PUVIRNITURMIUT RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL DYNAMICS

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Abstract

Puvirnituqmiut, the Inuit of Puvirnituq, like other Inuit of Northern Quebec (Nunavik), have lived through several decades of cultural transformation that included their conversion to Christianity. In Nunavik this transformation took place in the late 19th century while Inuit were still living in their traditional family camps spread along the coastline and later to established settlements in the 20th century. The adoption of Christianity and the move to settlements both lead to different forms of social dynamics as new religious and political institutions entered the scene. This study explores how Inuit accepted Christianity when it meant relinquishing their own cosmology that had originally been formed from Inuit identity. In order to find out how such changes happened, local Inuit who were involved with the religious and political institutions in the community were met and archives researched. The research involved looking at how Puvirnituqmiut identify themselves as Inuit today and also at how they govern their local institutions. Did Christianization change Inuit culture and the way Inuit identified themselves? For example Inuit had conducted their daily lives by following rules and regulations, which guided them, called allirusiit. These no longer exist in their original form but Inuit continue to be bound by basic rules of conduct such as in their sharing and prayer as examples. The findings show how Inuit core values, remain basically unchanged while processes of modernization, such as the partial secularization of the political institutions, have occurred. Puvirnituqmiut have witnessed tremendous change in the last decades, leading today a lifestyle where being Inuit entails making adaptations and accepting new ideas while remaining uniquely Inuit.

Puvirnituqmiut, les Inuit de Puvirnituq, comme les autres Inuit du nord du Québec (Nunavik) en général, ont vécu plusieurs décennies de changements culturels et leur conversion au christianisme en est un exemple. Au Nunavik cette conversion s’est opérée à la fin du 19e siècle alors que les Inuit vivaient encore en camps familiaux répartis le long de la côte. C’est au 20e siècle que la sédentarisation s’est effectuée. La transition au christianisme et la sédentarisation qui a suivi ont occasionné une nouvelle dynamique sociale alors que les institutions religieuses et politiques prenaient place. Cette étude explore la manière dont les Inuit ont accepté le christianisme qui exigeait l’aliénation de leur propre cosmologie, reflet de leur identité. Afin de comprendre comment ces changements se sont produits, des représentants d’institutions religieuses et politiques de la communauté de Puvirnituq ont été recontrés et des documents d’archives ont été consultés. L’approche retenue fut d’étudier comment les Puvirnituqmiut de nos jours s’identifient eux-mêmes comme Inuit et comment ils dirigent leurs institutions locales. Est-ce que le christianisme a changé la culture Inuit et la façon dont les Inuit s’identifient? Les résultats tendent à montrer que les valeurs à la base de la culture Inuit n’ont pas changé substantiellement au cours de ces changements. Par exemples, la vie quotidienne des Inuit était gouvernée par des règles de conduite qui les guidaient, appelées allirusiit. Ces dernières n’existent plus sous leurs formes originales mais les Inuit continuent d’être guidés par des règles de conduite, comme par exemple celles du partage et de la prière. En quelque sorte, les changements vécus au cours des dernières décennies et même au cours des derniers siècles auraient façonné un style de vie permettant de s’adapter aux nouvelles idées tout en restant singulièrement Inuit.

Uuttuutigliugu taitsumani Inuit allirusiqarpalaurmata inuusirminik tukimuaguutiminik, ullumi taitsumanititut allirusqajjaqunniraluarutsutik kisinili inuusirmini sulitukimuaguutitsanik aturput uuttuutigilugu ningiriaqarniq amma tuitsianiq. Qaujisarniup isulininga takuksautiksivuq imaak Inuit ilurrusingata tunngavinga surratsausimallaringigiga, piniarniliriusiit asijjivallianiqaliraluartilugit uppinnirk tunngaviquanqininsuirsimutik. Puvirniturmiut inujjussinga ilurrusinga amisuitigut asijjisimalirsuni Inuillu nutaanki tigusisimalirsutik kisinili inuutuinnnaunginnasutik pirrusingitta tunngavingit asirursimanggilat.
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INTRODUCTION

Across Northern Canada there reside a distinct group of people distributed across different regions and united under the name Inuit. They are one of the Aboriginal groups recognized in Canada as First Nations, Metis, or Inuit. Inuit reside in the Northwest and Nunavut Territories and in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador as well as Quebec. While they generally share the same language and culture they also distinguish from each other with respect to their geography, social, economic, cultural, history and their political arrangements within the provincial or territorial jurisdictions. Although Inuit are few in number compared to other populations they reside far from the main centers and occupy vast territories where not many outsiders come to live permanently. Inuit occupy 40% of Canada's landmass. The Aboriginal population is the fastest growing population in Canada and increased by 45% from 1996 to 2006. According to the 2006 Census of Canada the total Aboriginal population now numbers over one million, which represents 3.8 percent of the total Canadian population of over 31 million people. In Canada Inuit have a population of 50,480, which is 4.3% of the total number of Aboriginal people.

In this thesis, I focus on a population of Inuit who live in the Nunavik region in Northern Quebec. The thesis is concerned with the historical and contemporary dimension of Christianity in an Inuit community and its influence on local political dynamics. We will see how religious leadership gave prominent roles to those individuals who were known as the leaders of their family camps. We will take a look at whether religious belief impacts on contemporary community decisions. We will also look at how Inuit identity may or may not have been impacted by the intrusion of a religion not typical to Inuit culture. With these general goals in mind I begin by exploring the history of this community where I come from, and its religious and political dynamics.

Chapter 1 presents the context for the research in question and the conceptual framework that is the basis of my research, while chapter 2 presents the basis of what may be called

1 More information can be found in Koperqualuk (2010).
Inuit cosmology and some history of Inuit transition to Christianity as well as the concept of religion. Chapter 3 outlines the objectives of the research and methodology. Chapter 4 presents a brief history of Puvirnituq, the emergence of the Anglican and Pentecostal churches as well as local committees. And chapter 5 is a discussion about Inuit identity and the impact of Christianity in the perspective of the interviewees in the field. The last chapter of course brings the conclusion of the research project.

Nunavik shown in the province of Quebec. Puvirnituq is 1,500km from Montreal.
(Map: Makivik cartography)
CHAPTER 1. CONTEXT AND CONCEPTS

Research context

The blend of traditional life with the modern permeates the daily activities of productive members of Puvirnituq, one of the fourteen Inuit communities in Nunavik. The population consists of several families whose ancestors had earlier settled to be near the trading post set up there in 1952. Since then the population has grown to 1600 and consists mainly of Inuit and about 15% of non-Inuit who stay there for work. The community is situated in a geographic area of tundra, more or less flat land, and it lies on the northern side of the Puvirnituq River that flows to the not too distant Hudson Bay. It is a distant 1500 kilometres north of Montreal where Air Inuit flies in. No roads exist between the fourteen communities but Air Inuit provides transportation services between them and this Inuit-owned airline recently added a jet service with direct flights between Montreal and Puvirnituq that began in early 2010.

As with other Inuit communities, Puvirnituq has all the amenities that bring comfort to everyday living. Generators fueled by diesel oil heat homes and provide electricity. Running water is available to all and water delivery and waste disposal are done with trucks. Snow removal trucks are visible during winter. Such services are provided through a municipal office run by a municipal council, which is composed of locally elected Inuit. The growing communities recently had their roads paved such that motor vehicles circulate around town each day and children can be seen roller-blading on the streets in the summer. Paved roads have provided relief from the ever-present dust that existed during summers, the reason that one did not see clotheslines in the communities anymore. The Puvirnituq airstrip was extended in 2009 and brings faster air transport, and is convenient because the Inuulitsivik Hospital houses medical and social services for communities along the Hudson coast and brings patients to and from Montreal. The hospital’s board of directors is composed mainly of Inuit. Provincial government services such as social assistance and the provincial judicial system are also present, and an itinerant court sits regularly in the local Court House. Schooling for children reaches the
secondary level; there are two schools, one for the primary level students and the other for the secondary level students.

Puvirnituq in 2003 (Photo: L. Koperqualuk, 2003)

Puvirnituq’s coop store, which has its own committee as well, is a successful business and Puvirniturmiut (residents of Puvirnituq) are known to be proud of their coop. Puvirnituq is a busy and active community. Aside for being known for creating a strong coop, Puvirniturmiut are also known for their dissidence from the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement of 1975. Working as a summer student one summer, I recall signing against it with the rest of the population in the 1970s. The reason for the dissidence was straightforward: the Puvirniturmiut, along with Ivujivik and half the population of Salluit did not agree with the extinction of Aboriginal title and rights, especially land. While the reality of Ivujivik and Salluit have changed over
time, Puvirniturmiut today still say that they never ceded Aboriginal title and land to
the government.

