

**WOMEN AND WORK:
ANALYZING THE MIXED ECONOMY IN
QIKIQTARJUAQ, NUNAVUT**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the condition of the mixed economy from the perspective of women's work in the Nunavut community of Qikiqtarjuaq. The focus of the project was to decide if the mixed economy persists in Inuit communities today, or if Inuit have moved into a new form of economy. I explored two definitions of the mixed economy. First, that as a group, women divide their time approximately evenly between monetary and subsistence pursuits; and second, that women devote their time to activities which support their male partners in hunting. A survey was used as the primary research tool to gather data from 103 women regarding how they spent their time over a one month period in spring 2010. Results show that although most women are unemployed, women spend much more time involved in wage work, than being involved in traditional activities such as sewing, butchering, cleaning seal skins and going on the land. Women over forty were more heavily involved in wage employment, were more heavily engaged in subsistence activities and spent more nights on the land than women in their twenties. Various theories emerge as to the cause of the demise in the practice of traditional skills. Namely, the shift in the interactions between men and women within the mixed economy, the choice of young women to move away from traditional subsistence activities, and finally, that women have less time to engage in subsistence projects and to spend time on the land, since they are often kept up in their jobs during the week. I conclude that the mixed economy no longer exists in the community as an integrated whole where men and women's labour is mutually supportive and where money and hunting complement each other. Instead, the value of land and subsistence based activities have shifted from a need for survival to a resource for leisure.

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“Reveal what lies within.” –Neil Young

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

Inuit were first exposed to the cash economy when early whalers and traders entered the north to hire Inuit workers and to purchase Inuit goods, such as seal skins, to sell in the international market. With cash income, Inuit were able to acquire modern hunting equipment, which made accessing the land easier, and hunting trips more efficient. However, in turn, as Inuit came to rely upon goods like snow machines and high powered rifles, cash income was required to support men's hunting activities. These wages were generated by men working blue collar, short term jobs like construction, which left them time to hunt, and women working service jobs like housekeeping (Billson and Mancini 2007; Dahl 2000; Dorais 1997; Kruse 1991). Still,

much of the income in the household was provided by the cleaning and selling of seal skins and was the focus of the economy.

When the seal skin market collapsed in the early 1980s, seal skins were no longer a viable option for supporting the economy of Inuit communities (Wenzel 1991). While men continued to hunt, families had to invest more time into wage labour to compensate for the decline in the value for skins. At the same time, in an effort to support Canada's northern economies and people, Inuit men and women became highly vulnerable to the threats of marginalization and the subsidies coming up from the south. This not only affected the traditional connection that Inuit had with the land, but it affected the skills that were necessary for surviving in a remote environment. For example, because government subsidies supplied the food, clothing and medicine once only available from the land, hunting became less important for survival.

While the mixed economy (see Condon et al. 1995; Dowsley 2010; Kemp 1971; Oakes 1995; Reeves 1992; Smith and Wright 1989; Usher et al. 2003) focused heavily on the generation of cash to support men in hunting, it meant that both men and women still heavily relied on the land to meet their needs. The priority of the community was the provision of land goods, which often included country food and seal skins for women's sewing. The intention of this thesis is to investigate whether the mixed economy persists for women in Qikiqtarjuaq, Nunavut. In particular, I explore if women continue to use their income to offset the cost of hunting and if they continue to utilize the goods from the land as an economic resource. The results presented in this thesis will be analyzed to decide if Inuit have moved from a mixed economy into a wage economy, which uses the

land for recreation and non-essential food. The thesis does not focus on subsistence activities that provide monetary gain, but instead looks at subsistence involvement on an individual and community level in regards to production. The thesis should be evaluated within this constraint.

1.1 Relevance of the Research

This thesis is relevant to the literature on Inuit because it explores the involvement of women in subsistence and wage economies in modern Nunavut communities. The project is founded on two contesting theories that discuss the conditions of Inuit communities today. Namely, Goehring and Stager (1995) proposed that:

While there once was a time where it was possible to maintain tandem existence between traditional and wage economies...with the decay of the fur market, local depletion of game resources and a growing population with less land-based skills, the Inuit have entered a new stage (Goehring and Stager 1995, 671).

Conversely, Oosten and Laugrand (2002) concluded that,

Inuit have amply proved that they are perfectly capable of dealing with Western discourses while retaining and preserving their own cultural traditions (Oosten and Laugrand 2002, 18).

While the first hypothesis speculates that Inuit have moved on from the mixed economy, the second suggests that Inuit are still immersed within it, implying that Inuit are able to balance a traditional lifestyle within a modern economy. To decide which of these combating hypotheses is most true, my thesis will explore the results of a survey which was used to identify how engaged the women of Qikiqtarjuaq, NU are in the mixed economy today.

1.2 Research Objectives

This thesis is formulated around a set of fundamental principles that have been identified in the literature on mixed economy (Dowsley 2010; Kemp 1971; Reeves 1992; Smith and Wright 1989;). For the purposes of this research, I have defined the mixed economy in two ways and then tested each to analyze whether the mixed economy persists. The first definition I use is that for women, the mixed economy could exist if approximately half of the total work hours of women are spent in wage labour and half are in subsistence activities. While individual women might focus on one or the other economy, as a group, they should be engaged equally in both. The second definition, which is more established in the literature, is that the mixed economy requires men and women's labour to be integrated (Wenzel 1991). From this perspective, men and women in the community should be dividing their time between the two economies, with men more oriented toward subsistence hunting, and the women to wage labour. Women's wages would support men's hunting through purchasing of equipment and the availability of a man with land skills and equipment facilitates a woman's involvement in the land and subsistence activities. This second view of the mixed economy sets up the 'time trap' where wage labour is needed for subsistence, but time for wage workers to engage in subsistence is then in short supply. The thesis aims to explore if women's time is used to support either the first or second idea of the mixed economy, or if 'mixed economy' is no longer an appropriate term to apply. Finally, in considering the mixed economy, it is expected that if the mixed economy exists and is socially sustainable, there should be evidence of the involvement of younger women in both economies.

In order to assess the validity of these ideas, the following three research objectives will be addressed:

1. To decide if the sample of women reflects relatively equal involvement in the wage and subsistence economies;
2. To identify if a reciprocal economic relationship exists between men and women where men's access to the land is positively correlated to their spouses' income and women's amount of time on the land is positively correlated with her husband's activity;
3. To evaluate the involvement of women in the wage and the subsistence economies by age.

The first objective identifies how women balanced wage work and subsistence activities in the spring of 2010. I speculate that the mixed economy could be sustained through the involvement of women in both economies, where half of the total work time of women in my sample is devoted to wage work, and the other half is devoted to subsistence activities. To do this, I identify the employment levels of the women; I then describe how the employed women fall into various categories of employment. I then identify the number of women spending time on the land and the degree to which they are involved in subsistence activities, namely, sewing (with store-bought materials or skins), butchering and cleaning animal skins. While these are useful representations of the economic patterns for women in Qikiqtarjuaq, it must be noted that a portion of the income of women comes from government subsidies that contribute to a significant proportion of the income for most families. Studying the influence of these government subsidies on the economy is out of the scope of this project.

The second objective investigates whether a reciprocal relationship continues to exist between men and women where his access to the land is dependent on her wage income to purchase hunting equipment, and her access to the land is dependent on his activity on the land where she is more likely to go out on the land if he does. To complete this objective, I first identify the proportion of men going on the land and what factors influence his activity level, and next, examine if women were more likely to go on the land if the eldest man in their household had been on the land in the last month.

The third objective will examine if there are any generational trends in Qikiqtarjuaq, where skill sets and involvement in the wage and subsistence economy vary with age. Here, I analyze the age of individual women, and also 10-year age cohorts in order to assess the distribution of activities across age groups. Activities include both those associated with the wage economy and the subsistence economy. I use this objective to hypothesize on the future of the two economies to predict if the wage economy will be the dominant economy in the future.

1.3 Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into 6 chapters. It begins with the introduction to the concepts of the mixed economy in the north and the research objectives for the project. The second chapter provides a literature review on modernity in Inuit communities, the mixed economy, and cultural changes over time, as well it provides a brief discussion of the literature on the methods used to carry out this project. The third chapter provides a description of the community of Qikiqtarjuaq, NU, and discusses the survey instrument utilized in this research project. Chapter four provides the results of the survey tool

which indicate low female involvement in the subsistence economy, no link between a woman's income and her husband's hunting, but a positive correlation between women's time on the land and her husband's involvement in subsistence, and finally a complex picture of subsistence involvement based on age. Chapter five provides a discussion of the survey results. The final chapter identifies the conclusions made from the project, namely that the subsistence economy is no longer a primary focus of life in Qikiqtarjuaq, but rather subsistence more closely resembles recreation. The paper finishes with a list of references, as well as appendices containing the survey instrument (Appendix 1), the letters of introduction (Appendix 2) and permission (Appendix 3), ethics approval from Lakehead University (Appendix 4) and research licenses from Nunavut Research Institute (Appendix 5) and Naqturaliit Women's Group in Qikiqtarjuaq (Appendix 6).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Literature Review

From the early documentation of explorers like Boas (1888), Jenness (1922) and Rasmussen (1929), cultural information on Canada's Inuit has become available to researchers. Using this information, researchers have been able to reconstruct aspects of life in Inuit communities in the past, and thus, to represent change over time. While there was once a strong focus on hunting and gathering in post contact literature, most of the publications in the recent past have shifted into concerns over health, physical environment and climate change (ex. Aporta 2009; Ayotte et al. 2001; Ford et al. 2006; Kemp 1971; Pearce et al. 2006). This has meant two things for literature on Inuit.

First, it overlooks the effects that modernity has had on the social aspects of traditional Inuit culture. In particular, with the emergence of the mixed economy, men's and women's roles in Inuit society have changed. According to Condon et al. (1995) and Fogel-Chance (1993), determining a community's resiliency to modernity is reflected in men and women's level of involvement in traditional skills, where the fewer traditional skills practiced, the more modern the community. In the north in particular, shifts in lifestyle are seen in the reduced practice, and loss of the importance, of traditional activities, like cleaning seal skins and berry picking for women (Kruse 1991; Stern 2000).

Second, the focus on physical environment means that the literature is based heavily on the male perspective, since men are leaders on the land, and their input on environmental and climate change is highly regarded in Northern studies (ex. Buijs 2010; Fienup-Riordan 2010; Nuttall 2010). This has left a gap in the literature where very few recent publications have contributed to discussion on the roles of Inuit women today (exceptions include Billson and Mancini 2007; Guemple 1986; McElroy 1975; Oakes 1995, Wachowich 2001). Since Inuit men and women are viewed as one cohesive unit in the subsistence economy, with a co-dependent bond (Dahl 2000), time should be spent understanding the sensitive balance between their traditional roles as man, the hunter, navigator and tool maker, and woman, the keeper of the house, children and skins and how these roles and associated skills have changed over time.

The following is a review of the literature on Inuit as they exist within the modern world and the mixed economy with a discussion of male and female work as it has changed with the development of the mixed economy. The chapter finishes with a review of the literature on the survey method used to carry out this project.

2.1 Introduction to Modernity

Within the existing body of literature on Inuit, most researchers focus on the traditional notion of Inuit as hunters of sea mammals (see Boas 1888; Damas 1969; Degerbol and Freuchen 1935; Friedl 1990; Furgal and Seguin 2006; Jenness 1922; Kemp 1971; Park 1993; Pitul'ko 1999; Rasmussen 1929; Wenzel 1978). While these traditional representations of Inuit perpetuate ideas about a hunting life in Inuit communities today, the reality is that all of the communities in the Arctic have integrated aspects of the modern world. To name a few, Inuit were unable to resist the appeal of wage labour, rifles, *qallunaat* (white people) food, and snow machines. These had surfaced by the mid-1960s when government resettlement programs were widespread, displacing Inuit into permanent, sedentary camps (Tester and Kulchyski 1994). Before these relocations, Inuit had “maintained a mode of life not so different from Boas’ time” (Wenzel 1991, 6), but settlements made it easier for white people moving into the north to access Inuit, with intentions of trade, medicine, labour and mission work, and gave Inuit opportunities to access opportunities, goods and services from the south (Boas 1888; Chance 1960; Damas 2002).

The centralization period initiated the development of a diversified employment environment and widespread acceptance of new technological items (Wenzel 1983). In particular, the introduction of cash initiated the mixed economy, which used wage income to offset the operating and equipment costs for hunting (Smith and Wright 1989). While some communities thrived under these circumstances, integrating traditional work with modernity, like in Quaqtuq, (explored by Dorais 1997), or in Tuktoyaktuk, (explored by

Salokangas 2009), modernity has significantly affected the cultural integrity of most present day Inuit groups (Searles 2010). Consequently, many of the responsibilities of men, women and children changed, which in turn shifted traditional roles, creating new skill sets and altering how community members spent their time.

2.2 Development of the Mixed Economy

Perhaps the most influential catalyst for culture change in Inuit communities is the introduction of the cash economy in the Arctic (Billson and Mancini 2007; Condon et al. 1995; Kemp 1971; Wenzel 1991). Cash was used by whalers and traders entering the north in the 19th century to purchase furs and other goods, as well as labour from the Inuit, who, until contact, had relied on sharing as the primary means of economy (Borre 1994; Wenzel 1978). Once the fur trade commenced, Inuit began trading furs with several partners, including the European Economic Community (EEC), which created a lucrative economy that supported the Inuit communities (Wenzel 1991). Inuit could purchase goods that were not previously available, like snow machines, ammunition and guns, which supported their hunting, trapping and land based activities. However, when the market for seal skins collapsed in the early 1980s, due to the EEC discontinuing the purchase of skins, Northern communities were left in a precarious situation (Wenzel 1991). In an attempt to stabilize northern economies, government subsidies were increased, and included welfare payments and hiring programs (Tester and Kulchyski 1994; Wenzel 1991). Consequently, the kinship and sharing organizations that were once the most important component of Inuit economy, and had persisted into the sealskin trade

era, became less important as money and the purchasing of modern goods became ubiquitous (Stuckenberger 2006; Wenzel 1991).

Various theories have emerged around the modernization of hunter-gatherer societies where the subsistence economy gives way to the monetary economy (Chance 1960; Murphy and Steward 1956). While the subsistence economy once revolved within a 'closed system', which bonded together the land, animals and people, the monetary economy introduced outside resources (Dowsley 2010; Goehring and Stager 1991; Reeves 1992; Smith and Wright 1989; Wenzel 1991). Subsequently, while Inuit became more dependent on cash income, it meant that they required a consistent work force, which was often taken up by the women in the family as full time workers, and by men as seasonal workers (Dorais 1997; McElroy 1975; Oakes 1995). The exchange of some of the family's labour for cash to support hunting became the bridge that joined a traditional way of life with a new one.

