile at you” (Sim). Residents explicitly link country food sharing on *Cambridge Bay News* with earlier forms of food sharing.

Table 1: Country food sharing on *Cambridge Bay News* June 2014 to May 2015

Date	**Food Shared**
June 10 2014	6 Geese
August 4 2014	Sea Urchins
August 8 2014	Grizzly Bear
October 12 2014	1 Caribou
November 10 2014	2 Caribou
December 19 2014	Ekaluktutiak Hunting and Trapping Association shared 10 Muskox
March 8 2015	1 Muskox,
March 22 2015	1 Polar Bear
April 27 2015	1 Seal
May 24 2015	Arctic Char (Fish), 3 Caribou Heads, Caribou Rumps

Residents share country food on *Cambridge Bay News* for many reasons. One reoccurring motivation is the desire to avoid wasting food. In an interview with Shirley, a woman who has shared country food online explained that she shared it for a friend.

> Yesterday I was walking home and the lady was cutting up seal last night and she said - do you want some seal? I said, no I can't eat seal meat. And she goes - can you do me a favour and let people know that I have seal to give away. My dad won't eat all this. At 8 o'clock I was like "oh yeah!" Facebook. So I posted something for her. Free seal.

The woman who was cutting up the meat wanted to share because her father had more than he needed. In another post, the Mayor of Cambridge Bay shared the largest quantity of food posted in the group during the period I observed. She said "giving away whole char, caribou heads (two cut up and one whole) and rumps. Outdoor freezer is broken. Don't want to waste food. No more room in the inside freezer. They are all outside on top freezer. Please share my post" (Ehaloak). In public posts, those who share meat express that they are motivated by the desire to avoid wasting food. They do not describe obligations to the land or community, which Peter et. al. described as a spiritual motivation for sharing. However, this could be a way of reducing the power imbalance between the giver and receiver, since those who go pick-up country food are framed as helping the giver avoid wasting food.

Kelly's family often goes to pick up country food when it is shared online. She sends one of her children to get it or walks over herself. She appreciates online sharing because her family finds it difficult to get out on the land to go hunting. Kelly explained:

> There are some people in town that don't have snowmobiles, they don't have four wheelers, they don't have boats, for instance my family - we don't have any of those. There are some people who would share even just a little bit of meat with my family and I love that part. So when someone posts on Cambridge Bay News 'we have some free fish free tuktu or free fish, free muskox - come get some if you want'. So we would go grab some. We go every chance we get. I

> always wish to go out on the land. It's awesome to be out on the land but I just can't (Kelly).

Kelly emphasizes that the act of sharing, rather than the quantity of meat, is most important to her. Sharing is particularly significant because through the networks of country food sharing, Kelly's family is able to participate in hunting. Though Kelly's family does not have the equipment to get out on the land, Kelly maintains a link between her family and the land by picking up country food that is shared on *Cambridge Bay News.*

Offering goods other than country food is slightly more common than country food sharing on *Cambridge Bay News*. Most of the goods offered are clothing or housing items; in one instance I observed store bought food being shared. Like country food sharing, offers for other items are free for pickup by anyone in town. There were thirteen offers on *Cambridge Bay News* between June 2014 and May 2015 and all but one received interest online see Table 2. The interest in goods shared on *Cambridge Bay News* is usually based on the value and usefulness of the item shared. For example, a TV received sixteen comments and many encouraged the generosity of giving away the TV, because they are expensive and difficult to get in Cambridge Bay. A package of quick oatmeal that was already open received no comments and only one like. Sharing a parka, jeans or a dryer is received with gratitude but group members do not see this kind of sharing as directly linked to "the old way of sharing".

Table 2: Goods offered for pick-up August 2014 - June 2015

Date	**Goods Offered**	**Interest**
August 30 2014	Paint	Yes
August 31 2014	Couches and Chairs	Yes
November 11 2014	Oatmeal	No
December 10 2014	Dog Walking	Yes

December 17 2014	Parkas	Yes
January 2 2015	Dryer	Yes
February 5 2015	Felt	Yes
March 5 2015	Jeans	Yes
March 12 2015	Piston for a Polaris 550 snowmobile	Yes
March 15 2015	Television	Yes
June 2 2015	Washing Machine	Yes
June 2 2015	Formal Dress	Yes
June 19 2015	Polaris Snowmobile bodies for parts	Yes

Requests are very common on *Cambridge Bay News*. When a member makes a request online, they usually offer to pay for or borrow the goods he or she is asking for and the giver responds that they can "just have" the item. This is similar to patterns that Collings described in offline requests for country food ("Modern Food"). For example, Naomi Dawn Kanayok Hikoalok posted "Does anyone have some juice that can me borrow till tomorrow will pay back just need some to last till in the morning call or text". Shannon McCallum commented "Hi Naomi I have some feel free to stop by if you haven't found some yet no need to payback" (Kanayok Hikoalok). Between June of 2014 and May of 2015 there were thirty requests for goods on *Cambridge Bay News* (see Table 2). Of these requests, twenty are successful, meaning that a group member responded to the post and offered the item requested. Requests that were categorized as "not met online" received no response or no offers for the item requested. However, based on personal experience making requests on *Cambridge Bay News,* this does not necessarily mean that the request was not met, since some posts receive a huge response offline despite no online reaction. Thus, it is possible that these requests were also successful.

Table 3: Sharing requests made from July 2014 to June 2015

Date	Request	Request Met Online Y/N
July 16 2014	Piffi (Dried Fish)	Yes
Aug 10 2014	Piffi	No
Sept 1 2014	Vegetable Oil	Yes
Sept 1 2014	9.9 HP outboard motor	Yes
Sept 19 2014	Honda 420 bearing	No
Sept 22 2014	Tuktu (Caribou) and Muktuk (Whale Skin)	Advice
Oct 5 2014	Boxer Style Mitten Pattern	Yes
Oct 10 2015	Honda	No
Oct 29 2014	Snowmobile	Advice
Nov 1 2014	Tuktu	Yes
Nov 4 2014	Maternity Clothes	Yes
Nov 5 2014	Baby Girl Clothes	Yes
Nov 7 2014	Caribou	Yes
Nov 20 2014	Caribou or Fish	Yes
Dec 5 2014	Men's Parka Pattern	Yes – second time asking
Dec 23 2014	Hair Perm Kit	Advice
Dec 25 2014	Conair Hair Kit	No
Jan 17 2015	Hard wooden Pallets	Yes
Jan18 2015	Microsoft Word	Yes
Jan 25 2015	Movie Annabelle	No

Jan 29 2014	Dog house	No
March 12	Polaris 550 piston	Yes
March 12 2015	Juice	Yes
March 28 2014	Toshiba Laptop Manual	Yes
April 4 2014	Honer (honing cylinder)	Yes
April 7 2015	Carpet Cleaner	Yes
April 21 2015	Tuktu (Caribou) or Umingmak (Muskox)	Yes
May 12 2015	Wide Sled	Advice
May 13 2015	Baby Boy Clothes	No
May 21 2015	Toddlers Dress Shoes	Advice
May 21 2015	Double Bed Box Frame	No
June 5 2015	Annie on VHS	No

Group members offer and request a wide range of goods, from those that would be traditionally shared like mitten or parka patterns and country food, to newer products like dress clothes and bed frames. Though there have been comprehensive studies of country food sharing networks and practices, there is less research on the practices of sharing other items. Stern gives an account of Becky who shares store bought food, a cellphone, and her grocery account at the co-op as well as clothing with her family members. Collings looks at reciprocity amongst hunters within the same family when looking for parts for hunting equipment ("Economic Strategies"). Both of these studies look at sharing amongst Inuit families. On *Cambridge Bay News* however, sharing is extended beyond families to include Qablunaaq and Inuit who are not from Cambridge Bay. Northerners tend to participate more in offering goods for pickup on *Cambridge Bay News* and in answering requests on the group. In my analysis of

screenshots sharing, I found no examples of Qablunaaq country food sharing, but in one post a woman shared country food that was hunted by her partner who is a Qablunaaq. This suggests that some non-Inuit long term residents have begun to participate in the mixed economy. The Facebook group can facilitate participation by members of the community who are less embedded in sharing networks because it makes these networks visible, when offline it would be difficult for Qablunaaq to realize these networks exist.

