
SUMMARY

Nunavut was formed in 1999 in Canada's Arctic. Nunavut means 'Our Land' in Inuktitut, the language spoken by Inuit. They represent the largest population group in Nunavut with 85% of the total population. Traditional Inuit were semi-nomadic and lived of hunting and gathering. From the 19th and 20th century on, influences of other cultures came more rapidly to the Arctic: whalers, missionaries, fur-traders and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who came to the North on a permanent basis. In the 1950's and 1960's the Canadian government began to intervene in its northern region. Inuit who were still living on the land were taken to centralised communities where housing, education and health care was made available. Many scholars and Inuit argue that this centralisation policy is the reason for the consisting social and cultural problems.

The main objective of this thesis was to analyse and explore the attachment of young people in the age of 16-24 year to their community. This seemed interesting for three reasons. First, the communities in Nunavut are only 50 years old and the research population is the second or even the first group that has been born in the community. Second, the total population of Nunavut consists for 50% out of young people (24 years of age and younger). Third, because of the sudden transition from semi-nomadic to sedentary life, people were confronted with major changes that resulted in social and cultural problems. This could possibly influence the quality of life and the importance of and the attachment to the community.

One community was chosen as a basis to do research. Pond Inlet was chosen because of two inclusion criteria. First, because the focus of this thesis is young people, it was thought that a relatively large community with entrance to a high school would be the best way to get in contact with youth. The second premise was to pick a community with a reasonable developed tourism industry, because this thesis forms together with the thesis of co-student Logtmeijer, who focuses on tourism, part of the PhD research of Van Dam.

By means of the place attachment theory the attachment of young people to their community was analysed as well as the importance of the community. This theory suggests that people who have a bond with a place remain close to that place. This theory has three pillars: place dependence, place identity and place attachment. Place dependence is the functional pillar and analyses the goals and activities that can be pursued on that specific place. Place identity refers to the symbolic meanings of a place. Analysis of the data showed that young people are relatively strongly attached to their community. They identify themselves with the community, are dependent on the community and they feel welcome. The community is very important for young people.

The challenges young people face such as alcohol and drug abuse, a high unemployment rate and two different lifestyles of the modern and traditional world that both does not seem to fit, do not seem to play a major role in this sample group that was explored. It is not sure whether this can be said for all young people in Pond Inlet, because this chosen sample group did go to school and this could be seen as an indicator of adaptation to the circumstances and new modern world, eagerness to succeed and successfulness. Thus, the relationship between challenges faced on a particular place and attachment needs more research.

The second objective was to explore the action radius of young people. Because Inuit were semi-nomadic they had to travel in order to survive. Now life in communities has made this less necessary does this mean that young people do not go out and spend time outside? So, the question was whether young people still go out on the land.

Results show that young people do not go out on the land often. However, they appreciate the land better than community because of the quietness and the time they can have to relax. This seems a paradox. An explanation could be that young people do not go out very often owing to the resources that have to be available in able to go out: resources like a skidoo, gasoline and oil. Still, it remains possible to go out on the land with friends and family or go there to walk around.

The third objective was to explore the importance of Nunavut. Nunavut has been established in 1999 and many scholars think that now Nunavut has been created it is a first step to reinforce Inuit values and culture to regain control over their lives. After examining data it seems that young people cannot really express themselves on what Nunavut means, but they do feel that Nunavut is 'Our Land' (English translation from Inuktitut). Young people feel more understood as Inuit, but they do not think that they feel or are more Inuk than without Nunavut. Now Nunavut has been established it is a first step to let the outside world know about modern Inuit. Some field experts said that people from outside Nunavut still think that Inuit have to hunt in order to survive and that Inuit still live in igloos. These images or representations have different meanings and are constructed differently by different groups. Representations have different meanings attached by different groups and because representations are partial and distorted representations are contested.

The fourth main objective was to analyse these representations. The representations of Nunavut used by the government of Nunavut and representations chosen by young people were analysed. How would these two groups represent Nunavut? Results show that young people would pick the inukshuk as a symbol of Nunavut. An inukshuk is a stone marker on the land to guide people while travelling. From a photo-elicitation exercise they would pick the hunter in fur clothes as most representing Nunavut. According to youth, the traditional hunter is most representing Nunavut, but they do not

see this very often. The capital town of Iqaluit is least representing Nunavut, because it has the characteristics of a large town such as malls, offices and more Qallunaat people (white people). The inukshuk was chosen only once out of nearly 20 answers and this does not fit with the outcomes of the interviews. The government uses three biological symbols (a flower, the Inuit Dog and a bird) to represent Inuit of Nunavut. With the use of these symbols Nunavut is represented by Inuit culture. Although these symbols still represent the Inuit of today, the symbols are a representative of traditionally skilled Inuit who lived on the land. Besides this Nunavut has a flag with the inukshuk and a coat of arms with artefacts of the north that represent Inuit values and customs of today and the past. Because of symbolic use of northern artefacts it could be argued that representations used by the government need more explanation.

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PREFACE

This master thesis is the final stage of the master Cultural Geography at the Faculty of Spatial Sciences of the University of Groningen. This thesis forms part of the larger PhD research of Drs. K.I.M van Dam of the Arctic Centre in Groningen. She focuses on sustainable development and regional identity in Nunavut, a newly formed territory in Arctic Canada. The majority of Nunavut's population is Inuit. Nunavut and its communities and Nunavut situated in Canada are displayed in figure 1 and 2.

Teachers who were directly involved with the master in Cultural Geography knew of my enthusiasm and interest for the Arctic. In September 2004 Professor P.P.P Huigen of the Faculty informed me that there was a possibility for a fieldwork period in the Arctic. Together with co-student Annemieke Logtmeijer I was introduced to Van Dam.

After the completion of the plans for the two separate theses we planned the next steps that were involved with the fieldwork period: making an estimation of the time that was needed to gather data to write the thesis and fixing the dates of arrival in and departure from Nunavut. We had to arrange accommodation, make contact with people in Nunavut as well.

Because by Dutch standards Nunavut is extremely expensive, it was necessary to get funding. I am thankful for the funds of the Canadian Study Centre in Groningen, the Groninger University Fund and the Association of Canadian Studies in the Netherlands in Stad aan't Haringvliet, as well as the department of Cultural Geography. And last but certainly not least, it would not have been possible to take part in this fieldwork period without the major funding of the Arctic Centre in Groningen which was made available by the Dutch Organisation for Scientific Research in The Hague (in Dutch: Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek). Many thanks go out to this organisation. Dr. P.D. Groote is a staff member of the Faculty of Spatial Sciences and supervised this project. Most of the time, he worked behind the scenes and was the communication link between the Faculty of Spatial Sciences and Van Dam. Groote brought up ideas in processing this thesis and gave useful comments during the completion of this thesis. Many thanks go out to him.

As the PhD researcher, Van Dam is also supervisor of this master thesis. She assisted in practical detail, gave food for thought and gave comments during the whole process of writing this thesis. Without her ideas, plans and comments this thesis could not have been written.

Thanks go out to the people who participated in this research. Many thanks go out to the Nasivik High School and the twenty students who took part in interviews, map drawing, questionnaires and a focus group. Thanks go out to fifteen field experts who were willing

to be interviewed as well. Besides students and field experts six elders were willing to participate in a focus group which was arranged by Major David Qamaniq. Many thanks go out to all these people.

Thanks go out to Annemieke Logtmeijer who also took part in this fieldwork period as a co-researcher and companion.

Of course, many thanks and respect goes out to the people of Pond Inlet and the people I met in May and June 2005 in Nunavut.

Figure 1 Nunavut and its communities



Source: Website Government of Nunavut

Figure 2 Canada and its provinces and territories



Source: University of Texas Library 2005

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In 1999 a new territory was formed in Canada's Arctic called Nunavut, which is Inuktitut for 'Our Land'. Inuktitut is the language spoken by Inuit. They represent the largest population group in Nunavut with 85% of the total population.

One of the main objectives of this research is to explore and explain the attachment of young people to their community. The communities are relatively recent phenomena's in the Canadian Arctic. When community life was introduced to Inuit it did not fit with the existing semi-nomadic way of life. Firstly, the history of the community will be explained. Secondly, in paragraph 1.2 the problem definition and the objectives will be discussed that are derived from this transformation from semi-nomadic to sedentary life.

Traditional Inuit lived of hunting and gathering. From the 19th and 20th century on, influences of other cultures came more rapidly to the Arctic: whalers, missionaries, fur-traders and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who came to the North on a permanent basis. Because of the politics of the Canadian government from the 1950 onwards Inuit life changed more dramatically. The politics of Canada consisted of two main policies: relocation and centralisation.

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) argued that relocation can be divided in two categories: administrative and development relocations. In this paragraph the attention will focus on the administrative relocations of Inuit. "Administrative relocations are moves carried out to facilitate the operation of government or address the perceived needs of Aboriginal people." (The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1996, p. 414). Inuit were relocated back to the land to ensure that their way of life was not dependent on a settlement: relocation was needed to ensure the existence of hunting and gathering. Scholars argue that the aim of this relocation was to keep sovereignty over the Canadian Arctic, because families were relocated far more northerly and remotely than these people were used to (Marcus 1992).

It can be said that until the 1950's Inuit were still semi-nomadic, although many Inuit already lived near trading posts (Thomas and Thompson 1972). In the late 1950's and 1960's the Canadian government started centralisation programs as a reaction to the public seeing starving Inuit living to the west of the Hudson Bay. Therefore, the government started programs in housing, health, education and social assistance. Programs were created to improve social conditions of Inuit that had been struck by the

collapse of the fur trade and the spread of TB and other diseases (Rigby et al. 2000 and Creery 1994).

Positive results were the decrease of infant mortality, rising life-expectancy and material security. But socially and culturally there are a lot of changes that led to serious problems (Rigby et al. 2000).

Creery (1994) argues that Inuit were moved from their hunting camps to places, mostly trading posts, for proper administration. He also argues that many people account that the RCMP shot sled dogs because of presumed rabies. All in all, it prevented the Inuit to travel to the old hunting camps and to go out on the land to hunt and to continue their semi-nomadic way of life. This was also told by students and field experts during interview sessions in Pond Inlet (Nunavut). In 2005 the RCMP has taken the initiative to investigate the matter on the shooting of the sled dogs which was hoped to be finished in August of 2005 (Younger-Lewis 2005).

At present, Inuit live in communities and this change has been a very sudden transformation: much has been changed in a very short period. The communities are relatively isolated from other communities, although they have airplane connections and internet. Community life can be seen as a mix of relative isolation and the 'modern' world that appeals, especially to young people.

1.2 DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM AND OBJECTIVES

One of the main aims of this research is to explore and explain the attachment of young people to their community. This is an important research because of three reasons.

First, the communities in which people live are recent and are more or less created by government intervention. Most of the communities in Nunavut are not older than fifty years. This can mean that young people are the first or second group that has been born in the community instead of outside the community (this will be phrased in this thesis as 'out on the land'). Many parents of the interviewed teenagers were born out on the land.

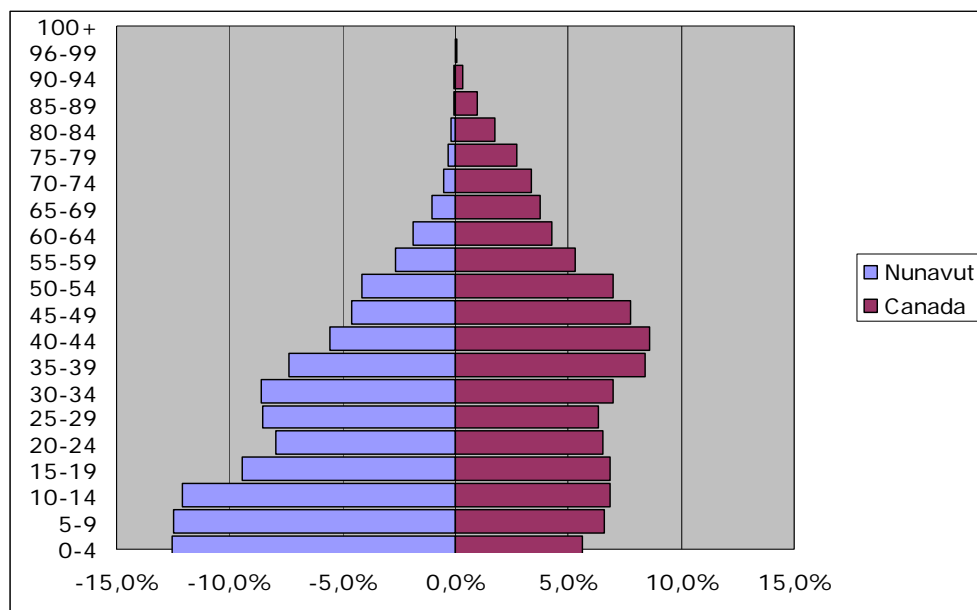
Second, the group of young people is also characterised by its size: more than 50% of the society consists of people of 24 years old and younger (as displayed in figure 3). In this research the focus will be on young people in the age of 16 up to 25, because it is thought that it is easier to get in contact with this group and to communicate with them than with even younger persons.

Third, because of the sudden transition from semi-nomadic to sedentary life people were confronted with major changes which resulted in social and cultural problems. Some problems are a high unemployment rate, social and cultural distress and alcohol and drug abuse. Young people have their own problems such as alcohol and drug abuse, teenage pregnancies, a very high suicide rate and some teenagers seem to be confused of the

two world situation in which they live: the mix of the modern and traditional world. This might be important for the quality of life: the challenges might influence the importance of and the attachment to the community negatively (for challenges see Kral 2003, Csonka and Schweitzer 2004, Fouillard 1995 and Peart and King 1996).

As mentioned, the main aim of this research is to investigate whether young people are attached to their community. Are young people attached to their community and what are the reasons for the bond they have with the community? Do young people have an emotional and affective bond with the community and why do young people have a bond with that community? How important is that community in which people life?

Figure 3 Nunavut's age structure in 2001



Source: Statistics Canada Census 2001

For this research the so-called place attachment theory will be addressed. Place attachment is the affective and emotional bond a person has with a place. In this sense a person wants to keep a close contact with the place this person is attached to (Giuliani 2003). This theory is based on three pillars: place attachment, place identity and place dependence. In short the terms will be explained here. In chapter 2 the theories and concepts will be discussed in-depth. Place identity refers to the role a place can play in constructing a form of identity of a person. A place can become part of a person's self and is entwined with his or her life. The symbolic meanings of the place can become a part of his or her identity (Harner 2001). Place dependence is the functional component of the place attachment theory. This pillar explores the facilities and conditions a place has to support the goals and activity someone has and does (Schreyer et al. 1981;

Stokols and Shumaker 1981; Williams and Roggenbuck 1989 as cited in Williams and Vaske 2003).

Not only the bonds young people have with the community are explored, the importance of the community is explored as well. This is possible because a bond is based on the quality and characteristics of the community. Thus, the first result will discuss whether teenagers are attached to the community and the second result will discuss what kind of role the community plays in the lives of young people. The data that is necessary to explore the attachment of young people to their community will be gathered by the use of interviews and questionnaires.