Various researchers contend that the mixed economy shifted the traditional Inuit economy, which had revolved around sharing of meat, into constructions of labour, knowledge, equipment and cash (Damas 1972; Wenzel 1991). In his paper on energy flow in Inuit communities, Kemp (1971) identified the mixed economy as the sale of skins and furs by Inuit for money used to purchase clothes, imported foods and hunting equipment. Instead of using community sharing as a process for attaining what is needed for life, outside sources were being tapped in order to meet the needs of the society. While Kemp states that the intention of this involvement in the monetary economy was to

improve hunting efficiency, he discusses how subsistence skills have been lost in the process of its development.

2.2.1 Threats to the Mixed Economy

With the collapse of the fur trade, Inuit became increasingly dependent on wage employment. While it increased the number of wage workers, it decreased the number of hunters, putting traditional skills in jeopardy, especially for the younger population who trained as wage workers (Jacobs 1975). Men became more dependent on their wives to provide a stable income, while they maintained casual or seasonal jobs which supported their hunting lifestyle (Duhaime et al. 2002; Smith and Wright 1989; Stern 2000). The mixed economy reduced the time that women and men spent on traditional work and on the land because they became tied to the community through wage work, the desire to live with their school-aged children, and the need to support infirm elderly relatives who required medical attention attainable in settlements (Goehring and Stager 1991; McLean 1995). In turn, this threatened the relationship to the environment that once formed Inuit identity (Laidler et al. 2009). Goehring and Stager (1991) propose that it will be a challenge for Inuit to maintain a land based identity, since today communities are composed of many young people who lack the land based skills possessed by their parents and grandparents.

Elders state that the issues facing youth come down to the source of their knowledge, which was once constructed around the skills of the “Inummarik” and children were taught knowledge of the land (Brody 1975; Stairs 1992; Wenzel 2004). With the definition of ‘knowledge’ in the present day, which is taught by non-Inuit people

in schools and the media, the idea of a skilful person now relates to how trained, educated and socially competent an Inuk is in the ways of the modern world (Brody 1975; Kilbourne 2008; Stairs 1992). This shift in skills poses a threat to traditional ways of life for Inuit, with ramifications for skills like cleaning skins and acquiring country food (Kuhlein et al. 1996). Interestingly, evidence shows that youth feel as strong a sense of importance in wage work as elders once felt for subsistence; while simultaneously valuing subsistence activities for recreational and psychological means rather than economic ones (Borré 1991; Borré 1994; Condon et al. 1995; Dahl 2000; Stern 2000).

In a study done in Brazil on indigenous tribes and the effects of acculturation, Burford de Oliveira (2006) identified that in order for the cultural practices of the past to thrive in the future, it is youth who must hold on to the traditions of previous generations. The author discussed how this is only possible if youth show some interest in doing so. This epitomizes the concept of choice, which Kruse (1991) discusses in his studies on Alaskan Inupiat and their 'personal choice' for subsistence and wage work patterns. Kruse discusses how life has changed in Inupiat communities because youth are able to choose the life that they want, they are no longer forced to go out on the land in order to survive and meet the needs of the community. Condon et al. (1995) attests to this argument, proposing that children may be more interested in sitting on the couch and watching television than going out on the land and hunting. Condon et al. (1995) implies that the impetus for the current demise in traditional skills may result from a lack of interest in youth, coupled with increasing opportunities for activities like organized sports and formal education. Kruse makes specific reference to these effects when he writes:

Individual choice does play a critical role in the process of cultural change, however. Despite parental expectations, a son may decline to go to fish camp in favour of working on a construction job...over generations [choice is] the driving force behind cultural change (Kruse 1991, 318).

Dahl backs up this claim by Kruse when he writes:

Today, the scraping and cleaning of sealskins is often disliked by young women and teenaged girls (Dahl 2000, 188).

Here, Dahl refers to the desire for young Inuit women in Greenland to get an education, which is often supported by their mothers, who consider the cleaning of seal skins to be strenuous work, with low return on labour. Dahl states that it will be hard to teach the importance of traditional skills to young women if their mothers also consider a formal education in school to be more valuable in the present day.

To conclude, while wage employment continues to penetrate northern economies, it continues to be one of the most obvious repercussions of westernization in the north (Billson and Mancini 2007). An overall shift has been seen in how both men and women spend their time in communities today. In part, this is due to the concept of choice that faces youth. As well, it is due to the introduction of the 5 day work week, which shifts the duties of men and women, and changes the time spent on the land from any day of the week, to primarily weekends and holidays. With women working to support their children and spouses, it has placed them within the relatively secure white collar economy, which provides full-time, permanent employment, with competitive wages. Specifically, Inuit women have entered the work force in positions such as education, administration, government and nursing, while men have become engaged in part time or seasonal work that are usually blue collar jobs like construction and sport hunt guiding (Dorais 1997; McElroy 1975 and 2008).

2.3 Gender and Work

Various researchers discuss the theories around gender for subsistence-based hunter-gatherers, and how gender plays an important role in the organization and action of a group (Ackerman 1990; Bodenhorn 1990; Condon and Stern 1993; Dahl 2000; Frink 2009; Ingold 2001; Waguespack 2005; Wolfe and Walker 1987). For Inuit in particular, the split between men's and women's work once identified a dichotomous relationship contributing to the economy. Namely, while the traditional economy was once based primarily on hunting, gathering, sharing and reciprocity, the mixed economy maintains a similar concept, but instead engages men and women into roles that immerse them within the modern community. Most importantly, it introduces women into permanent work for cash (often white collar), and men into seasonal work that leaves them time to hunt.

In 1953, Keesing stated that any society undergoing rapid and extensive change is expected to undergo some shift in cultural norms and values. For Inuit, gendered work will be an important 'shift' since a large component of Inuit men's and woman's identities have been based on their involvement in traditional activities (Condon 1987; Kruse 1986; Stern 2000). In 1994 Rasing stated that, "hunting is the means of...expressing identity and maintaining self-respect" (Rasing 1994, 172). Therefore, it is possible that changes like those imposed on gendered work could potentially threaten the vitality of communities that currently suffer from marginalization in economics and people (for example, through dependence on government welfare and high levels of suicides) (Stairs 1992; Wenzel 2000).

2.3.1 Men's Roles

Historically, men were known as the leaders of the land and the sole providers of meat. Representing the cultural norms for Inuit, these duties carried out by a man, marked his identity. He attained his sense of male power through his land endeavors, which related to his arduous task to “control a scarce, hard to acquire, but necessary nutrient – animal protein” (Freidl 1990, 269). His acquisition of meat supported his highly regarded status in the community, since he produced food, oil and skins for women's work. Guemple (1986) identifies how male gendered work was not only epitomized by hunting, particularly of large game, but also by building the dwelling, both the summer and winter structures, and also by manufacturing some basic technology, like the woman's knife (ulu). Today however, we see an intrusion of men into the blue collared economy which has not only affected what an Inuk man contributes to his community, but has subsequently affected his concept of his identity (Guemple 1986; Shannon 2006).

While hunting continues to be important to men, male identity is now defined by his ability to hold a job, as well as successfully hunt and maintain his equipment including firearms, power boats, engines, and snowmobiles (Billson and Mancini 2007; Condon and Stern 1993; Frink 2009; Shannon 2006). However, with the availability of subsidized housing, the increase in the cash economy and availability of non-country food items and the increasing role of women in wage labour, the role of men as providers of food and shelter has decreased. This threatens his role in his community, which was crucial to women in the past, since he provided the meat and skins. Freidl stated in 1990

that the less meat provided by men in a hunter-gatherer society, the more egalitarian it becomes. Overall, a shift away from hunting in Inuit culture is altering the balance between men and women that once utilized the input from both sexes collaboratively (Condon et al. 1995).

To assess the role of men in Holman (Ulukhaktok), NWT, three researchers (Condon et al. 1995) categorized men as either occasional or active hunters, based on the perceptions of the members of the community. Active hunters were found to look down on occasional hunters as they do not go out on the land as often, do not stay out as long, and do not go out as far from town. Results of the project showed a substantially large proportion of male youth were not engaged in hunting to any degree, based on stated issues to do with confidence and hunting knowledge.

Interestingly, in an Inupiat community, Bodenhorn (1990) identified a split between two types of men: the hunters and the workers. With regard to the hunters, Bodenhorn asked men and women about the role of a man in contemporary Inuit culture. She found that they answered the same way as they had in the studies dating back to the mid 19th century. Both men and women identified that males are responsible for making tools and fishing. They were also the hunters for the family, whether done alone, as more common today, or done with a partner. Therefore, there is still something that Inuit hold on to in the way of gendered work that pays tribute to traditional norms. Conversely, Bodenhorn found that community members identified working men having skills like time management and skills for top positions in corporations like ANCSA (Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act). Still, Bodenhorn concluded that for both hunters and workers,

having time on the land was important since even the workers take up positions that offer flexible hours, like in construction, which is seasonal, and in government jobs that support “subsistence leave” policies.

Similar to the conclusions by Bodenhorn, Dorais (1997) discusses how in spite of the cultural and social changes experienced in the north, Inuit feel strong continuity between their past and present, and even those people caught up in wage work and education still do not perceive any break in their personal identities. For example, Salokangas (2009) describes a group of Inuvialuit in Tuktoyuktuk who still maintain a strong sense of identity through the basis of their definition of education in schools, which continues to be rooted in the ability to support and take care of one’s family. Regardless of the social pressure to indulge in the ‘maths and sciences’, commonly instituted through westernized school ideologies, Inuvialuit of Tuktoyuktuk have been able to hold on to cultural traditions while engaging in work and formal education, implying that it is possible to mix the old with the new.

In spite of the success experienced by a few noteworthy communities across the Arctic, evidence from the effects of the mixed economy on men’s roles in contemporary Inuit culture are obvious. While men attain hard skills, useful towards labour and employment, their traditional skills are at risk. In a study conducted by Boothroyd et al. (1998) on youth suicide, it was discovered that while women based thoughts of suicide on emotional insecurity resulting from abuse, men claimed thoughts of suicide due to their inability to live up to the expectations of what it means to be a man. Therefore, while

men move into the blue collar economy, it is obvious that youth still feel a strong connection to their traditional roles as providers.

2.3.2 Women's Roles

Historically, women were integral to the livelihood of an Inuit family because they were responsible for caring for children, preparing and sewing skins to provide clothes, tending to the oil lamp and maintaining tents and dog harnesses (Guemple 1986). The skills required of her prepared her husband for his hunting trips, and also ensured the survival of the camp while he was away. In Saqqaq, “when talking about a skilled hunter’s wife, people very often mention a woman who is skilful in scraping and preparing skins” (Dahl 2000, 187). The interrelationship that bonded women and men reflected the underlying interdependence, where one could not survive without the other. While a mixed economy still supports this relationship, women’s role in their community changed. Namely, in an effort to support their husband’s now-high tech hunting activities, women moved into white collar jobs and career oriented lives, which sustained their access to two important things; country food and materials to sew with, but provided less time for the tasks associated with them (Duhaime et al. 2002; Oakes 1995).

Guemple (1986) identifies that the shift in women’s roles changed substantially in the 1960s (settlement era), when women’s duties not only included her traditional work, such as tending to the oil lamp, sewing, and caring for children, but also required her to hold a wage earning position. Women’s roles changed to incorporate cleaning a permanent residence, repairing and maintaining modern sewing equipment and machines and the general maintenance of various modern devices around the home. Her role in the

community also changed with her presence on community councils, cooperatives, and acquiring modern housing, clothing and vehicles (McElroy 1975 and 2008). Like men, her work somewhat carried on from what it was in the past, but began to encapsulate a wider variety of responsibilities, which altered how she spent her time.

For example, in an article on the mixed economy in an Alaskan community, Fogel-Chance (1993) describes the effects of modernity with regards to the ANCSA (Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act) implemented in 1971. As work became a major influence on daily activities, with women taking up full time wage work, women's involvement in subsistence based activities decreased. Representing many modern communities in the Arctic, the article touched on issues of time and opportunity to engage in traditional activities, describing the balance that exists between wage work and traditional skills. In this study, 38% of women between the ages of 18 and 34 years were not active in subsistence at all, but had all expressed the importance of subsistence life, and their desire to get back out on the land. They expressed the wish to take the best of both worlds, and spoke about the difficulties associated with modernity and "city living". While this fact identifies the importance of studying women and subsistence in present day Arctic communities, it also identifies a segment of Arctic societies, who are interested in traditional culture, but who are entrenched in the wage economy.

As the cost of hunting increases, due to the increasing cost of equipment and machine maintenance, the value of a woman's contribution to the household has changed. Her place in the division of labour in modern communities is integral to understanding contemporary Inuit culture, while her income is vital to the costs of going on the land.

While women attain higher education, and take up work in government and social services, fostering high paying, permanent and secure jobs, their role in contemporary Inuit culture will merit attention in the literature. In the following research project, I study how women spend their time in wage work and subsistence based activities to examine women's role in a community today. I use a survey to carry out the research project where I assess the responses of 103 women in Qikiqtarjuaq, Nunavut.

2.4 Methodological Literature

Surveys are valuable to social research since they provide a quantitative or numeric description of a sample of the population (Creswell 1994; Hines 1993; Jick 1979; Knapp 1979; Vidich and Shapiro 1955). Intended for large groups, surveys are useful as a source of statistical data, which aids in supporting the results of the more inferential forms of analyses (Greene 2008; Vidich and Shapiro 1955). It is important for a researcher implementing a survey to understand that they most accurately represent a population of people when “questions [are] clear, and when the respondent knows the answer and is motivated to answer correctly” (Mechanic 1989, 150). Huntington (2004) suggests that a survey is a suitable method for use when the interviewer already knows in advance what he/she would like to ask.

When discussing his research with an Alaskan Inupiat group, Kruse (1991) describes his use of a survey, which was valuable for identifying various demographics in the community (Kruse 1991). He learned about household characteristics, as well as information on hunting, fishing and wage employment. Kruse was then able to cross-reference these results with a survey that had been implemented in the same community

10 years earlier. With this, he was able to identify various trends in the data, for example, that men were more heavily involved in wage labour in 1988, than they had been in 1977. This is a key element in the use of a survey in my study, where the information that I gathered can be reanalyzed in the future to identify change over time.

The survey utilized in this thesis is categorized by Denzin (1978) as the one-shot case study survey. This is a style of non-experimental survey that is executed with a random sample of people and is useful in representing an entire population. Contrary to the one group pre-test-post-test survey, which measures change in populations over time, the one-shot case study survey is useful in conveying a substantial amount of information about one group, at one time. However, since it is easy to draw incorrect conclusions about a population of people from the one-shot case study survey, the survey alone should not be relied upon for the sole source of information and is most robust when backed up by alternative data sources such as the literature review.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

3.0 Methods

This research project examines how women allocate their time to subsistence activities, time spent on the land, and wage work to evaluate the state of the mixed economy in Inuit communities today. Data for the project come from the results of a survey that was completed in the community of Qikiqtarjuaq, NU in May of 2010. Fieldwork was conducted over one month in the spring since it is the busiest time of year for Inuit on the land (Goehring and Stager 1991; Stuckenberger 2006). People are out walking around the community, snow machines are out on the ice, groups of students are going out to cabins for skills classes, and many women commented on the beauty of the land in the spring with thick ice, but warm weather. With this in mind, I decided that

spring would be the most appropriate time to implement this research because it would capture a picture of Qikiqtarjuaq during the main season of involvement in subsistence.