Sharing country food and other goods with the whole settlement is significant in Cambridge Bay. Though sharing country food takes place primarily on *Cambridge Bay News* sharing other goods is distributed across two other local Facebook groups *Cambridge Bay Sell/Swap* and *Helping our Community of Cambridge Bay Nunavut "One and All".* Formerly called *Cambridge Bay Nunavut Helping the Less Fortunate*, *Helping One and All* is dedicated entirely to sharing goods within the settlement. *Helping One and All* is a smaller group with only two-hundred-and-thirty-two members. It is private, meaning only group members can see its content, and though I am a member of the group I decided not to observe it for research purposes. Nonetheless I can say that a significant amount of sharing takes place through this group. The group's founder, Pokkok Koplomik started the group because she saw that many families were struggling to make ends meet. "A lot of people were coming for help, so I thought I might as well start the page. Everyone is starting to use it. I see mostly clothing, and sometimes groceries" (qtd in Song). Beyond giving away items some group members have used it to offer free baking lessons so that families can save money by baking rather than buying bread.

Groups like *Cambridge Bay News* and *Helping One and All* expand sharing networks that contracted during settlement periods. This has two impacts. . First these groups make it materially easier to survive on a limited income. When money is already scarce and family sharing networks are stretched to their maximum, *Cambridge Bay News* expands the number of people who a request can reach so that those who do have some resources are able to step in.

This broader network makes it easier to sustain the conditions of unemployment and poverty in Cambridge Bay created by colonial power relations. Second, participating in these groups strengthens relationships throughout the community. Offering food and meeting requests creates deeper bonds of trust and interdependence between group members who might not otherwise be in contact. Significantly when group members share country food, relationships with the land are also maintained for those who otherwise cannot participate in hunting and land based activities.

Reinforcing the Indigenous Social Network Economy

Participating in the Indigenous economy through hunting requires special skills and values that must be transmitted in order to sustain the economy. When I asked Shannon why the group is open to people across Nunavut, not just Cambridge Bay members she responded

> We like to share. Inuit like to share. I've been hearing these past couple years that Cambridge Bay is one of the most active places within Nunavut - even though it's not as big as Iqaluit - Cambridge Bay is still one of the most active places right now. As these past few years passed by, I've been getting more and more requests from people within Nunavut because they could use the information within their community. Like the kind of activities or events or things happening within our community. They could do it within their community too. It's just one way of sharing the information that we have. … it's information site - you can share ideas.

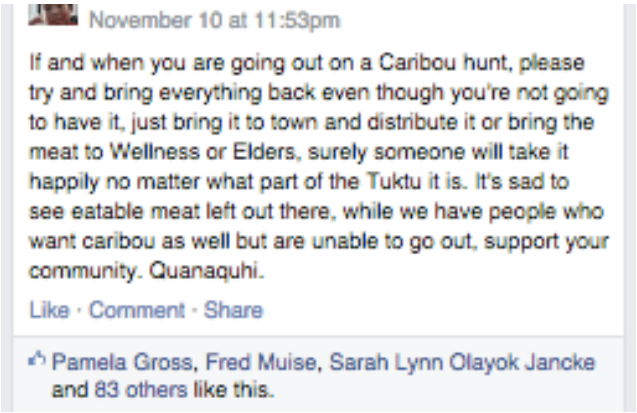
For Shannon, sharing is part of Inuit identity, so it makes sense for other Inuit to have access to information about the types of events that take place in Cambridge Bay. The kind of sharing that takes place in the group goes beyond food or clothing or equipment; it is also about sharing information and ideas. By sharing food and other goods on *Cambridge Bay News,* participants

are also sharing ideas. Social belonging and interdependence are ideas that are not easily communicated in the abstract. The information that is being transmitted when a member meets a request posted in the group or when a member shares a caribou with the whole community

In order to maintain these modes of production, sometimes the values and practices of sharing networks must be taught more explicitly. Online and offline, the knowledge, skills and values that sustain this mode of production must be taught in order for a new generation to be able to participate. The Kitikmeot Inuit Association, as well as local heritage, wellness and school programs, work to provide Cambridge Bay residents with access to the land and land based education. Nonetheless, generational knowledge gaps caused by settlement, housing policies and residential school make it difficult to acquire the knowledge required to participate in the Indigenous mode of production (Pearce 282). Participating in the wage economy and attending school compete for time with land based activities, leaving only evenings and weekends for youth to learn skills that it took their grandparents a lifetime to acquire. (Collings “Economic Strategies” 215).

While *Cambridge Bay News* cannot replace time spent on the land, group members use it to reach those who are left out of family circles, or are not involved in hunting networks. During Caribou season a group member posted in Cambridge Bay News to remind hunters not to waste caribou during the hunt.

Figure 1: Sharing Hunting Skills and Values on *Cambridge Bay News*



Responding to the post, some residents express disappointment hunters are wasting valuable food and the post serves as a form of slight reprimand for the hunters that left good Caribou out on the land to waste. The current president of the Ekalluktutiak Hunters and Trappers Organization (EHTO) responded from his personal Facebook account and said that the EHTO will look into it. He mentions that elders would bring home even the intestines and stomach fat to make *tunnuk* as an example of how little hunters should waste. At this point other community members join in with examples of how to prepare and eat different parts of caribou so that from the blood to the hooves, nothing is wasted. Some comments include traditional knowledge of the nutritional value of different dishes, for example *kayok*, blood soup can keep people warm on cold days and caribou stomach has lots of vitamins. Other community members identify parts of the caribou that they like, such as the stomach, stomach fat, hooves and heads. With this information, hunters can make sure that these parts are distributed to those who enjoy them rather than leaving them behind.

This post illustrates how the economic aspects of sharing inform and are informed by Inuit values. In his initial post Hatok explains, “it’s sad to see eatable meat left out there, while we have people who want caribou as well but are unable to go out, support your community”. In this instance, the imperative to share caribou and the need for knowledge about how to prepare

and eat caribou is driven by a desire not to waste food when there are those who want the parts that otherwise are considered “waste”. In James Panioyak’s post he says “the young hunters need to know that our *tuktu* [caribou] will not be here forever and take everything if not for yourselves, for our Elders”. Here, the importance of not wasting food is connected to the broader ecology of the region and the strength of caribou populations. One way of maintaining the herd is to make sure that every caribou that is taken is used as fully as possible. Left unsaid is the cosmological connection between sharing and ensuring the enduring strength of the herd discussed by Peter et al. in the relationship between the hunter and the seal. Spiritually, the caribou shared itself with the hunters and by sharing the caribou meat the hunter is fulfilling its obligation to the caribou and the land. A hunter who does not fulfill this obligation to share would likely difficulty finding caribou in the future because he or she disrupted the relationships of sharing. In the thread that resulted from this post the methods of preparation are linked to values that sustain the sharing economy so that the skills that are conveyed are deeply linked to social and ecological responsibilities. Knowledge, skills and values are shared seamlessly because group members share skills and knowledge that are necessary to live by values that they support.