There are two main Churches in Puvirnituq, the Anglican and Full Gospel. The
central church is the Anglican Church where marriages, baptisms of children,
confirmations and funeral services are held and Wednesday evening and Sunday
services and Sunday school are offered. The Full Gospel Church holds Sunday
services too and organizes Bible studies that people of either denomination participate
in. Interestingly, I cannot help but notice the emphasis on religious sentiment when I
spend time in Puvirnituq to visit or work, and in most parts of Nunavik too. Almost
everywhere I go, except perhaps where youth may gather, Inuit make references to
their religious beliefs. At a dinner one might speak of the last Bible conference they
went to, or the next one taking place. At the hospital one prays fervently for an ill
relative to be healed by God. In the airplane I sit beside someone who tells me about
how God’s word had touched her. At the municipality, during an interview, the mayor
shows me a passage in the New Testament. During a meeting with members of a
regional association, the leader speaks of the guidance that God gives her when she
has to speak publicly. The Inuit elders and other people attend the Anglican Church
services regularly. Elders lament the lack of the passing on of traditional and often
religious values to the youth and see this as the reason for social troubles. And,
anyone might ask me why I do not attend church services.

This does not mean that every person in the community is a practicing Christian; some
Puvirmiturmiut are not interested in going to church or speaking about God. But it
seems from initial observation that religious sentiment is quite present around the
community in general. Alongside this religious sentiment there exists a strong denial
of shamanism. While most in my generation and older had heard that angakkuit,
shamans, existed, it was impossible to hear or learn anything about Inuit angakkuit and
what they used to do. The subject was taboo and the only thing I remember being told
was that there were good and bad angakkuit.
On one hand, the denial of shamanism was a phenomenon I wanted to understand as I wondered whether this denial had a consequence on how Inuit construed their identity. On the other hand, I had been brought up by my grandfather who was an Anglican minister, and I had left the Inuit community at a young age, living with a Baptist family for two years. And my mother had convinced me during my teens that I had to ask God for forgiveness so that I may not be sent to the eternal fire. Then being away from the Inuit community for a large part of my life and later on living in the Republic of Guinea West Africa, a Muslim world, for four years, all of these experiences gradually brought me to look at the emphasis of religious belief in society and to question it. There is a gaping difference between the western society in which I live and the one I return to regularly when visiting my family or traveling to Inuit communities: in Montreal or Quebec City, non-Inuit friends or neighbors give no mention of their religious beliefs and of God’s impact on their personal lives; in Puvirnituq these seem to be commonplace.

In the following research, my questions are: as I perceive religious sentiment to be almost everywhere in Puvirnituq, how does it impact on the daily activities, on the decision-making processes of the local organizations and committees in which members of the Inuit community participate at the local and regional levels? With the preponderance of religious sentiment, I wonder whether religious values and beliefs influence the political instruments that Inuit run and whether one might observe some form of laicity. Secondly, how does Inuit religion express Inuit identity?

**Conceptual Framework**

**Research Findings**

Up to now I have not encountered any case studies that show how religious sentiment, policy or decision-making processes may be linked in an Inuit community. Dorais’ *Quaqtaq: Modernity and Identity in an Inuit Community* shows how modernity interacts with Inuit identity and how kindred groupings affected religious affiliation
that also had consequences on leadership dynamics. The founding of Quaqtaq by a number of kindred groupings had long-term effects on which kindred group belonged to the Anglican Church, who were the Inuit catechists and eventually who would become affiliated to the Full Gospel Church. It would be possible to see if Puvirnituq might have similar dynamics. Although Puvirnituq has a larger population, research on this aspect will be useful to bring in the historical and social context of the community. In any case, Quaqtaq showed how, "On the whole, the religion contributes much to the identity of Quaqtamiut." and "As a mode of social identity, [religion is] a locus where people can get together in the security of a well-known system of beliefs, practices and attitudes." (Dorais 1997: 79) It is this well-known system of beliefs, practices and attitudes that is referred to by "religion", or "religious beliefs and values" uppiniq, which generally means belief in Inuktitut, the Inuit language. I shall discuss the concept of "religion" below. Without a doubt it is spiritual life, encroached in the past by missionaries with the successful removal of the Inuit spiritual leaders, the shamans, that Inuit have eagerly taken charge of, thus demonstrating the significance of uppiniq in Inuit communities.

"[Uppiniq] is also a domain that despite the exogenous origin of Christianity is almost totally controlled by Inuit.” (Ibid.) To briefly mention one aspect of how Inuit have almost complete control over religion, the Anglican Diocese of the Arctic serves over 50 communities in the Northwest Territories, Nunavut and Nunavik; and there are over 30 ordained Inuit Anglican ministers and bishops.\(^2\) Paul Idlout of Nunavut was the first Inuk to become a suffragan\(^3\) Bishop in 1996 and in 2002, Andrew Ataguttaluk became the first diocesan Bishop of the Arctic. It may seem surprising to learn that the practices and rituals of shamanism no longer exist among Inuit. One may wonder why shamanism came to be diabolized by Inuit themselves and the dependence on angakkuit, shamans completely abandoned. They had been among the leaders of the Inuit and were the ones to which Inuit went for guidance, leadership, healing and communicating with the non-human spirit entities. Oftentimes they held quarrels

\(^2\) Information gleaned from the Diocese of the Arctic website: http://www.arctic.anglican.org/parishes

\(^3\) A Suffragan Bishop is like an assistant to the Diocesan Bishop.
between themselves and vied for popularity and held different powers. Some were respected, some less and yet others feared.

The role of shamans had both religious and political dimensions, especially in their vying for power of influence. But the dichotomy of religious and political leadership as we know it today did not exist during their time. Shamans were both spiritual and political leaders. After their time, and just before sedentarization, the family camp leaders were usually though not necessarily always, the eldest and best hunters of a family. Here was where the important decisions were made, by the leaders of the family camps, especially so during the period when Inuit had converted to Christianity. We will explore further how Inuit religious leaders emerged in the context of the nascent communities in the twentieth century when churches became solidly built, and explore the development of political leadership diverging from religious leadership.

**Anthropological/Cultural theories**

My research will touch on the political and the religious realms in the Inuit community and perhaps my background in political science might have lead to further studies in this field among the Inuit, but I believe these would have been more general in scope and would have provided little room for the “religious” aspect, which is often studied in a “cultural” context. Anthropology allows me a more focused aspect. Some anthropologists have recently discussed the importance of the concept of culture and its use, or lack thereof, in the field of political science. Chabal and Daloz ask why political scientists are so reluctant to take advantage of the insights “made available to them by other social sciences, like anthropology, which attempt to provide an interpretation of cultures.” (Chabal & Daloz 2006: 5). They point to some of what they believe to be weaknesses in political science theory and methods, such as the point that political science emerged from advanced industrial society that holds value in a liberal electoral democracy, and so necessarily holds an ethnocentric bias. For them, political scientists work with assumptions to confirm, for example that where there is political development with certain socio-economic conditions, the same socio-
economic conditions bring about the same outcome in another society. Chabal and Daloz assert that culture is not only one additional dimension to look at in political science, but that it is a fundamental aspect of social life, "the matrix within which we understand as political action takes place." (Ibid.: 21) They believe that the "interpretation of cultures" and "webs of significance" as per Geertz (2002) are very useful. Ignoring a cultural approach can generate misleading accounts of politics as in the example they give of African politics. (Ibid.: 29)

Historically, anthropology had emerged in the western world as a field of study into other cultures in the 16th century. It was born out of the ideological backdrop of the western world and its civilization and from it emerged an "evolutionary relation between civilization and its less developed forerunners.... In the process of representation, only one side of the we/they opposition became the anthropological object, precluding the systemic relations involved in the constitution of that object." (Friedman 1994: 5) This stream of thought lead to an evolutionism stemming from that age of exploration from Europe in the 16th century and later thinkers such as Durkheim and Mauss brought anthropology toward functionalism and eventually to structuralism through to the 1950s and 1960s. In the following decades anthropology developed and advanced its concepts and today includes numerous specialized fields of study such as the biological and cultural, economic and political, feminism and racism, philosophical, media arts as well as many more. (Peacock 2001: 10)

Anthropology had begun in America with interest and research into the political organization of different societies in the early 19th century (Vincent 1990: 35). As it became recognized as a profession, names of anthropologists came to be associated and thus linked with the political concerns and political organizations of the peoples they were studying. (Ibid.: 77) Often, anthropologists worked for colonial governments, but later, in the early 20th century, they began to be more concerned with the effects of change on indigenous people due to their interaction with other civilizations, to development and modernization. (Ibid.: 207) In this emergent field of
anthropological studies the fear of vanishing cultures, or "the vanishing primitive", (Firth 1951: 2) had western researchers writing monographs of other cultures to preserve them, of sorts.