3.1 Project Study Site

Nunavut is composed of 25 communities, and has a population of 29,500 residents (Government of Nunavut 2009). The area of Nunavut was formed as the third Canadian territory in 1999, as part of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, which aimed for self-governance and self-determination for the Inuit people. Nunavut adopted a public government system in order to integrate the wills of all people of the territory within one cohesive unit and provided the territory with independence in the new industrialized world, introducing a breadth of economic, environmental and social change.

Within the territory of Nunavut, lies the community of Qikiqtarjuaq ($67^{\circ}33'N$, $64^{\circ}03'W$), which hosts a small population of approximately 473 people (Statistics Canada Census 2006). Known as Broughton Island, until November 1998 when its name changed to Qikiqtarjuaq (meaning “big island”), the community lies off the eastern coast of Baffin Island in the eastern Arctic Archipelago (Figure 3.1). Before contact with the whalers in the 1600s (Oakes 1995), the economy in Qikiqtarjuaq revolved around a distinct relationship between the land, people and animals (Wenzel 1991). With the development of a European whaling station in Kivitoo (65km north of Qikiqtarjuaq), Inuit could more easily access their trading partners and more permanent settlement began to develop.

The community of Broughton Island was established in the mid-twentieth century to create a central community that would ease the transfer of goods and increase access

for the surrounding communities to attain health care, school and wage work (namely Kivitoo and Padloping Island) (Stuckenberg 2005). Today, the economy of Qikiqtarjuaq is supported by government subsidies, sport hunting, construction, health care, school, Northern store and Tulugaak Co-op, and municipal and territorial government positions (Stuckenberg 2006). The community offers various amenities like housing units (although there are housing shortages), two grocery stores, an HTO, Municipal Offices, RCMP station, two hotels, a nursing station, an airport, two churches (Anglican and Full Gospel) and a school.

This research project was located in Qikiqtarjuaq as a part of a larger project led by my supervisor, Dr. Dowsley. As well, since it is a community formed from a series of government relocations between 1940 and 1960 (Tester and Kulchyski 1994, Stuckenberg 2005 and 2006), it is home to elders who grew up on the land, as well as settlement-raised adolescents entering the wage economy. Thus, data is available as it relates to the shift in skills from those required for living off the land to integrating into modern wage opportunities.

During my stay in the community, I engaged in the butchering of a seal, assisted in a polar bear skin cleaning and was offered country food in most houses I was visiting. I learned that country food is still a resource for connecting the community to families outside the home. Various announcements were made over the radio to inform people of the location of country food and that all were invited to share the meal. It seemed that the people most apt to take up these offers were people with less access to store bought food since country food is free to them, and food in stores is very expensive. In one outing to

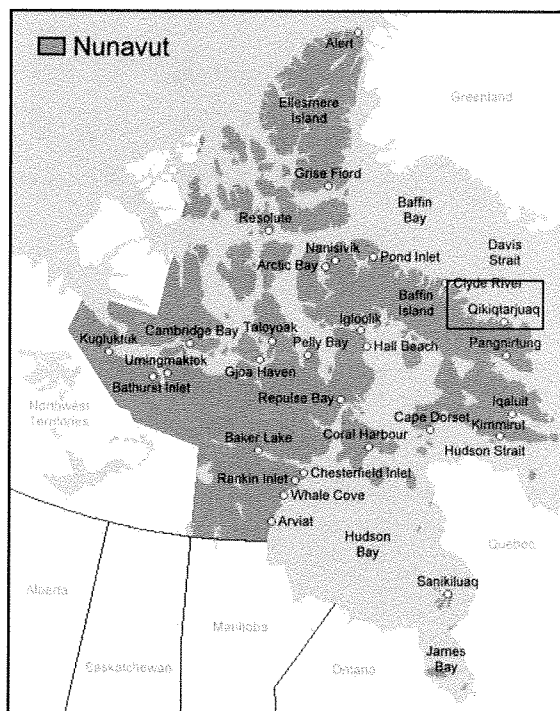
the Northern store, I learned that a case of 24 cans of Coca Cola was \$92. For the activities of cleaning skins and butchering animals, I learned that women often clean seal skins independently. It is also an activity that is usually completed by older women in the community who have the skill to clean the skins efficiently, without tearing them. Various women explained that they will receive the catch of many young men in the community since their common law partners, wives or girlfriends do not have the skill. For polar bear skins, I learned that this is usually an activity that brings many women together in a room to assist. In the polar bear skin cleanings I witnessed, there were as many as 6 women working on one skin over the course of two days.

During trips onto the land it was always men who were in the lead and decided the route to take. While women are still familiar with the routes, they stayed in the sled with their children and the equipment being transported to the cabin. Most cabins are situated near close family relatives or members of the kin group. There may be as many as three or four cabins in the same vicinity, and if the cabin stands alone in the area, it is not a far commute to the next dwelling. Visiting still occurs for these people where they will travel to someone's cabin for tea, and return to their own cabin to sleep. Country food is taken on the land and shared as if it would be in the community. Store bought food is still the main component of the diet on the land.

For wage work in the community, women are doing typical roles that women would do in the south. They are taking up administrative roles in the Hamlet office, the school, the health centre and the local Northern Store and Tulugaak Co-op. Women are following a normal work day and work week where they are to arrive at 9am and leave at

5pm. While women are expected to abide by work hours, there is more leniency for workers to be late and miss work for various reasons. This was always described to me as a lack of priority for the 24 hour work clock which Inuit are learning to accept as their culture modernizes and adopts new ways of life, like “being on time”. When we were out on the land, there was no existence of mention of this clock. Inuit come and leave the cabins as they please. Men and women may travel and hunt until 3 in the morning since it is bright enough to do so in the spring months. Although members of the cabin are aware of returning back on Sunday night to be ready for the work and school week to begin again.

Figure 3.1: Project Study Site: Qikiqtarjuaq, Nunavut (<http://www.athropolis.com/map-nunavut.htm>)



3.2 Research Method

The survey (Appendix 1) that was used in this project was prepared approximately three months before it was distributed to the community of Qikiqtarjuaq, NU. The preliminary version was pre-tested with a first year graduate class in the Faculty of Environmental Studies at Lakehead University. After this pre-test, the survey was improved based on feedback from the students. The edited version was then sent to the community of Clyde River, NU, where it was pre-tested with the woman who would be hired for the translation. Based on her suggestions, I was able to edit the survey one more time, producing the final version, which she then translated. Both the Inuktitut and English versions were printed in Thunder Bay, ON.

The survey of women's time allocation is comprised of 44 questions that are broken down into 7 sections, covering:

- Wage Employment
- Household Demographics
- Men's Involvement in Wage Work
- Land Activity
- Motivations for Migration Out of the Community
- Traditional Skills
- Country Food

Not all survey questions were analyzed for this thesis. The questions I refer to in my results relate specifically to a woman's demographic and economic information, her activity on the land, and her engagement in traditional activities like sewing. As well, the

oldest male in her household was examined regarding his involvement in wage labour and land activities. The other questions will be examined outside of this thesis.

3.2.2.1 Participant Selection

The survey was completed by 103 adult (18 years and over) female residents of Qikiqtarjuaq, NU in May of 2010. The women who participated in the survey were all volunteers, following the guidelines of a simple random sample population (For discussion on Simple Random Sampling see Gray, 2009, 151). Participants were invited to the community gymnasium to complete a survey, via a message on the local radio. In the radio message, women were informed of the details of the project and were informed of the small compensation that would be paid upon completion of the activity, a compensation of \$30 per participant. While all women in a household were eligible to participate, each woman was only allowed to complete one survey. Community research assistants helped us to ensure this.

Surveys were distributed in two successive rounds. The first round was distributed on the first Thursday evening spent in the community. The second round was distributed on the following evening. Both rounds were held from 7pm-9pm to ensure that as many women as possible were available to attend. This kept the participant selection process random since most women would be available in the evening hours, regardless of employment status. Any woman that was unable to attend both rounds of surveys was invited via radio announcements and word of mouth to contact me and I personally delivered a survey to her home. The distribution of these surveys continued over the entire month.

When participants entered the gym, each woman was assigned to one of four survey stations, which provided her with a survey (Appendix 1) an information letter (Appendix 2), a consent form (Appendix 3), and an interpreter/translator to assist in explaining the project and answering questions. The consent form was used to inform a participant of her right to withdraw from the project at any time, gave me permission to use her results toward my research, and asked the participant if she wanted to be involved in a follow up activities relating to Dr. Dowsley's larger research project. Before participants were paid, Dowsley and I looked over the completed surveys to ensure that all questions were answered to the best of a participant's ability.

Seven women from the community were hired to assist with administering the survey and consent forms. Each woman was compensated for her time with our project, and was selected on the grounds of her knowledge of written and spoken English and Inuktitut. Workers were trained in the project, covering both the intentions behind the research, and how to administer surveys. Dr. Dowsley and I were on hand to answer any questions.

3.2.2.2 Analysis Methods

In order for surveys to be statistically analyzed, all surveys were coded. Here, a numeric rank was applied to all potential answers that were included as options on the survey and were added to a database that was prepared in Microsoft Excel©. Once women's answers were entered into the database, the data was transferred into PASW Statistics 18.0.2© for analysis. All questions where women chose not to answer a question were assigned a value for missing data and were not included in the analysis for

that question. Women who did not answer a question because the question did not apply to them based on their current situation were assigned a value of 0 and contributed to the number of women identified as ‘not active’ for the variable in question. For questions that required a written answer, codes were created based on themes in the answers.

Nineteen variables that would be used in analysis for the thesis were then extracted from survey questions and placed in a new database (Table 1.1). Variables used in the project included 11 categorical variables, which required codes for the presence or absence of the variable, 4 ordinal variables, which were all composed of a scale from smallest to largest, and 4 scalar variables, which required distributive analysis to identify if each variable reflected a sample from a normal or non-normal population (Results of this analysis is available in Section 4.1, Figures 4.1-4.4 of this thesis).

Table 1.1

Measurement Scales for 18 Variables

VARIABLE NAME	MEASUREMENT SCALE
Female Employment Status	Categorical
Female Activity on the Land	Categorical
Subsistence Activities	Categorical
Male Employment Status	Categorical
Male Activity on the Land	Categorical
Male Hunting Status	Categorical
Skinned an Animal	Categorical
Cleaned a Seal Skin	Categorical
Had done a Sewing Project	Categorical
Butchered Animals	Categorical

Complexity of Sewing Activities	Categorical
Division of Nights Spent on the Land	Ordinal
Involvement in Subsistence Activities	Ordinal
Age Generation	Ordinal
Female Income	Ordinal
Female Age	Scalar
Number of Nights Spent on the Land	Scalar
Number of Seal Skins Cleaned	Scalar
Number of Sewing Projects	Scalar

3.3.2.3 Statistical Tests

For all cases where statistical tests were required, the appropriate test from: Fisher's Exact Test (p_{FET}), Bonferroni Correction (where required), Simple T-Test (p_t), Kruskal-Wallis Test one-way analysis of variance (p_{kw}) or Mann Whitney-U rank sum test (p_{MWU}), was applied. For scalar variables, Spearman's Rho (ρ) was used for analysis. This was decided based on results from normality tests that were conducted on each scalar variable (n=4). Logarithms were taken on each of the variables to attempt to find normality in the sample, but results showed that there is unsuitable data for a normal distribution. Therefore, all scalar variables were considered as non-normal and any test that was applied was non-parametric. For all statistical tests, alpha values were set to 0.05, and for all error bars (set for one standard error) confidence levels are set to 0.95 to ensure consistency in the results. As well, in all discussions on employment by generation, women over the age of 60 were removed since these women would be the group of retirees in the community, and could negatively skew the results.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

4.0 Results

Results of this project are based on the feedback from 103 women, which represents 76.29% of the population of 135 women in Qikiqtarjuaq, over the age of 18 (Stats Canada 2006). All questions included in the survey focused on the previous month's activities. Therefore, while the survey was distributed in May of 2010, results are based on a woman's activities from approximately the middle of April to the middle of May 2010. This chapter is broken down by the 3 objectives outlined in Section 1.2 of this thesis.

4.1 Variables

Of the 19 variables used for analysis, 11 are categorical, 4 are ordinal and 4 are scalar. Tests for normality were conducted on the scalar variables and results yielded non-normal distributions. These 4 variables are displayed in Figures 4.1-4.4.

Figure 4.1: Distribution of Female Ages from a Non-normal Population in Spring 2010 (n=103)

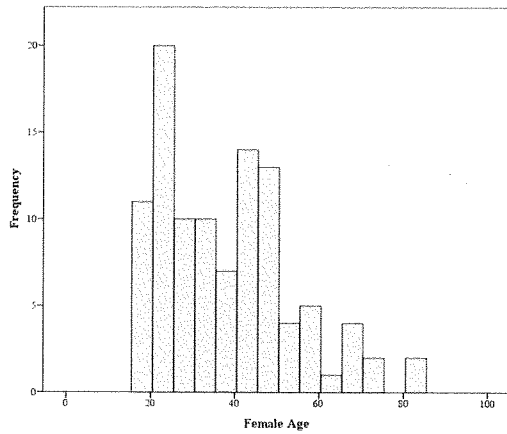


Figure 4.2: Distribution of the Number of Sewing Projects Completed by Women from a Non-normal distribution in Spring 2010 (n=103)

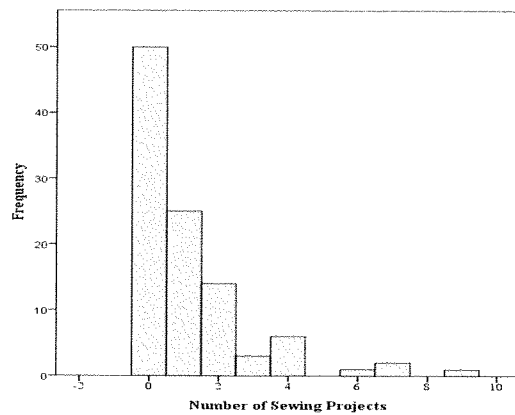


Figure 4.3: Distribution of the Number of Nights Spent on the Land from a Non-normal Population in Spring 2010 (n=103)

