2005

Indigenous diaspora and literature

Kimberley McMahon-Coleman

University of Wollongong, Shoalhaven Campus, kmc@uow.edu.au

Publication Details
Indigenous Diaspora and Literature

Alootook Ipellie is an Inuk writer whose work can be read as diasporic, dealing as it does with issues of transculturation. Diaspora is fundamentally concerned with complex notions of home, belonging and exile. Within the Indigenous context, the situation becomes even more complicated, for when Indigenous peoples were forcibly removed from their familial locations, they crossed traditional borders, even whilst remaining within the modern nation-state. As Noelene Brasche argues, the forced displacements of Indigenous peoples “infringed traditional boundaries ... Territorial or national groups who previously had little or nothing in common now shared experiences of dispersal and loss of sovereignty, as well as physical displacement from traditional country” (2002, 49). Although Ipellie has not migrated in the traditional sense, the experience of his people foregrounds one such history of transplantation, dispossession and alienation at the hands of colonial regimes. This paper argues that colonialism has effectively created an Indigenous Diaspora, and explores the ways in which Ipellie’s work can be seen to exemplify this notion.

Kim Matthews suggests that all identities are negotiated and potentially deterritorialised: for any individual, “home” may be the place of origin, the place of residence, or the place where one has lived the longest period of time (2002, 68–69). She goes on to argue that identity construction is derived from the actions of social agents as they negotiate the cultures of the past with those of the present and indeed of an imagined community. Identity formation is fraught with barriers, as any given identity is constantly acting upon culture and vice versa (71–72).
 Issues surrounding home and identity are as pertinent to Indigenous people removed from their families and familial settings as they are to people who have crossed national borders. Robin Cohen has defined the trauma of banishment in diasporic communities as being typified by “dream[ing] of home but living in exile” (1997, ix), factors which are clearly evident in the indigenous experience of social, cultural, and linguistic displacement. Certainly, two conflicting cultures influence the daily lives of these people, so that issues relating to identity and belonging remain contentious.

When I met with Alootook Ipellier in May 2004, the first city landmark that he wanted me to see was a sculpture installed outside the Ottawa City Hall. It was in the shadows of this sculpture, “The Lost Child” by Inuk artist David Ruben-Piqiotquik, that he began to share with me information about his life and work. A plaque explains that the sandstone piece was inspired by the artist’s removal to Edmonton as a child, and his feelings of loneliness and isolation beneath an “overwhelming urban skyline.” The plaque’s final line reflects the artist’s belief that “we have all been lost at some point in our lives.” This is particularly true of children removed from their families by the state.

Like Ruben-Piqiotquik, Alootook Ipellier’s notions of “home” have been challenged from a young age. Transplantation as a result of colonial practices has been a key feature of Inuit life in the past fifty years, and has been a significant influence in the life of Ipellier. When he was just four years of age, his family abandoned their nomadic ways and moved to the town of Iqaluit, in what is now Nunavut, as part of a government-sponsored program to create permanent Inuit settlements in the North. Less than a year later, he again experienced governmental intervention when, during a routine screening program, he was discovered to have tuberculosis and was sent to Hamilton, Ontario aboard the C.D. Howe.

Separated from his family for the duration of his illness, he was expected to learn — and use — English as his primary mode of communication. The C.D. Howe would not return for another twelve months due to the Arctic conditions, leaving patients who had completed their treatment no option but to wait for the next long journey North. Ipellier notes that he was “one of the lucky ones” because he returned home “when many of [his] fellow Inuit ended up buried in Hamilton.” The experience was also culturally isolating in that he had forgotten most of his Inuktitut by the time he returned to Iqaluit.1 In a cruel irony, his mother was diagnosed with the disease after Ipellier’s return, and “was gone for several years, but not more than three” (Ipellier 1974, 48). Thus began a pattern of familial separation and movement between the North and South.