The 1960s and 1970s included acculturation studies accompanied by concepts of adaptation and modernization, which can be found in the examples of Asen Balikci's and Willmott's 1968 articles in *Eskimo of the Canadian Arctic*. (Valentine & Vallee 1968) Willmott writes about Eskimo flexibility: "...in the areas of family organization, kinship terminology, community organization, and recreation. The implications of flexibility for the acculturation of the Eskimos to majority Canadian patterns will then be discussed, and the paper will conclude..." (Willmott 1968: 150) and he ends with: "But if this flexibility has led to domination of Eskimo society by various white agents, it may also abet the process of acculturation that the Eskimo is still undergoing." (Ibid.: 156). Not surprisingly, in summarizing his findings, Willmott found the Eskimo flexibility as generating "lack of rigidity and value associated with conventional ways of doing things." (Ibid.: 159) whatever the conventional way of doing things meant. The research undertaken on the Inuit during this period could be a study onto itself. It is worth mentioning the reaction of Inuit when researchers have come to the north to study them and when they have heard of the writings about them. Some general reactions I have heard have shown how Inuit think that researchers haven't got it and that they have produced lies. Other reactions have been to counter the "researcher" or "expert" position often held by non-Inuit about Inuit, whereby Inuit react by ironically stating themselves as the "research expert" of a field of research, which could be about their hunting practices, knowledge of the land and survival skills. The differing viewpoints show, to me, the schism between the Inuit worldview and that of the researchers of the past, no matter how the researchers' viewpoints appeared to be based on reason and complete objectivity.

The field of anthropology however is moving toward enlightened anthropological theory, so says Sahlins (1999) upon reviewing progressivist anthropological theory
and noting the tenacity of indigenous cultures in the 20th century. New ideas will be emerging in the new century while the old ideas of the 20th century will be left behind. Sahlins says:

Contrary to the inherited notions of progressive development, whether of the political left or right, the surviving victims of imperial capitalism neither became all alike nor just like us. (...) Across large parts of northern North America, even hunters and gatherers live, largely by hunting and gathering. The Eskimo are still there, and they are still Eskimo. Around the world the peoples give the lie to received theoretical oppositions between tradition and change, indigenous culture and modernity, townsfolk and tribesmen, and other clichés of the received anthropological wisdom. Reports of the death of indigenous cultures – as of the demise of anthropology – have been exaggerated. (Sahlins 1999: i)

Sahlins takes aim at the not too enlightening aspects of the Western worldview concerning indigenous cultures, for instance how the West construed of indigenous cultures as historyless. “As if they had no experience constructing their own mode of existence out of their dependency on peoples – not to mention imperious forces of nature – over which they had no control.” (Ibid.: ii) So when Europeans arrived to their world, they were pristine, isolated and aboriginal, and lost this purity when Europeans so roughly intruded on their pure and isolated existence. Sahlins examples of unenlightened anthropological theory are refreshing and coincide with other authors such as Friedman.

Friedman says global systems have long impacted on local cultures for there is a tendency to “continuous articulation between a local encompassment of the global in cultural terms, there is at the same time an encompassment of the local by the global in material terms.” (Friedman 1999: 12) In tune with Sahlins’s opinion on the history of western derived anthropological theory, Friedman’s Cultural Identity and Global Processes challenges the “notion that the world is ‘Westernized’, that it represents, in any sense, a homogenous field”; and he challenges the dichotomy created between tradition and modernity. (Ibid.: 12) Boas for example did not examine the unadulterated aspect of cultures, on how cultures have been infused with variety and
change; for Boas the study of culture was “a question of structure, of internal consistency”. (Ibid.: 13)

The term modernity is quite common in anthropological literature but what does it mean exactly? What does modernity entail? asks Knauff (2002: 1) who examines the concept of modernity as a problematic in today’s anthropology. As in unenlightened anthropological theory, the dichotomous relationship between modernity and tradition meant the relinquishment or transformation of customary practices to become modern as well as the “triumph” of Euro-American economic, social or cultural development. (Ibid.: 3) However, social theorists now look at ‘alternative’ modernities, he says, not just the political or economic progress of a society through what Knauff calls “the economic or political determinism of modernization and globalization”. Such determinism originates from empiricism. Instead, various social theorists “emphasize the interactive importance of cultural and material influences in the development of alternative modernities.” (Ibid.: 10) Knauff quotes Trouillot, who seems to influence his thinking: “Modernity is a geography of imagination that creates progress through the projection and management of alterity” (Ibid.: 18), and “Modernity always required an Other and Elsewhere.” (32) Various other authors’ views on modernity are discussed, for example Sahlins’s who states that ‘indigenous versions of modernity are basically self-conscious recapitulation and extensions of indigenous culture”, and that sounds plausible enough. But Dirlik criticizes this view, saying it is an attempt to relativize modernity “while downplaying if not ignoring the power and pragmatics of Euro-American capitalism – the larger structures of economic, political, and social as well as cultural power that have underlain it.” (Ibid.: 21). Knauff continues to examine other authors such as Friedman, who expands the notion of modernity, and Donham, who brings in an understanding of capitalist economy and history, and analyzes how development discourse defines “developed” and “undeveloped” persons. Knauff mentions Karp’s similar analysis of “official promulgations and media reports” that show how ideologies of development influence “emergent dimensions of personhood”. (Ibid.: 28)
Knauft’s critical approach demonstrates the usefulness of alternative modernity as a concept to think with. An “undifferentiated” modernity can no longer be held today, with people being more and more mobile, being part of wage labour and taking part in resistances in the contemporary world. In his own work, he demonstrates how the Gebusi’s openness to the ideologies of material and moral development “subordinate them to externally introduced institutions – including those associated with fundamental Christianity.” (Ibid.: 29) His definition of modernity is: “Modernity can be defined as the images and institutions associated with Western-style progress and development in a contemporary world”. (Ibid.: 18) It has as its basis the idea of Western progress as he tries to explain the way so-called modernity becomes expressed in non-Western ways, and one that incorporates a strong cultural and ideological dimension. (Ibid.: 17) And if modernity is an ideology of value, he says, then “they are not simply our own”, meaning just an ideology of the western world. The fact is modernity can be expressed in a multitude of alternative places and times. (Ibid.: 32) So, anthropologists can study how and why people engage “images of progress so forcefully, and how and why they associate these so consistently with manufactured commodities and special kinds of economic and institutional development.” (Ibid.: 33)

Friedman (2004) explains how the theory of culture, having its origins in the West has a close relationship to modernity, which in turn is related to western identity. Up to the mid-1970s for example the trend in cultural theory was materialist and developmentalist, believing that the modern identity inevitably came with the progress of material conditions. Friedman argues that this perspective has been changing since the 1980s to one in which the West is experiencing a decline of modernism. (Friedman 2004: 27) This decline of modernism, to Friedman, is accompanied by a decline in the confidence in the future (the progressed and modern future), which accordingly has been replaced by a return to cultural sources. Hence the reappearance of a trend, like a return of the interest in Celtic origins of French people in France, or regional
identities, and in particular the resurgence of indigenous identities and their claims over cultural and political rights. (Ibid.: 31)

The indigenization of modernity or alternative modernity is becoming a current way of understanding how indigenous peoples’ cultures have prevailed rather than having disappeared once they would have modernized, as many had feared. Sahlins stated, “Local societies of the Third and Fourth Worlds do attempt to organize the irresistible forces of the world-system according to their own system of the world - in various forms and with varying success...” (Sahlins 1999: v) Sahlins postulates that indigenous people, such as Maori, Inuit, Tibetans and so on, in speaking of their culture, set in the background of “national and international threats to their existence”, create self-consciousness that demands that they have a space in this world. “Rather than a refusal of the commodities and relations of the world-system, this more often means what the Enga sang about, a desire to indigenize them. The project is the indigenization of modernity.” (Ibid.: x) What Friedman and Sahlins are saying seems, to me, to underlie the emergence of Inuit Anglican ministers, Pentecostal leaders, the desire for political autonomy expressed in the 1970s through the cooperative movement in Nunavik and eventually through Makivik Corporation, the creation of Nunavut in Canada in 1999 after 20 years of negotiations, the return of Inuit midwives in Puvirnituq, the integration of modernity by the Inuit of Quahtaq (Dorais 1997), Inuit country and rock singers seen through the very northern and very Inuit music festivals, the blend of the Scottish and Inuit in their blood and music, and the list could go on and on.