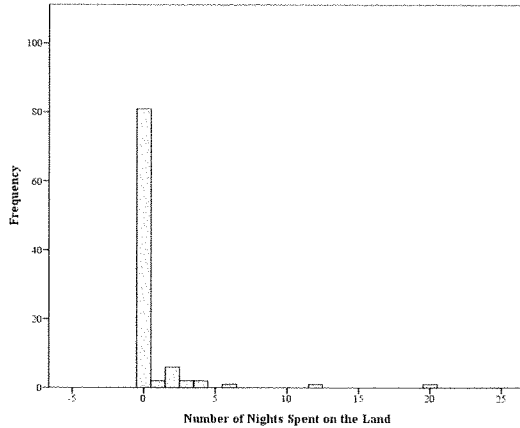
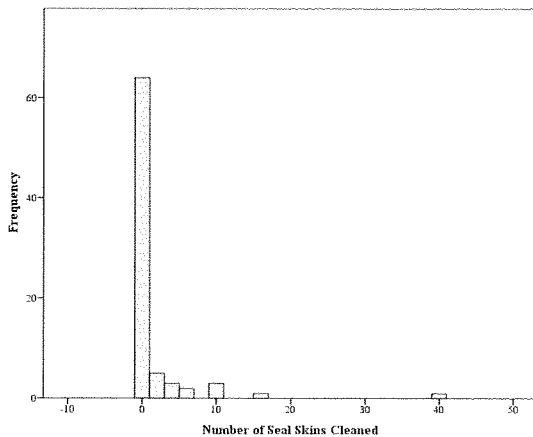


Figure 4.4: Distribution of the Number of Seal Skins Cleaned by a Non-normal Population in Spring 2010 (n=79)



4.2. Objective 1

“To decide if the sample of women reflects relatively equal involvement in the wage and subsistence based economy”

Results show that 43.7% (SE=4.89%) of the sample of women in Qikiqtarjuaq were employed by a wage earning job in spring of 2010. Excluding retirees (n=9), employed women fall between the ages of 20 and 59 with an average age of 37.9 years (SE=1.8) (Table 4.1). Of these women, 77.3% (SE=2.1%) are employed by permanent

positions with 17 considered as full time workers and 17 considered part time (Municipality of Qikiqtarjuaq Collective Bargaining Agreement 2009). Women working full time permanent jobs are younger than women working part time permanent jobs with an average age for women employed by full time work of 34.4 (SE=2.6) and for part time workers, an average age of 40.5 (SE=3.2). For women involved in contract positions (n=7), the mean age of workers is 35.1 years (SE=3.7). Contract employees represent 15.9% (SE=3.7%) of all employment positions in Qikiqtarjuaq. Other categories of employment are held by 6.8% (SE=4.6%) of the women, which include seasonal (n=1) and casual work (n=2) with respective average ages of 48 (SE=0) and 49 years (SE=8.0). For the sample of unemployed women, which includes 53.2% of the population, women have a mean age of 32.1 years (SE=1.7).

Table 4.1

Employment Statistics for Qikiqtarjuaq Women in Spring 2010 (n=94)

EMPLOYMENT	n	% of sample	Mean (x) Age	S.E.	Mean Hours Worked	Mean Weeks Worked
Employed*	44	46.8	37.9	1.8	-	-
Permanent	34	77.3	37.5	2.1	26.3	-
<i>Full Time***</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>50.0</i>	<i>34.4</i>	<i>2.6</i>	<i>36.4</i>	-
<i>Part Time</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>50.0</i>	<i>40.5</i>	<i>3.2</i>	<i>16.3</i>	-
Contract	7	15.9	35.1	3.7	-	1.7
Other	3	6.8	48.7	4.6	-	-
<i>Seasonal</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>33.4</i>	<i>48</i>	-	-	-
<i>Casual</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>66.6</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>8.0</i>	-	-
Unemployed	50	53.2	32.1	1.7	-	-
Total	94**	100.0	34.8	1.3		

*Italics indicate that the result is representative of the sub-group instead of the whole sample

** The results shown on this table do not include the group of retirees (60+)

*** Full time work = ≥ 31 hours/week. Part time work = ≤ 30 hours/week for permanent positions (2009 Qikiqtarjuaq Municipal Collective Bargaining Agreement)

When analyzing the results for women's activity on the land in the last month, 85.4% (n=88, SE=3.6%) of the women surveyed in Qikiqtarjuaq spent zero nights on the land between April and May of 2010. Conversely, 14.6% (n=15, SE=3.6%) of the women spent at least one night on the land. Of the 15 women who were on the land, 13 spent no more than 7 nights on the land, 1 spent 12 nights, and the other woman spent 20 nights in total. While the largest proportion of women from the sample spent zero nights on the land, for women who had been on the land, most women spent anywhere from 1-7 nights in the last month.

For the two women who spent the greatest number of nights on the land in the last month, results show that both were only mildly involved in the wage economy. The first woman, who spent 12 nights on the land in the study period, is a 47 year old contract employee, who worked one week at the D.E.W. line cleanup site. The second woman, who spent 20 nights on the land in the past month, is a 72 year old woman who is unemployed and considered a retiree. While these women could be considered 'active' on the land, with low engagement in wage work, results show that there is no significant difference between whether a woman had spent a night on the land in the last month, and if she had a job ($p_{MWU}=0.658$). This means that women who are unemployed were just as likely to overnight on the land as women who were employed.

With regards to how women allocate their time between going on the land and working, results show that 49.5% (SE=4.9%) of women in the sample (including retirees) were unemployed and had not spent a night on the land in the last month, indicative of a large population of women inactive in either economy (Table 4.2). The second largest

sample of women, made up by those who were employed and had spent a night on the land in the previous month, make up 34.7% (SE=4.6%) of the sample. Since this is the largest group of women involved in either work, the land, or both (see Table 4.2), it implies that a large proportion of the women in Qikiqtarjuaq spend more time involved in wage work than out on the land.

Only 10.5% (SE=3.0%) of all women in the sample integrate going on the land, with having a job. Of the 10 women who make up this sample, 9 are employed by permanent jobs, and 1 is employed by a contract job. For the permanently employed women, 66.7% (n=6, SE=1.4%) work full time hours while 3 work part time. All jobs were with the municipality/government, school or health centre.

The last group of women is composed of those who had been on the land in the last month, but did not have a job (n=5). This group was made up by 3 elders, one woman in her 20s and one woman in her 30s. While all five women lived with a male partner, only one woman had a male partner who was employed (the 29 year old woman).

Women's employment status in Qikiqtarjuaq does not appear to influence whether or not they had been on the land ($p_{MWU}=0.658$). However, 10 of 43 (23%, SE=3.0%) of women who were employed spent time on the land while only 5 of 52 (10%, SE=2.2%) of women without jobs were on the land. The difference was not statistically significant, but was qualitatively consistent with the notion that women who actively sought out jobs were also more active on the land

Table 4.2

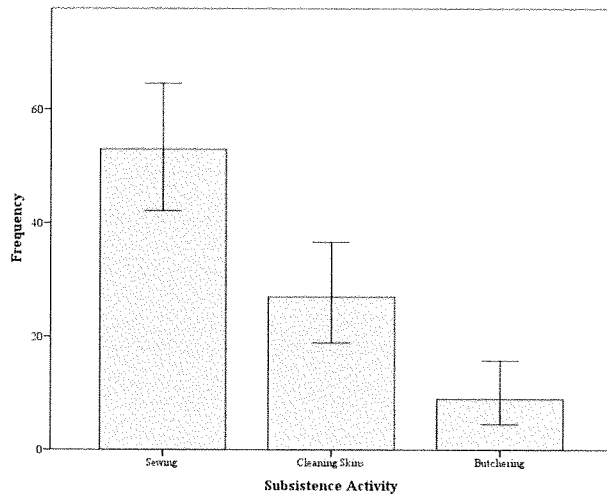
Cross Tabulation for Women's Employment Status and their Activity on the Land (n=94) in Spring 2010 ($p_{FET}=0.09$)

			Women's Activity on the Land		Total
			Not on land	On land	
Employment Status	No job	Count	47	5	52
		%	49.5	5.3	54.7
		SE	4.9	2.2	4.9
	Job	Count	33	10	43
		%	34.7	10.5	45.3
		SE	4.6	3.0	4.9
Total	Count	80	15	95	
	%	84.2	15.8	100.0	
	SE	3.6	3.6		

(Note: 8 surveys were removed from this tabulation due to incomplete answers)

Women's involvement in subsistence activities is heavily focused on sewing (Figure 4.5). While 51.5% (SE=5.1%) of women engaged in sewing in the last month, it is evident that more women engage in sewing than any other subsistence activity analyzed in this project. The second most common activity for women to be involved in is cleaning skins, with 26.2% (SE=4.5%) of women stating that they had cleaned the skin of at least one animal in the last month. Butchering animals is the least common activity for the sample of women to be involved in, in the last month, with 8.7% (SE=2.9%) of women stating that they had butchered an animal in the last month.

Figure 4.5: The Frequency (with SE) of Women’s Involvement in Subsistence Activities in Spring 2010 (n=103)



Analysis of the level of involvement in the three subsistence activities used no involvement (none of the three activities reported), moderate involvement (1-2 of the three activities reported) and heavy involvement (all three activities reported). Forty-six percent (SE=5.1%) of women were ranked as moderately involved in subsistence activities in the last month (Table 4.3). Fifteen percent of women had engaged in all three subsistence activities and were considered to be heavily involved. Forty percent of women in the sample had not engaged in any subsistence activities in the last month.

Women who are most actively involved in subsistence activities are employed by casual, contract or seasonal work. For this group of employees (casual, contract and seasonal), 81.8% (n=9, SE=1.3%) had engaged in at least one activity in the last month. This is compared to part time and full time employees, where 52.9% (n=9, SE=2.1%) and 58.9% (n=10, SE=2.0%) of women (respectively) had engaged in at least one subsistence activity in the last month.

Table 4.3

Cross Tabulation of Women's Employment Status and their Involvement in Subsistence Activities (n=103)

			Involvement in Subsistence Activities			Total
			Not Involved	Moderately Involved	Heavily Involved	
Employment Status	Not Employed	Count	24	27	7	58
		%	23.3	26.2	6.8	56.3
		SE	4.3	4.5	2.6	5.0
	Part Time Employment	Count	8	7	2	17
		%	7.8	6.8	1.9	16.5
		SE	2.7	2.6	1.4	3.8
	Full time Employment	Count	7	7	3	17
		%	6.8	6.8	2.9	16.5
		SE	2.6	2.6	1.7	3.8
	Other*	Count	2	6	3	11
		%	1.9	5.8	2.9	10.7
		SE	1.4	2.4	1.7	3.1
Total	Count	41	47	15	103	
	%	39.8	45.6	14.6	100.0	
	SE	4.9	5.1	3.6		

**"other" categories of employment include the women employed by seasonal, contract or casual employment

Sewing was the most common subsistence activity reported. The eight categories of sewing activities that are analyzed in this project were parkas, amautiit, kamiks, mittens, slippers, duffels, handicrafts and other activities. The most common items sewn were mittens, which made up 36% (SE=4.8%) of all sewing projects completed by women in the sample (Table 4.4). The least common activity for women to be engaged in is making kamiks, with only 3.0% (SE=1.7%) of women sewing kamiks in the last month.

Table 4.4

Distribution of Sewing Projects Completed by Women in Spring 2010 (n=100)

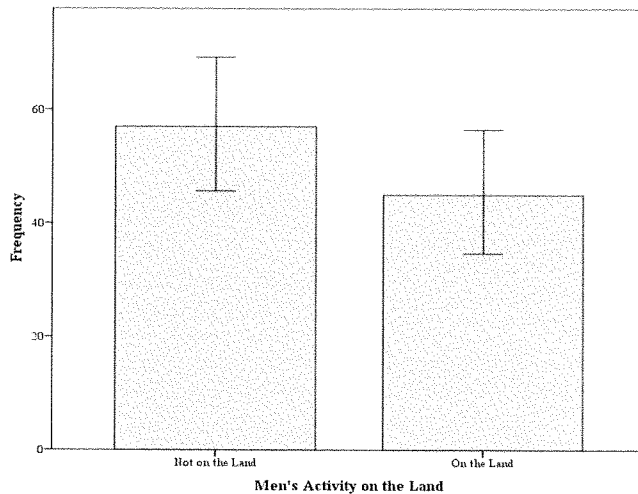
Age	Parkas	Amautiit	Kamiks	Mittens	Slippers	Duffels	Handicrafts	Other	TOTAL	% Total (SE)
<20	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	3	6	6.0 (2.3)
21-30	-	2	1	11	3	-	3	5	25	25.0 (4.3)
31-40	1	1	-	6	2	1	2	-	13	13.0 (3.3)
41-50	6	2	-	11	4	3	3	2	31	31.0 (4.6)
51-60	2	-	1	4	1	2	3	1	14	14.0 (3.4)
<61	2	2	1	3	1	1	1	-	11	11.0 (3.1)
Total Number of Activities	12	7	3	36	12	7	12	11	100	-
% Total (SE)	12.0 (3.2)	7.0 (2.6)	3.0 (1.7)	36.0 (4.8)	12.0 (3.2)	7.0 (2.6)	12.0 (3.2)	11.0 (3.1)	-	100.0

4.3 Objective 2

“To identify if a reciprocal relationship exists between men and women in the mixed economy where his access to the land is supported by her income and her access to the land is facilitated by his activity on the land”

Results show that 43.7% (n=45, SE=5.0%) of women stated that the oldest man that lives in her household had been on the land in the last month (Figure 4.6).

Figure 4.6: Proportion of men who had been on the land in spring 2010 (n=103)



These men (who spent at least one night on the land) were divided into categories of actively (n=14) and occasionally (n=31) on the land based on the number of trips they had taken in the last month. Occasional hunters were those who had been on the land anywhere from once a month, to a few times a month, while active hunters were those who went out on trips every week to almost every day. Sixty-nine percent of men in the sample were identified as going on the land occasionally (SE=3.1%). Men considered actively on the land, made up 31.1% (SE=3.1%) of the sample. It is important to note that some men may have been counted more than once if more than one woman in the house filled out a survey, since answers for men's activity were answered based on the oldest man in the house (see Appendix 1).

While one idea relating to the mixed economy is that a woman's employment supports a man's activity on the land, there is no significant difference between men who were classified as occasionally or actively on the land, and employed and unemployed groups of women ($p_{FET}=0.337$). Regardless of women's employment status, they had approximately the same number of senior men in their households classified as actively

and occasionally on the land in the last month (Table 4.5). Similarly, there is no difference between his employment status and his activity level on the land ($p_{FET}=0.440$). Groups of employed and unemployed men also had relatively the same number of men actively and occasionally on the land in the last month (Table 4.6).