This focus on sharing and retaining the skills necessary for the Indigenous economy online is grassroots. It is supported by individuals on an informal volunteer basis. Organizations like the Kitikmeot Inuit Association (KIA), Ekaluktutiak Hunters and Trappers Organization and the Canadian Rangers also support the transfer of land skills through land camps and outdoor training. On Cambridge Bay News, individuals who are involved in these organizations share the values, knowledge and resources they gain through these organizations. When residents began to share their preferred methods for preparing the more unusual parts of a caribou, a programs coordinator at the KIA and member of the National Inuit Youth Council, posted “Nice to hear all the uses :) please keep sharing”. Since she is actively working to share this kind of

knowledge with youth in her job, she likely draws on the knowledge and resources she has access to at work when participating in *Cambridge Bay News*. The member who initiated the discussion of different methods of preparation, is the president of the Ekaluktutiak Hunters & Trappers Organization (EHTO). The individuals involved in these organizations often carry the responsibilities with them in unofficial roles and integrate these positions with their personal lives. As a result, these grassroots efforts to maintain culture draw on and are reinforced by local organizations and institutions.

In Colling's article "Economic Strategies, Community, and Food Networks in Ulukhaktok" he noticed a trade off between those who work full time and those who hunt full time. Hunters rarely seem to have cash on hand and spend significant amounts of time looking for parts to repair equipment (214). Those who work full time however, do not have the social ties and relationships with other hunters that would give them information about conditions, dangers and animal locations (215). *Cambridge Bay News* reduces the time constraints on both parties. Requests for snowmobile parts are common in the group and some members post asking: "which way to the tuktu?". These posts give full time workers access to information about where game is. For full time hunters sharing networks provide quick access to used parts and reduce the amount of parts that they must buy new.

While these are not the most common types of posts, it suggests that local Facebook groups can help resolve some of the temporal pressures of the mixed economy. *Cambridge Bay News* cannot resolve the time conflict between learning skills on the land and spending time in school and at work. However, it can offer specific cultural knowledge in a meaningful context. Unlike other websites or videos that share traditional knowledge, posts on *Cambridge Bay News* come from a specific person and it references real events. For hunters who might be too rushed to bring back the whole carcass this serves as a powerful reminder not to waste food and that

there are many people in town who would be interested in eating it. The timing of the post gives it weight and significance that a video about not wasting food could not have.

Sharing country foods, goods or knowledge on *Cambridge Bay News* is different from other forms of sharing in Inuit communities because it occurs outside of family networks. For families without much income or without the equipment to go hunting this can serve as a lifeline, allowing them to access goods and country food that they could not get within their family networks. However, others feel that goods shared on *Cambridge Bay News* would be better distributed to those who are known to be in need. Shirley explains that though she has shared country food on *Cambridge Bay News* it is not how she prefers to share.

> I don't really like to go on Cambridge Bay News or sell/swap for country food because I already know by heart and by word of mouth who really wants it and who has to have it to live on it. So when I have it, I give it to them, [especially] when I know they haven't had it for a while. Something about going on Cambridge Bay News with native food. Everybody wants it. Whether you're old or young everybody wants it. I would just give it to the ones who need it (Shirley)

For Shirley, the huge demand for country food on *Cambridge Bay News* makes it difficult for some to get the food they need. When members share meat through the group, it goes to whoever comes to get it rather than specific people that the family has decided need or deserve it. *Cambridge Bay News* changes who defines what need is. Rather than members of a sharing network recognizing an individual's need relative to other family or community members, on *Cambridge Bay News* individuals determine their own level of need when they decide to go pick up free food or other goods or request.

Sharing on *Cambridge Bay News* is not equal opportunity; those who have free time, Internet access and who can travel easily have a significant advantage. Elders, for example, are not on *Cambridge Bay News* and for those who are, it can be difficult to travel quickly to pick up

some seal or a kitchen table. However, it does not necessarily privilege certain relationships above others; anyone is welcome to respond to a request or take up an offer of food or equipment. For group members who are not embedded in social relationships that provide country food, information and other goods, their participation on the Facebook group increases their access to them. Sharing on *Cambridge Bay News* is still much less common than other forms of sharing and it seems unlikely to replace sharing offline or sharing through family networks. Instead, the group could provide a valuable complement to sharing networks that are determined by personal relationships. It makes the Indigenous mode of production accessible to those who are not already included in family sharing networks. By making sharing networks visible, for group members *Cambridge Bay News* can shape the way that need is perceived since requests and offers can reveal who is in need and who is not.

In terms of material needs, the Indigenous economy allows Inuit a degree of autonomy from the wage economy. Though hunters are often short on money, hunting and sharing allows many to live better with little or no income. Unlike offline sharing networks *Cambridge Bay News* does not provide for day-to-day needs, but it does offer a wider network to draw on when offline sharing networks are over extended. The group brings members who are not otherwise embedded in sharing networks like Qablunaaq members or group members from other communities into the local mixed economy. Since in general Qablunaaq members of *Cambridge Bay News* have fewer dependent family members and higher incomes their inclusion in sharing networks makes available resources that might not otherwise be shared in the community. Socially, the group strengthens relationships between community members by communicating a sense of interdependence and support. Sharing country food is particularly significant because it facilitates a relationship with the land for group members who otherwise do not have access to the equipment necessary to hunt. Through these relationships the skills and values necessary to meet material needs and participate in the mixed economy are communicated and reinforced.

A historical look at the Indigenous economy reveals that Indigenous economy offers the community some independence from the market economy but more commonly it protects them from market failures. Using the term social economy to refer to the Indigenous economy, Boutet et al. look at the Rankin Inlet Nickel Mine that opened in the 1950s. They found that miners continued to hunt while they work and used income from the mine to buy hunting equipment. But the when the mine failed, Inuit miners returned to hunting in order to survive the closure. Ironically, "the social economy of Keewatin Inuit was mobilized to absorb the failures and dislocations of industrial development and state-driven modernization initiatives" (Southcott 208). At the Shefferville mine in Nunavik, northern Quebec and Pine Point mine in the North-West Territories, despite the mines negative environmental impacts making it more difficult to hunt, the Indigenous economy functioned as a safety net for capitalist ventures (Southcott 222). Brenda Parlee adds that that social economies contribute significantly to stable environments for resource extraction by building social capital, aiding in environmental monitoring and providing child care for workers (Southcott 67). Her research echoes Boutet et al.'s findings that the Indigenous economy mitigates the risks and harms of the resource extraction industries.

This protects Inuit from the failures of the market but does not really challenge the extraction economy. However, while the Indigenous economy absorbs some of the externalities of the extraction economy, the Indigenous economy is not absorbed by the extraction economy. The values and practices of the Indigenous economy are different in significant ways from the market economy and despite the expansion and collapse of various resource based that have been brought to the North, the Indigenous economy has continued to operate by its own values and logic. These values, when understood as a seamless system of knowledge and practices, present a fundamental challenge to capitalism and resource extraction (Tester & Irniq). Though these systems blend into one another on many levels, where the Indigenous economy depends

on wage labour and the negative impacts of extraction industries are dealt with by the Indigenous economy, they have fundamentally different goals.