The idea of indigenization of modernity or alternative modernity in anthropology may be a relatively recent one but Inuit of Puvirnituq were exercising it well before its recognition as a concept. In any case it is this position that I find Inuit to be in, an indigenization project that is experienced around the world by other indigenous groups. (Friedman 2004: 32)
At the same time, this indigenization project has its impact on anthropology so that anthropologists question their own role as anthropologists. In the past, Friedman states, anthropologists could depend on their ‘ethnographic authority’, but this authority has become largely questioned due to indigenous peoples’ movement, the expression of their voices in claiming their identities and their rights. (Ibid.: 37). Nevertheless, according to Friedman, the anthropologists “se retranchent alors derrière les différentes versions du ‘constructionnisme’ et de ‘l’inventionnisme’ qui cherchent à prouver l’inauthenticité des mouvements autochtones, réaffirmant ainsi leur autorité ethnographique.” (Ibid.) I must say that I have yet to read the works of these types of anthropologists (for example, Adam Kuper: “The Return of the Native”, in *Current Anthropology*, 44(3), 2003), but this argument is really meant to show one particular movement in anthropology among others, which Friedman discusses in his paper “Culture et politique de la culture.” What he is saying is, that in all the debates on the use and the interpretation of the notion of culture, between those who reject the notion of culture in other specialized fields (such as political science), and those who aim to redefine it as a contestation or a ‘hybridity’; the political is an issue. (Ibid.: 39)

Yet another aspect of enlightened anthropological theory lies within practice theory as explained by Sherry B. Ortner. Ortner examines the concepts of agency and power within recent anthropological studies. In her discussion of the notion of agency, an acting subject’s will so to speak, is not only the western notion of the individual “who can triumph over their context through sheer will, and that economy, culture and society are aggregate products of individual action and intention.” (Ortner 2006: 131) Such a conception results in oversights of historical processes. She explains agency as a concept that falls outside the parameters of Western ideologies of individualism and capitalist determinism; for her it is a culturally constructed concept. Agency carries two fields of meaning so that individuals are one, acting subjects who have intentionality and pursue projects, and two, who deal with the presence of power and inequality in social life, acting within relations of asymmetry and force. (Ibid.: 139) Agency and power are linked. Further, various levels of power can be present so that
the acting subject deals with internal relationships of power within their own structures of inequality as well as external relationships of power. (Ibid.: 147) While this is so, more fundamental to the concept of agency are “intentions, purposes, and desires formulated in terms of culturally established “projects.” (Ibid.: 144) Cultural projects, individual projects, intentioned projects are those that are disrupted and disallowed to subordinates, as in the example she gives of girls’ disability to act with power in Grimms’ fairy tales – such disruption allows the powerful to maintain power and enables them to achieve their projects. But it is not only an agency of projects for those in power but also an agency of projects “that the less powerful seek to nourish and protect by creating or protecting sites, literally or metaphorically, “on the margins of power.” (Ibid.: 144)

Ortner’s concept of agency with its two fields of meaning, differentiated between agency as a form of power, and an agency of (cultural) projects, is useful. On one hand the pursuit of projects can entail power and subordination of others, and on another those subordinated may never be fully drained of their agency and may express their projects through different layers or forms of resistance. Both have their own powers and projects, and so for Ortner both “domination and resistance are always in the service of projects, of being allowed or empowered to pursue culturally meaningful goals and ends, whether for good or for ill.” (Ibid.: 153) Ortner’s conception of agency stands to be useful within my own field of study, in gaining an understanding of acting Inuit in the integration of Christianity into Inuit society.

**Individualism and Holism**

Both the notions of individualism and holism deserve some attention here, since they will be important to keep in mind during the research project. I lean toward Friedman’s proposition on the decline of modernity, and I drew attention to alternative modernity as an important and useful concept to think with in anthropological studies. Dorais depicts the interaction between modernity and identity among the Inuit in Quaqtaq, *i.e.* the inclusion of Quaqtamiut into labour, economic, political, and cultural
institutions of the contemporary mainstream society, using the notion of modernity with guidance from Giddens’ definition. Modernity, he says, has brought on individualism, and so as the world’s peoples become more “modern” the more individualism would affect changes “putting stress on both collective harmony and unity between the self and the environment...” (Dorais 1997: 4) Let us examine individualism a little further by looking at another author’s understanding of the origin of modern individualism and its difference from collective society.

Differing views exist on the origin of modern individualism but Dumont considers it to have begun with ancient philosophy and the first Christians, existing not as the individualism as we understand it today, but it took centuries of transformation before becoming the modern individualism of the present West. (Dumont 1986: 24) Dumont explains this transformation through some steps that eventually prove to him how the outwardly individual of the first Christians became the modern, inwardly individual to which the whole world would conform (in the western perspective). (Ibid.: 32) Christianity has been quite central to this transformation.

Dumont’s discussion of modern individualism presents a view of the difference between societies of individualistic bent and those of holistic tendencies. This difference shows up when he mentions the necessity of using the holistic approach when confronting a foreign society, when he says of American and British anthropologists who “for all the inclination toward individualism they derive from their culture, have been unable to do quite without the sociology of Durkheim and his nephew Marcel Mauss.” (Ibid.: 2) Scubla refers to this from his readings on Comte’s writings indicating that all civilizations have cultic origins, “La culture, au sens ethnologique du terme, est une extension du culte et des obligations rituelles.” (Scubla 2003: 103) Religion was understood by Comte to be the source of collective life, of culture.
I would here like to mention how individualism is defined not only in terms of modern individualism, for if Inuit are not modern individualists they do carry their own sort of individualism. It shows up, for one, in the way Inuit bring up their children. Some anthropologists have written that Inuit child-rearing practices are permissive of young children’s behaviours, trusting in their capacity to later gain *isuma*, their intelligence or reason, to be able to discern appropriate behaviour as they mature. (Briggs 1970)

We call this matured person *isummaniq*, someone whose intelligence or reason has come to him or her from the maturing process. Hunting and trapping people, Brody asserts, must be able to make independent decisions, vest authority in themselves, move freely of their own accord, and have trust in their knowledge, to make sure that they and their family survive. Individual Inuit learn to rely on their *isuma* at an early age, but that has perhaps changed as a consequence of modernity as children attend western schools and become educated in modern ways. Perhaps the former way of bringing up a child is less practiced now than in the past. The Inuit type of individualism is what Brody calls *egalitarian individualism*, which “is at the heart of social integrity and well-being.” (Brody 1987: 133) So while Inuit could be said to be a holistic society where the collectivity takes precedence over the individual, as affirmed by Brody, and there is much literature in the area of traditional Inuit justice that proves this point, Inuit can be said to be individualist in that they respect the autonomy of the individual while still subscribing to the importance of the collectivity.

Within the perspective of the origins of modern individualism, Inuit society can be considered to be a traditional, holistic society compared to the western modern society. Saying this, I feel somewhat as if I was speaking from a western perspective and this sounds much too categorical coming from an Inuk perspective. For even in the western world the category of modern individualism does not seem to apply strictly to all of western society. Fundamentalist Christians, fundamentalist Mormons and others’ social practices seem to me to show holistic tendencies. I bring caution into such categorizations, the idea is not necessarily to place Inuit or the western world into strict categorizations or generalizations. Nevertheless, Dumont defines holism as the
“ideology that valorizes the whole and neglects or subordinates the human individual.” (Dumont 1986: 279) A questioning of how the integration of Christian religious beliefs and values influence political and social life could be one means of exploring this holistic aspect of Inuit society. It will be interesting to explore how Inuit society’s contemporary modernity might now express individualism and how Christian ideology may have impacted on the notion of the person. One could also examine some of the fundamental values attributed to modern individualism such as equality and human rights, the rights of the individual and see how these might be integrated into Inuit society. How do Inuit react to the rights of women, or homosexuals for example, or on incarceration? If modern individualism places fundamental value in the individual, with the attendant notions of equality and human rights that flow from it, what of holistic values in an Inuit community? Are these religious? How are individual rights played out in the Inuit community?

Take a look at the participation of Inuit leaders, such as that of a long time politician and a Member of the Nunavut Legislature. This particular politician participated in a religious event like the 2004 conference organized by Promise Keepers Canada in Arviat. The conference theme was to teach males “how to be a man”. According to the journalist who wrote about the event in Nunatsiaq News⁴, support was being extended to the politician’s “work to exempt Nunavut from any future Supreme Court decision supporting same-sex marriages.” The position of an Inuk politician on same-sex marriage is interesting and it would seem that the opposition to same-sex marriage derives from the religious teachings, and that the trend would be to follow these teachings up to the political level. The politician is known for his affiliation with fundamentalist Christianity. On top of this is the fact that homosexuality is not known to have existed in Inuit society before Inuit became Christians. Perhaps another form of sexuality existed but not one that could be called homosexuality. So it begs the question, how did homosexuality appear in Inuit society? We may be surprised at the answers, assuming the existence of gay Inuit however invisible they may appear in the

imagination of some. I am not set out to examine how homosexuality (as it is known today) was treated by Inuit in the past, it is not the main theme of my research but it is out of curiosity, a way of asking whether the transition to Christianity influenced the way a person defines himself in Inuit society.
CHAPTER 2. INUIT COSMOLOGY, TRANSITION TO CHRISTIANITY, AND THE CONCEPT OF RELIGION

In this section I wish to discuss various concepts in Inuit spirituality, as well as give an overview of the studies that have been done on the Inuit system of belief. Structured research has really only begun in the 1960s on the Inuit of Nunavik, though research related to economy or economic potential had begun earlier. (Dorais 1984) Anthropological studies related to Inuit belief systems are described by Laugrand as having actually begun in the early 1970s, and this after having been neglected and virtually ignored decades after institutes and departments dedicated to northern studies had been established in southern Quebec. (Laugrand 1997: 6)