Table 4.5:

Distribution of Men Actively and Occasionally on the Land by Women’s Employment Status* (n=45)

			Women’s Employment Status		Total
			Unemployed	Employed	
Men’s Activity Level	Occasional	Count	14	17	31
		%	31.1	37.8	68.9
		SE	3.1	3.3	3.1
	Active	Count	8	6	14
		%	17.8	13.3	31.1
		SE	2.6	2.3	3.1
Total	Count	22	23	45	
	%	48.9	51.1	100.0	
	SE	3.4	3.4		

* Only included men who had been on the land in the last month, all other responses were removed

Table 4.6:

Distribution of Men Actively and Occasionally on the Land by Men’s Employment Status* (n=45)

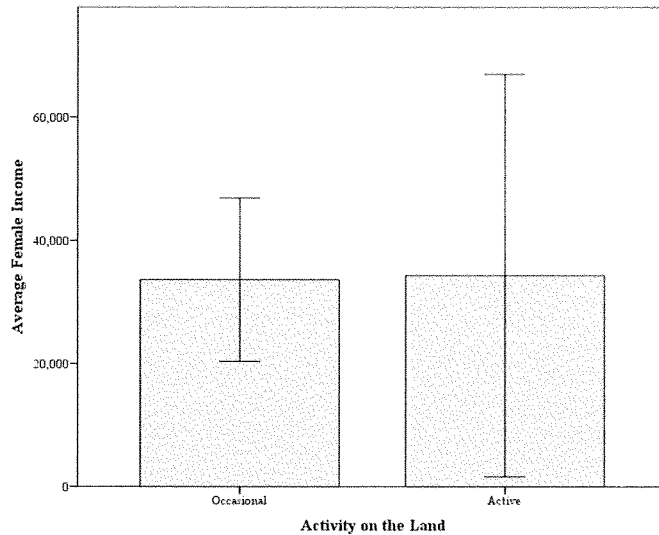
			Men’s Employment Status		Total
			Unemployed	Employed	
Men’s Activity Level	Occasional	Count	20	11	31
		%	44.4	24.4	68.9
		SE	3.3	2.9	3.1
	Active	Count	8	6	14
		%	17.8	13.3	31.1
		SE	2.6	2.3	3.1
Total	Count	28	17	45	
	%	62.2	37.8	100	
	SE	3.3	3.3		

* Only included men who had been on the land in the last month, all other responses were removed

Figure 4.7 shows that women’s average income has no influence on whether the oldest man in her house was classified as occasionally or actively on the land in the last

month. The average income of women for groups of men who were occasionally and actively on the land cannot be described as different.

Figure 4.7: Average Income of Women vs. Level of Activity on the Land for the Oldest Man in each of the Women's Households (CI=0.95) (n=45)



When analyzing whether women were more likely to go on the land if the oldest man in their house had been on the land, there was a significant difference between groups. Women are more likely to be on the land if the oldest man in her house goes on the land ($p_{FET}=0.004$). Results show that of the 15 women who had been on the land for at least one night in the last month, 12 had been on the land with a man and 3 had spent nights on the land without a man (Table 4.7).

Table 4.7:

Women's Activity on the Land Based on Men's Activity in Spring 2010 (n=103)

			Women's Activity on the Land		Total
			Not on the Land	On the Land	
Men's Activity on the Land	Not on the land	Count	55	3	58
		%	53.4	2.9	56.3
		SE	5.1	1.7	5.0
	On the Land	Count	33	12	45
		%	32.0	11.7	43.7
		SE	4.7	3.3	5.0
Total		Count	88	15	103
		%	85.4	14.7	100
		SE	3.6	3.6	

4.4 Objective 3

“To evaluate the involvement of women in the wage and subsistence economies by age”

Descriptive results for employment show that across ten year age cohorts, the most actively employed women in Qikiqtarjuaq are between the ages of 41-50 with a 70.4% employment rate (n=19, SE=2.4%) (Table 4.8). The second most employed group of women in Qikiqtarjuaq are women in their 50s, with 55.5% (n=5, SE=1.5%) of the sample identifying themselves as employed.

For unemployed participants, results show that the largest group of women who had not held a job in the last month were between the ages of 18 and 20 yrs, with 81.8% (n=9, SE=1.3%) of women unemployed. The only 2 women employed in this age category are 20 years old, with one holding a job as a clerk at the Northern Store and the other working for the Post Office. The second largest group of unemployed women are in their 30s with a 70.6% (n=12, SE=1.9%) unemployment rate.

For employed and unemployed groups of participants, results show that there is a significant difference between age, where employed women (n=45) have an average age of 37.9 years, and unemployed women (n=57) average 32.1 years of age ($p_r=0.009$).

Table 4.8:

Female Employment in Spring 2010 by 10-Year Age Sets (n=103)

Age	n	Percentage Employed (P)	Standard Error (SE) of P	Min (Age)	Max (Age)	Mean Age (x)
< 20	11	18.2	1.3	20	20	20
21-30	30	43.3	2.7	21	30	24
31-40	17	29.4	1.9	32	38	34.4
41-50	27	70.4	2.4	41	50	45.6
51-60	9	55.6	1.5	51	59	55.4

For employment by age cohort, the only difference that was statistically significant at the 0.005 Bonferroni correction was between the cohort of women under the age of 20, and women in their 40s (Table 4.9). When analyzing the results of the Fisher's Exact Test (FET) pairwise comparisons at the 0.05 level, it is evident that women in their 40s are also more employed than women in their 20s (Table 4.9). While it is evident that pairwise comparison values are close to significance for women in their 40s and all other age cohorts, due to issues with sample size, all groups cannot be defined as significantly different (Table 4.9).

Table 4.9:

Comparison of Female Employment By Age Analyzed Using Fisher's Exact Test ($\alpha=0.05$) with Bonferroni Correction ($\alpha=0.005$)

	< 20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60
< 20	-				
21-30	0.1678	-			
31-40	0.668	0.5332	-		
41-50	0.004885**	0.06128	0.01276*	-	
51-60	0.1597	0.7062	0.2341	0.4428	-

* Results are significant at 0.05 (FET)

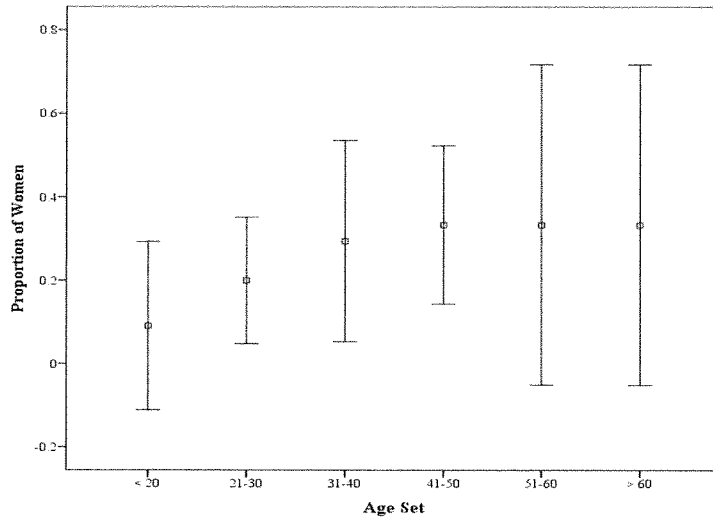
** Results are significant at 0.005 (Bonferroni)

With regards to the activity level of women on the land by age, results show that the older a woman is, the more nights she spent on the land in the last month ($\partial=0.446$, sig=0.004). This analysis only included women who had spent at least one night on the land (n=15), all women who spent zero nights were not included since it could negatively skew the results (n=88). When all women in the sample were considered for examination (n=103), the relationship between women and the number of nights they spent on the land reduced significantly ($\partial=0.279$, sig=0.096).

For women cleaning skins, results show that 26.3% (SE=4.1%) of women in the sample had engaged in at least one skin cleaning in the last month. Of these 27 women, 37 cleaning activities were completed resulting in an average of 1.37 activities per woman. Women reported cleaning caribou (n=6), seal (n=15) and polar bear (n=16) skins. Figure 4.8 shows the number of women across 10 year age cohorts who had cleaned a skin in the last month. While Figure 4.8 displays that the number of women cleaning skins may increase by age (until 40), statistical results show that there is no

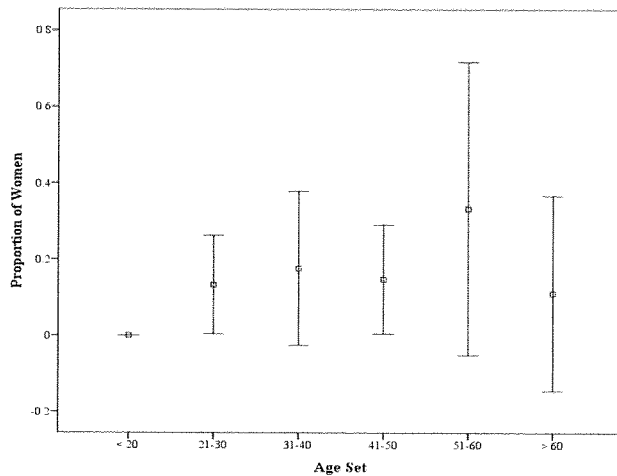
difference between age cohorts and the number of women cleaning animal skins ($p_{MWU}=0.101$). This result may be affected by small sample sizes in the data set.

Figure 4.8: Proportion of Women Cleaning Animal Skins in Spring 2010 by 10-year Age Categories (n=103)



Focusing specifically on women's seal skin cleaning activities, the proportion of women in each age group who had cleaned at least one skin in the last month is displayed in Figure 4.9. Statistical results show that there is no difference between the age cohorts and the number of women who had cleaned a seal skin ($p_{MWU}=0.270$). Therefore, it cannot be concluded that any generation of women is more actively involved in cleaning seal skins than another.

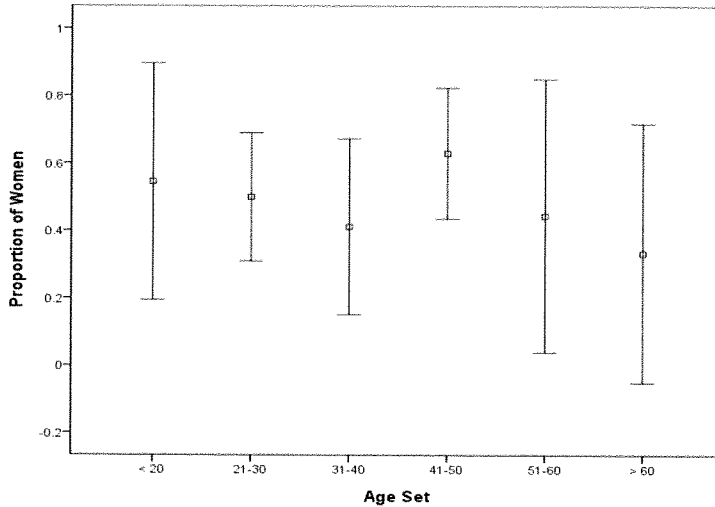
Figure 4.9: Proportion of Women Cleaning Seal Skins in Spring 2010 by 10-year Age Categories (n=103)



However, it is evident that the number of seal skins cleaned by women does, in fact, change. Results for the sample of women who had cleaned at least one seal skin (n=15) reflects a positive relationship where the number of skins cleaned increases with age ($\beta=0.526$, sig=0.044). This implies that while the number of women involved in cleaning seal skins may not differ between 10-year age cohorts, the number of skins they cleaned increased with age.

For involvement in sewing by age (Figure 4.10), there is no difference between the proportion of women who are engaged in sewing in Qikiqtarjuaq and the age group that they belong to ($p_{MWU}=0.261$). Therefore, it may be stated that all cohorts contain approximately the same number of women who were sewing in the last month.

Figure 4.10: Proportion of Women Involved in Sewing in Spring 2010 by 10-year Age Categories (n=103)



For the women who had sewn at least one item in the last month (n=49), a positive relationship exists between the number of items sewn and age ($\hat{\rho}=0.293$, sig=0.041). When women who had not sewn any items were included in the analysis (n=54), the strength of the relationship decreased significantly, reflecting the effect of a large population of inactive women in sewing on the results in this thesis ($\hat{\rho}=0.001$, sig=0.995).

When women's sewing projects were split into categories of basic (projects include mittens, slippers, duffels, handicraft, other) and advanced items (projects include kamiks, parkas and amautiit) (Table 4.10), results show that more women were involved in basic sewing activities (n=78, SE=4.1) than advanced sewing activities (n=22, SE=4.1). Women involved in basic sewing activities are younger than women involved in advanced sewing activities ($p_{MWU}=0.047$) (Table 4.10). Specifically, the average age of women involved in basic activities is 39.9 while women involved in advanced sewing activities have an average age of 47.5 years. Therefore, older women in Qikiqtarjuaq had

not only sewn more items, but they had engaged in more complex, time consuming projects like parkas, amautiit and kamiks.

Women between the ages of 21-30 are the most actively involved women in basic sewing projects with 88% (SE=1.62%) of their projects attributed to mittens, slippers, duffels and handicrafts. The remaining three projects completed by women between the ages of 21 and 30 were advanced projects. Women who are most heavily involved in advanced projects are over the age of 60, with 5 of their 11 (46%, SE=15.3%) projects attributed to advanced items such as parkas, kamiks and amautiit. Interestingly, despite the fact that these women are the most actively engaged in advanced sewing, they still completed more basic activities than advanced activities with 6 of 11 (54.5%, SE=15.3%) projects attributed to basic projects. This fact reflects the vast popularity for projects like mittens, slippers and handicrafts across even the oldest groups of women.

Table 4.10:

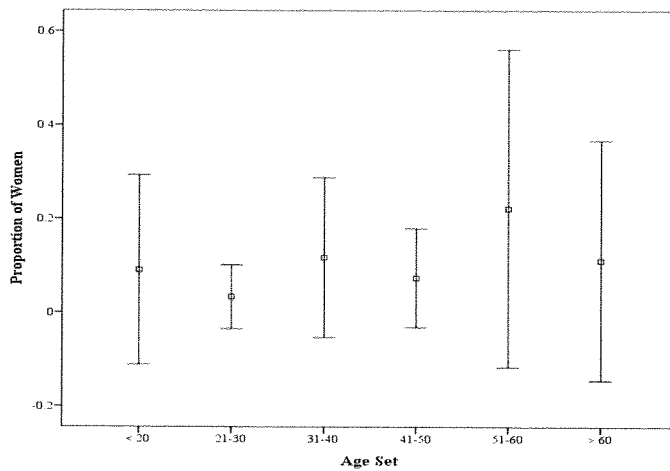
The Number (N) of Advanced and Basic Sewing Activities Completed by Women in 10 Year Age Cohorts

Age	N	Advanced		Basic		SE	Mean Age (x)
		n	%	n	%		
< 20	6	1	17.0	5	83.0	15.3	19.3
21-30	25	3	12.0	22	88.0	6.5	24.2
31-40	13	2	15.0	11	85.0	9.9	35.2
41-50	31	8	26.0	23	74.0	7.8	45.7
51-60	14	3	21.0	11	79.0	10.9	55.4
60 +	11	5	46.0	6	56.0	15.3	71.7

Figure 4.11 shows the distribution for the proportion of women involved in a butchering activity in the last month. Since sample sizes for this variable were very low

(n=9), it is not appropriate to draw conclusions about the population. However, based on the distribution of the age cohorts (Figure 4.12), it would be a potential project for future studies since preliminary statistical results show that there are insignificant differences between the average number of butchering activities occurring for the various groups of women in Qikiqtarjuaq ($p_{kw}=0.633$). This implies that butchering animals may not be affected by age.