The second main aim is to explore the distances and the areas that are covered by young people. This is called action radius. Before Inuit moved into settlements they would travel more and therefore they would have a higher action radius enabling them to hunt and gather which in turn made it possible to survive. The activity of hunting and gathering is said to be a strong element of the identity of Inuit. In 2005 the situation is rather different than it was in the 1900's or even 1950's. People live in communities as opposed to on the land. Do young adults have a high action radius or do they tend to spend the most of the time in the community? How important is it for young people to go out on the land and spend time outside? Do they prefer the land or the community and how often do they leave the community to spend time outside or to visit other communities and places? The results will help in creating a clear picture of the community and the appreciation of the environment. The necessary data will be gathered by conducting interviews and focus groups.

The third main aim is to explore the importance of Nunavut for young people. It can be said that through the establishment of Nunavut, the Inuit regained control over their lives, and survival and development as people (Hicks and White 2000). From an outsider's point of view it seems important to have an own ruled territory. How important is it for young Inuit to have Nunavut? Is Nunavut as important for youth as scholars think it is? Now Inuit have their own territory, with a public government, it is thought that it will strengthen Inuit culture and identity. Is this actually the case? The influence of Nunavut on daily life and future will be analysed. Does Nunavut play a role in the local community? The importance of Nunavut will be explored by data that was gathered by the conducted interviews.

The fourth aim that will be explored and analysed are images and symbols of Nunavut. Here, the representation of Nunavut by two groups will be explored: the representations of Nunavut made by the government and the representations young people choose. Representations are produced and loaded with meanings of the producer and are therefore contested. The message that a representation has can differ among groups and are understood differently by groups and are therefore contested. How does the

government and how do young people represent Nunavut and is this different from each other? This data is gathered by conducting interviews and analysis of secondary sources of the government and photo-material.

Because the necessary data could only be gathered by doing research in Nunavut itself, fieldwork was done in May and June of 2005. The research was done in one community namely Pond Inlet. Research was undertaken in one community owing to the character of this research. Little research has focused on the relationship of young people with their community and with Nunavut. This research is a first exploration of this specific research area.

The choice for Pond Inlet had two major inclusion criteria. First, the focus of this thesis is young people. It was thought that entrance to a high school would be the best way to get in contact with youth. A relative large community with a High School up to grade twelve was a first premise. This thesis forms together with the thesis of co-student Logtmeijer part of the PhD research of Van Dam. Logtmeijer focuses on tourism and the image this activity creates. So, the second premise was to pick a community with a reasonable developed tourism industry.

Now the structure of this thesis will be presented. Chapter two will discuss the theories and concepts that are used throughout this thesis. In this chapter place attachment theory will be explored and argued. The concepts that need further explanation, for example community, place and representation will be discussed as well.

Chapter three tells how and by which methods or techniques the data is gathered. The gathered data will be criticised on the quality and on the amount of data that is gathered. In chapter four the attachment of youth to the community will be discussed. This chapter is divided in the three pillars of place attachment: place dependence, place identity and place attachment. The chapter will explore the attachment of youth to the community, the importance of the community.

The action radius of young people will be discussed in chapter five. As nomadic living people Inuit would have a high action radius. Nowadays, people live in settlements and the action radius has probably changed. What are the reasons for the characteristics of young people's action radius according to elders and field experts?

The importance of Nunavut will be discussed in chapter six. How important is Nunavut in daily life according to young people and according to field experts? Is Nunavut a vague picture or does it really play a role on the local scale?

In chapter seven representations of Nunavut will be explored. Firstly, territorial symbols as used by the government will be explored and discussed. Secondly, the results of one particular interview question and the results of the photo-elicitation exercise will be

discussed. Young adults were asked to choose pictures and symbols that from their opinion fit Nunavut best or least.

In the last chapter a final conclusion will be drawn.

CHAPTER 2

THEORY AND CONCEPTUAL DISCUSSION

2.1 PLACE ATTACHMENT THEORY

The place attachment theory will be used to investigate whether young Inuit are attached to the community and to gain an insight in the importance of the community as well. In its basic form it is a well developed theory based on the relationships or bonds people have with their environment.

***Place attachment** suggests that a person who is attached to a place will stay close to that place and that separation causes grief.*

At first glance place attachment seems a straightforward concept, but appearances are deceptive. There are many different names and concepts which overlap, but eventually examine the same (Low and Altman 1992; Giuliani 2003; Hidalgo and Hernández 2001; Jorgensen and Stedman 2001). According to Low and Altman (1992) place attachment "...emphasize the unique emotional experiences and bonds of people with places." (p.2). Place attachment is a concept that covers certain factors. These factors are attachments, places, actors, different social relations and temporal aspects. The bonds people have with places is the central theme in the place attachment. As well as the bond, the size of the place also may take different shapes. Places can be as large as a whole continent and as little as a home (Low en Altman 1992; Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001). Williams and Vaske (2003) identify two dimensions of place attachment in literature. This is a functional component and that is called place dependence and the emotional component is phrased as place identity.

***Place dependence** reflects the importance of a place. A specific place has facilities and conditions that support goals and activities (Schreyer et al. 1981; Stokols and Shumaker 1981; Williams and Roggenbuck 1989, as cited in Williams and Vaske 2003).*

Place dependence is a functional component because this pillar investigates the use and the importance of a place attached to it. A place has facilities which can support goals and activities. Place dependence reflects the importance of a place. A place has facilities and conditions that support the goals and activities of its inhabitants (Schreyer et al. 1981; Stokols and Shumaker 1981; Williams and Roggenbuck 1989, as cited in Williams and Vaske 2003).

Place identity refers to the symbolic importance of a place as a repository for emotions and relationships that give meaning and purpose to life (Williams and Roggenbuck 1989; Shamai 1991; Giuliani and Feldman 1993, as cited in Williams and Vaske 2003).

Place identity refers to the symbolic importance of a place as a repository for emotions and relationships that give meaning and purpose to life (Williams and Roggenbuck 1989; Shamai 1991; Giuliani and Feldman 1993, as cited in Williams and Vaske 2003). According to this concept place is loaded with emotions and relationships and therefore place identity is the emotional pillar of this place attachment theory. Following Harner (2001) who argues that this symbolic meaning in turn can become part of social identity, then place will become an extension of yourself. The result is a place-based identity. But this is not the only relationship between place and identity.

Place identification refers to a person's identification with a place. This will mostly be shown with the name used of the place of residence or country of origin. For instance, people in Paris are called Parisians and people of Scotland are Scots (see Twigger-Ross and Uzzel 1996).

Besides place identity Twigger-Ross and Uzzel (1996) point out that there is a concept called place identifications. This refers to a person's identification with a place. Because places can be seen in this case as a social factor, place identification will follow the same path as social identification. Place identification is therefore a type of social identification. Social identification is "identity contingent self descriptions derived from membership in social categories (nationality, sex, race, occupation, sports teams...)" (Hogg and Abrams as cited in Twigger-Ross and Uzzel 1996, p. 206). An example is that people use the name of place of residence or country of origin. For instance, people in Paris will call themselves Parisians, people of Scotland are Scots and people of Nunavut are called Nunavummiut. The suffix -muit means people of (see Nuttall 1992 and Bennett and Rowley 2004). Place identification is not based on the whole complex of symbolic meaning what is the case with identity. Place is a single trait or an element. Place identification gives an insight whether people identify with a place. It is thought that place identity is more entwined with a person's life than with the concept of place identification. Place identification is more superficial and based solely on the place as an entity with a name and not on place with the complex characteristics (see paragraph 2.2.2). This is not a pillar of the place attachment theory, nor is it a dimension of place identity, because place identity is a dynamic process and place identification is a static entity.

In this thesis, place attachment theory will be used with three pillars: place dependence, place identity and place attachment. Main aim of this research is to investigate place

attachment of young people and the importance of the community. Many scholars have noted that the concept sense of place which could also have been used. But, where sense of place and place attachment theory look the same in advance, place attachment suggests that a person who is attached to a place will stay close to that place and that separation causes grief. This is not necessarily the case with sense of place. Sense of place is the meaning attached to a place and this place does not have to be kept close, where attachment suggests that separation causes grief. Besides this, it is thought that place attachment is more entwined with a person's life than it is the case with the concept sense of place. Place has become part of a person's self and attached people would not substitute this place very easily for other places.

2.2 CONCEPTUAL DISCUSSION

2.2.1 COMMUNITY

In this thesis much will be said about the community, therefore it is necessary to know the definition of a community and the basic principles of how a community is formed. It is not the intention to explore and analyse the community as an entity itself, but the bonds and relationships young people have with the community and the importance attached to the community.

People of Nunavut live in different communities and according to field experts each community has its own characteristics on which people can derive their membership from. In Nunavut people make the distinction in –muit (people of). In this particular research people of Pond Inlet are called Mittimatalikmiut (see Bennett and Rowley 2004 and Nuttall 1992).

Although there are many definitions of the term community, Dasgupta (1996) argues that there is a basis agreement: "Community consists of people in social interaction within a geographic area with one or more additional common ties." (p. 7).

A community relies on a few pillars: social interaction of people on a place and common ties that bind people together. Nuttall (1992) discusses after Cohen these common ties in more depth. A community is a social construction (see 2.2.3 as well) and is used as a symbolic boundary between yourself and the other. People with the same shared characteristics will form a community. People who do not have the same characteristics will not be part of the community and will form a different community. So, through the use of symbols, meaning will be addressed to specific elements. People, who do not know the symbol, or the meaning attached to that symbol, will not be part of this community (Nuttall 1992).

2.2.2 PLACE

A place is more than a settlement with a name that differs from the rest of the places. Places are a complex system from which people can derive meaning. So, in the case of place identity a place is important to create a person's place identity. A form of identity that is created by symbolic meaning that is deposited in place.

Low and Altman (1992) argue that places are "...repositories and contexts within which interpersonal, community and cultural relationships occur, and it is to those social relationships, not just to place qua place, to which people are attached." (p.7). In this sense speaking of place, place attachment is in fact an attachment to people living in that place (Hidalgo and Hernández 2001 and see also Altman and Low 1992). But on the other hand the scope is not only limited to the social environment, but also on the built environment and the psychological element of place. This is the case for place dependence. Place dependence is the functional component of place attachment theory and is based on the physical features or facilities of a place. But besides these facilities, such as shops and clubs, people could also be looked upon as a facility. But, with this comment said human action and the ratio of people are eliminated. People undergo constant change and are dynamic and can therefore not be seen as a static facility.

What are the characteristics of place and what is therefore exactly a place and what is its use? And what is space in contrast with place? Relph (1976) draws on Lukermann who discussed six components of place:

1. The idea of location is fundamental, especially how location relates to other things and places. Location can be seen here as site and situation. Site bases on the internal characteristics and situation is the relations with other places.
2. Places integrate elements of nature and culture. Therefore places are unique.
3. Places are unique, but they are interconnected by a system of transfers and spatial interactions.
4. Places are localised and are part of a larger area, or space, and are the focus in a system of localisation.
5. Places are not fixed and therefore places are always in a dynamic continue development. Places have histories and future and changing elements.
6. Places have meaning attached by people.

As Relph (1976, p. 3) concludes from these components "a place is not just the 'where' of something: it's the location plus everything that occupies that location seen as an integrated and meaningful phenomenon." Relph argues that the concepts area, place and region are not clearly defined and this adds to the blurriness of the concept. Although Relph argues that places are also characterised by its inhabitants or users, he does not specifically mention the social interaction of people and place.

In stead we turn to Knox and Marston (2001, p.6) who summarise that places are settings for social interaction that:

1. Structure the daily routine's of people's economic and social life
2. Provide both opportunities and constraints in terms of people's long-term social well-being
3. Provide a context in which everyday, commonsense knowledge and experience are gathered
4. Provide a setting for processes of socialisation
5. Provide an arena for contesting social norms.

Knox and Marston (2001) see a place as a stage to portray daily life. With this it seems that Knox and Marston do not see an active role of interaction between people with place but as a setting for social interaction. Where Knox and Marston see a place as a stage to portray daily life Relph (1976) argues that places are location plus everything that occupies that location seen as an integrated and meaningful phenomenon.

Up to now nothing specifically has been said about the mutual relation people and places can have. At the same time people influence places, people are influenced by places. Firstly, Crang (1998) argues in line with Relph (1976) and Knox and Marston (2001). Crang argues that places provide an anchor of shared experiences between people and continuity over time. Places are not static and have a history that can play a role in daily life. But secondly, and more important, places are a depository for human beliefs, practices and identity and places instead turn into a marker of human self and provide a unique setting for daily life.

So following Crang (1998) these settings where Knox and Marston (2001) talk about are the outcomes of human action and interaction with that place. A place is a location plus everything that occupies that place as an integrated system. The people have an active role in making and shaping places which can turn in have symbolic meaning for people.

2.2.3 SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION AND IDENTITY

People have different understandings and different meanings that they formulate out of their social and cultural context. This understanding and meaning is constructed by people form their own individual and cultural background from which meaning is constructed. This made or constructed meaning is called a social construct. It is not the quality of the object itself, but the meaning that is attached to it out of the social context (Kneale 2003). Holloway and Hubbard (2001) add that a social construct is an object that is "...imaginatively brought into existence by particular social groups." (p. 131). Winchester et al. (2003) say that the basic premise of this concept is that "categorisations of humanity" like identity and gender "...are outcomes of human thought

and action.” (p. 31). The meaning of the object is not pre-given, but constructed by people. Therefore meaning is dynamic, because meaning changes with the changes of human thought, practices and actions.

Identity is maybe the best example of a social construct. When we speak of identity then according to Blunt (2003) identity is “...a sense of self that encompasses who people think they are, and how other people regard them,...” (p.72). Holloway and Hubbard also see identity as “...the way you think about yourself and the way others think about you...” (p. 77). Crang (1998) says that identities are formed through the use of traits or characteristics to differentiate the group from the other group. This process it called ‘othering’. One group defines itself around a trait, and then the other group that does not have that trait is defined as the other. The differences of trait will make the distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’, between you and the other. The other identity is like a mirror. Only it does not display the same image, but the image that is the opposite of what is in front of the mirror. Through this process an identity is constructed. An identity has to see the negative before it can be constructed into the positive

Basically two ways of thinking about construction of identity exists. The first is that there is one shared culture and there is a collective one true self that people have with a shared history and ancestry. Hall says that within this definition our cultural identity is reflected by the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes. This makes the people as one group consisting out of personal identities. We cannot speak of identity; instead we should speak of the plural from identities. People have more than one identity and change over time. Secondly, identities are constructed through difference. Identities are not fixed and stable, but are continuously in motion. As Hall puts it, cultural identity is in this sense a fact of becoming and being. Identities have histories and undergo constant transformation. This second way of thinking and discussing is the most common way of thinking and discussing the term identity and is used in this thesis (see Hall 1990).

2.2.4 REPRESENTATION

According to Kneale (2003) two main ways of thinking about representation exist: the mimetic and a non-neutral representation. Mimetic representation means that the world is represented as the world in its most objective form; like a reflection of a mirror. This is hardly possible. Therefore non-neutral representations are the best way to discuss the concept. Non-neutral representations are loaded with meanings from the producer of the representation. People are part of different discourses, the way of thinking on the relationship between language, knowledge and power and, and have different interest.

Representations are made from the background of the producer and with different interest. Therefore representations can not be neutral.

Holloway and Hubbard (2001) explain the concept more in-depth. Representations rely on a shared system of meanings in order to communicate: to transmit the message to an other person. When someone does not understand the specific system of meaning the message will not be noticed and be lost to them, just like the symbols and its message.