Shamanism

Knud Rasmussen is considered to be among the first observers from the outside to have gathered reliable ethnographic information on the Inuit and their traditions when he voyaged to Inuit regions across the Arctic from Greenland to Alaska. His fieldwork conducted on expeditions that occurred from 1912 to 1933 over a period of 20 years included ethnographic material on the angakkuit, shamans, and their practices as well as on Inuit cosmology and so his work has contributed much to further studies in the Inuit belief system. (Rasmussen 1976 (1929)) Other scholars such as Franz Boas, Sven Frederiksen as well as a few missionaries also provided interesting data on shamanism but this information often remains of a fragmentary nature. Much later, a new generation of scholars, notably anthropologists, collected new material in different areas. Although Saladin d’Anglure had initially begun fieldwork in Nunavik among the Northern Quebec Inuit, his further research brought him to Igloolik where Inuit myths, taboos and symbolism intrigued him as they may have intrigued Rasmussen 50 years before. In 1975 Saladin d’Anglure, attempted to answer, “Comment la société inuit a-t-elle pensé ses rapports sociaux et ses rapports avec l’environnement naturel à travers les systèmes symboliques qu’elle a construits?”
(Saladin d'Anglure 1975: 62). Such a question meant researching subjects such as Inuit symbolism, social constructs of rites, beliefs, human life, birth and rebirth, and a “third sex” and how these were interpreted within the norms of Inuit society. One of Saladin d'Anglure’s first publications on Inuit symbolism is “Iqallijuq, ou les reminiscences d’une âme-nom Inuit”, which relates to naming and the Inuit life cycle as experienced by an old woman named Iqallijuq. Iqallijuq remembered Knud Rasmussen having been in Igloolik in the early 1920s. (Saladin d’Anglure 1977)

Later there was “Ijiqqat: voyage au pays de l’invisible inuit” in 1981 that shows the Inuit belief in invisible beings and shamanism. Saladin d’Anglure has published further research on themes in Inuit cosmology, shamanism and the beginning of Christianity, which had remained largely unexplored. We learn through further research by Rose Dufour about the phenomenon of sipiniq, a child changing sex after having been born, among the Iglulimmiut, and realize the importance of the dimension of what these two above-mentioned researchers have called a “third sex” in Inuit society as it was before contact with missionaries. Such a theoretical notion is interesting but there is no original Inuktitut term to name it. These research beginnings document some very important information regarding Inuit symbols that inform us of the way Inuit viewed their world before contact with foreigners. In Nunavik today, one can still witness the presence of the belief system such as in the naming of a child after someone who has died, or after someone who would like to have a sauniq, a child named after him or her. The tuurngait, spirits on the land, and even the phenomenon of sipiniq, are good examples of what Inuit continue to believe in a modern context.

Rarely though do we meet an Inuk6 who knows much about Inuit shamanism. In Nunavik, my experience has shown the reticence of elders to even mention angakkuit, shamans, having learned the fear of God and of an eternal fire that effectively pushed shamans and shamanism into a realm of evil. Fortunately, however late research into Inuit belief systems may have started, interviews conducted with Inuit elders have

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5 An excellent overview of Rasmussen’s work is given in detail in Études/Inuit/Studies vol. 12, nos 1-2, 1988.
6 Inuk is the singular of Inuit
revealed a lot about shamanism in the 1990s. Nunavut Elders such as Mariano and Tulimaaq Aupilaarjuk from Kangiqsquitoq, Lucassie Nutaraaluk of Kinngait (originally from the area of Inukjuak/Puvirnituq in Nunavik), Célestin Iqijjut of the Kivalliq or Igluligaarjuk region, and Rose Iqallijuq and Johanasi Ujarak as well as Isidore Ijituq and Michel Kupaaq of Igloolik, but also Ollie Itinnuaq, Luke Anautalik, Felix Kopak, Josie Angutinnngurniq, Victor Tungilik and Job Muqunnik from the Kivalliq region; all who had extensive knowledge of shamanism. They described shamanism and shamanistic rituals in many books published by the Nunavut Arctic College. Thematic interviews that were held in 1972 by Saladin d’Anglure and in 1998 in the framework of a course on Inuit Studies at the Nunavut Arctic College were published in 2001. (Aupilaarjuk et al. 2001) Elders describe the role of the shamans, the spiritual beliefs of the Inuit, the rituals of qinnganiq, shouted prayer, sakaniq, a ritual of healing and escape of hunger, qilaniq, a divination ritual, ilisiirsiniq, hexing, and of tuurngait as spirit helpers who had a language of their own, and more; these are revealing of the power of the shaman.

These are part of the Inuit cosmology before Christianity, the belief of silaup inua, the spirit or the person of the sky; taqqiup inua, the person of the moon; nuliajuq or takannaaluk, who also could be known as Sedna; and tarriasuit and ijirait, invisible beings that can appear; and several other Inuit beliefs further described by the elders. Rasmussen also describes these beliefs at length. The publication of Cosmology and Shamanism directed by Saladin d’Anglure contains a glossary of Inuit terminology used throughout. What was also quite interesting in this publication were the interviews done by a student probing fellow students of Nunavut Arctic College on how they felt while they were learning of shamanism from the elders they were interviewing. It was very informative of the fear that some students felt about the possible presence of spirits. Most attitudes expressed by students about shamanism were tinged with fear, (Kootoo, in Aupilaarjuk et al. 2001) perhaps stemming from the past demonization of shamanism by missionaries. In other books such as in The Transition to Christianity (1999), Dreams and dreams interpretations (2001), Inuit
Qaujimajatuqangit: Shamanism and Reintegrating Wrongdoers into the Community (2002), Surviving in Different Worlds: Transferring Inuit Traditions from Elders to Youth (2007), Hardships of the Past: Recollections of Arviat Elders (2010), many elders share their experiences and views on shamanism but they never ask it to come back, except eventually for its good parts.

The question of a return to Shamanism

In Nunavut like in Nunavik, elders always make sure it was understood that they are Christians, that the fact they were speaking of shamanism did not mean they were condoning it. They also insisted that anyone who wished to become a shaman could not just become a shaman – there was a lot to learn and a lot of preparation involved, and a person had to be careful since becoming a shaman could be dangerous if one was the wrong type of person. A shaman who used his or her powers for selfish reasons was not considered a good shaman.

Of note in Cosmology and Shamanism is Saladin d’Anglure’s introduction stating that a return to shamanism could be a solution to reduce suicide among youth and to help reduce the various other social problems too. He proposes that, “Perhaps it is because the Inuit have been losing their value system, their ideology, their traditional religion, and their last shamans.” (Aupilaarjuk et al. 2001: 2), to answer why there have been a number of increasing social problems. Likening the disappearance of Inuit shamans to a tragedy, he asks the reader to consider a revival of shamanism today. (Ibid.: 3) A worthy point to consider and pay attention to is what the Inuit reaction would be to that suggestion. During the courses of the Inuit Studies program given at the Nunavut Arctic College in 1998 where the interviews on shamanism were done, it was evident in the discussions about the return of shamanism that some were not in agreement while others felt that it would be useful. The elders held more cautious attitudes rather than fear, as expressed by Aupilaarjuk: “If you are not knowledgeable and wise, you

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7 As repeated by a former shaman, in Cosmology and Shamanism and in The Transition to Christianity.
are liable to break the traditional laws. If shamanism is brought back in the future, you will have to be very wise. You need to learn all about the things you are allowed to do and what you are not allowed to do.” (Ibid.: 84). This careful reaction is quite always shared among the elders but not always among the youth.

The younger generations though, those with Christian upbringing, may disagree with such a comeback. With some Inuit involved in church leadership in both Anglican and Pentecostal churches, it is hard to tell whether shamanism would gain respectability since Inuit have been educated in their homes about it coming from Satan. But one young man has bypassed these fears and publicly expressed his desire of becoming a shaman. A documentary film Le Voyage de Charlie, produced by Saladin d’Anglure in 2002, shows Charlie Nowkawalk of Inukjuak as the principal character who goes on a voyage to Peru to meet with a shaman of the Shipibo Indians there. There in Peru he learns a little about the art of a shaman of that country and returns home to hopefully become a shaman. Some in his community have scoffed at the idea or laughed about his desire to become a shaman. In the film, we see that he too wishes to see a return of shamanism in hopes of improving the social problems prevalent in the north that he witnesses on a daily basis as a social worker. But much resistance to the idea remains in the community and he must wait for his community’s blessing.⁸

Transition to Christianity

Perhaps such cautiousness and fear is understandable since the transition to Christianity had a great impact on Inuit society, and at the same time Inuit elders said that shamanism cannot just happen, that it takes much time to prepare. The Inuit perspective was discussed in interviews on shamanism and conversion to Anglicanism or Catholicism with Victor Tungilik and Rachel Uyarasuk of Naujaat. (Tungilik and Uyarasuk 1999) An intriguing point was that Inuit were not passive bystanders in the conversion to Christianity but that they actively participated in converting their fellow Inuit as well. (Ibid.: 1) These elders’ perspective of the acceptance of Christianity into