The conflict between the values of these two economies is visible when Inuit mobilize to prevent extraction industries. In July of 2014 the National Energy Board approved a plan to begin seismic testing, which could lead to oil and gas exploration in near the Nunavut hamlet of Clyde River. Inuit mobilized to stop the testing, partnering with a southern environmental law firm to launch a court challenge. Clyde River resident Niore Iqalukjuak who helped launch the Facebook group *Fight Against Seismic Testing in Nunavut* explains the importance of protecting the local marine animals, “It completely scares us. It’s the food of our people. That’s why Inuit are so adamant about trying to stop this” (qtd in Gregoire). The role of marine animals in the Indigenous mode of production motivates Inuit to protect them. Expanding the reach of the Indigenous mode of production through local Facebook groups means that families who cannot access the land still feel that country food is their food. In the next chapter I will explore the extent to which members of *Cambridge Bay News* are able to draw on the relationships created by the Indigenous Social Network Economy for political support.

4. Support, Conflict and Managing Dissent

> News I like to see is… basketball. Every time they go out to tournaments they always notify everyone. Like I did when I took my brother to territorials. That stuff I *want* to hear about. Like how our community is being represented outside of town. That stuff is just good to hear.
>
> Kyle Puglik Tuktimak
>
> Cambridge Bay Resident

In Facebook groups like *Fight Against Seismic Testing in Nunavut*, Inuit have mobilized to protect Indigenous economies and ways of life that are based on these networks and values. Since *Cambridge Bay News* plays an important part in structuring and expanding these sharing networks, it seems that the group could work as a platform to mobilize political action. Looking at the group's content, many posts raise issues and voice concerns that express different visions of what community in Cambridge Bay should look like. But to what extent can *Cambridge Bay News* work to mobilize political power?

In this chapter, I will approach this question through an examination of the moderation practices in the group and close readings of three posts in *Cambridge Bay News*. I begin with a discussion of the moderation practices of administrator Shannon Kemukton that shape this definition. I examine a post concerned about the local food bank, which group members find too negative and a post on *Cambridge Bay News* that brings up issues with the practices of the local food bank and group's moderation policies. I contextualize this post by turning to the Inuit emotional concept of *ilira* meaning intimidation of authority and Inuit values of non-interference through the writing of Rachel Qitsualik and Jean Briggs. Complicating this interpretation is the changing power structures and increasing presence of the wage economy, which commenters point out. I also attend to resident's capacity to respond to one another and the ways in which it

is limited by social and financial stressors. Finally, I argue that while *Cambridge Bay News* is not a space of dissent or critique, it can be used to demonstrate support that already exists in the community. Moderation practices on *Cambridge Bay News* define what the group is for and who gets to use it. In defining what is too negative for *Cambridge Bay News* group members and its administrators express their different visions of what community is on *Cambridge Bay News*.

Political Social Media Campaigns

The power of social media in Nunavut became visible to mainstream Canadian media with the *Feeding My Family* campaign to raise awareness about the high prices of food in Nunavut. *Feeding My Family* is based out of a Facebook group started by Leesee Papatsie. The group asked members to post pictures of expensive or expired foods in grocery stores across Nunavut such as a twenty-eight dollar cabbage or a sixty-five dollar chicken. Combining these online tactics with protests on the ground, *Feeding My Family* has had some success. In 2012, the government of Nunavut responded to the campaign by adding one million dollars to the Country Food Distribution Program and three million to the Social Assistance Program the first increase in six years ("GN says"). *Feeding My Family* shocked Canadians living in the south and

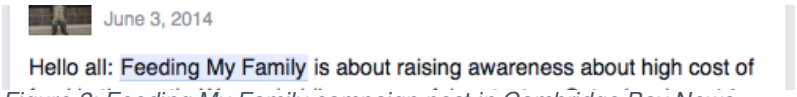


Figure 2: Feeding My Family campaign post in Cambridge Bay News

inspired the Facebook group *Helping My Northern Neighbours* that arranged for Southerners to send food directly to families across the North.

One of the tactics the group used to gain support across Nunavut was to post in local Facebook groups like *Cambridge Bay News* and *Cambridge Bay Sell/Swap* asking for support. In a 2012 post, Kingahana Lyall shared a post in *Cambridge Bay News* for Leesee Papatsie, saying "I'm trying to write every community". For example, leading up to a protest at the grocery store NorthMart, Leesee Papatsie posted in *Cambridge Bay News* asking for support. Since each settlement has a branch of NorthMart, Papatsie asked that each community hold its own protest at their grocery store. Again in January of 2015, Papatsie posted in the group asking for support for a boycott of the North West Company. This strategy of mobilizing support through local Facebook groups has been used by other campaigns as well. In 2012, when Inuit representatives traveled to the EU parliament to defend polar bear hunting rights, the Facebook campaign to support the representatives posted in *Cambridge Bay News* to ask members to join the campaign. The #sealfie campaign also drew support by asking *Cambridge Bay News* members to post pictures of themselves wearing seal. Since nearly all of Nunavut's hamlets have some kind of local Facebook group, resembling either *Cambridge Bay News* or *Cambridge Bay Sell/Swap*, the groups can be a valuable resource for political action.

Moderating Negativity

On *Cambridge Bay News* however, political campaigns are received with some hesitation. The content policy of the group is strict. No negative content can be posted in the group. If the administrators have to delete a post or ban a group member for posting negative content, they will occasionally post a reminder such as this one posted by Shannon Kemukton.

> Reminder reminder reminder. All complaints about business or organizations can go straight to the company and not on a public advertisement page. Members of

> Cambridge Bay news this is an important message. All NEGATIVE posting about any person, company or business will be removed from this site. This is a public messaging page for all announcements or advertisements. If any person will not stop posting anything negative. We will remove you for a period of time, then will allow you to come back as a member of this page but in agreement to not post anything negative on this site. This will be posted time to time for reminders. Thank you for your time.

Negative content is defined fairly broadly and includes personal attacks and attacks on businesses, organizations and government institutions. Group members play a key role in deciding what content is too negative for the group. Any group member can flag content as negative or request that a post be deleted. As administrators, both Hugh and Shannon explained in interviews that for the most part, they rely on group members to bring potentially negative content to their attention. Then, having received a request Shannon decides autonomously whether or not the content is unacceptable and usually explains why the content is unacceptable in a private message.

The broad criteria for what makes a negative post can be a barrier for those working to mobilize support for campaigns on *Cambridge Bay News.* In a post from January 26 2015, Leesee Papatsie posted asking for support for another boycott of the North West Company and the first commenter joked “no complaints about any person company or business in the group lol jk”. The commenter points out the irony that though this boycott might be legitimate, it could be considered “negativity” on *Cambridge Bay News*. Eventually the whole post was deleted. With this kind of response, it can be difficult for activists to use *Cambridge Bay News* as a platform to mobilizing support across Nunavut.

On a more local scale however, group members bring up issues and find support frequently on *Cambridge Bay News*. From how to deal with youth vandalism and property

damage, to wildlife regulations, to speed limits for construction trucks, residents post their concerns in the group and motivate people to take action either by finding ways to solve problems on their own, or by bringing the issue up on council. For example, when a young community organizer posted about youth vandalism on November 4 2014, twenty group members commented on the post, thirty-five "liked" it and others showed support for different perspectives by liking the comments. Many commenters responded asking for the issue to be brought up on town council. Others proposed a neighbourhood watch program and the post set off a brainstorming session for how to best stop vandalism or support youth in order to stop property damage at night. Locally, group members do raise issues on *Cambridge Bay News* and use this support to make change as a community or through local institutions. So, why did *Cambridge Bay News* members see this post as productive and why are other posts too negative? What is the difference between a post that is considered a productive discussion and a post that group members consider too negative for *Cambridge Bay News*? Can *Cambridge Bay News* work as a platform to hold politicians and community members accountable?