Hall stresses that there are three different ways of thinking about representations (as cited in Holloway and Hubbard 2001). Hall points out to mimetic representation, intentional approach and constructivist approach.

The intentional approach relies on the message the producer intended to transmit through the use of words, pictures or sounds. There is not a problem in using language as a mean to transmit the message. But this message will be lost for different groups with a different social context and a different shared system of meanings on which the messages are built. Here the focus is the intended message that can be received by different groups of people, but it does not take into account that the message can be lost for people who do not have the same system of meaning and cultural background.

The third approach is the constructivist approach. This approach points out that meaning is culturally constructed, constructed from a background with different shared system of meanings. Meaning is produced by communication instead of transmitted through communication. Communication is not a mean, but a part of the message.

As could be noticed there is a slight difference between the role of communication in the intentional approach and the constructivist approach. The intentional approach uses communication as a mean; unlike the constructivist approach that considers communication as a part of the representation. Communication can influence the representation and therefore does play an active role. This is most likely the best form of representation and will be used in this research.

Because meanings are attached by different groups these different meanings can come in conflict with each other. People are part of different life styles, cultures and groups and these groups have different meanings that they attach to objects and for example place. So, these different meanings are subject to contestation.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

3.1 METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF GATHERING AND ANALYSIS

This thesis has four main themes:

- 1) the attachment of young people to their community and the importance of the community
- 2) the distances and the areas that are covered by young people, the so-called action radius
- 3) the importance of Nunavut for young people and the relationship young people have with their environment
- 4) images and symbols that are produced with a certain meaning of Nunavut, representations made by the government and made by young people.

In order to answer the main research questions it was necessary to gather rich and qualitative data. The following techniques and methods were used:

- 1) interviews with young people
- 2) interviews with field experts
- 3) questionnaires
- 4) focus group
- 5) mental mapping
- 6) photo-elicitation
- 7) and participant observation

Much attention is paid to triangulation which is a mixed method to gather data. According to Winchester (1999) triangulation "...offers crosschecking of results and methods in order to provide fresh insights into a given social problem." (p. 62). Winchester takes comments of Brannen into account. He argued that not all data can be aggregated because some data can only be understood in relation to the purpose for which it was designed for. All in all, Winchester argues that "both types of data will shed some light on the problem under consideration." (p.62).

To investigate whether young people are attached and why they are attached to the community qualitative data had to be gathered. Besides this, the data on the importance of the community and the attachment to the community is rather personal. Interviews were chosen to gather this data. Following Valentine (1997) who argued that an interview method is flexible, and when using this technique the interviewer is much more capable of finding qualitative data, this method is the most suitable method to gather

personal data. Another advantage of this method is that the interviewees can formulate their own answers which can therefore be more detailed and more truthfully.

Interview questions were structured around a topic. These topics were directly linked to the thesis like attachment, action radius, community, but to indirect effects that play a role as well which are for example: social problems in the community, family history and favourite place.

The reason to ask for the history of the family was to address whether the family history plays a role in the building of attachment of young people. The questions on the community were focused on several things to get an understanding of the community and the feelings they have with the community, the enjoyment of living in the community, what the community is and what they think is important to have in the community. The same goes for action radius. These questions focused on the difference between the land and the community and the frequency of travelling on the land and elsewhere.

Questions focusing on identity of young people were asked too, but due to practicalities and the limiting focus on youth and their attachment to the community and on the other hand Nunavut, this data is unused in this thesis. The same goes for the challenges that are faced by people of Nunavut. The challenges are not covered in full detail, but are used as an indicator for the quality of life. It is thought that this plays a role in the attachment to the community.

During the field work period questions were rewritten, skipped and added to keep the list of questions up to date and as applicable as possible. In consultation with David Parks, the principal of the Nasivvik High School, some questions were rewritten and added to make the questions and the intentions of the researchers as clear as possible. The agreement was also made that all data would be kept confidential and anonymous.

Interviews were generally done in sessions of two people. This was advised by the DEA (District Education Authority) and David Parks. This had a positive and a negative side. People can feel more secure and can discuss on certain things to create a sort of consensus. On the other hand people can influence each other and this could bias the data.

Sixteen people agreed to be interviewed. Unfortunately this was not the number that was hoped for. Nevertheless, it was valuable information. Because the number of people was lower than expected an announcement was made on the radio with help from Major David Qamani to increase the number of people. He did the translation from English into Inuktitut. This resulted in four extra interviewees.

The interviews were tape recorded and co-researcher Logtmeijer took notes. All interviews were done in English. For both the researchers and the interviewees this is not their mother tongue and it can be said that this created a level of equality.

Besides young people, fifteen field experts were interviewed who were professionally involved with youth or because of their experience with young people. They gave opinions and reflections on youth and give background information on the community and youth.

The questions that were discussed with the field experts were less structured, because of the greater ability to speak English and a better argumentation. Therefore questions were solely structured around topics with the questions in mind.

Because the number of interviews is relatively low, it was not necessary to analyse the data with special programs to simplify the data analysis, like Nud-ist. In this case, it was more time-consuming to get used to the program, than to analyse the data by hand structured around topics.

A questionnaire was done that focused on place attachment. The questionnaires with quotes were based on the three pillars of the place attachment theory (place dependence, place identity and place attachment). Parfitt (1997) argues that designing a questionnaire is time-consuming. Therefore the use of already satisfactory used questionnaires or questions are favourable. Three questionnaires are used in this research. One questionnaire was made with the questions out of an article of Pretty et al. (2003). The other two questionnaires were used from Williams and Vaske (2003) and from Jorgensen and Stedman (2001) who already applied their questionnaires.

The questionnaires were analysed with the use of the statistical program SPSS. Because the sample size was rather limited, it was not possible to apply statistical methods. Therefore the given answers were calculated and transformed into a table. Because the answers are given on a Likert scale, each answer was weighted: neutral received a score of zero, totally agree and totally disagree received a score of two and agree and disagree received a score of one. The obtained tables give a good indication on place attachment in general and on the other pillars that are related to place attachment.

With some of the elders in the community there was a focus group meeting where Major David Qamaniq did the translation. This meeting focused on their opinion on young people and how young people differ from their generation. There were five topics to discuss and this went very well. The five topics were:

- How would you describe the youth of today?
- How important is Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit (Inuit traditional knowledge) today?
- Is the youth interested in Inuit traditional knowledge and values?
- Will this knowledge be lost in the future?
- How important is Nunavut?

The questions were translated in Inuktitut and Major Qamaniq translated the discussion between the elders and also the replies and comments that were given. Major Qamaniq organised the meeting and it worked well. This was analysed in the same way as the

interviews. There was a focus group with six young people as well with some of the questions of the interview.

Another method was applied to give answer to the question what the usefulness of the environment of young people is and to analyse what kind of relationship they have with the environment. Six students sketched a map of Nunavut. These maps are called mental maps. According to Holloway and Hubbard (2001) a mental map is a summary of someone's knowledge of their surroundings and it reflects the type of relationship they have with their environment and it also reflects their environment that is useful to them. Tuan (1977) argues that a mental map has five functions. One will be discussed here. A mental map is a mean to store and structure knowledge of the environment. Everybody stores and structures the knowledge differently and also the type of knowledge is different. Therefore the mental map is individualistic.

Soini (2001) argues that "the analysis of mental maps can either concentrate on the elements out of which people mentally organise large geographic spaces..., or on spatial preferences...(p.229). Mental maps can contain five elements (paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks) and these can be analysed in two ways: topologically (the object's relative location) or metrically (the object's precise location and the distance between objects). Here, the mental maps of young people will be analysed on the content and the characteristics of the maps. As Soini argues as well, mental maps have been used as indicators of individual spatial preferences, the attachment and significance of a place, as well. Following Soini, it is argued that mental maps are means of externalising, or making tangible, the complexity of ideas, attitudes and information which individuals and groups have of a place, in this example Nunavut.

For example: what is shown on the map and what has been left out? The maps are shown in paragraph 6.6. Because there are only six maps it gives rather an indication of their knowledge and interpretations of the usefulness of their environment.

What is according to young people the most and least Nunavut? To answer this question pictures were shown to young people. Out of these pictures they could choose two pictures: one most and one least representing Nunavut. This technique is called photo-elicitation (see also Banks 2001). Five pictures were shown which all had other contents. These pictures are chosen because they resemble the content of the topics that will be discussed in this thesis.

The five pictures were people together as a community, the modern Iqaluit, traditional way of life of the hunter hunting for seal in fur-clothes, the arctic landscape of snow and ice and the inukshuk. An inukshuk is basically a pile stones to guide people on the land. The inukshuk is discussed in more detail in paragraph 7.2. The pictures are chosen, because they are all related to the topics that are discussed in this thesis. The pictures are shown in paragraph 7.3. The representations used by the government are analysed

as well. The answers young people gave were analysed by use of a simple calculation which was put into a table.

Cook (1997) argues that the method of participant observation often is applied when the researcher wants to know the world views, way of life and actual life from the population as it is experienced. It is a mix between participating in daily life and observing daily life. Here, participant observation consisted mainly out of listening and watching. Through this method everything that was said during informal conversations, walking down the street and what the eye caught was transcribed and used as an additional information source.

3.2 DATA REVIEW

The interviews with field experts were easier than the ones with youth, probably due to the level of speaking and understanding English. Young people were asked about their frequency of visiting the environment of their community and the frequency of hunting. In order to hunt a person has to be out on the land, so the frequency of going out on the land has to be higher or the same as the frequency of hunting. This was not always the case. The data is used as given by the respondents. These little contradictions are to be kept in mind, but will not influence the outcomes of the analysis.

The focus group with the elders was a good way of communication with elders. Much information was gathered, but without a translator this would have been impossible. The elders did not master English and the researcher does not master Inuktitut, so everything had to be translated from English into Inuktitut and vice versa. This carries risks, because words can be translated in an incorrect manner and with a wrong connotation. Another risk that has to be kept in mind is that the translator summarises the answers the elders give as well.

The photo-elicitation method was a good method when considering some teenagers did not speak English well enough to be confident to speak out loud. Therefore a visual technique could be better used than the spoken word. The same goes for the method of mental mapping. Because there are only six mental maps the conclusions that are drawn are not solid evidence. Nevertheless, it still provides a very good insight of the knowledge young people have of their territory.

During the interviews teenagers were asked how they would symbolise Nunavut. This can be seen in table 15. After the interview the photo-elicitation method was applied to let young people pick the photograph that would represent Nunavut the most and the least. This led to an interesting contradiction.

All in all, the impression was made that visual techniques were in favour. The gathered data seems to be of a reasonable quality.

CHAPTER 4

PLACE ATTACHMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Young adults of Nunavut have been born in communities and do not know any other life than life in settlements. This is just the second or even the first generation that has not been born out on the land or in trading posts. The contrast between being born out on the land and being born in the community in a small period seems to be major.

Like almost everywhere in the Arctic indigenous people were confronted with changes which resulted in social and cultural problems (see Csonka and Schweitzer 2004). Some problems are a high unemployment rate, social and cultural distress and alcohol and drug abuse. Young people have their own problems of alcohol and drug abuse, teenage pregnancies, a very high suicide rate and some teenagers are confused of the two world situation in which they live. It is thought to play a role in the quality of life and that these challenges will influence the attachment negatively.

The settlements were created by the involvement of the Canadian government. Since the community is so recent and new, what is its importance and how do young people relate to the community? Not only is its history important. Inuit society is based on kinship (Kral 2003) but how does this relate to the community? Are young people attached to their community and how important is the community? So, two main topics will be discussed here: place attachment of young people to their community and the importance and the quality of the community.

Many people have written about place attachment, but all different views have in common that they "...emphasize the unique emotional experiences and bonds of people with places." (Giuliani 2003, p.2). Place attachment theory has three pillars. First, place dependence will be explored. Then the focus will be drawn to place identity and to place attachment.

4.2 PLACE DEPENDENCE

4.2.1 YOUNG PEOPLE'S PLACE DEPENDENCE

Place dependence is about the importance of a place. A place has facilities and characteristics that support activities and goals the residents pursue and undertake who on that place (see Schreyer et al. 1981; Stokols and Shumaker 1981; Williams and Roggenbuck 1989 as cited in Williams and Vaske 2003). Does Pond Inlet have the

facilities and conditions to support the goals that young people have and the activities they pursue?

Young people indicated during the interviews that the people of Pond Inlet have a few options to get their goods. They can buy it in one of the two stores, order it by sealift (transport or cargo by boat), by airmail, or buy it in South Canada. Approximately 75% of the total shopping by youth is done in Pond Inlet. In summer young people sometimes order goods by sealift and some goods are bought when they are in South Canada.

By observation and by interviews it was quite clear that places to meet and to hang out are limited in Pond Inlet. Young people mostly meet each other in front of, or in the Co-Op, outside or at school. Especially with the 24 hours of daylight in summer people walk around town. Only a few people said that they go to the community hall or to the house of their friends or their own home. This is displayed in table 1 that was derived from the question where they meet with friends.

Table 1 Where do you meet your friends?

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Their house	5	13,9	13,9
Home	1	2,7	16,6
Co-Op	10	27,8	44,4
School	10	27,8	72,2
Community Hall	2	5,6	77,8
Outside	8	22,2	100,0
Total	36	100,0	

As said, the facilities in the community are very limited and only provide the most basic. The community has a school, a community hall, a RCMP station, stores, and a Health Centre. Not much attention is paid to places where people can come together and recreate. The community hall is the most obvious place that can fulfil this function, but most of the people said it is old and it needs renovation.

It was hard for young adults to think of facilities they miss in their community. Many people needed more explanation and some hints. Young people indicated they mostly missed a youth centre where they can spend their time, play games, talk with each other and talk with elders. The establishment of a youth centre is the main point that the youth committee in the community tries to achieve. Due to lack of funding and communication between the members of the youth committee itself and due to the lack of real leaders to stand up as well, the youth centre has not been realised yet. There are a few people who try to realise things, but to make solid plans and to realise projects more people have to be involved to take on projects and to organise projects.

The facilities in the community are not very good according to youth. The community hall is old and needs renovation. The facilities young people use are not sufficient to meet the goals and activities. Young people do not have a place to stay and do not have things to do and this can create problems such as alcohol and drug abuse, high suicide rates and teenage pregnancies. Most of the teenagers do not know what is at the root of the problem. Some say that it is of boredom that people start using drugs and alcohol. People start to experiment and become addicted. During the interviews young people said that do not really know what to do about this.

In table 2 the results of the questionnaire on place dependence are displayed. A value close to zero means that the opinion about that specific quote is neutral. So a positive score will mean that the respondents agree on that quote. A negative score will mean that they disagree on that quote. As we look at table 2 we can see that the highest absolute score is 22 and the lowest absolute score is -19. Interesting contradictions are seen as well. The red asterisk means that these quotes had 19 answers instead of 20 answers.

People who are dependent on a place that supports their goals and activities would have a high dependency score. As said, although it was not easy for young people to think of missing facilities, the general idea consists that the level of facilities is poor.

As can be seen, with help from quotes 1 to 3, young people seem to be dependent on Pond Inlet for the goals young people have and activities young people do. But, looking look at quote 4, there is only a slight disagreement on the fact that there would be better places than Pond Inlet: a larger disagreement would be expected. It can be that the communities are relatively isolated; many people may not have seen much of the other parts of the world or Nunavut.