⁸ Personal communication.
Inuit society is a positive one for Inuit, since for them, God is the all-powerful spirit who is greater even than tuurngait or other spirits that Inuit believed in (and still do). Qupirruualuk of Puvirnituq says something similar, “I have known people praying since I was a small boy, having heard of those praying to God and Jesus since I can remember. And hearing that God is all-powerful and that He has created all. If God was not the Creator it is clear that I would not have believed in His existence and it is God that brings all about and He brings wisdom as the foundation of the world.” (Pelly 1998)

This Inuit perspective seemed contrary to the point of view of Christianity being forced upon the Inuit, while Tungilik and Uyarasuk conceded having become Catholic or Anglican and that they were quite satisfied up to today, with no regrets. It is difficult to entirely agree with this viewpoint because the missionaries’ goals were achieved by appealing to a universal need to do what was right, and if Inuit were being told that there was something higher and greater than any other, they surely must have felt compelled to turn to this higher God as Tungilik was. As Tungilik said: “If I had not understood that there was someone stronger and more powerful than my tuurngait, I would have continued to use them. (...) I was also fearful that I was going to be thrown into the great fire. Because of that, I let go of my tuurngait.” (Tungilik and Uyarasuk: 11)

This is not to ignore that conversion had positive impacts, as told by Uyarasuk (Ibid.: 15). In converting, Inuit no longer had to follow pittailiniit, rules against specific actions, or tirigusiit, which could indeed be rigorous for certain individuals but especially women. Women felt a sense of liberation at that time since they had been subject to many pittailiniit during their pregnancies, delivery of their babies, and menstruations, and other parts of their lives. Atuat of Arctic Bay who was of marrying age when the first missionary arrived in Igloolik said she knew only the Inuit world before her marriage. “For example, in summer I couldn’t eat any raw meat. When my husband killed a caribou, I didn’t dare to eat any of the fresh meat. If I wanted to eat, I
had to go outside and build a fire and either boil or fry the meat.... Women who were menstruating were not allowed to go visiting; we had to stay home until it was over. Then we could go out again. There were so many rules and so much work.” She also said her husband had known shamans and that “When the minister came we believed in God right away because he explained it all very clearly and well. So we tried to forget the old ways. I don’t know [how the shamans felt about it]... but shamanism died out because of religion.”. (Cowan 1976: 21)

In North Baffin, Inuit there practiced a ritual during their transition to Christianity based on breaking from their past. Professor Frédéric Laugrand’s paper “Le Siqqitiq, renouvellement religieux et premier rituel de conversion chez les Inuit du nord de la Terre de Baffin.”, describes this ritual. Inuit of North Baffin who, at the moment of their conversion to Christianity, consumed meat normally not allowed to be eaten, such as pieces of liver or the heart of caribou. Inuit of Baffin called this ritual siqqitiq. (Laugrand 1997: 107) An elder from Baffin was quoted as saying,

Shamans (angakkuit) were losing their power through siqqitiq. Before Christianity they couldn’t eat certain things from certain animals (uumajuit), but after eating they can now do anything they want to. (...) Back then I went through siqqitiq too. Somebody went bearded seal hunting. The man came back with a seal. He brought us heart (uummati), they cut it into pieces. Those people who wanted to go through siqqitiq confessed what they did and what they didn’t like from the past (qaqialiq). Some even cried while they were confessing. Then, these people were given cut meat. (Ibid)

The notion of siqqitiq is interesting in that it is an Inuit concept, used by Inuit themselves to accept Christianity. Although it was a ritual to break from the past, it was also based on the Inuit way of using meat, usually prohibited. In Nunavik, Inuppaq of Inukjuak was taped in an interview by anthropologist Asen Balikci in 1958 and he said, “They (there) used to be shamans, and Mister Peck whom you have not seen was the first ajuqirtuiji (catechist or church minister), and only I have seen him. His inuquti, flock, was made up of believers and non-believers.” He adds that while Inuit used to have their allirusiit and tirigusuusiit, prohibitions and rules of conduct, “they did so out of ignorance, I have learned these things from the first ajuqirtuiji
Mister Peck. My father and mother spoke to me of these things. I was a helper (working) for that first ajugirtuiji. Aaqitajuut, Inuit have been corrected, (literally, “are now on the right path after having been in the wrong”), they no longer have allirusiit, prohibitions or things that they were forbidden to do, allisuugijagunnaitut they no longer have things that they are forbidden to do; and animals and different things should not have rules of conduct tirinnautiqartusaunngilat. This is what our God tells us.” Inuppaq mentioned the existence of tirigusuusiit, rules touching upon food and allitut, rules of conduct before Christianity.

Nowadays no rules seem to exist regarding food and any food can be eaten at any time whereas before, many kinds of rules existed surrounding parts of food and times for eating or not eating specific foods. Food from land animals could not be eaten at the same time as food from sea mammals and there were specific ways of bringing food into one’s abode, depending on its origin whether land or sea. Women in particular were inclined to have rules pressed upon them regarding what foods they were allowed or not allowed to eat during certain periods of time. These rules were related to their periodic cycle, pregnancy and birth of child. Even men had to abide by specific rules regarding food, especially in the way it related to their ability to be able to catch an animal during a hunt. When a relative died, the grieving family could not eat a specific part of a certain animal for a number of days, which could be something like six days. When the six days ended they visited the grave bringing a type of food their loved one would have liked and ate their meal by the grave as if with their loved one. When Inuit converted to Christianity, they stopped their practices of tirigusuusiit. (Inukpuk 1958) The only type of rule observed by Inuit nowadays is of how the different animal parts are shared among men, women, children and elders although even this practice has eroded and fewer people distribute food in this particular way.

Inuppaq mentioned that he was a little boy when Peck arrived in Qilalugarsiuvik Little Whale River when his mother and father took Peck in. He would later accompany Peck as he went to visit Inuit families (Ibid.), during the period from 1878 to 1885.
Religion

The sociological importance of the concept of religion goes back a long way in the field of sociology. Scubla, as mentioned earlier, wrote of religion as being a source of culture and that it is the cohesive bind that keeps society together. Like with other authors, his definition of religion is backed by that of Durkheim, who defined religion as “a system of prohibitions and collective rituals, implying a separation between the sacred and the profane, which under diverse forms seem to have a universal meaning.” (Scubla 2003: 36) Durkheim believed that social cohesion was maintained in a society through the sharing of similar beliefs and values and by following rituals that kept these beliefs and values strong through communal actions. (McGee & Warms 2000: 94) Durkheim’s influence continued to be important into the 1950s as can be seen in Firth (1951), who wrote how a system of religious belief and ritual was a strong element in social organization. For Firth, religion was a dominant theme of society that deserved attention from anthropology, due to questions that arose within him about religion’s invocations of absolute truth and morality, things that really cannot be proven through empirical studies. (Firth 1951: 226) He said: “A system of religious belief, in view of the character of authority, already mentioned, which it accrues itself, is peculiarly prone to defend itself against attack.” (Ibid) Firth raises an interesting point, which can perhaps be seen in the example of Inuit belief in tuurngait (spirits, formerly auxiliary spirits of shamans). When Inuit had pushed away their tuurngait and decided to no longer have contact with them, they did not and perhaps could not make them disappear completely, and so the tuurngait are still out there roaming the tundra. However, Durkheim’s approach to the understanding of religion was a means of understanding how society evolves from primitive to civilized—the evolutionary mode in cultural anthropology of his time that is quite “passé”.

The interpretative approach of Geertz wrote of religion as a cultural system and describes it as a way for adherents to understand their world and as a way for guiding their actions. His definition of religion says that it is a system of symbols, which act
to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men. And “formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.” (Geertz 2002: 63) Geertz’s work among the Balinese people showed his method of interpreting symbols in their everyday life to explore how the Balinese themselves lived and understood the world around them. In doing so he made efforts to learn what the symbols of Balinese society were as a way to get to the bottom of their unique reality, which could very well be different from his own reality of life. This interpretative approach was the inspiration for early symbolic research among the Inuit, but also for the fact that Geertz was perhaps the first to develop a reflexive attitude toward the subject of his research. One can refer to Saladin d’Anglure’s 1977 “Iqallijuq, ou les reminiscences d’une ame-nom Inuit” as an example of research into Inuit symbols.