As a teenager, Ipellier was once again removed from Iqaluit, this time under the auspices of the residential school system. Forced removal of children from their culture and their placement in another group, regardless of intent, is considered to be a genocidal practice according to the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide (United Nations Treaty Series, quoted in Armitage 1995, 6; Brasche 2002, 16). The systematic relocation of Indigenous children closely parallels the racial persecution that necessitates diasporic movement in more traditional definitions of the concept. Such separations in the name of education were a widespread colonial practice, but as Ulf Hannerz, author of Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places (1996) points out, beneath the guise of philanthropy this practice had a far more sinister outcome, that of teaching Indigenous children their “role” in society:

Education creates difference, as it sorts and prepares people for that division of knowledge which matches a contemporary division of labor … the state comes in at an early point in the overall formation of the cultural continuum … In supplying people with different amounts of educational assets, in promoting an organization of the division of labor to no small extent around this distribution, and in thereby giving its support to one principle of cultural as well as social hierarchy, the state opens up that space to transnational influences at one
end, and indicates a direction for internal processes (71–73).

Ipellie would learn first-hand about the role of education as a social marker when he was enrolled in a school in Ottawa in 1967, and required to board with an English-speaking Canadian family. He describes himself as “no longer an Innumarik” — a real Inuk (Ipellie 1993, vii) — as a result of this experience. The culture shock he experienced was acute and he recalls that his adolescence was spent in great loneliness and I needed very much to occupy myself with activities … I was quiet, extremely shy and a terribly boring young man. I spent a lot of time “lost” in my mind thinking about a thousand and one things (Ipellie 1983, 58).

Ipellie used his creativity as an outlet to combat his shyness and feelings of dislocation. Unfortunately, his state-appointed guardians and teachers did not view art as an appropriate career choice, and dissuaded him from pursuing it. His place in the “cultural continuum” was clearly marked. He lost interest in school, left without completing his secondary studies, and returned to Inuvik. In the early seventies, however, Iqaluit did not have a buoyant economy, and Ipellie was unable to find employment (Ipellie 1993, viii), although he did manage to sell his first pen-and-ink drawings. Alcoholism was rife, and youth depression and suicide rates then, as now, were higher in the Arctic than elsewhere in Canada. Ipellie himself battled depression, and after a second attempt at completing his secondary studies, “decided to quit school for good. Everything I did after that seemed pointed towards a life of oblivion” (1993, viii).

In 1972, Ipellie returned to Ottawa in search of more reliable work. His art and writing since this time have continually dealt with the problems of living between two worlds or cultures. Despite having lived and worked in Ottawa for the better part of forty years, he maintains a longing for his spiritual home in the Arctic. As he explains:

my mind, my psyche, is at home up in the Arctic, and it will always be that way. And I’m thinking now that I know one day I’ll go back to my real home, sometime in the future.²

Clearly, the colonialisist practices of separation and interference had far-reaching effects on the Inuit people. For Rapport and Dawson, however, who argue that “Home is the place where one knows oneself best” (1998, 9), there is an unexpected positive outcome of such practices. Through these transcultural experiences, individuals come to achieve a stronger sense of belonging, such as that reflected in Ipellie’s statement above. They argue that exile can be a resource in that it provides a vantage point from which to learn about oneself (1998, 9). For individuals such as Ipellie whose homes, cultures and very identities have been under threat from an outside force, these can no longer be taken for granted. The Inuit, who have experienced unprecedented cultural upheaval as a result of their rapid and recent colonisation, have such a strong sense of cultural identity that community leaders — many of whom, including Ipellie, had been removed from their communities as children — lobbied for the formal establishment of a homeland within the borders of Canada. The Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, or National Inuit organisation, was largely responsible for this political movement. Similar lobbying has also seen the establishment of Inuktut educational materials and television broadcasts. These are used to ensure the survival of Inuktut in the face of the all-pervasive languages of the colonisers. In these instances, Inuit who had never left the Arctic have worked together with the Indigenous diasporans in order to create a better outcome for all members of the community.

Avtar Brah investigates the interrelationship of indigeneity and diaspora in her notion of diaspora space, which she defines as the intersectionality of diaspora, border and dis/location as a point of confluence of economic, political, cultural and psychic processes. It addresses the global condition of culture, economics and politics as a site of “migrancy”
and "travel" which seriously problematizes the subject position of the "native" ... diaspora space as a conceptual category is "inhabited" not only by those who have migrated and their descendants but equally by those who are constructed and represented as indigenous. In other words, the concept of diaspora space (as opposed to that of diaspora) includes the entanglement of genealogies of dispersion with those of "staying put" (1996, 181).