While I was living in Cambridge Bay in the summer of 2014 and after I returned to Montreal to start my research, it seemed that Cambridge Bay News worked as a platform for building community responsibility. When a pothole near the house where I stayed in the summer filled up with water, a resident posted a picture in the group and asked for it to get pumped out so that no one would fall in it. From monitoring the group it seemed that despite the group's strict policies about negativity, residents often used Cambridge Bay News to hold individuals, companies and organizations accountable for their actions. Residents seemed to avoid turning to outside authorities with problems like vandalism by posting on the group and asking family members to take responsibility for their relatives. When I returned to Cambridge Bay in April of 2015, I was prepared to interview residents and community members about their experiences in voicing concerns in the group or perhaps being "called out" by a group member.

However, after a few interviews it became clear that many group members do not view these posts in a positive light. Kyle Tuktimat is 21 and grew up in Cambridge Bay; we've been friends since I first arrived in 2011. Though he uses the group frequently to post updates on sports events when the Cambridge Bay team plays away games, he does not like public concerns posted in Cambridge Bay News, especially if the post names individuals. He also worries that group members raise issues just to get attention.

> When they're naming a person I don't agree with it - they shouldn't be naming them - because that's where everybody goes. Most people do use Cambridge Bay News and some people find out their information from the site, it's not right for them to be targeting someone, it's not nice. Sometimes I think it's just to get other people's attention. Some people use the site to get attention. Some people want attention, so they use Facebook to get attention (Tuktimak).

For some, commenting and posting on *Cambridge Bay News* can mean taking the spotlight and interfering in other people's business. Re-evaluating the screenshots I'd collected in light of these conversations, I realized that what I saw as a productive way for residents to gain support for local issues looked more like bullying. For example, a well established resident of Cambridge Bay called for group members to restrict comments to News and announcements, and her post received one hundred and thirty-one "likes".

Figure 4: Request to avoid negative comments on *Cambridge Bay News*

In this broadly supported call for tighter restrictions and moderation in the group, the poster expresses a vision of community in which complaints and criticism do not help improve the community. She reframes the Facebook group as a space for help, not critique. With this post it became clear to me that while *Cambridge Bay News* appears to work as a platform for voicing local concerns, some group members find complaints uncomfortable and even destructive to their sense of community.

Like most online forums, *Cambridge Bay News* receives its fair share of vitriolic rants and personal attacks. It seems only fair that these posts be deleted. However, some of the posts that group members request to be deleted do not involve explicit personal attacks and do not look like bullying. In interviews, three participants brought up one particular post regarding the food bank as an example of a local concern that they felt should not have appeared on *Cambridge Bay News*[3]*.* Through a close reading of this post and the comments following the post, I will examine the turning points at which group members called for the post to be deleted. What features to group members mention when they tag the post to be deleted? What does it mean when a post is too negative? Before the post is seen by an administrator who decides that that the post is too negative? How do other group members respond to the decision that a local concern is too negative for *Cambridge Bay News*?

Concerns About the Food Bank on Cambridge Bay News

Posted by a regular client of the food bank and member of *Cambridge Bay News* the post read as follows.

[3] Though this post was brought up in interviews as an example, all three participants expressed that they felt ashamed that this kind of debate took place in the group. Since some of the comments on the post are personal and the post has been deleted from the group, I have decided to anonymize the post out of respect for the group's moderation decisions.

Figure 5: Original post from December 4 2014. This post and the comments that followed it were deleted from *Cambridge Bay News*..

In response seventeen group members commented on the post; the back and forth exchanges resulted in forty comments in total but only two likes for the post. The post was mentioned up in three interviews and seemed to have had an impact on the way participants understood the group. The first reply to the post offered to give the poster food saying, “hey … I’ve got a package of chicken if you want it”. After this initial comment, comments on this post dwelt primarily on whether or not this criticism of the food bank is unfair. A prominent community member posted “should be thankful instead of complaining. There r so many people in this community that uses the food bank that they have to divide it equally to try a feed them all year”. This comment received thirteen likes. Another one followed the same sentiment “wow! Even coffee… If you ask me that is pretty caring”. A relative of the initial poster responded to the prominent community member saying “you call this food thankful!!!!! You must be so proud or your family don’t have to struggle!”.

After this comment, the first call to delete the post was made, “Embarrassing! Shannon should delete this post. So embarrassing how people can’t be thankful for something the whole community works so hard for! Bring it back if you don’t like it. I bet you there are people who

wish for it. People in other countries starving and can't even get water and you complain! Sickening!". This evoked a strong response from group members who supported the initial post, another offer to give food to the original poster. It read, "can't believe you're all dumping on him…. common 2 biscuits? We can't blame people for their predicament unless you've been there". Referring to the fundraiser for the food bank another member said "I made cookies for this event, I did my share in trying to help". Again a group member called for the post to be deleted but those who supported the original poster responded this time saying "Why is [someone] trying to delete this post? Can be one issue at Hamlet of council; Food Bank. Doesn't hurt, Can always improve in and around our town. Never had foodbank before, the photo explains it all." On the subject of moderation another member commented "This is not good when the post gets deleted like hiding it under the rug and hope it never resurfaces. Just want people to know they have a voice too, speak up!".

One of the concepts that commenters used to point out negativity in other comments is the idea of the Inuit way. One comment reads "I was taught to be thankful… isn't that the Inuit way? When you get something be thankful. No matter how small be thankful". Other commenters disagreed with the criticism of the post, but they also drew on a sense of tradition arguing that "I thought the Inuit way was to help? Not bitch about not being thankful". In both comments, following "the Inuit way" is framed as a positive response, such as expressing gratitude or offering assistance. Open critique or conflict is implicitly framed as a practice that is non-Inuit. Understandings of what it means to be Inuit shapes the definition of what kind of content is too negative for *Cambridge Bay News*.

Framed as the opposite of negativity, the concept of "the Inuit way" is mobilized in these comments to speak to the value of non-interference and mutual support. Commenters use "the Inuit way" to argue that the original poster should not have interfered in the food bank's operations and instead he should be grateful for what he received. On the other side of the

debate, commenters use “the Inuit way” to argue that group members should not interfere, or presume that they know what the original poster should, or should not do, and instead they should offer assistance.

Ilira and Non-Interference on Cambridge Bay News

In Inuit culture non-interference is closely linked with the feeling and concept of *ilira*. Rachel Qitsualik in her five part series on *ilira* in Nunatsiaq News explains the concept through the story of a pair of tourists visiting a settlement for the first time. I quote it at length here.

> Imagine two tourists, husband and wife, nervous grins, rosy noses, heaving lungs unaccustomed to clean air. They sport bright red, puffy parkas, like giant plastic body pillows – bought at a trendy urbanite store located in a shopping mall – shockingly brittle in the sub-zero temperature and wind chill.
>
> Like a cherry topping some hideous cake are their Indian-style mitts, stiff with newness, complete with "dummy" strings to prevent their loss. They wield their camera like a weapon.
>
> At their mercy is a lone Inuk, whom they have caught untangling some dog traces. Earlier, the traces became a bit wet and, whilst routinely tangled from use, froze together into a semi-cylindrical clump. The tourists stand nearby, watching the Inuk, amazed at the sight of him untangling the icy traces with his bare hands. They periodically turn toward each other, commenting excitedly. The Inuk tries to ignore them as they snap a few pictures.
>
> Eventually, because the Inuk hasn't reacted negatively, the tourists decide to get some better shots. Soon, they are leaning in close to him, asking him to position

> the traces at this angle and that, to pose, to redo some shots they were not happy with.
>
> The Inuk obliges them. He does everything they ask of him, thus wasting about an hour, so that he has to work harder to finish the traces. But he doesn't say a word the entire time. The tourists eventually move on. The photography has cheered them and made them hungry, so they are off to the inn to get a hamburger. On their way, they discuss how nice the locals – the "Innooits" – are, how shy and kindly, just like in the movies.
>
> Another tourist has witnessed the whole thing. He watches the couple on their way to their hamburger, placing his hands on his hips and snorting with derision. He is disgusted at how rudely they treated that poor Innooit, at how they bullied him into posing for their insipid snapshots, at how they have no respect for the traditional culture.
>
> He shakes his head in disgust, resolving to step in next time, to fend away the tourists from these gentle native people who are inherently shy, quiet, and ready to do anything to please strangers. Poor, passive Innooit (Nunani: Ilira part 2).