Quotes 5 to 8 are in line with the expectations that can be drawn from the first three quotes. Quote 9 is then again the opposite of what could be expected. When a person is highly or relatively highly dependent on a place than this person would not substitute this place for any other place. Quote 9 falls out of line and it is hard to argue why this is the case. Probably the same goes for quote 9 as for quote 4: due to limitations of the ability to move, people have not seen many other places to compare it with Pond Inlet.

Table 2 The scores for place dependence

		Score	Totally Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Totally agree
1	Pond Inlet is the best place for doing the things that I enjoy most*.	22	0	-3	0	1	24
2	For doing the things that I enjoy most, there's no other place that can compare to Pond Inlet*.	10	-4	-4	0	0	18
3	Pond Inlet is not a good place to do the things I most like to do*.	-19	-18	-4	0	1	2
4	As far as I am concerned, there are better places to be than at Pond Inlet.	-2	-6	-4	0	2	6
5	Pond Inlet is the best place for what I like to do.	21	0	-2	0	3	20
6	No other place can compare to Pond Inlet*.	11	-4	0	0	5	10
7	Doing what I do at Pond Inlet is more important to me than doing it in any other place.	11	-4	-1	0	2	14
8	I wouldn't substitute any other area for doing the types of things I do at Pond Inlet.	14	-2	-3	0	7	12
9	The things I do in Pond Inlet I would enjoy doing just as much at a similar site.	13	0	3	0	6	10
10	There are things for people of my age to do in my neighbourhood.	12	-2	-2	0	4	12
11	There is a place for kids of my age to hang out in my neighbourhood*.	12	-2	-3	0	7	10
12	There is not much to do in my neighbourhood.	-2	-6	-7	0	1	10
13	In my neighbourhood there are things to get involved in.	9	-2	-3	0	10	4
14	Life in this community is dull.	-5	-12	-2	0	3	6
15	All in all, life in this community will continue to improve more rapidly than in other communities in this country.	7	-2	-8	0	5	12

By use of quotes 10, 11 and 13 it can be said that there are activities and that there are places to hang out in the neighbourhoods. But the opposite of these quotes, that there is not much to do in their neighbourhoods is labelled with a slight disagreement. This is inconsistent and should actually be higher if we take quote 10, 11 and 13 as the standard.

Young people indicated that there are places to hang out and that there are activities to get involved in. In a way, this is true: people gather on the street and hang out at the Co-Op, but these places do not coincide with the places that the government intended to use as places to come together and to hang out.

The overall opinion about the boringness of life in the community is that there is a slight disagreement on that. Life in this community is by some youth seen as extremely boring and also by other as not boring at all. There are less people who find life in this community boring than people who find life in this community not boring.

Based on quote 15 it can be argued that young people think that life will change for the better more rapidly than in other communities. Young people seem very pleased with Pond Inlet and the activities and the goals they have and can unfold in Pond Inlet.

The table can be summarised as next. Pond Inlet is a good place to do the things young people enjoy the most. Although young adults sometimes contradict themselves, they seem to be dependent on the place Pond Inlet for their activities and goals they pursue. There are things to get involved in and life in this community is not said to be very boring.

The facilities in the community are said to be very limited and not of a very good quality, but from table 2 it can be concluded that the facilities do not seem to play a crucial role in the development of place dependence. Therefore, it can be said that the facilities play a minor role: facilities do not seem to play a big part in unfolding activities and goals of young people. The dependency on Pond Inlet is to be found in other activities and goals that are not or hardly related to facilities in the community.

4.2.2 FIELD EXPERTS ON YOUTH AND ACTIVITIES IN THE COMMUNITY

The majority of the people who are involved with youth share one common thought: young people seem to be bored, because of a lack of activities and programs to join. Programs are not available because of a lack of funding and of leadership in the community. Since the active Canadian involvement in the North the Inuit have gradually lost their leadership roles. This is due to the fact that the government takes care of the Inuit with education, housing and a social welfare system.

According to field experts young people need activities to spend their time on and to focus on. Because it is hard to arrange the right people, money and a place to come together, programs usually do not come of the ground. One field expert noted that young people have a lack of creativity and that is the reason why they get bored; not the availability of programs. Due to lost leadership skills some young people are sometimes waiting for someone who does something for them instead of getting together and create something on their own.

Social Services have developed some proposals to get funding for youth programs. There is a youth leadership training program which ran in the summer of 2005. The other program is a youth self esteem group which will run in the fall and in the winter. There are also other institutions that coordinate programs and try to get funding for projects. From the Hamlet there is a recreation coordinator and a welfare coordinator who deal with recreation, special occasions like celebrations and welfare in its broadest sense.

The majority of the field experts state that young adults or specific groups among youth are bored or make the impression to be bored. This is not the general experience of the

interviewed teenagers. Before living in communities people had chores to do and were raised with a tight discipline. At present, this is rather different. Of course, young adults have chores to do: helping their parents and grandparents. But there is much more freedom now and chores like hunting to gather food and sewing to make clothes are pushed to the background. The chores that have to be done today are less necessary to survive. One field expert had an interesting comment on this. This field expert said that in the past, when still dependent on hunting and gathering, people would die if you had not finished their homework, such as hunting and gathering fresh water. At present you will get a reprimand if you have not finished your homework. The discipline in order to survive has been pushed to the background.

4.3 PLACE IDENTITY

In this paragraph place related identity will be discussed. As already mentioned, place identity refers to the symbolic importance of a place as a repository for emotions and relationships that give meaning and purpose to life (Williams and Roggenbuck 1989; Shamai 1991; Giuliani and Feldman 1993, as cited in Williams and Vaske 2003). Place is a complex an integrated system from which symbolic meaning is derived. This special meaning can become part of identity (Harner 2001). A place can become part of a person's self and is entwined with his or her life. Besides this there is another place related identity: place identification. Twigger-Ross and Uzzel (1996) say that place identification expresses membership of a group of people who are defined by a location. Place identification is less entwined with a person's identity and life than with place identity, because identification is based on a single trait as opposed to place identity which is dynamic and based on the complex symbolic meanings of a place.

During interviews young adults were asked which place they identify themselves with the most. In the interview this was explained as how they would call themselves when they meet people who they do not know. Most of the young adults instantly said that they are from Pond Inlet or Nunavut, only two said it depends on where they are. In this case how familiar the other person is with place of residence of this person. The given answers are displayed in table 3 where only the first answers given by young people are displayed.

Young adults could choose out of four categories: Mittimatalikmiut, Baffin Islander, Nunavummiut or Canadian. The suffix –muit in Mittimatalikmiut and Nunavummiut means 'people of' (Nuttall 1992 and Bennett and Rowley 2004). Therefore, Mittimatalikmiut means people of Mittimatalikmiut; the Inuit name for Pond Inlet and Nunavummiut means people of Nunavut. The results are displayed in table 3.

Table 3 Scores for place identifications

Name	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Baffin Islander	0	0,0	0,0
Canadian	0	0,0	0,0
Mittimatalikmiut	10	55,6	55,6
Nunavummiut	8	44,4	100,0
Total	18	100,0	

Following Twigger-Ross and Uzzel (1996) who argue that place identification expresses membership of a group of people who are defined by a location, it can be said that young people identify strongly with the people or the community of Pond Inlet and Nunavut, as the territory.

Table 4 is derived from the questionnaires. This table focuses on place identity: the symbolic importance of a place as a repository for emotions and relationships that give meaning and purpose to life (Williams and Roggenbuck 1989; Shamai 1991; Giuliani and Feldman 1993, as cited in Williams and Vaske 2003).

Table 4 Scores for place identity

	Score	Totally disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Totally agree	
Quotes based on Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001:							
1	Everything about Pond Inlet is a reflection of me.	8	-4	-1	0	7	6
2	Pond Inlet says very little about who I am.	-9	-6	-5	0	0	2
3	I feel that I really can be myself in Pond Inlet.	25	-2	0	0	7	20
4	Pond Inlet reflects the type of person I am.	13	-4	-1	0	6	12
Quotes based on Williams and Vaske, 2003							
5	I feel Pond Inlet is a part of me.	22	-2	0	0	4	20
6	Pond Inlet is very special to me.	17	-2	-2	0	3	18
7	I identify strongly with Pond Inlet.	18	0	-3	0	5	16
8	Pond Inlet means a lot to me.	26	0	-1	0	3	24
Quotes based on Pretty et al, 2003							
9	I would rather live in a different town. This is not the place for me.	-13	-16	-4	0	3	4

The scores in table 4 are relatively high. Pond Inlet is a reflection of the person they are. This is a relatively strong relation and this is supported by the fourth quote. The second quote is also in line with this. It can be said that young people feel that they really can be themselves in the community. Quotes 5 to 8 have a very high score. Pond Inlet is a part of them, is very special to them, it means a lot to them and they identity strongly with Pond Inlet. Therefore the majority of the people would not live in a different town.

Out of this table 4, we can say with relatively much certainty that young people strongly identity with Pond Inlet. Pond Inlet is of symbolic importance as a repository for emotions and relationships that give meaning and purpose to life.

In the next paragraph 4.4 the overall place attachment of young adults will be explored.

4.4 PLACE ATTACHMENT

Here the place attachment to the community will be explored. First, it is important to know what the community is in the eyes of teenagers. Is the community the people with the social ties or is the community only the place in which they reside? The more or less standard definition of a community is "...people in social interaction within a geographic area with one or more additional common ties." (Dasgupta 1996, p. 7.). Nuttall (1992) argues after ideas of Cohen that the focus of the community is not the social interaction, but that a community is created though the demarcation between 'us' and 'them' by means of the use of symbolic boundaries. Through this symbolism a community is created on shared meanings of symbols. The symbols provide the people to construct meaning.

Often a community is seen as a place or as people with a specific territory: it seems that the term community is interchangeable. It is used for the geographical locus and for people or people and their territory. What is according to youth the community? Is a community a place, people or both? In table 5 the answers are given.

Table 5 What is according to young people the community?

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
People	10	50,0	50,0
People and place	7	35,0	85,0
Place	2	10,0	95,0
Do not know	1	5,0	100,0
Total	20	100,0	

As can be seen from table 5, the majority of the people said that the community is based on solely people or people and place. So, people or people and place are an important item to create a community.

It was hard for young people to explain themselves on what they thought a community is. Maybe because the term community is rather abstract and without the use of the mother tongue it is hard to express yourself during an interview. But with slight hints and more explanation young people did get a good understanding. Half of the teenagers said that the community consists of people: people who live together and have social interaction. Seven out of twenty young persons think that the community is the relation that the people have with each other on a specific place. This is also the most general definition that has been used. Some teenagers said that now the community is growing, people are less interacting and involving with the community. It was told by two field experts that some young adults were not involved with the community.

What is the importance of the facilities and the people that are in the community? Three fourths of the people said that people are very important for the community of Pond Inlet. Without people the first condition to have a community will be lost. But not only for the community, for kinship as well. Inuit social life is based on kinship (Kral 2003). Social interaction is very important and it can be said that the community can function as a symbol of kinship. According to a student now communities are growing social life is eroding. This erosion creates tensions and challenges. Interaction between people who live in this community is important and kinship does fulfil a role in this matter. The concept of community and kinship seem on certain factors to overlap.

Seven people said that the shops are important, five people said that the shops are very important and seven people said neutral. The communities in Nunavut are physically isolated and therefore people are more dependent on facilities in the community than people in the south of Canada.

School is as recent as the community and is still under development. Twelve people said that it is very important to have a school in the community. Four people said it is important and three people said neutral. Young people in Pond Inlet can graduate from high school in Pond Inlet. This is important, because people do not have to go to Iqaluit to get graduated from high school which makes things easier.

The importance of clubs is more diverse. This is probably because there are not many clubs. Seven people said that it is very important or important for the community, eight people were neutral and three found it very or unimportant for the community.

Their house is very important: sixteen people chose this category. The vast majority said it is very important to have a home: a place of their own that provides shelter to feel secure.

Table 6 The importance of the different items according to youth

	Very Important	Important	Neutral	Unimportant	Very unimportant	Total cases
People	15	3	1	0	0	19
Shops, cafes, etc.	5	7	7	0	0	19
School	12	4	3	0	0	19
Clubs	2	5	8	1	2	18
Home	16	2	0	1	1	20
Surroundings	10	6	3	0	1	20

Sixteen people stated that the surrounding mountains and environment that surrounds Pond Inlet is important to very important for the community. Three people were neutral and one said it was very unimportant. The land that surrounds Pond Inlet is characterised by mountains, sea and glaciers. It is said that Pond Inlet is one of the most beautiful communities of Nunavut. In the paragraph action radius the land and how youth relates to this will be explored in more depth. In table 6 the scores for the different items are given.

Next the attention will be drawn to the meaning of the community for youth. The answers that were given on the question "What does the community mean to you?" were very positive. Two persons said it is tough to live in the community because there was a lot of bullying and rumours. Three people did not know what the community means to them. Except for these answers the other answers were very positive. The community means home, welcome and a good place. It seems that they like to live in the community, but is this really the case?

Table 7 Do you like to live in the community?

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Yes	13	65,0	65,0
No	4	20,0	85,0
A lot	1	5,0	90,0
Sometimes	1	5,0	95,0
All right	1	5,0	100,0
Total	20	100,0	

As can be seen from table 7 it is really the case that majority of young adults likes to live here. The reason that young people like to live in Pond Inlet or do not like to live in Pond

Inlet is mostly because of the people that live in the community and family that live in other communities. Also the environment that surrounds the community plays a role. But does place of birth also play a role in the wish to stay or to leave? Is there a difference between people who have been born in Pond Inlet and people who have not been born in Pond Inlet?

Table 8 'Will you stay in Pond Inlet?' and 'Are you born in Pond Inlet?'

	Will you stay?			Total	
		Yes	No		Maybe
Are you born in Pond Inlet?	Yes	5	4	0	9
	No	6	3	2	11
Total		11	7	2	20

There is not a big difference between being born in Pond Inlet and the choice if a person will stay. Being born in Pond Inlet does not seem to be a factor that plays a role in the decision making process and the attachment towards the community. Young people stated that family and friends that surround them are the reason to stay or to move and are more important than their roots.

In the following table the scores for place attachment are displayed.

Table 9 Scores for place attachment

	Score	Totally disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Totally agree
Quotes based on Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001						
I feel relaxed when I'm in Pond Inlet.	18	0	-3	0	3	18
I feel happiest when I'm in Pond Inlet.	7	-2	-4	0	5	8
Pond Inlet is my favourite place to be.	11	-2	-2	0	7	8
I really miss Pond Inlet when I'm away from it for too long.	18	-4	-2	0	4	20
Quotes based on Williams and Vaske, 2003						
I am very attached to Pond Inlet.	22	0	-3	0	5	20

Out of table 9 it can be concluded that the majority of young adults feel relaxed in Pond Inlet and that they really miss Pond Inlet when they are away from it for too long. Pond Inlet is for the majority their favourite place to be and they feel attached to Pond Inlet. But they do not feel as happy in Pond Inlet as might be expected from the other quotes in table 9. Most of them do, but this score is not very strong. This might be explained by the challenges young people face and the fact that family lives in other communities.