Figure 4.11: Proportion of Women in each Age Category Who Butchered an Animal in Spring 2010 (n=103)



CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

5.0 Discussion

This chapter discusses the results from the survey on women's involvement in the wage and subsistence economies in Qikiqtarjuaq, NU in order to compare it to the mixed economy as it is described in the literature. The central question is whether Inuit women have embraced modernity and the wage economy to the detriment of the subsistence economy (Goehring and Stager 1995), or if they have maintained a subsistence economy in the face of modern pressures of wage labour and community living (Oosten and Laugrand 2002).

5.1 Discussion of Objective 1

When compared with the national employment rate for women in Canada (at 58% for women over the age of 25), an employment rate of 43.7% for women in Qikiqtarjuaq over the age of 18 seems relatively strong, implying a somewhat stable work force

(Statistics Canada 2011). Jobs that contribute to the labour force for women in Qikiqtarjuaq include both full time and part time positions, where women identified themselves as permanent employees. For these permanent employees, the number of working hours is split evenly between full time and part time work (see Table 4.1). For groups of employed women in full time positions, jobs are most often characterized by what Dorais (1997) refers to as 'white collar' positions. In Qikiqtarjuaq, these include jobs with the municipal and territorial government, as well, jobs related to teaching, administration and health care. For women working part time hours, most positions are supported by the local Northern Store or Community Co-op as cashiers and stock helpers.

Part time permanent employees (working less than 30 hours a week) represent a group of women who could sustain a mixed economy on an individual level, where they could work part time jobs, and dedicate free time for subsistence activities. However, as we see later in this chapter, most part time jobs are taken up by women in their 20s, who do not have as much experience being on the land and being involved in subsistence skills (Dahl 2000; Keesing 1953; Kruse 1991). I speculate that this is because young women in the community spend most of their adolescence in school. This barrier contributes to a group of young Inuit who are today engaged in organized sports, music and television rather than subsistence activities (Condon et al. 1995). Therefore, if cleaning seals skins and butchering animals is no longer an asset to the community for survival, one must question the value of such activities, while learning to read, write and use computers increase the chance of attaining a good job.

Women who are employees of contract work take up positions within the municipality working in housing and government census work, as well as working at the school. The Distance Early Warning (D.E.W.) line clean up sites are also sources of contract work, which take women away from the community on a weekly and monthly basis. Women who are involved in casual or seasonal employment take up sporadic employment, in work such as translating at the school and for researchers, interpreting in court, working in dental hygiene or teaching workshops on topics such as self identity for youth. Seasonal workers take up jobs cleaning the hotel, which is only an active position when the hotels are in use. This is common in the warmer months when construction goes on in the community, and workers from out of town require accommodations (Stuckenberger 2005).

What is interesting about the group of employees who make up “other” scales of employment (casual and seasonal), is that this group of women are heavily involved in subsistence activities. They make up the largest proportion of women to be involved in subsistence based activities when compared to all other scales of employment. While the number of women included in this group is quite small, with the majority of the employed women in the community holding permanent work, it is interesting to note that these ‘other’ scales of employment may reflect a group of women who choose to take up non-permanent positions that support their own subsistence lifestyle with time and money to support their activities. This idea goes back to the hypothesis that women have less time to engage in subsistence activities when most of their time is taken up by their job, implying the concept of choice (Kruse 1991, Condon et al. 1995). It will be interesting to see if some remnant of the subsistence economy continues to exist or if the market

economy will completely take over in the future. Moreover, what compels these women to continue to engage in subsistence lifestyle if it is no longer for survival? Maybe it is the fact that store bought food is so expensive, or maybe it is due to the fact that these women have parents who still engage in a similar lifestyle, and it is just what they have learned. Regardless of the reason, it is evident that there is still a strong cultural tie that women have to the land and connecting with the traditional subsistence based culture.

When analyzing how women spend their time in work and subsistence activities, I consider if women are able to balance both lifestyles or if they select one of the two. This point is important to assess because it may, for example, identify if some remnant of the traditional land-based economy will survive into the future, or if the market economy will eventually take over entirely (Chance 1960; Dowsley 2010; Murphy and Steward 1956). When this concept was analyzed in this project, it was found that the largest proportion of women in the community were not employed, and had not been on the land in the last month (see Table 4.2). Thus, it first appears that the women are not engaged in either economy. However, my examination of women who were involved in wage labour and/or subsistence provides a more nuanced picture of the economy.

With regard to the combating hypotheses proposed by Oosten and Laugrand and Goehring and Stager, while harvesting goods from the land was once the primary source of economy, only a few Inuit women had been on the land and almost half have wage earning jobs. This implies that the land is no longer utilized for supporting economy in communities, but instead, wage income has taken over. Only 15 women had been on the land in the last month, which indicates that few women go on the land today, allocating their time to different activities. Of the women who had been on the land, only five did

not have a job in the last month. This group was made up by 3 elders, one woman in her 20s and one woman in her 30s. All of these women live with either their common law or husband. Only 1 of the 5 women had a partner that was employed (a 29 year old woman). While these women have the freedom of time to go out on the land since they have no job, research needs to be done on how these women continue to have access to the land since they have no income from their own wage employment, or their partners' (with the exception of a 29 year old). It is my understanding that a significant proportion of the income for many Inuit is from government subsidies and welfare.

Meanwhile, 10 of 95 women integrate going on the land with having a job. Of these women, 9 are employed by permanent jobs, leaving the other woman employed by contract work. For these permanently employed women, 6 of 9 work full time hours while 3 work part-time. This group of women represents an argument against the hypothesis I stated earlier, that women are forced to choose one of the two lifestyles because of issues with time. Instead, this evidence shows that of the total of 15 out of 103 women who had been on the land, many hold permanent full time jobs. These women choose to go on the land, regardless of how busy they are at work and take trips on the weekends, after work and on days off.

Over 50% of the population over 18 had not had a job in the past month. Future research projects could focus on this group of women to identify how they spend their time if it is not spent in either work or land based activities. Moreover, because 85% of women in the sample had not been on the land within the study period, my results suggest that it may not be employment that holds them back, since there is such a large proportion

of women who work and could have the money to go on the land. Instead the result may reflect the personal interests for women and whether they opt to go out on the land, or not (Kruse 1991; Dahl 2000; Stern 2000). Alternatively perhaps these women lack the skills to go on the land or lack access to someone with skills who could take them.

For the women involved in subsistence activities (cleaning skins, sewing and butchering) over the last month, there is a clear distinction in the types of activities that they do. About half of women in Qikiqtarjuaq are involved in sewing activities, while cleaning skins of animals and butchering are less common (see Figure 4.8). Since sewing has played a major role for Inuit women in the past (Billson and Mancini 2007), it was important to understand how they spend their time in the activity today. Most sewing activities are simpler projects that use store-bought materials rather than skins. These simple items take less time to complete, and require less skill and precision than major projects. While there is no requirement to sew any items, since almost everything is available at the store, large items such as parkas and kamiks take a significant amount of energy and skill to complete, which the literature states women lack in the present day due to wage labour commitments (McElroy 1975; Dahl 2000). Therefore, most sewing activities completed by women in the study period were completed with materials purchased with money made at work, and were heavily focused on leisure items like handicrafts, mittens and slippers. This fact suggests the importance of a wage income, which is also used to support a woman's personal interests and leisure projects.

5.2 Discussion of Objective 2

The relationship that once existed between men and women where his access to the land was dependent on her having a wage income, and her access to the land is dependent on his activity on the land only exists to a small degree in Qikiqtarjuaq today (Guemple 1986; Bodenhorn 1990; Billson and Mancini 2007; Dowsley 2010). While the definition of the mixed economy states that men utilize women's income to supplement the costs of his hunting materials (see Smith and Wright 1989, Condon et al. 1995, Dorais 1997, Dahl 2000), results show that there is no relationship between whether a man had been on the land and if his wife has a job. Moreover, there is also no relationship between the income that a woman makes, and how active he was on the land in the last month. This implies that the relationship that bound a man to his wife's income may no longer be pertinent to his access to the land, where various theories state that the more money made, the greater the access to the land (Mackey and Orr 1987, Condon et al. 1995, Duhaime et al. 2002).

Similarly, there is no relationship between his employment status, his income and whether he was classified as occasionally or actively on the land. This implies that for men, it may also come down to a decision to go out on the land, where men who had a job were as active on the land as men who didn't have a job. The literature identifies that the issues that influence his activity on the land are affected by his desire to go after a busy work week and his confidence on the land and to navigate through arduous weather conditions (Condon 1987; Condon 1993; Dorais 1997; Laidler 2009).

In Qikiqtarjuaq, an exception to the effect of a heavily wage-based economy on the relationship between Inuit men and Inuit women is that women's activity on the land is still dependent on how active men are on the land. It is evident that women were more likely to have been on the land in the last month if the eldest man that lived in her house had been on the land. For example, during my stay in Qikiqtarjuaq it was obvious to me that women rarely go on the land without a man, or lead a trip on the land themselves, unless it is a day trip. This is based on my experience on four trips. The first two were day trips taken with two separate groups of women, and the second two were overnight trips to cabins. On the day trips, one was taken with the students enrolled in the Nunavut Teacher's Education Program (NTEP), and one was with 3 of my friends from the community (women in their early 20s). On the first trip, myself, and the women of NTEP set up a tent and spent the day chatting and drinking tea and eating, while the men who had accompanied the trip went off hunting. On the second day trip, we explored a set of caves on a weekend when two of the girls who work had the day off. Both trips were led by women, even if men accompanied. This means that women decided the route, selected stopping locations and led other activities.

On these day trips women drove snow machines, had knowledge of ice routes and ice conditions, had knowledge of how to use a gun, and took precautionary measures against polar bears. On the night trips however, women tended to back off, and let men lead. This was evident when I went out on two night trips to two separate cabins. Here, men took on their typical role as leader of the travel route, hunter and the one who drove the snow machine and towed the kamotik. Once we got to camp, women immediately took up their traditional role as "keepers of the camp", preparing food, tea, caring for the

children and setting up the beds inside the cabin (Billson and Mancini 2007; Guemple 1986 and 1995; McElroy 1975 and 2008; Stuckenberger 2005). This tells me that while women do lead and confidently engage in separate day trips from men, they tend to follow more traditional gendered roles on overnight trips, which take them further out of the community and are family-based as opposed to work place- or friend-based.

Because few women had cleaned seal skins, butchered animals and been on the land in the last month, the need for men to go on the land to access seal skins and other goods from the land is no longer of highest importance (Dahl 2000; Friedl 1990). This is based on the fact that women no longer sew with skins, rarely butcher seals or clean skins, and state that they are no longer economically valuable. In Qikiqtarjuaq, this has affected the economic relationship between men and women because they are no longer dependent on each other as they were in pre-settlement times. Oakes (1995) discusses a time when this shift was seen and the influences it had on the economy of the community in her paper on the development of a D.E.W. line site in Qikiqtarjuaq circa 1950s. Here, she states that women's contributions to the traditional economy, through cleaning seal skins and sewing, drastically declined because of the reduction in hunting, since men were engaged in wage work. Once the 1960s came along and fewer men were employed at the site, women's subsistence activities once again became very useful as people in the community re-entered the traditional economy, since men were again providing skins and country food for women to process and utilize. Maintenance of traditional skills then, might help to buffer the community in times of low wage employment opportunities.

While women in Qikiqtarjuaq are no longer dependent on the provision of skins from their spouses in order to sew, since materials can be purchased from the local stores, and men's employment is in seasonal, casual and part time work to support their own hunting endeavors, men and women's roles in Inuit communities have changed. The traditional relationship that existed between men and women is no longer the co-dependent bond that Dahl discussed in 2000. Instead, both sexes have experienced a sense of individuality and independence since they may both choose to work, and choose to go out on the land (Condon and Stern 1993; Fogel-Chance 1993; Kruse 1991). While women continue to be dependent on men to access the land, in some instances, women have even been known to engage in casual hunting themselves. For example, I know of two women in the community during my 2010 trip who had killed polar bears. One of the women was in her 40s and had her own tag. She shot and cleaned her own bear (along with a group of 6 female friends and relatives), while the other woman was aged 21, who had older, more experienced scrapers clean her skin for her. When I asked the young woman how she got the chance to kill her first bear, I found out that her father had given her his tag, and taught her how to shoot. I found this interesting, because men are now passing knowledge to women, integrating them within the traditionally male dominated world of hunting. This implies an interesting shift in skill sets and a break down in the barriers of gender roles, where activities are now based more heavily on interest, rather than gender.

With other viable options for income, from wage earning jobs and government assistance, both sexes no longer require the land to survive. For example, men may now support their own hunting activities, and no longer depend on the supply of money from

their wives. It will be interesting to see if women become more competent on the land on their own in the future, where they are no longer dependent on men to take overnight trips. It seems then for men, that access to the land in the past was not an issue of skill, but instead was an issue around money for supplies, where for women, access to the land was not an issue of money, but instead was an issue of skill. Today, access to the land does not seem to be related to money as strongly, since many people are employed but do not go on the land. Skill and interest may be becoming the determining factors.

5.3 Discussion of Objective 3

Women's employment follows a positive trend where the older a woman is; the more likely she is to have a job. There is a direct relationship that associates the age category that a woman belongs to and her employment status, for example, women in their 40s are more heavily employed than women under 20 years of age.

For women in their 20s, permanent positions are classified by part time work and are important to the skill base for youth. It is apparent that young women enter the wage economy in service sector positions (Dorais 1996; Stuckenberger 2005 and 2006). Once they move in to their 30s, women take up part time work in higher paying jobs, such as those found with the municipality. Of these women in their 30s, most find part time work with the Government of Nunavut, the Health Centre and the school (as classroom assistants). One woman in her mid-thirties identified herself as an employee at the community Co-op, which I later found out to be a managerial position. Once in their 40s and 50s, women are moving into higher paying jobs, with full time hours and greater job security. For example, women are found to take up work in positions such as tuberculosis

clerks at the health centre, student support workers at the school or employees with the Government of Nunavut.

For the seven cases where a woman in her 20s held a full time position, it was most often with the Northern Store or the Community Co-op. There are three cases where women below the age of 30 do maintain a full time, permanent, 'white collar' position. The jobs held by these three women are all with the municipality in housing, accounts and administration. From what I observed, all three women were high school graduates, with one working as a single mom to support herself and her daughter, and the other two working to support themselves and their male partners, who are unemployed.

There is a relatively even split between part time and full time workers in Qikiqtarjuaq, with slightly more women working full time. In part, this is due to the fact that older women are more employed than younger women and take up the white collar positions that boast full time hours (31-40 hours), while younger women take up part time, service sector positions offered by the Northern store and Tulugaak Co-op. Younger women take up jobs in the service sector because they are easy to attain, compared to jobs in the white collar economy which require a wider range of skills and are less readily available in today's economy (Oakes 1995, Department of Economic Development and Tourism 1990, Employment and Immigration Canada 1990). This employment pattern that organizes young women within the service sector economy and older women within the white collar economy is useful in preparing youth for employment in their later years. While they learn the skills of how to be an employee in the part-time, service jobs, which teach skills like time management and working within a

professional and ordered environment, the skills they attain will be utilized in the future, when they move into the white collar jobs (Fogel-Chance 1993; McElroy 1975).