In Qitsualik's story, each person in this scenario is wrong. The lone tourist assumes that the Inuk is helpless and must be defended from the other tourists when he is feeling *ilira* and protecting himself by losing an hour of his time in order to avoid confrontation. The tourist couple is wrong for believing that he was happily obliging them, when in reality he "probably hates their guts". Finally she argues that the Inuk was wrong to deal with conflict in this way. Instead she says "he needs to remember that they are not of his culture, that in order to help

himself and others, he must communicate with them in their own way – by telling them to jump into the nearest lake" (Nunani: Ilira part 2). Non-interference is a way of behaving so as to avoid causing others to feel *ilira*.

In her ethnography *Never in Anger,* anthropologist Jean Briggs wrote about *ilira* as a form of intimidation especially in relation to someone who has authority. Someone who makes others feel as though they are imposing on them causes them to feel *ilira*. A common expression when Briggs hesitated to ask a favour was "Don't be afraid (*ilira*) to ask; we are kind (*quya*); we won't refuse" (346). Since acting with authority or with unkindness can cause someone to feel *ilirasutuq,* non-interference is one way of ensuring that one does not cause another person to feel that they must obey in order to avoid a conflict. In Brigg's study of Inuit styles of parenting she found that disapproval or disagreement was not expressed, but approval was expressed frequently in order to encourage children to follow norms and behave well.

From this perspective of non-interference, both pointing out how little food the food bank dispenses and criticizing someone who points out the lack of food provided through the food bank could cause people to feel *ilira*. Traditional practices of non-interference would make either of these statements inappropriate. Expressing negative opinions in general is somewhat inappropriate. Rachel Quitsualik explains in part three of her series on *ilira* "Respect for the isuma – personal thoughts and feelings – of others was also fundamental, so that Inuit were reticent about questioning or making demands of others. Inuit relied upon the assumption that each individual would willingly carry out his duties to every other – such as sharing food and shelter" (Nunani: Ilira part 2). From this more traditional perspective, discomfort around seeing negative posts online makes sense. On *Cambridge Bay News* gratitude and non-confrontation are framed as traditional Inuit approaches to conflict while open disagreement and debate are framed as modern and foreign approaches.

Discussing the question of raising local concerns and speaking up with members of *Cambridge Bay News* some participants felt that Inuit had been quiet and avoided interfering in others problems for a long time and it was time to start speaking out. Shirley said that often people are aware of local problems "but they keep quiet, so you know it's time to start doing something. It's time to start speaking up. It's time to quit being quiet it's time to speak out." Leesee Papatsie also sees political mobilization as a new phenomenon, one that she is working to support. "When people lived in camps, people had to be in harmony with one another. And don't cause any friction," Papatsie said. "I think if anything [Feeding My Family is] showing it's okay to step up, which, in the Inuit culture, is something that is not allowed," Papatsie said (Murphy)

However, Peter Kulcheyski and Frank Tester's account of game management and Inuit rights *Kiumajut (Talking Back)* found that Inuit practices of talking back to federal government developed alongside government efforts to control and coerce Inuit. In early days of game management Inuit resistance took the form of noncompliance with racist wildlife regulations. In the 1950s, Inuit would simply avoid RCMP and game wardens and take the game they needed to survive regardless of regulations despite the threat of being charged under the game ordinance (95). A tradition of Inuit petitions also shows the development of practices of resistance. In 1953, residents petitioned to have Inuit claims to copper deposits given priority and be held free of taxes since "the land is ours and we never gave it or sold it away and never will" (qtd in *Kiumajut* 240). In 1962, Kugluktuk residents petitioned again this time to have a hospital built in Kugluktuk so that Inuit family members would no longer be sent down south to Tuberculosis sanitariums (258). In 1967 Pond Inlet, residents petitioned to obtain a license for band broadcasting for the local Inuktitut radio station (265). In 1968, resistance to the residential school system also took the form of a petition from residents of Iglulik to the local Anglican bishop, who sent a copy of the petition to Jean Chrétien the minister of the Department of Indian

Affairs and Northern Development (269). Looking over this tradition of noncompliance and petition writing it seems that speaking up is perhaps not as new of a phenomena as some might think it is. It also implies that claims about what is or is not a traditional Inuit way of acting functions as a political speech act by directing Inuit as to how they should engage in community.

What has changed significantly is the leadership and structure of society in the North. After the formation of Nunavut, Inuit became increasingly involved in the governance structures of Nunavut, this allowed for greater autonomy and power for Inuit. In the past, Inuit directed tactics of non-compliance and petitions to government officials who were often far away in Ottawa. In contemporary Nunavut Inuit are beginning to hold more and more positions of authority in government institutions, both federally and territorially. As a result, Rachel Qitsualik argues that though in the past Inuit could use practices of *ilira* and non-interference amongst themselves while reserving confrontation for Qablunaaq, confrontation is becoming necessary even amongst Inuit. “No longer can Inuit afford to allow everyone their own way, for Inuit — like Qallunaat — now rely upon projects where separate opinions conflict, where singular visions are valued. This forces the society to become an arena, its members dueling over the ideas that will prevail. In a project-driven society, ideas are the power for which authoritarians will kill” (Nunani: Ilira part 3). Showing respect for the thoughts and feelings of others by avoiding conflict cannot work in this context.

While traditional values of non-interference and respect for the thoughts and feelings of other people still shapes the norms of *Cambridge Bay News*, these traditional values are also sometimes used to silence those who point out inequality. Comparing the general tone of *Cambridge Bay News* with the silent compliance of the Inuk in Rachel Qitsualik’s story, it is clear that questioning and making demands of others has been much more common. However, the assumption that individuals would willingly share their food and shelter has also changed significantly.

Visions of Community on Cambridge Bay News

There are three tensions between group members who supported the original post and members who felt it should be taken down. These points of contention reflect different visions of community in Cambridge Bay and on *Cambridge Bay News*. First, five commenters post comments that suggesting that asking the original poster to be grateful when he was already in need is insulting and that the tone of these comments was too negative. For example, this comment reads “no hearts some people! Bringing him down when while his already down and out. Should be trying to help, just going to the store to get something for a proper meal. ☺”. Another reads “Don’t put someone down for getting help. Offer more help. I have some caribou ribs if you’d like. Inbox me.”. These posts assume that the original post is a request for food and support as much as a critique of the food bank. In this vision of community norms of non-interference are valued but the original post is reframed so that it does not violate these norms.

Five group members bring up a second point of tension in comments that focus on the relative privilege of group members who asked Shannon, the administrator to delete the post. One member commented “just don’t make it a ‘haves’ and have ‘nots’ community. Bring each other up”. Another group member, commented “seems like people with perfect lives own this page, other people with struggles try to make a point but all they get is negative feedback from the big wigs in town”. This emphasis on the power and privilege of those calling for the post to be deleted relative to the original posters find this attitude to be hypocritical. “All happy in our pretty little homes, family’s fine, got a job, perfect kids…contradicting hypocrites! I’m with the underdog”.