Notwithstanding the significance of these definitions proposed by the functionalist and interpretative approaches in anthropology, the concept of religion as discussed here is essentially part of a western ideology. As such, it is a term that I will not be referring to when speaking of the Inuit system of belief. Here I choose to use the term Inuit cosmology to denote the Inuit belief system, especially that of the past shamanistic belief. Although Inuit of Nunavik are participating in the Christian ideology through their acceptance of it in the early 20th century, one may be able to say that the Inuit belief system still carries with it components from the past. Another point about the concept of religion is that within the context of globalization and the privatization of religion in the West, religion has fallen into the private domain and no longer has the larger public influence it used to have. (Beyer 1990: 374) As might be observed in Inuit society, this may not be the case where Inuit cosmology may actually hold a public influence, something we will examine further below.
**Animism**

I wish to add here a discussion on the concept of animism, a concept that has recently metamorphosed from Tailualualuviniq's ("old former Tylor's") understanding of it into a more contemporary understanding of Aboriginal societies' cosmologies. And here, I do not mean to say that Aboriginal societies' cosmologies are similar. Durkheim's definition of religion has its origins with Tylor, whose definition of animism is often quoted from his 1871 *Primitive Cultures*. Because of its roots in cultural evolution, the concept of animism came to be largely ignored in the field of anthropology. However, some have taken to the concept within a more modern perspective. For instance, Clammer explains how Japanese Shinto is a form of animism based as it is on ritual, music, dance and not on rhetoric as a theological form of religion would be, and that it is a practical way of relating to the world. (Clammer 2004: 100) He shows how Japanese scholars entered into a discourse on spirituality, discussing the link Japanese Shinto has with animism "as a form of solidarity based on shared values,... which are the values of folk Shintō.” To the scholars, the result is an expression of nationalism, which, for Clammer, means to say that Shinto is the basis of Japanese nationhood. (Ibid.: 99) This interesting proposition illustrates how the reinterpretation of Shinto could have political implications, so far as group identity is concerned. I am not concerned here however with making a parallel proposition as far as Inuit are concerned, and I would hesitate to engage in a comparison, because the Japanese population is large and I do not know Japanese culture enough to do so.

Anthropological literature today has been redefining the concept of animism as it relates to some Aboriginal groups, notably the Arctic, sub-Arctic and Amazonian peoples. Perhaps the reason for doing so is the necessity of coming up with a better understanding in religious anthropology of Inuit cosmology. If we mean by cosmology a way of understanding the world around us, a vision of the world, then anthropology has only just begun to explore the various ways of understanding the world among the different peoples of the world. This current trend is an alternative to the way western anthropology influenced the understanding of the Other, that has
usually been within the West’s categorizations and own understanding of their world. This trend still has at its basis the western viewpoint, as it hopes “to reduce cultural variety into more general categories and ontologies.” (Laugrand & Oosten 2004: XXXIII). But the question is asked anyhow: “To what extent can cultural diversity be reduced?” (Ibid.: XXXIV). The problems that emerge out of trying to explain the ontologies of others from a western viewpoint are explored without necessarily offering a definite answer.

As Laugrand and Oosten pointed out, it is true that in the Inuit cosmology not yet touched by Christianity, Inuit did not have gods, deities or a God and that they however easily incorporated these notions. Instead, the Inuit spiritual entities included for example the spirits of animals that were akin to the human spirit, and entities such as *taqqiup inua*, the moon’s being, *silaup inua*, the exterior’s being, *tariup inua*, the sea’s being, and *tuurngait*, the auxiliary spirits of *angakkuit* (shamans). (Ibid.: XXXVII) Here the term *inua* means in Inuktitut *its person* and I translate it freely as *its being*. Such entities were endowed as human spirits were endowed, with rules of conduct. And in a hunting society such as the Inuit, the animal to be hunted may be owned by a master of animals or spirits and so the hunter, the Inuk, must make sure to follow its rules. This is based on the principle, Laugrand and Oosten say, “that the natural resources that are appropriated by humans are alienated from their original owners, who are not part of society (such as gods, spirits, deceased and other transcendental agencies) and become socialized and owned by a society and its members.” (Ibid.: XL)

Descola is part of this exploration of animism as he reviews anthropological studies that bring him to speak of the ontology of the peoples of the Arctic, the sub-Arctic and the Amazon. The Inuit, similar to the Achuar of the Amazon and the Cree of Ontario, perceive man, animals and spirits as extensions of one another. (Descola 2007: 6) The hunting rites, rules of hunt and the use of meat and the sharing of meat are meant for appeasing the masters of the animals. The good conduct of the rites and rules then
ensures the generosity of the animals in offering themselves to the humans, an intentionality that humans hold. Thus, Descola says, Indians of the Amazon and North America as well as Inuit share traits that could be categorized within an ontology that he calls “animism”. Being animist they attribute human interiority identical to theirs to non-humans whether these may be plants or animals. (Ibid.: 7) In this perspective, animals are humanised by their human counterparts and this interiorization thus allows them to behave with the “social norms and ethical precepts of humans, and also establish communications between themselves and humans.” (Ibid.) This was part of the shaman’s job, to communicate the spirit world to human beings and vice versa. “Culture” is thus extended to non-humans, which brings with it ritualized behaviours and the observance of rules.

In order to illustrate this extension of culture, let me share a story once told to me by my Imiq Qupirrualuk of the Seal turned into a Human:

After a day’s work out hunting for seal in winter, and not having caught one, a hunter heads home walking along the coast of the sea. It is dark for the sun had already disappeared from the horizon and it would take a little while for him to arrive to the snowhouse where his family was waiting. He carries his harpoon and tool purse. The snow is crunching beneath his steps. As he walks he begins to see a light as if in a shelter that is on the ice and as he becomes closer to it he sees what looks like a human standing beside it. As he gets closer and closer he notices that the human has very short legs and arms. And as he approaches closer, there it is standing in front of the entrance of the shelter. At once he realizes that it is a seal turned into a human, and the inuruursimajuq speaks to him, “Come inside, for there is a birth taking place and help is needed.” The hunter only glances very quickly and is unable to look at the inuruursimajuq out of fear, who repeats his request for him to come inside so as to help the woman giving birth inside, and gestures for him to enter. But the hunter ignores him and passes by. As the hunter keeps walking and does not even look behind him toward the inuruursimajuq, the inuruursimajuq shouts after him, “From this day forward you may never catch seals again!” The hunter never caught another seal in his life.

The story sounds like a moral story, and it is. Yet it is also a reminder to the hunter that it was important to satisfy the seal, for in doing so it helped in providing Inuit for essential needs such as clothing from its skin, food, light from its oil, heat, and the making of qajait (kayaks) from its skin. This was part of Inuit cosmology.
In today's time, Inuit communities conduct themselves according to the Christian Church's ritual and moral expectations. The week ends with *allitut*, which has replaced old terminology relating to prohibitions by a contemporary and religious version of *the day everyone is not to do certain activities*, or Sunday or Sabbath. Even so there are *tuurngait* still present in the imagination and experiences of Inuit, they cannot be reduced as a vestige of former Inuit cosmology. Perhaps there are certain implications from when Inuit transited from shamanism, an animistic way of relating to the world, to Christianity, a theological, rhetorical and "modern" way of looking at the world. The animistic way of relating to the world informs group identity. Has this changed since Inuit converted to Christianity? Has modern individualism become an accepted norm?

**Secularization and laicization**

In light of my initial observations on religious sentiment in Puvirnituq, I asked whether Inuit society would purport to secularism in their integration of modernity through labour, economic, social and political institutions. In this section I wish to add a definition of secularization and laicization with a view to understanding its implication in Inuit society.

To add to some confusion, French writers make a distinction between the words *laïcisation* and *sécularisation* and I have come across a couple of variants in both meanings. In the interest of simplicity I will not get into the different meanings but concentrate on the ones in vogue in the province of Quebec. By secularization is meant "the internal process in a society whereby religion gradually loses its previous all-encompassing ascendancy over the influence of other social fields. (culture, the economy, etc.)." (Conseil des relations interculturelles 2005: 20) It does not mean that religion disappears from the society, individual persons may practice the religion of their choice and religious groups may exist in the society. Secularization manifests itself as a social process but does not mean that a society is necessarily secular.
Secularism on the other hand means the absence of religion and so for example the province of Quebec and the mechanisms of its State are secular (laïc in French).

Laicization, on the other hand, "refers to the deliberate actions and legal means initiated by the State for the purpose of maintaining neutral relations with religions and to prevent any direct interventions by religions in the management of the State." (Ibid.: 20) Laicity, in this definition, is achieved for example through "constitutional provisions, by judicial decisions, or through the cumulative determinations of common law." (Ibid.: 21) It means the independence of the State from religions and vice versa, that the State does not exercise power over religion. Laicity goes hand in hand with individual rights so that individuals can exercise their freedom of conscience and religion. (Ibid.: 21) As such it has its origins in modern ideology. In states where laicity would be the norm, religious diversity would be quite acceptable; any one religious belief may not be treated preferentially by the State such as is the case in Quebec today.

Guy Durand discusses the complex issues of laicity in the context of a secular Quebec society. He defines laicity in terms similar to the above and speaks of his concern with the denial of the heritage of Quebec identity. How does one reconcile or welcome the religious diversities without denying one’s own culture, the culture of the majority? Like other authors Durand links religion with culture, as French Canadian society has its roots in Catholicism. Though there have been advantages of secularization in Quebec society, there are also serious questionings regarding contemporary identity. (Durand 2004) Perhaps along a similar vein, I asked and continue to ask: how does one accept another religion without losing one’s own identity?