Brah's concept of diaspora space can usefully be applied to understanding the ways in which Ipellie interrogates notions of home and homelessness, as well as the aforementioned political, cultural and psychic issues faced by Indigenous diasporas. The remainder of this paper will examine the ways in which a selection of Ipellie's work inhabits and imagines this space.

Alootook Ipellie's 1993 publication Arctic Dreams and Nightmares was the first collection by a single Inuk author. Initially an illustrator, Ipellie used a series of his own pen-and-ink drawings as the inspiration for the stories contained in the volume, which, he claims, "pretty much wrote[ ] themselves." In this groundbreaking work, Ipellie examines the impact of the outside world on traditional Inuit practices through stories such as the bitterly humorous piece "After Brigitte Bardot." This is both one of his most obviously political stories, as well as one of the more darkly humorous. It was written after Bardot's impassioned protest in Newfoundland against the seal pelt trade. One of the unintended consequences of the protest was a devastating financial impact on the Inuit involved in the fur trade in the 1980s. The story is retold as a conversation between two Inuit men witnessing the photo shoot. They note that the seal pelt appears to be a stuffed animal, and cite several examples that prove Bardot has little or no understanding of life in the Arctic. They also suggest that Bardot's major motivation is self-promotion.

The story questions the validity of international lobby groups and celebrities making decisions which impact on the lives of Inuit families. As Ipellie explains,

when they killed the seal pelt trade, they killed off our traditional way ... of making part of our living from the fur trade. And they killed the seal fur trade in the Arctic, and one year ... I visited this tannery in Qaqortoq, south Greenland, and they were saying they used to have 125 employees, and now they have 14.4

The narrator of the story experiences a bumper season, but is dismayed to discover that he cannot sell the skins, because Bardot's protest has led to Europe banning the importation of seal products, and the collapse of the sealskin market. Later, the hunter experiences a psychic vision of an aging and "slightly senile" (Ipellie 1993, 112) Bardot walking down a Parisian street with a male Inuk companion. Because of her close affinity with the animals, her torso has transformed into that of a harp seal. According to the narrator, she has "willed herself to be reincarnated" into the animal (1993, 112). The figure of a seal pup appears behind Bardot, and the reader is shocked when the creature brutally clubs her companion to death. It transpires that it is the ghost of all the seal pups from the Arctic who were killed for their pelts. Rather than being grateful to Bardot for her part in the protest, the spectre is angry at the intervention from someone who was not directly involved, and had little understanding of the consequences of her actions. Other seal attacks occur, but only in French locations. It seems that France is being repaid for the arrogance of one of her citizens presuming to be a spokesperson on Arctic affairs.

What many non-Inuk readers may not realise is that "After Brigitte Bardot" is actually based on a children's tale from Inuit tradition. The Amautalik is the most feared figure in the Arctic. A large woman wearing an amaute,3 she collects naughty children and removes them from their families. One can only imagine, then, the psychological impact on young Inuit children who were removed from their families by the state. In the original tale, a young orphan girl attempts to warn the other children that Amautalik and a large ground seal are approaching. The other children, who dislike her, do not heed her
warning, and consequently are clubbed to death by the seal (Merkur 1991, 251). In Ipellie’s story, the brutal clubbing of Bardot’s Inuk companion is configured as the punishment of a naughty child who refuses to listen at the appropriate time. Bardot, for her part in the proceedings, is condemned to spend eternity in an incarnation that is totally foreign to her cultural background. For Ipellie and others, including her contemporary, Peter Enerk, Bardot remains emblematic of foreign meddling in Inuit affairs. Enerk writes that Inuit are tired of the fact that people such as ... Brigitte Bardot ... and others ... are never around to listen to the native people when we discuss our conservation management plans for the future. Perhaps they could learn something from us (Enerk 1997, 282).

In the context of a half-century of European intervention and dispossession, it is little wonder that Ipellie has chosen to focus his work on figures that mediate complex and conflicting worlds. Ipellie primarily negotiates diaspora space through the use of shamanistic trickster figures. The shaman is a figure of superior intellect, who gains his or her supernatural powers through the crucible of extreme initiation. Joseph Campbell, one of the first academics to study shaman figures among indigenous peoples, refers to the process of initiation into shamanism as a “shamanistic crisis,” noting that it “yields an adult of greater physical stamina and vitality of spirit than is normal to the members of his group” (1976, 253). The ability of this hybrid figure to traverse borders at will is clearly significant; border or boundary crossing is both a fundamental issue in diaspora studies and a prevalent trope in postcolonial literature.