In comparison with traditional Inuit sharing practices, the current distribution of resources is a huge change. Since it is difficult for individuals with income to participate in sharing networks for a variety of reasons and as a result, income is less equally distributed than the

proceeds of hunting. As Qitsualik pointed out, the value of non-interference is based on the idea that individuals will contribute to the community of their own free will. It seems unfair to suggest that Inuit accessing the food bank should be behaving in a traditional "Inuit way" of being grateful for what they received when those with more income do not distribute these resources in a traditional manner. The conventions and practices of autonomy and non-confrontation are modes of communication that function in partnership with a mode of production that has taken a new form. In this vision of community, it is hypocritical for members who are not engaging in sharing practices to ask others to abide by norms associated with these practices.

Finally, three group members raise the issue of free speech and productive discussion as the final point of tension. One member argued, "as [previous commenter] says that is using your voice and freedom of speech in a civilized amicable manner. You reflect what you say and do of your community". Another adds "Why is Sarah trying to delete this post? Can be one issue at Hamlet of council; Food Bank. Doesn't hurt, Can always improve in and around our town. Never had food bank before. The photo explains it all". A member of the hamlet council added "I do think it's a valid question though… where does the money from the food bank go? As residents we should be able to ask these questions". In this vision of community, the food bank is an institution that is part of the hamlet's responsibilities and *Cambridge Bay News* is an appropriate space for voicing concerns about hamlet issues.

The strict moderation of what community members call negativity on *Cambridge Bay News* has roots in Inuit practices of *ilira* and non-interference. However, these practices can sometimes be used by local elites to maintain conditions of inequality by shaping the tenor and conditions for political speech seen as acceptable dissent, by calling the practice of speaking out "un-Inuit". With the creation of Nunavut and the increasing involvement of Inuit in government and development corporations, it is becoming necessary to talk back, not just to Qablunaaq but also to Inuit leaders and representatives. For some members, requesting that a

post be deleted because it is too negative is a way to avoid dissent and to maintain power without being questioned.

Despite receiving several requests to immediately delete the post, Shannon left the post up for three hours after she was notified between five-thirty and eight-thirty in the evening. This was enough time for most regular *Cambridge Bay News* members to see the post and to let the conversation unfold and for those who agreed and disagreed to voice their concerns. When Shannon finally deleted the post, it was not an easy decision to make. The next day Shannon posted a typical reminder to avoid negative posts on the site and when member asked why the post about the food bank was deleted, she replied,

> You all know I have worked for the Wellness Centre before. They have a policy to follow by from Health Canada. Also everyone knows how expensive it is to shop at the store. Yes Wellness Centre buys food which is once a week & receive donations to give to those in need. There is a lot who rely on the food bank. Food comes and goes very quickly. Sometimes there is nothing or so little to give out to those in need. I know what it's just a little bit. Maybe call wellness Centre or hamlet of Cambridge Bay and ask questions about the food bank and get a better understanding on how things work. I feel bad to remove the post but anything like that can go straight to the company. Merry Christmas Cambridge Bay.

Deleting the post looks a lot like censorship and the next day some group members expressed that they felt the post should have been allowed to stay on the wall. Shannon's compromise was to leave the post up for a few hours after group members started to notify her about the post.

On *Cambridge Bay News* negativity is certainly uncomfortable for some group members and usually members quickly request that any critical posts are deleted. However, even

"negative" posts have a place in the group. Except for extreme personal attacks most posts stay on the group for a few hours. Though it does not leave a lasting record of debates and conflicts in the group, it is often long enough to bring attention to an issue. In my interviews, group members remembered the discussion about the food bank and referred to it when we spoke, but there is no longer a record of the debate in the group. Since these conflicts usually involve people who live in close proximity, erasing the record of these conflicts can help members live together. Conflicts take on an oral quality where most members know that the conflict happened and remember what happened but records of the incident are limited to memory. Though this practice limits the group's power to hold member's accountable, it also limits any lasting impacts.

Fragile Community on Cambridge Bay News

Compared with other settlements in the Kitikmeot region of Nunavut, Cambridge Bay has the highest crime rate. The murder rate for Nunavut in general is nine times Southern Canada (Statistics Canada). Living with in close proximity to violent crime is difficult since these incidents touch the lives of most residents. Perpetrators of violent crimes are often also victims and family members. For Kelly, whose family often relies on *Cambridge Bay News* in order to get country food, this can be overwhelming. She reports negative comments on *Cambridge Bay News* because "For me there's too much out there in the community, like negative stuff it comes on me, goes to my house like… [sigh of frustration]. I try to stay home as much as I can so that there doesn't have to be too much stuff going on in the household" (Kelly). Facing the violence and social problems that are part of day-to-day life in Cambridge Bay is exhausting and some residents respond by isolating themselves from the community.

Discussing Cambridge Bay News, Kelly notes that "there are good comments and there are some bad comments and I wish people could understand that's not what Facebook's for to

rant and rave, [it is] to deliver good news to the community". For Kelly, *Cambridge Bay News* has the potential to serve as a source of inspiration for activities and events that will occur in the community and stories of the community's successes. The group could draw people back to the community by creating a space of pride and support for community members. This vision of *Cambridge Bay News* is different from the way that activists use the group, and also different from the way that some group members use *Cambridge Bay News* to hold individuals and organizations accountable.

The emphasis that group members place on limiting the amount of conflict expressed in the group combined with Shannon's moderation practices establishes a delicate balance between different visions of the role of *Cambridge Bay News* in the community. For members who log on less often, the group works as a platform for information about events in the community. Others, who follow the group more closely, use it to call out vandalism and bring issues to the attention of other group members or the town council. Since many group members are connected through family ties and at least have to live with each other in close proximity, some find it destabilizing to have written evidence of conflict in the group. Some members of the group would like it to be a platform for debate and discussion, but others have a different vision of what community means on *Cambridge Bay News* that is oriented more towards material support than political support. As a result, the group is limited in its capacity to mobilize group members.

Despite these limitations, some members perceive that they have mobilized significant support through the group. Peggy Tologanak explains how she uses the group to get information about a man in town who sexually assaulted her.

> I post stuff and hopefully other people will start talking instead of it being in a dark corner … I see it as positive change and [I post] for others to keep an eye out for [him]. They really support that way. It really means the world to me when a man

> supports us women in that. It really gets to me and I start thinking the town's not so bad. They do support me. And I feel safer, knowing that I could call on anyone, not just the cops. It really means a lot to me (Tologanak)

Peggy's experience is that by posting in the group, she received support from a wide variety of group members. The support of men in the group was particularly meaningful. However, when we looked back to the group's history for the year 2011 when it was posted, the post was gone.

This does not mean the group cannot be used to generate support for its members. In the past, when group members agree fairly widely on an issue topics that might otherwise be seen as negative or overwhelming can receive public support. On March 16 2015 Deidra Sherri Mala made an incident of elder abuse public by naming names of youth who attended a party at an elder's home, without her permission. Eighty-two members liked the post and several posted supportive comments. One responded, "Elder abuse needs 2 end. n thank u 4 being her voice n protecting innocent people like her. <3 Never be b ashamed to speak out 4 people like your grandmother" (Matt-Katie Nimegeers). A parent commented "*Koana* I will talk to my kids I told them once before still no ears ☹". *Cambridge Bay News* has also served as a platform for maintaining pressure on local insitutions. During 2014-15 several posts focused on problems with the Cambridge Bay Housing Association. In these posts, residents voiced concerns with the waitlist for housing and the systems used to determine who gets housing in Cambridge Bay. Though no changes have been made yet, residents were able to carry on a conversation that began at the housing association's annual general meeting in October.