But the main motive behind this attachment is a social component. Many people would like to stay because they have friends and family in this community or would go because they have family in other communities.

4.5 CONCLUSION

After examining the three components of the place attachment theory (place dependence, place identity and place attachment) it can be said young people are attached to the community. The young adults say they depend on Pond Inlet for their activities and their goals and Pond Inlet is a component of their identity. They are attached to Pond Inlet and feel good in the community.

Although the teenagers say that they miss facilities and that the facilities are in general not of a very good quality to meet their need and goals, they are dependent on the place. The places where they hang out do not coincide with the places that the government has chosen to hang out and to meet each other. Young people hang out at the Co-Op, school and outside. This is not expressed when the questionnaires are analysed: young people said that there are facilities and places to meet. There is slight disagreement on the fact that there is nothing to do and that life in the community is dull. Most agree that there are things to get involved in the community.

Young people also said that there are places to hang out and in a sense this is the case. They hang out and there are places to gather, but this is one of the pitfalls. The places to hang out are not the obvious places and they miss facilities where they can meet and hang out. The places they use to hang out are the supermarket, the school and outside. Young people identify strongly with Pond Inlet and Nunavut as well. It makes a strong trait of their identity and Pond Inlet is a part of them. Therefore they would not live in any other community.

It remains unclear whether the specific problems like alcohol and drug abuse and boredom seem to play a role in the attachment of young people. It might be expected that these problem would influence the attachment to the community negatively. A cause can be that this research's research population did not include all subgroups that can be found among youth and this needs more research.

The communities are growing and because of this the interaction between people is weakening. This is experienced as a negative side to the community because Inuit society is based on kinship.

Although they are attached to Pond Inlet, maybe it can be said that place attachment among youth is more a social attachment to people who live in Pond Inlet than attachment to the environment. It is thought that young people are less attached when family and friends live elsewhere than Pond Inlet, because family and friends are the

reason to stay in Pond Inlet or to leave Pond Inlet. The place has become important thanks to the people that reside in that place.

CHAPTER 5

YOUTH: COMMUNITY BASED OR OUT ON THE LAND?

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Until the mid 1950's Inuit were semi-nomadic and therefore they would have a high action radius. Most of the Inuit lived in seasonal camps along coastal areas. Some Inuit lived inland west of the Hudson Bay. These hunting camps were organised around the availability of animals to hunt (game) and on the season (Creery 1994, Rigby et al 2000). The places where Inuit hunted were more or less a certainty. The moves in a local area from one place to an other were predictable (Rigby et al 2000). Inuit travelled by dog team and boat (Rigby et al 2000) and according to Creery (1994) also by foot in summer.

Creery (1994) says that a hunting camp consisted usually of several related families. In summer and spring the camps would split up and each family would go out hunting in its area. In winter the family would come together again to hunt with the entire camp.

Today this life has changed owing to the fact that people now live in settlements. Nevertheless, according to Nuttall (2000) many native communities continue to rely on the use of marine and land resources. The traditional economy still plays an important role in Pond Inlet. Traditional Inuit were semi-nomadic and travelled in able to hunt and gather. Semi-nomadic lifestyle and hunting and gathering are a known trait of their identity: living on and of the land for subsistence.

The concept of action radius is defined as the distance a person covers. The focus of this chapter will be the distances young people cover and the frequency of travelling. This is based on travel by plane and more ordinary travel like by skidoo out on the land. The difference in action radius before moving into the settlements and living in settlements is maybe a difference of day and night. People are now based in one specific place and have to travel longer to hunt (Creery 1994), because the distance has increased. Another reason was an increasing pressure on animals that lived around the communities. Because people hunted too close to the community many animals disappeared. The following consequence was that the distance to get in contact with animals increased (Hicks and White 2000). Hicks and White add that mechanised travelling to hunt was necessary to cover the distances. Many Inuit in the 1980's without a job or regular income could not afford to go out hunting.

In this chapter the action radius of young people will be explored. Do young adults have a high action radius or do they tend to stay the most of the time in the community?

5.2 THE ACTION RADIUS OF YOUNG PEOPLE

Young people were asked how often they leave the community and for what reason they leave the community. There is a difference in the frequency on travelling among young people. The people who responded to go somewhere with the need of an airplane did this as often as once in three year up to six or seven times a year. The majority replied with the fact that they go south or visit other communities. The time they spend in this other place is mostly a couple of weeks to visit family and friends. Some people already spoke about spending time out on the land like hunting, camping and fishing.

The time that young people where elsewhere, like South-Canada or other communities, was in general a good time. They look positive to the time they have spent in the certain areas. For most people it was good to be in the other areas and it was exiting to see their friends and family again. It was also a happy feeling to go away but also knowing that you will return to your community is a good thought. Two people literally state that they felt better down south than in the community. Four people would rather be in the community. But all in all it was good to be in a different environment.

People of Nunavut are psychically tied to the community. In this sense, they stay most of the time in the settlement. Due to the introduction of the skidoo in the 1960's the cost of hunting or going out on the land were pushed up (Creery 1994). This plays a preventing role for young people to go out on the land. People gave this answer a couple of times. Whenever some get the chance they would go out on the land, but due to the prizes of gasoline it will not happen as much as wanted.

Most people said that they do not go out on the land a lot. To go out on the land, you will have to apply resources. The first resource that was mentioned is gasoline, but also the use of a skidoo and camping gear for the moment you get stuck, have to be available to go out on the land. Most teenagers go out in spring and summer when the temperatures are getting higher.

The frequency of going out on the land is differing as well. People go out as often as once a year to once a month. It should also be kept in mind that this is dependent on the seasons. People go out camping with their families and this is mostly in the weekends in spring and summer and also during school breaks.

Which reasons do young people give to go out on the land? Young people say that they go out for certain of reasons. The best reason why youth go out on the land is for hunting, camping and for the scenery. Pond Inlet lies on the northern tip of Baffin Island and looks out over Eclipse Sound with on the background the mountains and glaciers of Bylot Island. The quietness and time to relax were also reasons to go out. How do they appreciate the land then? Do they feel better on the land or do they feel better in the

community? This is known by using table 10 on the next page which was derived from an interview question.

Table 10 'Do you feel the same in the community as on the land?'

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Same	4	20,0	20,0
Land is better	13	65,0	85,0
Community is better	2	10,0	95,0
Don't know	1	5,0	100,0
Total	20	100,0	

As seen in table 10 the majority said that they prefer to be out on the land. They prefer the land because it is quiet and it is a place where they can relax. It gives them a time off of the community.

Young people do not go out a lot on the land, but they prefer to be there. The explanation for this paradox lies in the availability of a skidoo, gasoline and other resources to go out on the land. The frequency is more limited than some young people wish for. But if you really want to go out on the land, it should be possible to go out more often.

5.3 REFLECTIONS ON THE ACTION RADIUS OF YOUNG PEOPLE

The interviewed field experts were asked whether young people still go out on the land. In some way youth and field experts have the same opinion. Both groups say that young adults mostly go out when it is warmer, so in spring and summer. Besides this there are a few differences. But first of all the traditional way of life and being out on the land will be more explored to give the context.

Traditional Inuit who lived on the land were trained and programmed by parents and elders around. Kinship was in this aspect important. Values and practices were related to mutual interdependence, kinship and cross-generational teaching and support. Through this survival on the land was supported (Kral 2003).

People lived on the land and were dependent on the land and on skills to survive on the inhospitable land. When a child was born it was gradually and stepwise taught to do chores and to assist in the basic needs of the camp. Little girls went helping their mothers and the boys went out hunting with their father. They both were taught their chores. The girls were taught to skin and to chew seal leather to soften it and the boys were taught to hunt, to make a shelter and to make heat (Bennett and Rowley 2004).

It was important for the families to teach up growing kids in order to survive on the land. Parents and elders ensured to develop skills of youth. Without these skills you can not

survive. A field expert said that until the age of 20 or 25 people were trained and programmed. There was a certain discipline that ensured people to learn and therefore to develop skills.

So, it was very important for the family and the camps wellbeing that they develop skills that contribute to the community. Parents along with adults ensured youth back then that they would develop skills. Of course, back then there was not an other choice than obey. You really had to do what you have been told and taught.

According to a field expert Inuit have always been connected, or attached, to the land. Much has been changed since the 1950's. Since the influence of the policy of the Canadian Government the majority of the Inuit have lost or abandoned their leadership skills. The Canadian government did much for Inuit; they build houses, there was social welfare and education. Parents did not have to decide so much anymore; the government did it for them. Because of this, Inuit traditional knowledge was not transmitted as much as it would be on the land. A field expert said that you have to experience the land and that the stories only work for 20 or 30 percent. The rest should come from the land itself and of the experience of being out on the land.

Another field expert said that some youth is still rooted on the land and some are not. Not a lot of young people go out on their own. Of course, this has to do with knowing the land and survive on the land. It is said that the teenagers are gradually losing its traditional land skills.

5.4 CONCLUSION

Traditional life has disappeared as we define traditional life as living on the land and being solely dependent on the land. Now that people live in communities the rootedness or attachment to the land is eroding. This is not only the case of living sedentary, but also the case of applying resources to go out on the land. The teenagers feel better on the land, because it is quiet, peaceful and relaxing, but they do not go often out on the land. This has to do with the high cost that is involved with going out on the land and some people can not pay the oil and gasoline to go out. But not be able to afford to go out on the land is a value judgement. If you really want to go out on the land there are possibilities to do so. Join other people or go out for a walk.

Due to the fact that young people are more detached from the land, the traditional skills of hunting and surviving are gradually diminishing.

CHAPTER 6

IMPORTANCE OF NUNAVUT

6.1 INTRODUCTION

On 1 April, 1999 Nunavut was officially established. The Canadian Inuit have their own territory and its population consists of 85 percent Inuit. Nunavut consists of 1/5 of the total land area of Canada with only 30.000 inhabitants.

It has been a long road to create Nunavut and it still has a long road to go. Some elements of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement are not implemented yet and the government is on his second mandate. After a period of colonisation by the Canadian government the Inuit have more influence and power to control their future. How is this felt by young people of Nunavut? Does it make a difference in daily life for the people of Nunavut and especially young people?

Firstly, the road to Nunavut will be explored to give an impression of its history, and secondly the attention will be drawn to the importance of Nunavut in daily life of young people. Then mental maps of Nunavut sketched by young people will be discussed to gain an insight in their knowledge of Nunavut's environment.

6.2 ROAD TO NUNAVUT

Nunavut was first proposed in 1976 by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) (Legaré 2002). In 1973 the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada starts to map out the land use and occupancy of Inuit. ITC represents the interests of Inuit, especially for land claims. The outcomes of the land use and occupancy project are published in Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project of Freeman in 1976. This was the basis for the new territory (Government of Nunavut 2000). On May 25th 1993 the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement was signed and was implemented on July 9th 1993 (Minister of Public Works and Government of Canada 2002).

Nunavut is not just the territory. Nunavut consists of two separate entities. Firstly, Nunavut is a land rights settlement with the Crown in right of Canada which is called the Nunavut Agreement and secondly, Nunavut means the newly formed territory with its own government that is called the Nunavut Act (Kusugak 2000 and Hicks and White 2000).

The government of Nunavut is run by a legislature which is elected by all residents of Nunavut and all residents are able to stand as candidates regardless of their ethnical background (Kusugak 2000). So Nunavut is not a territory for the Inuit alone.

Légaré (2002) says that the ITC pointed out three reasons why the Inuit desired for their own territory. First, there was no land cession treaty with the Canadian government. Second, the Inuit possess a demographic and cultural homogeneity in the Canadian Eastern Arctic. Third, the Inuit wanted to control their own political, social and economic issues. All in all, ITC thought that an own territory would better reflect the extent of the traditional land use and occupancy. The institutions would take care of Inuit values and perspectives.

At present Nunavut government is in its second mandate. "It is a time that will be used to build a stronger cultural foundation based on Inuit societal values and develop and expand our economy." (Government of Nunavut, p.1). In the first mandate there were four guiding principles based on the values and beliefs and these will be continued during the next 5 years of the second mandate. The guiding principles are:

Inuuqatigiittiarniq - Healthy communities

Pijarnirniqsat Katujjiqatigiittiarnirlu - Simplicity and Unity

Namminiq Maktitajunnarniq - Self-reliance

Illiiallianginnarniq - Continuing learning

These principles are a guideline for the government to make the government itself, the programs and services more responsive to the people of Nunavut (Government of Nunavut 2005).

6.3 THE IMPORTANCE AND ROLE OF NUNAVUT FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

Many young people could not explain in their own words what Nunavut means to them. An often heard answer was that Nunavut means 'Our land'. The answers are given in the table below. They feel that this is 'Our land'.

Table 11 'What does Nunavut mean to you?'

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Our land	11	64,7	64,7
Home/ family	2	11,8	76,5
Welcome	1	5,9	82,4
Other	3	17,6	100,0
Total	17	100,0	

But why is it 'Our land'? Some people say because they can hunt freely or because the majority is Inuit, but it remains for hard to explain themselves on what Nunavut means for them. Do they say it is 'Our land' and only for the Inuit or is it land of us, the people in general. Nunavut is probably called 'Our land', because this is the name and further more because they feel part of Nunavut as Inuk.

Now Nunavut is established, young people feel in general more accepted and understood as being Inuk. Inuit now have their own territory and it is placed on the map. People now know more about the Inuit and about how they live, but they do not feel more Inuk now they have their own territory. Although they can identify with their own land and can influence the future they do not feel more Inuk now.

But they do identify with the territory with the name Nunavummiut. Nunavut plays probably a more important role in their lives than they know or expect. Young adults say that it is very important to have an own territory in which they can take care of the culture and traditions, hunt freely and it provides them a voice they in the political arena. But very specific explanations on the importance of Nunavut remain not well argued. One of the reasons may be that it is hard to express your feelings and nuance in a foreign language. Maybe Nunavut is too new to talk about or they have not thought about what an own territory can change daily life.

6.4 IMPORTANCE OF NUNAVUT ACCORDING TO FIELD EXPERTS

According to some field experts Nunavut means the liberation of the people and liberation from colonisation. Contact with the whalers, Hudson Bay Company and the traders were not as aggressive as the rule of the Canadian government. As opposed to the Canadian government the whalers and traders were not rulers. Many people say that the intervention of Canadian government is the major influence that causes the problems that we can see today. Although said in the introduction, Nuttall (2000) says that the Inuit values already eroded during the contact with the outsiders like hunters, it was the Canadian government that put things into a rush. With the intervention of the Canadian government the Inuit were left no choice.

People know that things have changed and feel more confident now they have their own territory. Although people are said to be more confident the suicide rates keep going up instead of down. But the local people get more training; there are more jobs due to the decentralisation of the government.

One person said that Nunavut is 'Our land', but with the connotation that it does not say whose land. Our land means also that it is not only for the Inuit, so inward looking from this group, but also outward looking that everybody who is in Nunavut can say 'Our land'. It does not say whose land and this is also again a strong trait of Inuit culture: sharing.

It is often heard that the south of Canada still knows little about the Inuit and about the contemporary life of the Inuit. They Inuit are modern and according to people who live there, many people in the south still think that Inuit live of hunting and in igloos. Although they say this is changing, still much has to be accomplished to create a clear and contemporary image of the Inuit. Also Jull (2000) points out and argues that

Nunavut has existed in four different contexts. One of these contexts is that Nunavut is an exotic and unique region. With symbols of igloos, parkas, icebergs and polar bears the Inuit are often the subject of examination and that the Inuit culture should be preserved. But there is so much more than the symbols or the images that are created by television and books.