The narrator of Arctic Dreams and Nightmares becomes a shaman when a hunting trip goes horribly wrong. In “Nanuq, the White Ghost Repents,” he and his father are killed by a polar bear. The horrific nature of their deaths reflects the difficulty of becoming a hybrid figure, and the incident is described in graphic detail:

My father and I spent our last few moments in the physical world engulfed in the violence of the tyrannical beast. Memorable were the gratified eyes of the King, in contrast to our hysterical shrieks and terrified, bulging eyeballs! (Ipellie 1993, 17–18).

Here notions of “home” and “exile” are explored in a unique way, as the two hunters are exiled from the physical realm. As they travel through the cosmos, they are able to view a third member of their family exacting revenge on the bear. The journey only takes twelve seconds, which, according to Ipellie, is a tribute to the purity of the shaman-narrator, for “a bad spirit will linger around longer than usual. And a good spirit will go away pretty much straight away and not bother the living population.”

The story is also significant in that Ipellie mobilizes many of the features of traditional Inuit stories. The traditional tales, possibly because of the harsh nature of life in the Arctic, frequently included numerous references to violence and scatology. In the years immediately following colonisation, a number of white-edited anthologies of Inuit stories were published. In these, such references were inevitably excised, as Lawrence Millman, editor of the anthology A Kayak Full of Ghosts, has noted (1987, 13). By choosing to reintroduce these features, Ipellie is arguably contesting the cultural dispossession that was facilitated by the editorial processes of the dominant culture.

Ipellie’s decision to include violent incidents also has cultural and spiritual implications. Daniel Merkur, a comparative theologian, has noted that shamans traditionally gained their power after being killed and eaten by Tornassuk, the polar bear spirit (1991, 240). Hence the shaman-narrator, in recounting the circumstance in which he and his father are killed by a bear, is verifying his legitimacy as a shaman. Moreover, the transformation of the mortal into a shaman is representative of the diasporic experience, for, as Stuart Hall argues, “Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference” (1996, 120).
Throughout the collection of short stories, the non-Inuk reader remains in an unfamiliar space, and in a position of ignorance. This replicates in a very minor way the alienation experienced by the Inuit people in the years immediately following colonisation. It is only through further research that the non-Inuk reader can fully understand and interpret the spiritual symbolism attached to certain characters and their actions. The polar bear attack is a case in point: an Inuk reader would immediately recognise the spiritual importance of the shaman-narrator dying in the jaws of the polar bear; to the non-Inuk reader, it is an account of a horrific way to die, perhaps only of literary interest in that the voice tells the story from beyond the grave. This “marginalisation” of the non-Inuk reader is clearly a political strategy on Ipellie’s part; it is a means of ensuring the shaman-narrator’s ongoing authority. To readers from the dominant culture, the narrator is the primary focaliser and hence becomes the expert and guide.

Ipellie is interested in creating an identity within diaspora space — a common space where Brah’s entangled genealogies of dispersion and stasis coexist. One of the strategies he uses to do this is to transform canonical figures from the colonising culture, assigning them attributes of traditional shamans or spirits. “Super Stud,” one of the more light-hearted stories in the collection, is a case in point, and one which begins with familiar words from popular culture, “It’s a bird! It’s a plane! No, it’s Super Stud!” (Ipellie 1993, 97). When the shaman asks a bystander who the figure zooming back and forth above their heads is, the stranger is further identified as being “Faster than a speeding arrow, more powerful than a dog team, and able to leap tall igloos in a single bound” (97). Super Stud, also known as Cupid and Eros, is from the planet “Krypton,” and is described as a “Strange fella” (98). The shaman’s curiosity is piqued, and he enters a trance in order to follow Super Stud on his journeys. The “Super Stud” story differs from many depictions of Cupid, however, in that the arrows are not sent on someone else’s behalf. Instead, we are told that he is “one of the best-known servicemen to womankind in the Arctic” (102). References to sexual intercourse and to non-monogamous relationships were typically removed from early Inuit anthologies by white, Christian editors (Millman 1987, 13), so by reintroducing these elements Ipellie is indirectly drawing attention to colonialisat editorial practices. Here the strategy is to startle the non-Inuk reader by changing a “super.” icon from mild-mannered Clark Kent, to a much more worldly figure.