These three examples, and the incident of elder abuse in particular, seem to have some negative or at least potentially upsetting content, these posts were not tagged as too negative. Since there was more agreement in the community on the issue of elder abuse, the post was not deleted and was met was significant approval. As a result, issues such as youth vandalism, elder abuse and the housing policy, posts on *Cambridge Bay News* have successfully brought

issues to hamlet government, evoked community solutions and maintained pressure on local organizations.

Can group members use *Cambridge Bay News* be used to gather support? I would argue that it can be. The group is not a place for debate, some group members find these debates to be too damaging to the community and ask for them to be deleted. Though traditional values of non-interference are still emphasized in the group, some issues do gain traction through the group and evoke a response to personal and institutional problems. Whether this is because some form of consensus already exists on the issue before it is posted online, or because the issues do not threaten power structures in the community, posts that receive widespread support in *Cambridge Bay News* can have a powerful impact.

Conclusion

> When [group members] don't know who to turn to, when they feel helpless, like no one is helping them, that's when they go on Cambridge Bay News. Sometimes it turns good, sometimes it turns bad. Sometimes it's really really good, sometimes it's so bad that there's really bad arguments within the group. When they feel helpless, they don't know what to do, they don't know who to turn to, they're getting turned down a lot and they're reaching out for help, they need to hear more from others in order to fix the situation that they're trying to fix.
>
> Shannon Kemukton
>
> *Cambridge Bay News* Administrator

Research on digital media in Nunavut continues to focus on cultural revitalization with apps for sharing traditional knowledge, songs and learning Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun, the local dialect of Cambridge Bay. These projects make a huge difference in a territory that is working

hard to keep these traditions alive. However, theorizing these projects as a form of re-vitalization misses the forms of culture such as the indigenous economy that are still quite vital in groups like *Cambridge Bay News.* As I explored in chapter three, the Indigenous economy and the sharing networks that support it, are a central organizing principle of Inuit relationships and spirituality. This is not to say that the Inuit economy has been constant, as I explored sharing networks contracted post settlement and are tentatively expanding again through local Facebook groups. Nonetheless, these networks have maintained their capacity to strengthen relationships and provide a buffer in times of scarcity. This ongoing strength suggests that revitalization does not appropriately describe this phenomenon.

Revitalization focuses on the major destruction of Inuit culture that took place during the settlement and residential school era. The term suggests that this time has past and the culture is being revived or brought back to life through digital media. And yet, drawing on Glen Coulthard's theory of recognition politics in chapter one, I found that in terms of legal title to Inuit lands, forms of state recognition like the implementation of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement reflect an uninterrupted pattern of colonial dispossession. Through the land claims agreement, the federal government secured its right to grant extraction permits to resource development industries, while Inuit received land rights and limited funding with which to build a new territory and repair the cultural damages of settlement and residential school policies caused by federal policies of modernization. Rather than offering Inuit a means to recover land and culture, the land claim continued the federal government's assault on Inuit land and culture.

When members of *Cambridge Bay News* discuss moderation practices in the group and food sharing traditions, they frame these practices as a continuation of "the Inuit way". Though these traditions are under threat, they are traditions that are alive and actively engaged with online and offline. This suggests that living the Inuit way under colonial conditions is a continuous practice of cultural resilience rather than revitalization. As members of *Cambridge*

Bay News put it, “the old way still exists”. Sharing practices take new forms in response to new technologies and economic circumstances. In Cambridge Bay, residents use these technologies to protect and promote Inuit traditions that are threatened but never disappeared. Resilience describes the strength of Inuit culture to adapt and adopt new technologies to its purposes.

“Revitalization” is a noun derived from the verb “to revitalize”. As critical discourse theorist Norman Fairclough suggests, the nominalization of a verb “has the effect of backgrounding the process itself – its tense and modality are not indicated – and usually not specifying its participants, so that who is doing what to whom is left implicit’ (179). When thinking about how to understand the explosion of Inuit cultural content online, academics need words that focus on who and what is participating in this change rather than erasing them. If revitalization can be done by anyone, efforts towards cultural revitalization can be used to show that Inuit culture has been taken into account and that colonialism is in the past.

Resilience, as a noun that describes something or someone’s capacity to recover from difficulties, locates this cultural resurgence within Inuit culture. Rather than suggesting that cultural attacks are over, the quality of cultural resilience is one that Inuit can rely on to sustain cultural threats that are ongoing and that may take different shapes. Looking at Inuit culture through the lens of resilience resists the myth of the politics of recognition that locates colonial violence in the past. Instead it locates the capacity for cultural endurance within Inuit culture and the people who have fought for its endurance.

Members of Cambridge Bay News turn to the group for support when other options have been exhausted. Support can take different forms such as food, clothes, advice, an affective response and political mobilization. Through these everyday forms of support, the community is strengthened. When a group member who hunts finds a part that is necessary to repair her snowmobile, she and her whole family gain some relief from the pressures of the wage economy and a deeper connection to the land. When another member gathers support to

decide how to respond to youth committing vandalism and break-ins in the community, residents are better able to shape the kind of community they want to have internally, rather than having it defined by the settler colonial project. Together these capacities develop resilience amongst group members to the pressures of capitalist primitive accumulation.

For now, the quantity of country food that group members share is more symbolically significant than nutritionally significant. However, groups like *Cambridge Bay News* are building sharing traditions that are unique to Facebook and designed to fill gaps that the food bank and wage economy cannot fill. These forms of sharing take a different shape from the complex sharing structures Inuinnait used when living on the land but they are responding to new challenges and technologies with the same value of not wasting food and making sure those in need have food to eat. Members use Cambridge Bay News to gain information about community programs and events access to scarce resources like access to country food. This strengthens relationships between individuals and families in the settlement creating an online network of people who are connected to each other and the land through Cambridge Bay News.

The Facebook platform is not an ideal platform for these kinds of practices. The flow of information about the values and skills of the Indigenous economy is mediated by a platform that capitalizes on each click through advertising. More dangerous than advertising however, is the potential for government surveillance of Inuit people through the Facebook group. In 2014, the departments of Justice and Aboriginal Affairs spied on Professor Cindy Blackstock's personal Facebook page, collecting hundreds of pages of personal correspondence because of her advocacy for First Nations education (Blackstock). Recently, the RCMP used a fake Facebook account to infiltrate Idle No More Facebook pages and other activist groups (Corbeil). Since *Cambridge Bay News* is a public group, members who use the group to build support for social media campaigns like *Feeding My Family* or *Fight Against Seismic Testing In Nunavut* risk government surveillance intended to control Inuit resistance.

Part of turning away from the framework of revitalization and towards resilience is rejecting the myth that colonial dispossession has ended and committing to an ongoing resistance to colonial dispossession and assimilation. Part of it is about refocusing on a robust definition of Inuit culture that attends to aspects of the culture that cannot be easily reconciled with the state, like the Indigenous economy. Research must continue to focus forms of culture such as language and art but also attend to the material basis of these cultures and the interaction between symbolic and material forms of culture.

Attending to material conditions that inform a culture is particularly important because in order for a culture to endure, the people who practice this culture must also endure. On *Cambridge Bay News,* group members support one another materially and to a more limited extent, politically in order to endure and even celebrate life in a place with high rates of violent crime, high costs of food and few economic opportunities. Though different visions of what this community should look like come into conflict on *Cambridge Bay News* and are sometimes deployed in order to sustain inequality, each vision reflects a commitment to the community and culture. Through these kinds of support, residents affirm for one another that their lives matter and that they have the power to shape the community in which they live.

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