Now Nunavut is created the people and their culture is recognised and they have control over their own future. Some people say that without having an own territory the culture and language would probably disappear. Now they can make most of their own rules and regulations. They know have more control on their future which they now can influence much more. It is a two way relation between Nunavut and the culture. The culture is as much as important for Nunavut as Nunavut for the culture.

Also because people feel more understood and confident it is a starting point for identifying yourself. And as we have seen this is an important statement, but Nunavut is too new to say whether is has an influence on the decrease of the suicide rate. Up to now it does not look like it.

The protecting of culture and language seems to be guaranteed by the laws that are now implemented and by the labelling Inuktitut as an official language and Inuktitut is now taught in school. The school drop out is rather high and the attendance is sometimes poor. Much can be gained and will be gained with education. A special curriculum that is more applicable is in development. See also the next paragraph on education. In smaller and more remote communities life is more traditional and Inuktitut is more spoken than English, but the social problems are said to be in all communities.

Not everything of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement is yet fully implemented and there is sometimes said to be a lack of communication between the government and the people. A critical few on Nunavut is that it was a 'gift' of the Canadian government as a penalty clause, but as we have seen this is too simplistic to explain the creation of Nunavut.

It remains still early to say how everything will develop in Nunavut and there are some growing pains. But all in all, it can be said that the people are very satisfied with Nunavut and feel more secure about their future.

6.5 YOUNG PEOPLE'S MENTAL MAP

Six students were asked to draw a sketch map of Nunavut. These are the so-called mental maps. Following Soini (2001), it is argued that mental maps are means of externalising, or making tangible, the complexity of ideas, attitudes and information which individuals and groups have of Nunavut. A mental map displays someone's knowledge of their environment and environment that is useful to them.

Because Nunavut consists of many islands, the first encounter for the students was to make a clear picture for themselves before they drew Nunavut on a piece of paper. This is the first step to make a map. Then the perception of Nunavut has to be translated from a three dimensional image to a two dimensional image on paper.

Of course as some students pointed out, Nunavut is a territory with many islands and rugged terrain. Therefore it makes it hard to make a drawing of Nunavut. But we can not use this as an explanation for the difficulty of drawing a map: it just has to be kept in mind. The aim of this exercise was to get insight in the knowledge the students have of the territory of Nunavut and to see in what extent they use the land around Pond Inlet. Due to the limitation of the amount of cases gives rather an insight in the knowledge of these students than explanatory evidence.

With drawing a map that does not really compare to the actual scale and size does not mean that their perception is wrong. A perception is gained through cognitive processes that make a product, a mental map, through the processes and use of information that is received (Holloway and Hubbard 2001). From the researcher's point of view a perception can never be wrong; each individual gets its own stimuli and processes the data differently. A perception can thus be distorted or partial, never wrong.

To create the territory of Nunavut hunters, trappers, fishermen and berry pickers mapped out with enormous detail the places they have ever used in their life (Brody 1981). This is how the boundaries of Nunavut have been established.

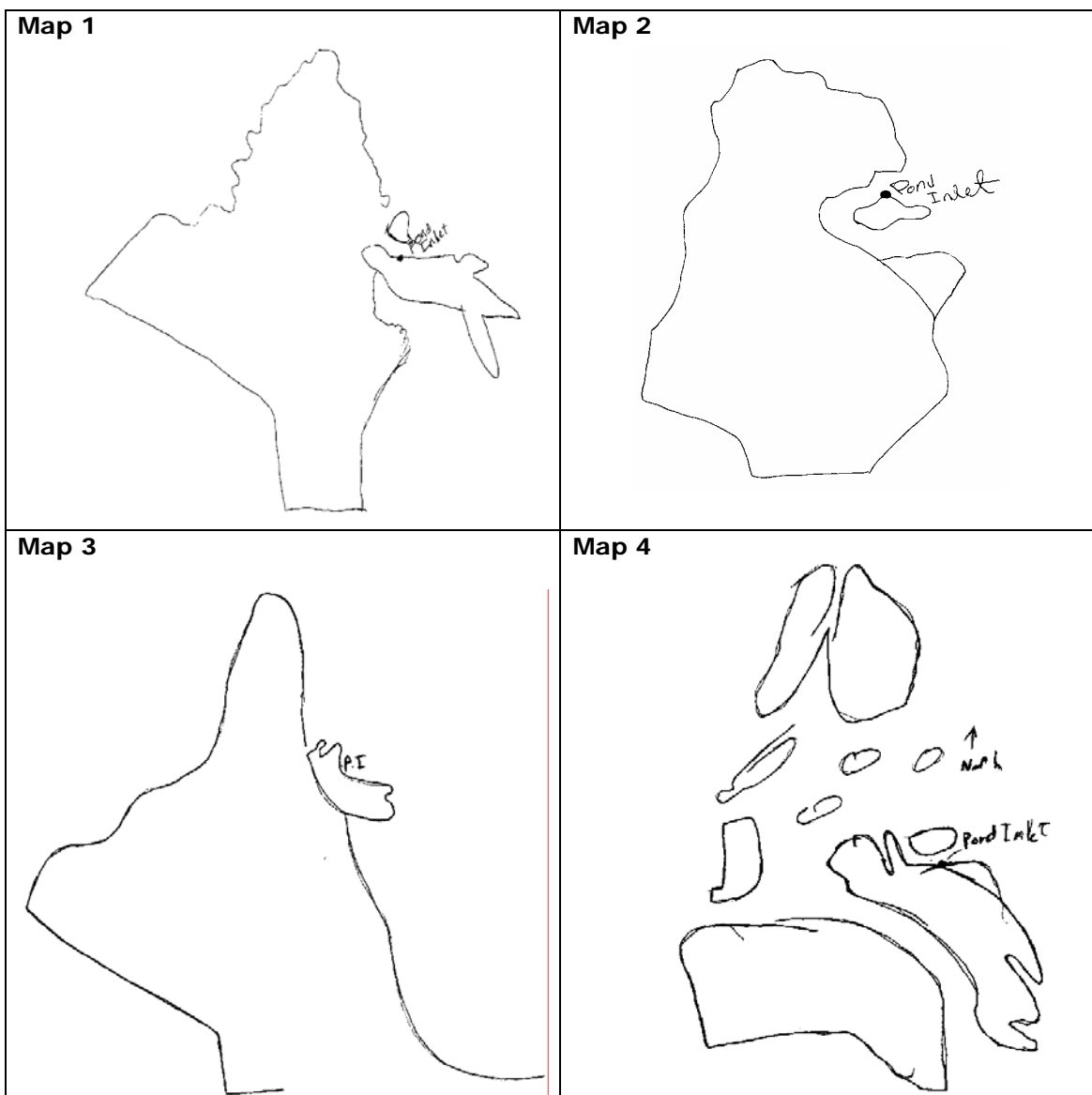
According to Tuan (1977) Inuit are superb travellers and they make and use maps. In the "...poor and poorly articulated environment the Inuit, to survive, have refined their perceptual and spatial skills." (p.79). When losing landmarks, such as peaks and rivers, Inuit can find their way through the observation of snow, cracks in the ice, wind direction. Following Tuan, it can be said that the Inuit were good map makers, but not all Inuit were good map makers or travellers. It is a generalisation and it could be argued as Arcticism: a construction produced within a grid of power, knowledge and geography (after Johnston et al. 2000; *The Dictionary of Human Geography*): a stereotype of the Arctic; all Inuit are well travellers, eat seal, live in igloos and the Arctic is extremely cold and always frozen.

Rundstrom (1990) has pointed out to the accuracy of maps drawn by Inuit as well. He argues that there are four explanations. The first explanation that already was discussed was the inhospitable environment. Second, it is said that accurate mapping was an end product of the stimuli that was received by the Inuit of the environment. The Inuit observed, named and memorised the environment. This memorisation by giving names to certain places that functions as marks or places for where experiences took place, is called *memoryscape* by Nuttall (1992). Third, the Inuit were migratory and shared information of the environment with other camps. Travelling was not only for survival,

but Rundstrom also argues that this was to unify themselves with each other and with the environment. This travelling for knowledge of the environment and unity, brought restlessness and the thrill to seek drama and take risks.

Fourth, not only the relation of the Inuit and the land is necessary for accurate maps, also the 'naïve' way of travelling opened new places. Not the intensive travelling is the main factor of accurate maps. It is the actions and how the knowledge of the environment is mentally organised, memorised, and recalled. Below the six maps are shown that were drawn by students.

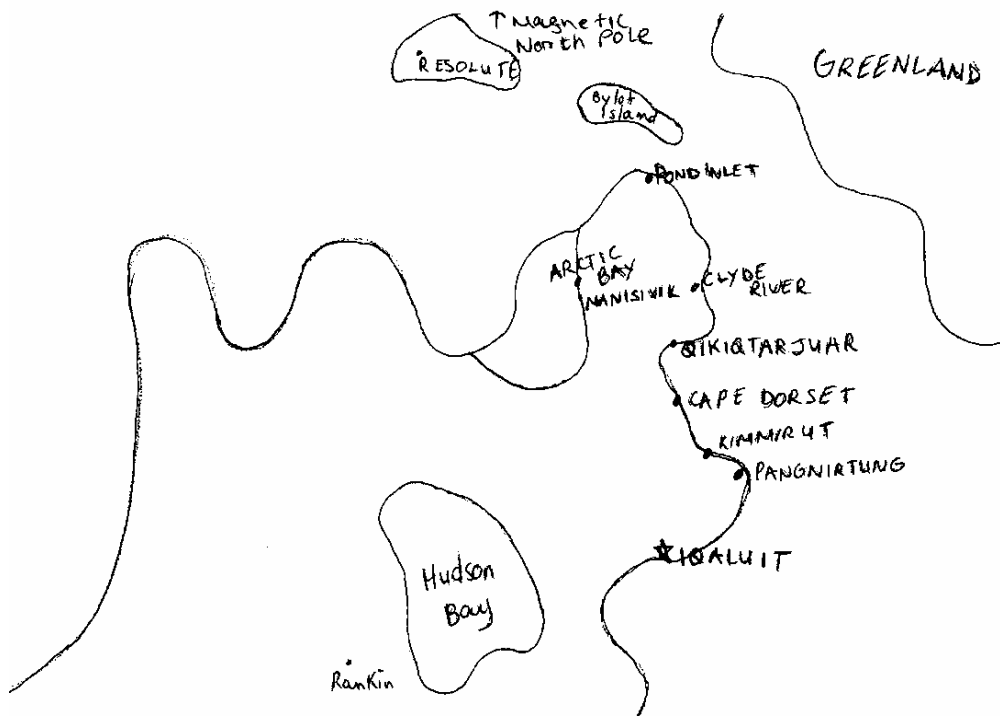
Figure 4 Six mental maps of young people



Map 5



Map 6



As mentioned, the maps are analysed on their characteristics and interesting features.

- 1) The first map contains the straight lines in the south and in the west of Nunavut, like for example the line across the 60th parallel and then north again. This gives Nunavut its specific geometrical shape. Baffin Island and Pond Inlet is situated as well, but Baffin Island is relative too small compared to the other objects.
- 2) The second map has in the lower left corner the southern tip, but less detailed than the first map. It is striking that Pond Inlet lies on an island. But then again the mountains that can be seen from Pond Inlet are drawn because Pond Inlet is situated land inwards. Nunavut has more the shape of an oval instead of pyramid and Baffin Island is not sketch.
- 3) The third map has the straight lines in the south and west as well. But in contrast with map 2 this map shows more the shape of a cone. Baffin Island is not drawn as an island and the eastern coast has no clear boundaries.
- 4) Map four has more features of Baffin Island and it is a relatively accurate map of this island. Victoria Island in the west is also quite accurate, but the southern part does not fit very well. Interesting are the inlets that have been sketched on Baffin Island.
- 5) This map has also the shape of the west with its straight lines. But this is the only map that the line on the 110th degree of longitude. The north does not compare exactly, it should have a cone shape and Baffin Island is too far away from the mainland. But this is the only map that shows Sanikiluaq in the Hudson Bay.
- 6) Map six is the most detailed map. But it does not differ between islands and mainland, communities have been located in a wrong way and the Hudson Bay is a lake instead of a sea. But this is the only map that contains Greenland, most of the communities and the magnetic north pole.

Out of these images it can be said that the image the students have of Nunavut is not complete and it is distorted. Four out of six maps have the straight lines in the south and west. There are two groups: one group sketches Nunavut without the islands and one group with islands. Is this because most of the time the sea is frozen and the sea ice forms together with the land part of the ice or because the difficulty of sketching the islands? What is certainly striking is that everyone has situated Pond Inlet and often as the one and only community that can be found in Nunavut. Three people have sketched Baffin Island in much detail.

If we use the concept as used by Holloway and Hubbard (2001): a mental map is a summary of someone's knowledge of their surroundings, then we might say that the knowledge of the students surroundings, in this case Nunavut, is incomplete and distorted: five out of six maps show only one community and this is Pond Inlet. Following Soini (2001) who argued that a mental map is a mean of externalising the complexity of

ideas, attitudes and information which individuals and groups have of a place, it can be said that Pond Inlet is important as part of Nunavut, because this is drawn every time. For three people Baffin Island is quite detailed, maybe therefore it can be said that Baffin Island is more known and perceived as usable and important than less detailed areas of the map. Nunavut is one seen as a larger part of the Arctic owing to the appearance of Greenland.

6.6 CONCLUSION

Nunavut is an important change in the life of the Inuit. They now have more influence on their future and through their own government policies are developed to fit the need of the Inuit and to apply new regulations and policies on the circumstances that can be found in Nunavut. The government implements policies based on principles of traditional beliefs and values as solutions for challenges people face.

The Inuit see Nunavut as a good development and Nunavut is important, but it has some growing pains. Young people do not know exactly how to express the importance of Nunavut, but feel more understood as Inuit and say that Nunavut is 'Our Land'. It remains the question whose land. What is defined by 'our' and we?

According to Tuan (1977) and Soini (2001) the traditional Inuit can be characterised as excellent map drawers and very spatially skilled. By use of a mental map of Nunavut we have seen that the picture they have of Nunavut is distorted and partial. Pond Inlet and Baffin Island are the most important spatial features.

Nunavut is a good start to create your own future and to make plans to tackle the challenges Inuit face. Because Nunavut is young there are growing pains, but the future looks better than it was.

CHAPTER 7

REPRESENTATIONS OF NUNAVUT

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In this paragraph representations of Nunavut will be discussed. Holloway and Hubbard (2001) argue that representation relies on a shared system of meanings in order to communicate. There are different mediums to communicate with other people, for example pictures, text and symbols.

Firstly, representations will be discussed that the government has chosen to represent Nunavut. What are the motives for the government to use the symbols they have chosen? Secondly, during the interviews young people were asked which symbols they would pick to symbolise Nunavut. Is this also in line with what the government has chosen? Thirdly, young people could choose the least and most representative picture of Nunavut out of five pictures that were randomly shown to them. They could also point out what they missed as well.