It was interesting to see that women in their 30s are less employed than women in their 20s, 40s and 50s, with women in their 30s having a 29.4% employment rate. In fact, women in their 30s are only slightly more employed than the retirees (who were not considered for this portion of the thesis) (See Table 4.8). With women over the age of 60 maintaining a 20% employment rate, evidence shows that the women in their 30s may be considered under-employed in comparison to the rest of the age groups which implies that it may be a generational shift in the wage economy that separates the labour force. I consider if women in their 30s are less often employed because they are the generation born from the last women to live a traditional subsistence based lifestyle, a lifestyle which dissipated with the integration of permanent settlements (Tester and Kulchyski 1994), whereas the women in their 20s, who are actively working, are the offspring of the first generation of women to see wage employment enter the north. Therefore, while the women in their 30s have probably not grown up in a home that expected them to be employed, women in their 20s may have grown up in a house with a mother who worked, and so, they were probably encouraged to get jobs since it provides money to run the household, purchase goods and go out on the land. In the future, I expect cash employment to become a commonplace activity, where subsequent generations continue to take up jobs that place them in the wage economy.

When discussing women's activity on the land in the last month in Qikiqtarjuaq, results show that the number of nights they spent increased with age. Therefore, the older

that women were, the more nights they had spent on the land. However, the fact that only 15 women had claimed any activity on the land in the months of April and May is noteworthy since traditionally, spring is the busiest time of year for going on the land (Goehring and Stager 1991; Stuckenberger 2006). In Qikiqtarjuaq, women were actually relatively inactive, spending more time in their jobs since 43.7% of women are employed but only 14.6% had been on the land. Therefore, it is evident that the wage economy takes up more time for women as a group. While going on the land is still important to Inuit for identity and it provides a location for leisure based activities and holidays for working women, the economy seems to rely primarily on wage employment in the community today (Borre 1991; Furgal and Seguin 2006; Laidler 2009; Smith and Wright 1989).

Moreover, while young women had not spent as many nights on the land in the last month as older women, it may be due to the shift in the types of trips that they make. Maybe “going on the land” overnight, which is the term used by Inuit for spending time outside of the community, is less common because men and women don’t have to go as far from the community to have the experience. Here, I speculate if women go on the land with their husbands, common law and boyfriends for day trips because they still get outside in the fresh air and in the landscape surrounding the community, but they don’t need to leave for a significant period of time because trips are not taken for the purpose of hunting. This supports the hypothesis that going on the land is more significant for recreation and leisure. People continue to enjoy leaving the community, but there is a shift in the reason for leaving, which was once solely to procure animals, but now, is to go on outings with friends and visit cabins for the day.

For cleaning seal skins, there was no significant difference between the age of women and the number who actively clean skins (see Figure 4.17). It is interesting to note however, that the number of skins that each woman cleans increases significantly with age. This fact is important because it identifies the passing of skills from older, to younger women. While the group of young women who are interested in learning to clean skins will be slower and in the apprentice stage, older women are quick and efficient, and are therefore more likely to have cleaned more skins within the study period. Similarly, older women may clean more seal skins than younger women because in many cases young women bring the catch from their husbands, common laws and related men to an older woman in the community who is proficient in the skill, ensuring that the skins are not damaged.

The interest that is shown by young women to clean seal skins is of particular interest because it supports the idea that Inuit still put a value on subsistence at some level. For example, seal skins provide very low pay off in Qikiqtarjuaq, with the Hunter's and Trapper's Organization paying around \$60 for a good quality skin (Qikiqtarjuaq Fieldnotes, O.C., June 6, 2009). This implies that while the monetary value for seal skins is quite low, it is obvious that regardless of the economic contribution of skins, some young women still have an interest in learning activities done by their mothers and grandmothers, even if it is not contributing heavily to their income (Dahl 2000).

Only 15 women from the sample of 103 women had cleaned a seal skin in the last month. This is interesting from a historic standpoint because traditionally, seal was a very important species to east coast Baffin Island Inuit because it was the main food, it

was readily available with the community's marine location, and it was also a symbol of the nutritional, cultural and spiritual health of Qikiqtarjuaq residents (Borre 1994, Wenzel 1978). The reality is that very few women clean seal skins in the community today. I had a discussion with a woman in her 40s about my own desire to clean seal skins, and she stated that she had just thrown out 7 skins, because she didn't have time to clean them before they rotted. This fact alone identifies a shift in the value for traditional skills, where women are able to choose how they allocate their time to daily priorities.

With regard to sewing, the number of women involved is also relatively evenly distributed amongst the sample since there was no difference between the proportions of women who had sewn in the last month. While this is the most common subsistence activity for women to be engaged in (see Figure 4.5), it is interesting to find out that almost half of the sample of women had been involved in some scale of sewing in the last month. Here, women use material bought from the store to make small items and are generally more likely to take up a basic sewing project, as opposed to the more difficult and arduous sewing jobs like kamiks and parkas, which require proficient skill and plenty of time.

The number of sewing activities that were completed by women in Qikiqtarjuaq did not change significantly by age, where the average number of sewing activities stayed consistent across all age groups. The only significant differences found between women who sew and their age was evident in the complexity of the activities. Here it is evident that the older women are more likely to engage in the much more advanced sewing projects like parkas, amautiit and kamiks because older women have the skills for such

tasks (Billson and Mancini 2007; Stern 2000). Younger women were more actively engaged in simpler sewing projects. In my experience in the community, young women frequently came to my door trying to sell me things like wall hangings, mittens, toques, etc which they claimed to have made themselves. All items were made out of store bought materials, even down to the fur provided on the mittens. This may imply that young women engage in sewing because they can sell their goods, and make some money to support themselves.

Interestingly, one must consider the fact that sewing may still be practiced because it can be completed on an individual level. For example, women can use the money from their wage earning job to buy materials and a sewing machine from the store. There is no need for men to bring them materials to engage in sewing, they can access all goods themselves. In order for a woman to butcher animals and clean seal skins, a hunter must bring her seals. If there aren't enough men requiring women to clean their skins for them, the opportunity is no longer available. This is due to the fact that for the few seal brought into the community in the time I was there, only the most skilled women would complete the cleaning and butchering of the animals. Therefore, even when men do bring home a catch, it would not go to a young woman learning to clean skins, instead it goes to elders who already have the skill.

In Qikiqtarjuaq, it is interesting that while women are moving away from the traditional activities that require the procurement of an animal, they continue to engage in sewing activities that do not. It appears that the primary effects that a modern lifestyle and economy have on the community lies in changes in the relationship between men and

women, where her contribution to the community and household is no longer co-dependent with her male partner, since she works to support herself and the activities she chooses to engage in. With fewer men hunting in communities today (Chance 1960; Condon et al. 1995; Goehring and Stager 1991; Kemp 1971; Kruse 1986 and 1991), it is obvious that women found other ways to contribute to the local economy, evident through their involvement in wage work, and sewing. For example, from personal experience I know that amoutiit sell for approximately \$700 depending on the fur used (usually store-bought) and the complexity of the project. Similarly, I know that a pair of seal skin kamiks, will sell for \$600. For the sewing projects that are completed, some continue to have great pay off and would contribute substantially to the income of the household. However, these projects often are taken up by elders and women with the skills required to complete these time-consuming, highly skilled projects (Billson and Mancini 2007). It will be interesting to see if the young women who now engage in more basic sewing projects eventually attain the skills to make kamiks, amoutiit and parkas because those are the items that have real monetary value.

To conclude, while Stabler and Howe (1990) state that unemployment has been a serious problem for Inuit since the collapse of the traditional economy in the settlement years, a strong employment rate for women indicates a somewhat resilient community. However, women dedicating significant amounts of time to work has created barriers for traditional skills since women must take up an interest in traditional activities in order to become involved in them. For example, Kemp (1971) examines the loss of traditional skills for Inuit and how the monetary economy has made life more efficient, but has resulted in the loss of subsistence skill. However, we still must consider that maybe

women are simply adapting to an evolved community. This is similar to what Wachowich (2001) explained in *Saqiyuq*, where the author looked at three generations of women. For the oldest generation studied in the book, livelihood was connected to the land. This included medicine, styles of learning and acquiring skills, practical uses for the land and economy. For the youngest generation, the women stated that these things are no longer important. While young women still respect elders and the way of life that Inuit once lived, it is different today and new skills must be adopted in order to make way through life and develop identity.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

6.0 Conclusion

This thesis was framed around two hypotheses that have come out of the literature on Inuit and economy. First, I looked at a hypothesis proposed by Oosten and Laugrand in 2002 and secondly, at a paper published by Goehring and Stager in 1995. Oosten and Laugrand stated that Inuit are perfectly capable of integrating traditional systems of life with new ones, supporting the theory that the mixed economy still exists in Inuit communities today. Conversely, the work by Goehring and Stager concluded that the mixed economy no longer exists since young people do not have the same skills as previous generations and seal skins no longer have a substantial monetary value. The results of this thesis support the hypothesis proposed by Goehring and Stager in 1995 that

while it was once possible to maintain a tandem existence between traditional and wage economies, the Inuit have entered a new stage in the economy that focuses more heavily on wage labour than subsistence work.

With regards to land based activities and work, John Kruse (1991) brought up an interesting point when he discussed the concept of choice for youth in contemporary Inuit culture. Much like I can make the choice to learn to shoot a gun and go hunting down south, youth in Inuit communities are in similar circumstances. No longer is it necessary for a man or woman to go on the land to sustain life, which means that Inuit who do go on the land, have an interest in doing so, and must schedule it into their lives around things like school and part time or full time work. While this may explain why fewer women go out on the land in the present day, it may identify that women now consider wage work to be a contribution to the family and the community since most women are spending more time in work than out on the land.

As well, it may imply that the wage economy is taking over the mixed economy since women no longer require the trade-offs from their husbands' hunting activities because many of the things he would have provided in the past can now be purchased at the local stores. Instead, the economy of the community has changed from a system revolving around reciprocity for survival and meeting the needs of the group, to a more individualized organization where different families have different sources of income, spend their money on their personal interests and may or may not choose to engage in a traditional lifestyle. Most importantly, the idea that youth highly value wage work as a means of income, it means that traditional skills have shifted to activities that they choose

to take up. The future of the mixed economy is threatened by this fact because the youth will have to continue on the activities of the elders in order to sustain cultural integrity. While some women continue to show interest in learning to clean seal skins, some are interested in other activities like sewing with materials bought from the store and getting involved in organized sports.

In Qikiqtarjuaq in particular, I believe that residents have entered the stage of the wage economy where money is exchanged for labour to purchase goods and sustain life. I believe that the land will always continue to be important for Inuit youth as a symbol of their traditional culture, but shifts will be seen in how the youth use the land. I believe that the land will become more of a leisure-based resource, useful for vacations and holidays from the community since people speak of going on the land, and the enjoyment they get from land activities.

While it is evident that some women choose to engage in traditional activities like cleaning seal skins and butchering animals, drawing on experiences from skin cleaning circles and sewing activities that women were engaged in during my stay in Qikiqtarjuaq, there isn't a strong enough relationship between men and women to facilitate a mixed economy based on the exchange of her income for his hunting and the sale of the products of the hunt to sustain the household. I state this claim based on the results of this project that show that women no longer use seal skins, and rarely butcher animals. This not only reflects a shift in how women spend their time and the types of skills they possess, it also reflects a shift in the relationship between men and women away from the co-dependent bond of the mixed economy. I conclude from my research that today men use seasonal,

casual and part time income to go on the land if they so choose, while women use their income to purchase store bought food, pay rent and purchase their materials for sewing from the local stores. Moreover, since women's income no longer supports men's land activities, and since men's hunting is not longer supported by selling and trading furs, future research will be required to understand how men support their own hunting activities today.

Looking into the future, there is a need to explore the concept of the mixed economy and how the definition may have changed. Can we label an economy as 'mixed' if women only engage in the monetary economy, but men continue to hunt? Further, at what point would we consider the Inuit economy to be a monetary economy? Where does the division between a wage economy and a subsistence economy exist? These answers can be examined when delving further into the relationship between men and women in Inuit culture, the uses and value of country food and if as a whole, the entire culture for Inuit is evolving as many cultures change and adapt over time. What does the future hold for young Inuit as identity changes and young people learn to adapt to the modern world? Understanding change and accepting new roles and activities for Inuit is the foundation of a healthy society and until these issues are explored, pressure put on young men and women to meet the expectations of elders, who grew up in a very different time, may act as a barrier to young people. This thesis has explored these concepts on an introductory level and future research is required to understand the difference between the value of the land and traditions, and the value put on the modern world.