One of the key points of cultural significance in this story is the use of the trance. Shamanistic trances were often entered in order to commune with spirits and were used to request that animals be sent to the Arctic during the annual hunting season. Ipellie’s shaman-narrator, however, also uses the trance-state to communicate with
significant figures from the colonising culture. The idea of the trance as a means of cross-cultural communication is one that Ipellie has been developing for some time. In the cartoon reprinted above, a shaman enters a trance and shifts shape in the process. The accompanying text is a first-person narration explaining the shaman's activity: "Shamanism is a lot like visiting an alien world. You change according to whom you visit. This is not easy ... but [i]s essential for our people's survival" (Ipellie 1992, 25). Clearly, this commentary retells traditional beliefs about the role of the shaman, but equally it can be examined in terms of the survival of Inuit people in the postcolonial environment. The shaman represents the adaptations and compromises made by the Inuit people in order to survive in a climate of change. In the interview we recorded in May 2004, Ipellie noted that the time of first contact was one of enormous upheaval, but that "because our people are very, very adaptable to change, we were able to survive so many changes that happened to us over a very short period of time." The final frame of the cartoon shows the shaman exiting the North West Territories via a door marked "Nunavut," suggesting that the idea of a homeland was considered important in terms of cultural survival decades before it became a reality. As Ipellie explains, "The door is a symbolic door. I was referring to the fact that we Inuit living in the N.W.T. were fighting to enter a territory of our own called Nunavut."

Ipellie typically uses creolised approaches to contest dominant narrative practices, which, as Hannerz asserts, have "connotations of creativity and richness of expression" (1996, 66). The contact between cultures in the "Super Stud" story offers an alternative to the idea of globalisation as homogenisation. He uses the diaspora space to contest the image of the "quaint" traditional "Eskimo," using images, technology and figures from contemporary mainstream Canada in conjunction with those from his own tradition. Even in his choice of the medium of narratives and cartoons, he is refusing to conform to clichéd ideas about what an Inuk artist "should" produce. Although Inuit carvings and prints — the production and sale of which have been heavily regulated by the government — are known world-wide, the volume of written work by Inuit artists remains relatively small. Through his writings and illustrations, Ipellie routinely challenges notions of containment, refusing to be limited to one medium or to traditional Inuit forms.

The recognition of Superman as a kind of shaman — albeit an inferior one — suggests that the shaman-narrator, like his creator, is open to influences from the colonising culture. The shaman's psychic or spiritual powers allow him to survive in unfamiliar environments. Rajan and Mohanran argue that "Literature and art are reflections of a culture and can serve ... to test limits of colonial influences" (Rajan and Mohanran 1995, 2) and in Ipellie's stories the hybrid figure of the shaman represents the outer limits of colonial influence; in his transformations, he does not forego any of his traditional power, but rather adds to it through his contact with the dominant culture. A shaman has, by definition, the ability to negotiate a path between worlds: traditionally, the world of man and the world of the supernatural. Ipellie further applies this ability to live between two worlds to the experiences of Inuit people living in the Arctic in the 1950s and beyond, fusing aspects of their traditional culture with those of contemporary Canada. In a 1995 interview with Michael Kennedy, the writer commented on the importance of this negotiation in his work, remarking, "I am living in between two cultures. I always thought about that when I was working on the drawings [which were the inspiration for the writing]" (Kennedy 1995, 356).

The shaman in any community is a wordsmith, and therefore representative of culture; he is able to use songs and poetry to teach and to express himself effectively. Shamans are also mediators, and in this case, the shaman-narrator mediates the two conflicting cultures. Ipellie defines shamans more simply as members of "certain families all over the Arctic that keep the power of their forebears" (quoted in Kennedy 1996, 162) and notes that he was in line to be one, "until we moved to Iqaluit and our parents became Christians." This provides further insight into Ipellie's decision to use the figure of the shaman in
order to represent the conflicting emotions of exile and belonging that have been typical of the postcolonial Inuit experience.