How do two different groups in Nunavut represent their territory? This is an interesting question, because one of the main points of the government of Nunavut is the attempt to build a stronger cultural foundation based on Inuit societal values. The principles of the government are based on traditional beliefs practices and values as well (Nunavut government 2005 in Pinasuaqtavut 2004-2009). Young people of Nunavut, however, were born in modern settlements and differ from "the traditional Inuk".

On May 1, 2000 the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut chose three symbols to accompany the flag (displayed below, figure 5) and coat of arms (figure 6). These are the Purple Saxifrage, the Rock Ptarmigan and the Canadian Inuit Dog. First, the flag and the coat of arms will be explored. Then the attention will draw to three other symbols chosen to accompany these symbols.

Figure 5 Nunavut's flag



Source: website Nunavut Government

7.2 TERRITORIAL SYMBOLS

Nunavut's flag, displayed as figure 5 on the previous page, has three colours: blue, gold and red. They all are references. Blue and gold refer to the richness of the land, sea and sky and red refers to Canada, from which Nunavut forms part of (website Nunavut Government). The inukshuk is the main character of the flag and refers to stone monuments which guide people on the land and mark special and sacred places. An inukshuk is basically a manmade pile of stones guiding people while travelling on the land. The star is the North Star that can be used for navigation and it symbolises the leadership of elders in the communities across Nunavut (website Nunavut Government). According to the website of the government of Nunavut: "The inukshuk symbolizes stone monuments which guide people on the land and mark sacred and other special places." In itself an inukshuk is a representation of a human as well. Graburn (2004) says that the inukshuk resembles human beings from a distance. It is quite remarkable that the government of Nunavut does not make a link between the inukshuk and the inhabitants of Nunavut.

Graburn argues that an inukshuk has many functions. Inuksuit (plural form of inukshuk) can serve as navigational markers, points to drop messages, as memorials, objects of veneration and storage facilities. The external call for the inukshuk came from the 1960's when the white people started to ask for inukshuk carvings. The inukshuk was seen as unique by the white people and through travel on the land with the white people the Inuit saw and noticed that they were different. The Canadian Government started to build inuksuit at Toronto Airport as well to welcome foreigners. These inuksuit are a symbol of Inuit who are also part of Canada. An inukshuk as a symbol of Canadian identity (Graburn, 2004).

In 2010 the Olympic Winter games will be held in Vancouver. The official symbol of the Games is an inukshuk called Ilanaaq, which means friend in Inuktitut. On the website of the Olympic Games the reason behind this choice is given. "Over time, the inukshuk has become a symbol of hope and friendship, an eternal expression of hospitality of a nation that warmly welcomes people of the world with open arms every day. "With the deepest appreciation for Canada's aboriginal heritage and for the joy Canadians share in celebrating winter's snow and ice, the emblem of the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Winter Games is a contemporary interpretation of the inukshuk." (Vancouver 2010).

It can be said that the inukshuk has spread beyond the borders of the Arctic. Over time, different meanings have been attached to the inukshuk. An inukshuk as part of Inuit culture does represent or symbolise different characteristics of Inuit culture, like friendship and hospitality. The inukshuk did get a different meaning attached to it than it original had.

Figure 6 Nunavut's coat of arms



Source: website Nunavut Government

In the coat of arms (figure 6) the inukshuk is displayed as well as the North Star and the use of the colours blue and gold again. Besides these symbols, the crown represents the public government for all residents of Nunavut and this crown represents Nunavut as a partner in Confederation as well. Below the crown an igloo can be seen which represents traditional life of people and means of survival. Next to the inukshuk stands a qulliq, a stone lamp representing light and the warmth of family and the community. The caribou and narwhal on both sides represent the sea and land animals that are part of the natural heritage. The arc of circles refers to the life-giving properties of the sun above and below the horizon. The basis is formed by land and sea and the land contains three Arctic flowers. The Inuktitut writing means Nunavut Sanginivut or "Nunavut, Our strength" (website Nunavut Government).

According to Graburn (2004) symbols used by Inuit are chosen for two reasons. Firstly, symbols are chosen because these symbols are admired and looked upon as exotic by the main group of reference which is white people. The second reason would be that the Inuit want to create a sharp distinction between themselves and the main group of reference to make a statement about ethnic recognition. Through the symbols that are used, Inuit make the distinction between 'us' and 'them', between Inuit and Qallunaat (whitemen).

Graburn (2004) has argued in earlier papers that the colonial motherland chose distinctive arts, handcrafts or other traits of the indigenous people, to create a barrier between the locals and the colonial rulers. Graburn adds that this is not the case in

Nunavut and Inuit have chosen their symbols freely. But it can be said that outsiders did have a major role because this group chose an inukshuk as the symbol to separate Inuit from themselves. So, in one way Inuit did not chose their symbols freely, but were encouraged to choose that symbol to create an imagined boundary between Inuit and the main reference group.

As Graburn (2004) concludes there has been a convergence between the need from the outside for symbols that make the distinction between 'us' and 'them' and on the other hand the fact that this need encouraged or coincided the internal need for the separation between the groups.

Figure 7 Purple Saxifrage



Photo: Harm de Muinck 2005

Besides the coat of arms and the flag three other symbol are used: the Purple Saxifrage (figure 7), the Rock Ptarmigan (figure 8) and the Canadian Inuit Dog. The Purple Saxifrage is a small purple plant that blossoms in spring. It was chosen because this plant blooms when the young caribous are born out on the land. It thus tells the time when the young caribous are born. The plant can also be eaten and is used to make tea. This plant is said to be very tough and reliable to grow during the season.

Figure 8 Ptarmigan



Source: Legislative Assembly of Nunavut (original source: Nunavut Tourism)

The Rock Ptarmigan is an arctic bird. It has white feathers and claws to dig for Saxifrage for example. These two symbols are displayed in figure 7 and 8. The bird resembles the adaptations that humans made to their circumstances in which they live. The birds have black stripes around their eyes which can compare to the Inuit snow goggles. In deep winter the bird will use the snow as a shelter. This is why this bird was chosen as the official bird of Nunavut.

The Canadian Inuit dog has long been the only long-distance transport for humans. The stamina of these dogs and because they are thick coated ensures that the dogs are very suitable for Arctic conditions (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut 2005).

These three items that are chosen to accompany the flag and coat of arms are not chosen without a reason. These three symbols together represent the human component, in this case, Inuit of Nunavut. These three symbols represent the Inuit and its stamina, skills of adapting to the environment and its toughness in its environment. Although, they represent the Inuit of today, the three symbols that were chosen represent the traditionally skilled Inuit who lived on the land and who were dependent on these skills. By these three symbols Inuit of today are represented by their past as semi-nomadic people who lived on and off the land. Nunavut is represented by Inuit culture that has the characteristics of a semi-nomadic lifestyle.

During the interview sessions young people were asked which symbols they would pick to symbolise Nunavut. The outcome is listed in table 12.

Table 12 Symbols according to young people to symbolise Nunavut

Symbol	Frequency
Inukshuk	7
Seals	2
Communities	2
Caribou	2
Polar bear	2
raw meat, traditions, 24 hours of sun, circle of people holding hands, country food, hunting, igloos, amoutiks, kamiks, animals, marine mammals, kayak, kamatik, dog team, birds, owl, snow, land, culture, mountains	1

Seven people thought of an inukshuk to symbolise Nunavut. This is also a well-known symbol of Nunavut. This symbol is used in the flag of Nunavut as well. The question remains whether young people chose an inukshuk because it is used in the flag, because it is used as the most common marker of difference or do they associate Nunavut with traditional artefacts of culture?

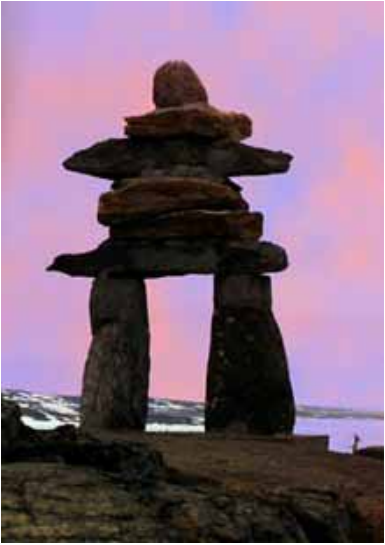
In the next paragraph the results of the photo-elicitation method will be analysed.

7.3 MOST REPRESENTING NUNAVUT ACCORDING TO YOUTH

During the photo-elicitation sessions young adults were asked to chose two pictures out of five pictures that were handed out to them which were according to them most or least representative of Nunavut. The pictures were arranged randomly and can be seen displayed in figure 9.

Figure 9 The pictures of the photo-elicitation method



<p>E.</p> 	<p>Source figure A: http://stratus.ssec.wisc.edu/scenes/scenery/scenery.html : photo by J. Key</p> <p>Source figure B: http://www.nassauboces.org/dln/videoconferencing/programguide/contentt.htm</p> <p>Source figure C: http://www.canvisit.com/images/Locations/Canada-Northern-Canada-Nunavut-Nunavut-1.jpg</p> <p>Source figure D: http://kativik.net/ulluriaq/Nunavik/inuitlife/outside/images/snowshoe/firegrp.jpg : Ulluriaq School</p> <p>Source figure E: http://perso.wanadoo.fr/alain.perron/inuksuk.jpg</p>
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The results are displayed in table 15. The pictures the teenagers chose as most representing Nunavut was rather surprising: 10 out of 16 students chose the hunter that was butchering a seal in his traditional clothes out on the land. With 5 out of 16 the picture with the landscape of ice was the second most representing Nunavut. The symbolic representation of Nunavut by an inukshuk was chosen once, and therefore it does not seem to play a major role.

Table 13 Pictures most representing Nunavut

Picture	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
People together	0	0,0	0,0
Iqaluit	0	0,0	0,0
Inukshuk	1	6,3	6,3
Landscape of ice	5	31,3	37,6
Hunter in traditional clothes	10	62,5	100,0
Total	16	100,0	

Although the hunter is wearing traditional clothes on this specific picture, young people do not see people wearing traditional clothes often. The teenagers said they see people wearing traditional clothes in winter when people go out hunting or camping. Some people see them on special events like Nunavut Day or Canada Day. With these occasions they see people wearing mitts, kamiks (boots), parkas and amoutiks, a female form of the parka with a pocket for the baby to carry in on the back. Amoutiks are more common and are at present usually made of cotton.

Some elements of the traditional way of life are still present. But how come that students chose the traditional hunter as representing Nunavut the most? One of the reasons is of course that these pictures were indisputable, but the students were also asked what they missed and it turned out that it was hard to think of something they missed. Another explanation can be that young people see Inuit still as traditional. So, people have to hunt in order to survive on the land. They associate traditional culture with Nunavut. Although, traditional elements are still represented Inuit are modern and are not solely dependent on the land in order to survive.

Maybe an Inuk is someone who wears traditional clothes and butchers a seal? Maybe younger generations stereotype, a fixed description or characterisation, Nunavut and what an Inuk is supposed to be or supposed to do to be a 'real' Inuk.

The picture had all the elements to represent the stereotypes of an Inuk: butchering seal, ice, and the traditional clothes. Field experts said that this is also what many outsiders think of Inuit: Nunavut is cold and isolated and Inuit live in igloos and eat seal. Well, in part this is true. It can be very cold in Nunavut, but there are also summers with temperatures above 10° Celsius. Nunavut is not isolated, it is relatively isolated. It is impossible to travel there by car, but airplanes fly frequently (although very expensive) and people in the communities have access to internet, television and radio. So it can be psychological very isolated, but with the access to internet the isolation can partly be overcome. The second most representative of Nunavut is the landscape of sea and ice. This picture as well could be argued as a stereotype.

7.4 LEAST REPRESENTING NUNAVUT ACCORDING TO YOUTH

An often heard quote is that "Iqaluit isn't Nunavut". Young adults and field experts that were involved in the research seem to embrace this thought. Iqaluit is not seen as a representative of Nunavut for certain reasons.

Table 14 Pictures least representing Nunavut

Picture	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Hunter in traditional clothes	0	0,0	0,0
Landscape of ice	1	6,3	6,3
Inukshuk	1	6,3	12,6
People together	2	12,5	25,1
Iqaluit	12	75,0	100,0
Total	16	100,0	

Iqaluit is larger than every other community with all the consequences that this entails. The influences from South-Canada are more noticeable in Iqaluit than in Pond Inlet or in

other more remote and smaller communities. Iqaluit as the capital of Nunavut has more facilities, like shops and of course the government buildings. People said that the use of Inuktitut language is poor, the violence is high, there is much alcohol and drug abuse and there are many people from South-Canada. The segregation between Inuit and Non-Inuit was a few years quite noticeable, although this is getting better now.

7.5 CONCLUSION

The symbols in the coat of arms are referring to the traditional and contemporary way of life as well. Arctic artefacts like the qulliq, stone lamp, have symbolic meaning and need more explanation. The three biological symbols (Ptarmigan, Purple Saxifrage and the Inuit dog) represent the Inuit and its stamina, skills of adapting to the environment and its toughness in its environment. Although, they represent the Inuit of today, the three symbols that are chosen represent the traditionally skilled Inuit who lived on the land and who were dependent on these skills and the land. Besides this, the three biological symbols represent Inuit who in turn represent the territory of Nunavut.

With the showed pictures young people said that the hunter in traditional clothes is most representative of Nunavut. Although these fur clothes are still used in winter it is also a standard image that most outsiders have of Inuit. Maybe young people characterise 'being Inuk' and Nunavut using a fixed description of Inuit as semi-nomadic people. The capital Iqaluit is said to be least representative of Nunavut, because there are more influences of Southern Canada and is less traditional than other communities.

If youth could freely choose symbols to represent Nunavut then the majority said that they would pick an inukshuk. This is rather contesting with the outcomes of the photo-elicitation were the inukshuk was only chosen once. It is not sure whether youth would pick this as a symbol for the cultural heritage and traditions in Nunavut, or as the most common feature as used in the flag or as a tool to create an imagined boundary between them and the main reference group.

The symbols the government uses are more sophisticated and have more symbolic meaning than the symbols young people would pick.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Young people of Nunavut are born in communities and are the second or even the first generation that have been born in a modern settlement as opposed to the majority of their parents who have been born out on the land: this is a large contrast. Owing to the sudden transition from a semi-nomadic people to sedentary life social and cultural problems rose. In this sense we can think of the community as something that could be perceived as negative. This turned out not to be the case. The community is very important due to the people who live in that community and it seems that the community provides shelter, a basis and something to hold on to.

The primary objective of this thesis is the attachment of young people to and the importance of the community. After examining the three components of the place attachment theory (place dependence, place identity and place attachment) it can be said that young people are relatively strongly attached to the community. Young persons said that they depend on Pond Inlet for the goals they pursue and for the activities they undertake.

During interviews young adults said that they missed facilities and that the quality of the available facilities are not sufficient. They also argued that there are places to hang out and in a sense this is the case. Young people hang out and there are places to gather, but this is one of the pitfalls. Most of young people meet each other outside, at school or at the Co-Op supermarket. Although they have places to hang out these are not the places that coincide with the places the government intended to function as a place to hang out and to meet. This is not shown when the filled questionnaires are analysed. There is a slight disagreement on the fact that there is nothing to do and that life in the community is dull. Most agree that there are things in the community to get involved in. The majority of the field experts did not agree with this statement. They said that young people seem to be bored. All in all, the general level of facilities is poor, but does not seem to play a major role in the place dependence of young people.