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APPENDICES

Participant Survey: Qikiqtarjuaq, Nunavut

May 2010

SECTION A: Demographics

1. First name _____ Last name _____
2. How old are you? _____
3. What is your phone number? _____
4. Have you had a paid job in the last month? (If you answer no, please move to question #13)
- ____ Yes _____ No
5. What kind of job is/was it? (If you answer Contract, please move to question #7)
- ____ Permanent _____ Other (please specify): _____
- ____ Contract _____
6. If you were employed in a permanent job in the last month, how many hours did you work in one week?
- ____ 1- 10 hours _____ 31-40 hours
- ____ 11-20 hours _____ 41 hours or more
- ____ 21-30 hours _____ I am not employed in a permanent job
7. If you were employed in a contract job in the last month, how many weeks did you work?
- ____ 1 week _____ 3 weeks _____ The whole month
- ____ 2 weeks _____ 4 weeks _____ I am/was not employed in a contract job
8. Where do/did you work in the last month? _____
9. What is/was your job title? _____
10. What are/were the main things that you do/did? _____
11. What is your income from the past year?
- ____ Less than \$20,000/yr _____ \$81,000 – 100,000/yr
- ____ \$21,000 – \$40,000/yr _____ \$101,000 – 120,000/yr
- ____ \$41,000 – 60,000/yr _____ More than \$121,000
- ____ \$61,000 – 80,000/yr _____ I do not know how much money I made
12. What language do you most often speak at work?
- ____ English _____ Inuktitut _____ Both

SECTION B: Family Life

13. Including you, how many people live in your house? _____
14. How many adult men aged 18 years or older live in your house? _____
15. How many of those adult men go hunting more than once a month? _____
16. How many of the boys under the age of 18 years old go hunting more than once a month? _____

17. How many adult women aged 18 years or older live in your house? _____
18. How many of those adult women go out on the land more than once a month? _____
19. How many of the girls under the age of 18 years old go out on the land more than once a month? _____
20. Which of the following options best describes your relationship status?
- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> I am married | <input type="checkbox"/> I have a boyfriend |
| <input type="checkbox"/> I have a common law/boyfriend who lives with me | <input type="checkbox"/> I am single |
| <input type="checkbox"/> I have a common law/boyfriend who doesn't live with me | <input type="checkbox"/> My partner is deceased |
21. What is your relationship with the oldest man that lives in your house? _____
22. Has the oldest man that lives in your house had a job in the last month? (If you answer no, please move to question # 26)
- Yes No
23. Where does he work? _____
24. What is his job title? _____
25. What was his income from the past year?
- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Less than \$20,000/yr | <input type="checkbox"/> \$81,000 – 100,000/yr |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$21,000 – \$40,000/yr | <input type="checkbox"/> \$101,000 – 120,000/yr |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$41,000 – 60,000/yr | <input type="checkbox"/> More than \$121,000/yr |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$61,000 – 80,000/yr | <input type="checkbox"/> I do not know how much money he made |
26. How often does he go on the land? (If he has not gone on the land in the last month, go to question # 29)
- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> A few times a month | <input type="checkbox"/> A few times a week |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Once a month | <input type="checkbox"/> Almost every day |
| <input type="checkbox"/> More than once a month | <input type="checkbox"/> He has not gone on the land in the last month |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Almost every week | |
27. In total, how many trips did you make on the land with him in the last month? _____
28. In total, how many nights did you spend on the land with him in the last month? _____
29. What language do you most often speak at home?
- English Inuktitut Both

SECTION C: Education and Migration

30. What is the highest grade/level of education that you have completed? _____
31. Have you attended school in the past year? (If you did not attend school, please move to question #33)
- Yes No
32. If you are in school, what are you studying? _____

33. Have you ever left your community for any of the following reasons? (Check all that apply)

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Residential school | <input type="checkbox"/> Job opportunity elsewhere for myself
Where was the job? _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Arctic College program | _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Educational program in the south | <input type="checkbox"/> Job opportunity elsewhere for my
husband/common law/boyfriend
Where was the job? _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Job opportunity in Iqaluit for myself | _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Job opportunity in Iqaluit for my
husband/common law/boyfriend | _____ |

34. Would you consider leaving the community for an extended period?

- Yes, I would leave to attend an Arctic College program in Iqaluit
- Yes, I would leave to attend a university or educational program in the south
- Yes, I would leave for a job in Iqaluit, or another Nunavut community
- Yes, I would leave for a job in Ottawa or another place in the south
- Yes, I would leave so my kids can have better educational opportunities
- No, I would prefer not to leave the community

35. What do you think would prevent you from leaving your community for a job or an educational opportunity?

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> I would miss my family too much | <input type="checkbox"/> I am not interested |
| <input type="checkbox"/> I would be homesick | Other (Please specify): _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> I have family members who need my help | _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> My kids would not want to move | _____ |

SECTION D: Land Involvement and Community Activities

36. How many nights have you spent on the land in the last month? _____

37. How many seal skins have you cleaned in the last month? _____

38. Which of the following sewing activities have you done in the last month? (Check all that apply)

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> I did not sew anything last month | <input type="checkbox"/> Sew duffels |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sew parkas | <input type="checkbox"/> Sew clothes with material from the store |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sew amautiit | <input type="checkbox"/> Sew clothes out of skins |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sew kamiks | <input type="checkbox"/> Sew handicrafts for sale |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sew mittens | Other (Please Specify): _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sew slippers | _____ |

39. Which of the following processing activities have you done in the last month? (Check all that apply)

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> I did not process anything last month | <input type="checkbox"/> Sew seal/caribou skins |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Butcher animals | <input type="checkbox"/> Clean and dry polar bear skins |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Clean and dry seal/caribou skins | Other (please specify): _____ |

40. Which of the following have you personally harvested from the land in the last month? (Check all that apply)

- I did not harvest anything last month
- Berries
- Seal
- Narwhal
- Plants
- Eggs
- Clams
- Arctic Char
- Other (please specify): _____

41. How often do you go out on the land? (If you have not been out on the land in the last month, please move to question #42)

- A few times a month
- Once a month
- More than once a month
- Almost every week
- A few times a week
- Almost every day
- I have not been out on the land in the last month

SECTION E: Country food

42. How often do you eat country food?

- Almost every day
- A few times a week
- Once a week
- A few times a month
- Rarely
- Never

43. Over the past month, how much of the meat and fish that was eaten in your house came from your own household's harvesting activities?

- All of it (100%)
- Almost all of it (80% - 99%)
- Most of it (60% - 79%)
- About half of it (40% - 59%)
- Some of it (20% - 39%)
- Almost none of it (1% - 19%)
- None of it (0%)

44. Please list everything that you ate and drank in the last 24 hours:

_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

THANK YOU FOR VOLUNTEERING TO COMPLETE THIS SURVEY!



Department of Geography

Tel (807) 343-8110

Fax (807) 343-8380

geography@lakeheadu.ca

Information Letter

Dear Potential Interview Participant:

We would like to invite you to participate in a study we are conducting through Lakehead University, located in Thunder Bay, Ontario. It is called: "Inuit Women and Subsistence: Social and Environmental Change".

The objectives of the project are:

1. To investigate women's activities related to harvesting and processing country foods and materials.
2. To examine the social networks of sharing for the collection, processing, distribution, and consumption of goods and services (including, but not only, country foods and other products).
3. To find out people's views on changes in subsistence over the past 50 years and the main threats to the current system.
4. To use this information as a baseline for future studies.

To accomplish this goal, we would like to ask you to participate in an interview regarding your involvement in subsistence and sharing activities. Participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you are uncomfortable with a question, please feel free to decline to answer it. You are also free to withdraw from the study at anytime. The interview should take about 1-1.5 hours and can be conducted wherever you feel most comfortable. There are no right or wrong answers.

The data from the project will be securely stored at Lakehead University under the supervision of Dr. Martha Dowsley. They will be used as baseline data to evaluate future changes to women's involvement in subsistence. As well, we will use the data to write academic papers and presentations. These will be made available to you if you request it.

Your interview transcript will be reviewed with you and you will receive a hard copy of it. The findings of this project will be made available to you at your request upon the completion of the project. Prior to the interview we will ask you to sign a form indicating you understand the project. You will also be asked to decide whether you want to remain anonymous (your name would not be revealed to anyone else in the project or the public) or if you wish your name to be given if any direct quotes are used from your interview. Every effort will be made for complete anonymity, if requested, but there is a risk of being identified through the context of published statements.

This project has received ethics approval from the Research and Ethics Board at Lakehead University. If you have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact Martha at (807) 343-8430, or milowsley@lakeheadu.ca. Her address is Department of Geography, Lakehead University, 955 Oliver Road, Thunder Bay, Ontario, P7B 5E1. You may also contact the Lakehead University's Research Ethics Board at (807) 343-8283. Or write to them at Office of Research at Lakehead University, 1294 Balmoral Street Lower Level 0001, Thunder Bay, Ontario, P7B 5E1 Phone: 807-766-7289 Fax: 807-346-7749.

Thank you for discussing this project with us and considering participating in it.

955 Oliver Road Thunder Bay Ontario Canada P7B 5E1 www.lakeheadu.ca

Research Consent Form

My signature on this sheet indicates that I agree to participate in the study called "Inuit Women and Subsistence: Social and Environmental Change" supervised by Martha Dowsley of Lakehead University and it also indicates that I understand the following:

1. I have received explanations about the nature of the study, its purpose, and procedures.
2. I am a volunteer and can withdraw at any time from the study.
3. There is no apparent risk of physical or psychological harm. There is the unlikely possibility that a question asked may make me feel uncomfortable, but I may choose not to answer any of the questions at any time.
4. The data I provide will be securely stored.
5. I will have to opportunity to review my interview transcript and correct it.
6. I will receive a hard copy of my final interview transcript.
7. I have the right to anonymity or to have my name associated with quotes from my transcript (select one below)
8. I can agree or disagree to being photographed for use in presentations about this project

.....
 I wish to remain anonymous (my name will not be publically associated with any information I provide).

I wish to have my name attached to direct quotes from my interview.
.....

I do not agree to have my picture taken for use in presentations about this project.

I agree to have my picture taken for use in presentations about this project.

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Witness

Date

Lakehead

UNIVERSITY

Office of Research

Tel (807) 343-8283
Fax (807) 346-7749

May 14, 2009

Principal Investigator: Dr. Martha Dowsley
Co-Investigator: Dr. Chris Southcott
Student Investigators: Ms. Jennifer Duncan, Ms. Lee-Ann Chevrette & Ms. Jocelyn Inksetter
c/o Department of Geography
Lakehead University
955 Oliver Road
Thunder Bay, Ontario P7B 5E1

Dear Researchers:

Re: REB Project #: 107 08-09
Granting Agency name: SSHRC
Granting Agency Project #: 866-2008-0019

On the recommendation of the Research Ethics Board, I am pleased to grant ethical approval to your research project entitled, "Inuit Women and Subsistence: Social and Environmental Change".

Ethics approval is valid until **May 14, 2010**. Please submit a Request for Renewal form to the Office of Research by April 14, 2010 if your research involving human subjects will continue for longer than one year. A Final Report must be submitted promptly upon completion of the project. Research Ethics Board forms are available at:

<http://hoit.lakeheadu.ca/~research/www/internalforms.html>

During the course of the study, any modifications to the protocol or forms must not be initiated without prior written approval from the REB. You must promptly notify the REB of any adverse events that may occur.

Completed reports and correspondence may be directed to:

Research Ethics Board
c/o Office of Research
Lakehead University
955 Oliver Road
Thunder Bay, ON P7B 5E1
Fax: (807) 346-7749

Best wishes for a successful research project.

Sincerely,



Dr. Richard Maundrell
Chair, Research Ethics Board

/len

cc: Faculty of Graduate Studies
Office of Research

Lakehead

UNIVERSITY

Office of Research

April 15, 2010

Tel (807) 343-8283
Fax (807) 346-7749

Principal Investigator: Dr. Martha Dowsley
Co-Investigator: Dr. Chris Southcott
Student Investigator: Ms Jocelyn Inksetter
Geography and Anthropology
Lakehead University
955 Oliver Rd
Thunder Bay ON P7B 5E1

Dear Drs. Dowsley & Southcott and Ms Inksetter:

Re: REB Project #: 107 08-09
Granting Agency name: SSHRC
Granting Agency Project #: 866-2008-0019

On behalf of the Research Ethics Board, I am pleased to grant renewal of ethical approval to your research project entitled, "Inuit Women and Subsistence: Social and Environmental Change".

The requested amendment modifying the Information Letter and Consent Form as well as adding the survey, adding a list of follow up interview topics, and adding a card sorting activity are acceptable to the Research Ethics Board. The Board also approves of amending the number of participant from 30 to approximately 100.

Ethics approval is valid until **April 15, 2011**. Please submit a Request for Renewal form to the Office of Research by March 15, 2011 if your research involving human subjects will continue for longer than one year. **A Final Report must be submitted promptly upon completion of the project.** Request for Renewal and Final Report forms are available at:

http://research.lakeheadu.ca/ethics_resources.html


During the course of the study, any modifications to the protocol or forms must not be initiated without prior written approval from the REB. You must promptly notify the REB of any adverse events that may occur.

Completed reports and correspondence may be directed to:

Research Ethics Board
c/o Office of Research
Lakehead University
955 Oliver Road
Thunder Bay, ON P7B 5E1
Fax: (807) 346-7749

Best wishes for continued success!

Sincerely,



Dr. Richard Maundrell
Chair, Research Ethics Board

cc: Office of Research
Office of Financial Services

955 Oliver Road Thunder Bay Ontario Canada P7B 5E1 www.lakeheadu.ca

Nunavummi Qaujisaqtulirijikkut / Nunavut Research Institute

Box 1720, Iqaluit, NU X0A 0H0 phone: (867) 979-7279 fax: (867) 979-7109 e-mail:
masha.cote@arcticcollege.ca

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH LICENSE

LICENSE # 02 046 10N-M

ISSUED TO: Martha Dowsley
Department of Geography
Lakehead University
955 Oliver Rd.
Thunder Bay, ON
P7B 5E1 CA
807-343-8430

TEAM MEMBERS: S. Gearhead, J. Inksetter, J. Duncan, L. Chevette

AFFILIATION: Lakehead University

TITLE: Inuit Women and Subsistence: Social and Environmental Change

OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH:

The objectives of the project are to investigate women's activities related to harvesting and processing country foods and materials. Also to examine the social networks of sharing for the collection, processing, distribution, and consumption of goods and services (including, but not only, country foods and other products). Also to find out people's views on changes in subsistence over the past 50 years and the main threats to the current system. Finally, to use this information as a baseline for future studies.

TERMS & CONDITIONS:

DATA COLLECTION IN NU:

DATES: November 01, 2009-December 01, 2011

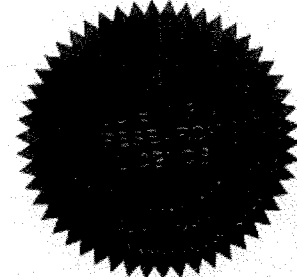
LOCATION: Qikiqtarjuaq, Clyde River

Scientific Research License 02 046 10N-M expires on December 31, 2010

Issued at Iqaluit, NU on November 13, 2009



Mary Ellen Thomas
Science Advisor



Nunavummi Qaujisaqtulirijikkut / Nunavut Research Institute

Box 1720, Iqaluit, NU X0A 0H0 phone: (867) 979-7279 fax: (867) 979-7109 e-mail:
mosha.cote@arcticcollege.ca

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH LICENSE

LICENSE # 02 046 10N-M

ISSUED TO: Martha Dowsley
Department of Geography
Lakehead University
955 Oliver Rd.
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P7B 5E1 CA
807-343-8430

TEAM MEMBERS: S. Gearhead, J. Inksetter, J. Duncan, L. Chevrette

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TERMS & CONDITIONS:

DATA COLLECTION IN NU:

DATES: April 01, 2010-December 01, 2011

LOCATION: Qikiqtarjuaq, Clyde River

Scientific Research License 02 046 10N-M expires on December 31, 2010
Issued at Iqaluit, NU on April 30, 2010


Mary Ellen Thomas
Science Advisor



Naqturalit Women Group

May 12, 2009

Qikiqtarjuaq, Nunavut

X0A 0B0

(867) 927-8428

Dear NRI

I am the organizer of the women's sewing group in Qikiqtarjuaq and also the Women's support group with the Full Gospel church. There are 12 members in our church group we have started early this year and as well we have sewing group and 3 members are running this new women program of the support group and women usually total up to 15 to 25 woman attending our activities. We have talked to Dr. Martha Dowsley about her research project "Inuit Women and Subsistence: Social and Environmental Change". We are supportive of this project and want to work with it to help women in Qikiqtarjuaq and across Nunavut.

Sincerely,



Mary Kiliktee

Community Justice Outreach Worker

mary.kiliktee@ainia.com

(867) 927-8428