Michael Taussig has noted that a shamanic initiate must survive a physical death before being granted superhuman powers. He claims that the “space of death is pre-eminently a space of transformation” (1987, 7), and in his stories Ipellie implies that Christ’s reincarnation was not so much a miracle, as a shamanic initiation. In his stories, the genealogies of the transplanted religion are intertwined with those of the Indigenous. Shamanism, then, provides a means of reworking the binaries of religion created through the evangelical Christian colonisation process. Ipellie’s response to the question of these two conflicting belief systems is to draw upon the defining features of the shaman in order to create a narrator of great power who is able to negotiate relationships with key figures of Christianity. The fictional narrator in Arctic Dreams and Nightmares borrows authority from the Christian religion through his unique access to God, overcomes a battle with Satan for possession of his soul, and was even crucified on the tundra a thousand years earlier by jealous competitors. Here Ipellie sets up a complex relationship for readers of the dominant culture to negotiate: his shaman represents an ideology counter to that of the Euro-Canadian hegemony, yet his relationships with figures from within that ideology simultaneously authorise the shaman’s viewpoint. In this way he is able to cater to readerships from both cultures. Victor Ramraj has argued that diasporans are “caught psychically between two worlds” (1996, 216) and this description certainly applies to the bicultural spirituality evident in the characters drawn by Ipellie. The literary significance of the central character’s death can be further read as emblematic of Indigenous diaspora for, as Allatson and McCormack argue, “internal exile may be manifested as a social death ... supposedly benign institutions ... may also function as sites of crushing exile” (2005, 4).

Ipellie’s suspicion of the Christian church is evident in a number of the stories in this collection, including “When God Sings the Blues,” wherein the shaman-narrator enters a trance and begins an annual pilgrimage to meet with God. The narrator finds these visits “intellectually stimulating” because of the “opportunity to try [his] hand at outwitting this particular God” (Ipellie 1993, 45). We learn that God has a sense of humour, for he likes to call himself “Sattaanasse,” the Inuktitut word for Satan. The narrator is unsure whether this is God’s real name since He has a “way of convincing you that He was always telling the whole truth and nothing but the truth” (46). In this story, Ipellie subverts generally accepted notions about Christianity, truth, and the Western legal system through his use of satire. The narrator is the only person in the history of humanity to have these intimate audiences with God, creating “one of the most private relationships that two spirits could hope for” (46).

This meeting will be more unusual than most, however. Upon reaching the “Magic Kingdom,” as he refers to heaven, a paradise that apparently smells like “underarm deodorant” (47), the shaman discovers that God is depressed. Surrounded by an endless array of fax machines, God laments that all the messages he receives from humanity are negative. This is also having an impact on His financial empire, for not only does God receive ten percent of all donations made to churches and its associated institutions, but He also has exclusive publication rights to the Bible — and both donations and sales are down (51). At the shaman-narrator’s suggestion, the pair dress as the Blues Brothers and visit a Night Club, in order to improve God’s mood. The Blues session is an effective tonic, and God even takes to the stage and belts out a rendition of “The Heavenly Blues.”

The story displays the intertwined genealogies of the colonised and coloniser, as Ipellie uses humour and irony to comment on aspects of modern life in Canada. The stories are brief and appear deceptively simple, but in fact they use reflections on Christianity, the legal system and the “Disneyfication” of morality, in order to convey the message that his shaman-narrator is stronger than these hegemonic icons. Yet part of the reason for his strength is that he has engaged with these icons, and effectively combined their power with that of
the traditional culture. This also ensures that Ipellie connects with a contemporary mainstream readership.

In dealing with such notions of cross-cultural communication and identity, Ipellie’s work clearly displays the key features of diasporic literature. Through the use of shamanism, he creates a space where complex issues of dislocation and belonging can be examined. Ipellie’s stories are located within diaspora space; contested sites where the imported and the indigenous co-exist. In this literature of cross-contaminations, he harnesses the power, technology and iconography of the colonising culture(s) to create characters who, far from being disenfranchised, have unimaginable power and influence. His shaman-narrator is engaged in both cultures, but is not fully at home in either. Yet, as a figure powerful enough to offer advice to God and Superman, he becomes a metaphor for the empowerment of Indigenous cultures, exiled in a post-colonial diasporic environment.

Works Cited


**Notes**

1 Personal correspondence, 21 October 2004.

2 See interview in this issue of *Australasian Canadian Studies*.


5 The back pouch in which Inuit women carry young children.

6 See interview in this issue of *Australasian Canadian Studies*.