The second pillar of place attachment theory is place identity and it refers to the symbolic importance of a place as a repository for emotions and relationships that give meaning and purpose to life (Williams and Roggenbuck 1989; Shamai 1991; Giuliani and Feldman 1993, as cited in Williams and Vaske 2003). Following this definition it can be said that Pond Inlet is a component of young people's identity. Pond Inlet means a lot to them, they feel good in Pond Inlet and Pond Inlet reflects the type of person they are. Besides Pond Inlet they also identify with the name Nunavut. Pond Inlet makes a strong trait of

their identity and Pond Inlet is a part of them. Therefore they would not want to live in an other community.

The challenges such as alcohol and drug abuse and a high unemployment rate do not seem to influence the attachment of this interviewed group to the community negatively. However, it might be expected that the faced challenges by people in general would influence the attachment of people negatively, but this with this interviewed group it seems not to be the case. How come that this group is hardly influenced by the challenges young people face in the community? It can be said that the people who go to school are people who are better adapting to the circumstances they are in than people who are less capable of adapting to the circumstances. That people go to school could be an indicator of more structure in the home situation and that people are more eager to learn. The relationship between place attachment and challenges need more research because it cannot be said out of this research whether it really is the case that challenges could influence the attachment.

Young people miss Pond Inlet when they are away from it too long, but this is probably more thanks to the people who live in Pond Inlet than the attachment to the physical attributes of place. Maybe we can follow Giuliani (2003) who pointed out that place attachment is more an attachment to people in a specific place than an attachment directly to that place. Inuit society is based on kinship. Since communities are growing and because of this, interaction between people is said to be weakening. This weakening of social interaction is experienced as negative.

The second main objective was to explore and analyse the action radius of young people. Inuit were semi-nomadic and this was a means to survive and this semi-nomadic lifestyle makes a strong trait of their identity. Young people have been born in the community and travel has been influenced a lot since the transformation from semi-nomadic people to sedentary people. The results show that young people do not go out on the land often. It was said by some field experts that young people are becoming detached from the land: the land that so important was for semi-nomadic Inuit for subsistence and shelter. This detachment has nothing to do with the community as being important or with the low appreciation of young people for their environment, but according to young people, with the resources that have to be utilised to go out on the land. The costs are relatively high due to mechanised travel by skidoo, and some do not want or can not pay the costs that are involved with going out on the land. However, if people want to go out there are other resources to think of. It is always possible to go out on the land: people can go with friends or family who have a skidoo or go out for a walk. This will not happen often, because most young people go out with their parents, relatives or friends that have a ski-doo.

Can it be said that they do not enjoy going out? Not at all. Young people feel better on the land than in the community, because the land is quiet, peaceful and relaxing. It was also two times said that it gives you time off from the community: instead of thinking of the stress and problems in the community young people feel that being on the land is relaxing. But this seems a paradox, given the answers that young people appreciate the land more than the community, not a desirable answer to the question whether they like to go out on the land like their ancestors did? It could be, but taken into account that the land is obvious better than the community because the land is quite, peaceful and relaxing, this answer should be truthfully. In an emotional way young people are still tied to the land like their ancestors, but not physically. Owing to this physical detachment of young people from the land, young people are losing the traditional skills of hunting and surviving out on the land.

The community plays an important role in the lives of young people. But which role does Nunavut play and what does Nunavut mean to them? Nunavut is a newly formed territory of which the majority of the inhabitants are Inuit. Since 1999 they have an own territory with a public government. Many scholars argue that Nunavut is an important step. Inuit have more influence on their future and the government applies policies that are based on Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, Inuit traditional knowledge. Nunavut is seen by field experts as very important, but according to various field experts Nunavut has some growing pains and it takes more time to build a strong territory.

Young people can not really express in words what Nunavut means for them or how important Nunavut is. They say it is important but why it is important is hard to argue. Is it because outsiders and other people say it is important or do they really think that Nunavut is important. Young people say that they really feel more understood as Inuit and they say that Nunavut is 'Our Land'. But what is defined by 'our'? Is 'our' defined by all people who live in Nunavut, so the Inuit and people from other descent, or is Nunavut only defined by the Inuit that live in Nunavut. Not the total population consists of Inuit: it is only 85% of the total population. When thinking of 'our' then it should be thought of as 'every person in Nunavut'. When thinking of 'our' in the sense of belonging to Inuit then all other people besides Inuit are not represented. Still, the question whose land it really is.

Six students sketched a mental map of Nunavut to gain an insight in their knowledge of Nunavut. A mental map is actually a form of a representation, the mental image a person has of a specific area or place. Pond Inlet was situated on all maps, maybe thanks to the importance of the community or to pinpoint on the map where they live. Some special characteristics as the 60th and the 130th parallel were drawn as well by the majority. Three maps had quite detailed sketches of Baffin Island which could be more important or better known terrain. One map showed Greenland and one map showed the island

Sanikiluaq in the Hudson Bay. Maybe these persons have relatives in that area or see Nunavut as a larger element in the Arctic.

The fourth objective that was investigated was the use of representations by the government and representations chosen by young people. The government uses a flag and a coat of arms. The flag shows an inukshuk and the North Star as prominent objects, but the government does not use the inukshuk as a symbol for the people of Nunavut, and this is rather striking. They use an inukshuk as a stone marker and not as a symbol to represent people. Perhaps they could have used the inukshuk as a symbol to represent the people who have been in Nunavut or the Canadian Arctic and left their traces, although Inuit have been living there for over 4000 years, 'outsiders' have left and still do leave there prints as well.

The artefacts in the coat of arms refer to the traditional and contemporary way of life and the separate images like the North Star or the qulliq have symbolic meaning and need more explanation to understand the message that the governments tries to communicate with these symbols and artefacts.

Besides the flag and coat of arms the government has chosen three biological symbols to represent the Inuit of today and the past. These are the Ptarmigan, the official bird, Purple Saxifrage, an Arctic plant and the Canadian Inuit dog. The characteristics of these symbols refer to toughness, skills to adapt to the environment and a great stamina. To know these characteristics you will have to be familiar with these animals, because the symbols need more explanation. You have to be familiar with these symbols to know why these symbols are chosen to represent Inuit and Nunavut as a place for Inuit. These three biological symbols represent the traditionally skilled Inuit who lived on the land and who where dependent on these skills and the land. Inuit culture and identity in turn serve as a representative of Nunavut. Nunavut is represented by Inuit culture that is based on their culture as semi-nomadic people who on the land and where dependent on the land for subsistence.

Besides the symbols and representations of the government, young people were asked as well which symbol they would pick as representative of Nunavut. The results were very diverse, but the vast majority replied with an inukshuk, which is also the most prominent object of the flag.

The outcomes of the photo-elicitation exercise were surprising and did contradict the outcomes of the interview. According to young people the most representative photo of Nunavut was the hunter in traditional clothes on the ice butchering a seal. Many young adults said during the interviews that fur clothes are only used in winter or with special occasions such as celebrations. Second most representative of Nunavut was a photo of a landscape of sea and ice. Maybe it can be said that young people characterise Nunavut and Inuit using a fixed description of Inuit as people who were semi-nomadic in the

Arctic. The hunter is probably not chosen to demark a boundary between Inuit and Non-Inuit which could be the case. More truthfully is the explanation that young people probably see Nunavut as a territory for Inuit. Inuit is represented as a more traditional Inuk who hunts in fur clothes. The question could be asked whether this traditional life and the identity and culture that is attached to Nunavut and Inuit still covers the contents of identity and culture.

The inukshuk was chosen only once as most representing Nunavut during the photo-elicitation exercise. This contrasts with what was analysed during the interviews when the inukshuk was indisputably chosen as the best symbol for Nunavut. It is not sure whether this symbol is chosen because it relates to cultural heritage and indirectly to Nunavut, or whether this symbol is the most well-known symbol and used in the flag as well. The capital Iqaluit is said to be least representing Nunavut, because there are more influences of Southern Canada and it is less traditional than other communities.

This research has shown that the community is important and that young people are attached to this place. Still, it remains unclear what the influence is of the challenges people face towards the development of place attachment. Out of the results it can be said that people play a bigger role than place itself. Place is important, because of the people on that place: people who live and a place are given importance and indirectly place becomes important because these particular people live there and not elsewhere. Going out on the land is better than staying in the community: it is relaxing and quiet, but young people do not go out very often because of the mechanised travel. But who really wants to go out still can: walk or join other people.

After examining the symbols young people chose and the government uses it can be said that representations of Nunavut and Inuit are influenced by the image of life as semi-nomadic people.

Nunavut is important for Inuit. Young people feel more understood, but do not feel more Inuk. Nunavut has growing pains but the majority of the field experts are positive on what is happening now and what will happen in the future.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 LIST OF QUESTIONS

A. General questions

- 1) Name
- 2) Gender
- 3) Age
- 4) How many persons do live in your house? Do you have brothers/sisters?
-Are these people all family?
- 5) When thinking of Pond Inlet, which words do you think of? How would you describe Pond Inlet in 4 words?

B. Family history

- 1) How long do you live here?
- 2) Where have you lived before?
- 3) Where did your parents grow up?
- 4) Are you named after a relative? What is your Inuktitut name?

C. Place dependence

- 1) Where do you the most of your shopping?
- 2) Where do you meet your friends?
- 3) How do you spend your leisure time?
- 4) Do you miss facilities like a swimming pool for sports or leisure?
- 5) The facilities you use, are they good and do they give you enough?

D. Community

- 1) What is the community? Is the community only the people that live in it? Is it the buildings or is it both?
- 2) How important are the next items for the community of Pond Inlet?
 - people (family, friends, neighbours) 1 = very important
 - shops, cafes, etc. 2 = important
 - school 3 = neutral
 - clubs 4 = unimportant
 - my home 5 = very unimportant
 - the surrounding mountains, sea (the land)
- 3) What does the community mean to you?
- 4) Do you feel at home? Do you feel attached?
-Why
- 5) How often do you see or speak friends or people you know?
- 6) Do you like to live in this community?
- 7) Do you think you will you stay in Pond Inlet when you're older? What would be a reason to stay or to go?
- 8) Is there a difference between your elders and you when thinking of Pond Inlet?
- 9) Are there important places that remind you of your grandparents? Places you see and that are made very important because these place remind you of (deceased) family?
Special signs on the land or in Pond itself?

E. Action radius

- 1) Where did you go when you leave the community and for what reason?
-How long and how often?
- 2) And if you left the community, what did you feel? Sad, happy or excited?
- 3) Did you feel the same in the community as on the land?
- 4) How often do you leave the settlement to go onto the land and with whom?
- 5) Do you have spirits to take care of you?
- 6) Why do or want you to visit the closely areas of Pond Inlet?
- 7) What are according to you important things of the environment (the land, nature)? How would you call it? (the land, nature, environment, surroundings?)
- 8) Do you take care for the land and who else should?
- 9) Are there any concerns with the land that are important to the community of Pond Inlet?

F. Favourite Place

- 1) What is your favourite place? Why and where?
- 2) In your spare time or when you have time off, where do you go?
- 3) What places in and around Pond Inlet are important to you?
-Why? What do you do at those places?

G. Identity

- 1) How often do you hunt?
- 2) How often do you eat your own food that you took of the land like seal?
- 3) Do share your food with your kin? How often do you do this?
- 4) Do your parents tell many stories of earlier days?
-Do you enjoy this?
- 5) Do you learn things from these stories?
- 6) Do you learn a lot of your relatives?
- 7) Which games do you play?
- 8) Are there many traditional celebrations? And what do you think of that? Should there be more?
- 9) How do you describe your lifestyle? Is it traditional or modern? In what way is it different from your parents?
- 10) What kind of music do you listen to? Or do you make yourself?
- 11) Is it important for you to learn and speak Inuktitut?
- 12) Do you see people in Pond Inlet wearing traditional clothing? What do you think of that?
-And for what reasons?
- 13) How do you call yourself if talking to somebody you don't now?
 - Mittimalikimuit
 - Baffin Islander
 - Nunavummiut
 - Canadian

H. Meaning of Nunavut

- 1) What does Nunavut mean to you?
- 2) Do you now feel more understood and accepted now there is Nunavut?
- 3) If you could three items to symbolise Nunavut, which would you pick?
- 4) Do you feel more Inuk now then when Nunavut wasn't there?
- 5) Do you feel more of a connection between the Inuit?
- 6) Is it important for the Inuit to have Nunavut?

I Problems

- 1) There's alcohol and drug abuse and what are according to you the reasons for that?
- 2) Is that because people are bored or because of how they see the modern world and the traditional?
- 3) Is that specially related to young people?
- 4) How do you see the future?
- 5) What can be done about these problems?

APPENDIX 2 QUESTIONNAIRES

Name: _____
 Gender: _____
 Age: _____
 Length of residence: _____

Questionnaire 1

<i>Quotes on a scale of totally disagree (1) - totally agree (5)</i>	1	2	3	4	5
Place Identity					
Everything about Pond Inlet is a reflection of me.					
Pond Inlet says very little about who I am.					
I feel that I really can be myself in Pond Inlet.					
Pond Inlet reflects the type of person I am.					
Place Attachment					
I feel relaxed when I'm in Pond Inlet.					
I feel happiest when I'm in Pond Inlet.					
Pond Inlet is my favourite place to be.					
I really miss Pond Inlet when I'm away from it for too long					
Place Dependence					
Pond Inlet is the best place for doing the things that I enjoy most.					
For doing the things that I enjoy most, there's no other place that can compare to Pond Inlet.					
Pond Inlet is not a good place to do the things I most like to do.					
As far as I am concerned, there are better places to be than at Pond Inlet.					

Based on Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001

Questionnaire 2

<i>Quotes on a scale of totally disagree (1) - totally agree (5)</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Place Identity</i>					
I feel Pond Inlet is a part of me.					
Pond Inlet is very special to me.					
I identify strongly with Pond Inlet.					
I am very attached to Pond Inlet.					
Pond Inlet means a lot to me.					
<i>Place Dependence</i>					
Pond Inlet is the best place for what I like to do.					
No other place can compare to Pond Inlet.					
Doing what I do at Pond Inlet is more important to me than doing it in any other place.					
I wouldn't substitute any other area for doing the types of things I do at Pond Inlet.					
The things I do at Pond Inlet I would enjoy doing just as much at a similar site.					

Based on Williams and Vaske, 2003

Questionnaire 3

<i>Quotes on a scale of totally disagree (1) - totally agree (5)</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Place Identity</i>					
I would rather live in a different town. This is not the place for me.					
<i>Place Attachment</i>					
If I needed advice about something I could go to someone in my neighbourhood.					
I like being with other people in my neighbourhood.					
None of my friends live in my neighbourhood.					
My friends live close to my neighbourhood.					
When I want I can find someone to talk to in my neighbourhood.					
<i>Sense of Community</i>					
If the people in my neighbourhood were planning something, I'd rather think of it as something 'we' rather than 'they' were doing.					
<i>Place Dependence</i>					
There are things for people of my age to do in my neighbourhood.					
There is a place of kids my age to hang out in my neighbourhood.					
There is not much to do in my neighbourhood.					
In my neighbourhood there are things to get involved in.					
Life in this community is dull.					
All in all, life in this community will continue to improve more rapidly than in other communities in this country.					

Based on Pretty et al, 2003