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9 The Conseil des relations interculturelles of Quebec (listed in the bibliography) explains its usage of the word laicity, and I choose to use it as well, following in their example. They explain that English dictionaries have words such as laicization/laical/laicized but not laicity. However, laicity has begun to enter into literary usage in English.
Let me return at this point to my initial question: can we look at Inuit society as becoming secularized? Generally, and I again bring attention to my initial observations of religious sentiment and to Dorais' observations of kindred groups and religious affiliation, I would say that Inuit society is not so secularized. However, such a statement has to be qualified because it may be a matter of degree, or degrees; degrees of which may really only unfold in the scope of my research project. How, for instance, does the local education committee work out the contradiction between the upheld views of Creationism in Puvirnituq and the oft maligned Theory of Evolution, mandatory in school curriculums in Quebec? I do not know whether Puvirniturmiut uphold Creationism like the people of Salluit might but it will be interesting to find out. Likewise, it would be interesting to query members of the municipal council as to their beliefs and religious values and whether these affect the decisions they make regarding the community.

In this section I just discussed laicity and secularization as if the only existing dichotomy would be between religion and the political. Some authors have asked whether society can really become secular, whether man can live without a system of belief, a cosmology. The existence of secular states such as France shows that societies can live within a secular country and with a plurality (or absence) of religions, but Scubla explores the link between religion and the political a little further. He begins by stating that the Enlightenment period and the Age of Reason of the 18th century brought about a criticism of religion, basically that religion exploited human weaknesses, it was irrational, and that it should be rejected and fought against. This criticism changed when the 19th century philosophers and thinkers began to articulate arguments using religion and the political. Scubla discusses the views of Marx, Hegel and Nietzsche, Schumpeter, Comte and others, illustrating what each in turn said about religion's contribution to society. One example will suffice: "To Hegel and Nietzsche, religion, especially Christianity is the genesis of the modern world. Christianity conceived of men as being equal, the State was brought about through

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10 I discuss the debate that occurred between a teacher in Salluit and the local school regarding the teaching of the Theory of Evolution to Inuit children in my Projet de Mémoire I.
Christianity. Nietzsche emphasized equality and that religion was regressive but that it was a principal factor of social cultural change.” (Scubla 2003: 97)

Scubla goes on to explain how, rather than ridding society of religion, philosophers and thinkers thought up ideologies that were structured as religion was structured; and they in turn as the founders, of say what Marx is to Marxism, became inventors of new religions. Relying on Comte’s view that religion has a preeminent role in human societies, and that it was necessary for the formation of collectivities and essential for their stability and survival, Scubla makes a parallel with the new modern ideologies and religions to show how religion is fundamental to society’s backbone. Freudian thought was structured like a religion just as Marxism was. (Ibid.: 102) In short, Scubla answers the question of whether man can live without religion by saying, well the age of reason has not overcome religion, religions may go into crises and go through changes, but the crisis of the religious is also a crisis of society for which it provides its cohesion: “Cette loi est aussi impérieuse que toutes les autres lois de la nature. Extérieure à toutes les volontés, elle constitue sans doute la justification ultime de l’attitude religieuse et la garantie de sa pérennité.” (Ibid.: 115)

Perhaps the above discussion of Scubla’s view is a bit stretched, and though not all may agree with him, his point of view interestingly shows the magnitude, the significance, of religion’s place in society. At least in this perspective, it seems easier for me to understand the importance that Puvirnimituq place on religion and that it is not about to go away. Shamanism may have been replaced by Christianity and perhaps there are parallels between the two that facilitated the transition from one to the other in that long ago past, however many other factors were also in place to facilitate that transition. And even though Christianity is purportedly the origin of modern individualism, freedom of conscience, equality and democracy, these ideals or values may not be completely supported by Inuit who live in a holistic society. We may observe a process of secularization within the political world of Inuit, but we may also observe how important a system of belief still is for the Inuit of Puvirnituq.
CHAPTER 3. OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

Objectives
Considering all of the above, the following outlines the main objectives of my research project. Nunavik is a large area composed of fourteen Inuit communities, which would make it difficult physically to cover them all. For practical reasons, I have selected a specific community, which is Puvirnituq, for my field of study. The research includes the history and the religious context of Puvirnituq, and it inquires about what religion or religions Puvirnituqmiut adhere to. I formulate my first objective thus:

1) To demonstrate how Puvirnituqmiut express their cultural and religious values within the framework of their social and political activities. The following are questions that should aid in achieving this objective:

i) What is the history of Puvirnituq.
ii) In the population of Puvirnituq, what is the distribution among the adherents of the two main Churches?
iii) What are the values promoted by both Churches? Do they differ in the way they function?
iv) What are the principal Inuit cultural values?
v) How do members of the religious groups participate in community affairs? Do they apply their religious beliefs and values into these activities? How?
vi) Are there members of the community who purposely do not profess to belong to any church, if so why?
vii) What are the guiding principles for the functioning of local and regional organizations? Are they expressly secular, or not at all?

The first objective is pretty straightforward although trying to answer the questions related to values might pose some challenges. Christian values should be less
problematic if the churches are already guided by a set of moral rules. However, Inuit values might be more difficult to define. People do not necessarily think up their values and are not necessarily able to recite them in a simple list. And the word value does not translate so easily into Inuktitut. If we look at Inuit values, then we relate to them in Inuktitut as “things to which we give special importance that identify us as Inuit”, annirijavut inutuinnaunittini. This objective will be attained through research into history and through the interview process in the community, and will be quite straightforward.

My second objective would be derived partially from the above and would also consist of exploring the transition from shamanism to Christianity to see how this transition might have impacted changes in the way Inuit express or uphold their values. Did the transition from shamanism to Christianity impact on Inuit culture, if so in what way? The example of Inuit women’s release from the rules that applied to them before Christianity was perhaps liberating for them specifically, yet at the same time the shaman’s role was diminished within the Inuit community. Instead of looking up to fellow Inuit for leadership, Inuit seemed to make a turnabout and began looking up to missionaries, police and government authorities. Their values were deeply challenged as white people came in with their own values, yet Inuit have not entirely let go of their values. And so the second objective is meant to explore the link between Inuit values and identity:

2) To illustrate how Inuit religion is linked to identity, and show how the transition from shamanism to Christianity impacted on Inuit cultural identity.

Methodology
Part of my research involved gathering information related to history, so I relied on archival documents such as oral histories, genealogical and other documents available through Avataq Cultural Institute. The oral histories I relied on were: that of my grandfather Qupirrualuk, which was based on an interview done by Pelly in 1998; and
the autobiographical material of Taamusi Qumaq, the French version of which was published in 2010; the third and last oral history was one based on an interview that I did in 2008 with my great-aunt Nellie Nungaq, the sister of Qupirrualuk. Other interviews I relied on were those done also with Inuit of Puvirnituq by Asen Balikci in 1958, such as Inukpuk (Inuppaq) who was living in Puvirnituq at that time. Such interviews can be found at the Avataq Cultural Institute. I relied not only on archival material but also on published material. One book had been published locally and exists only in Inuktitut and that is the story of Johnny POV, written by Johnny Uittangaq and published by the Northern School Board in Puvirnituq. The rest of the documents were research-based and easily found through the network of libraries and used bookstores.

This research project is qualitative insomuch that I looked into people’s experiences and values, which are expressed subjectively. Every individual may define their own values and experience them differently and their experiences may be determined by social factors outside of their control. Individuals perceive their experiences and interpret them within their own perspectives. (Poupart et al. 1997) Another part of my research project was exploratory and my aim therefore was not inductive, I was not trying to produce a theory or a truth about something. The qualitative nature of the research aimed at producing or portraying people’s own way of understanding the things they experienced. I did not expect any of the individuals that I met to provide me with right or wrong answers, and I made every effort to portray that during the time spent with people, so that they should feel free to express their own thoughts and feelings. To facilitate that process I made sure we had a quiet place to sit where we would not receive any distractions or multiple demands either from family or from work. My previous experience interviewing Inuit elders in another project had made me aware of how easily distractions, such as a phone ringing constantly, or a cleaning lady coming in and making much household noise, could influence whether an interview went smoothly.
I had aimed to meet with ten people in Puvirnituq, and had made a decision to arrive at the community and take the time to find out about the local committees, and I interviewed eight. It was not my goal to meet members of every committee or organization, or regional boards but I definitely wanted to meet with someone from the Education Committee, the local Coop Committee, the Regional Board of Health and Social Services and the Municipal Council. The plan was to arrive in the community and find out who the people involved in such boards are and do some reconnaissance. Others I wanted to meet were those involved in the Pentecostal and Anglican Churches, perhaps their leaders or those that were very involved in their functioning. It was when I arrived in the community that I found who the members of the directors of a local committee or regional organization were and from there I proceeded to ask to meet with the president or a member. Though some may think that this approach is too last minute, to arrive at a community without having a list of interviewees beforehand, it worked for me. Firstly because even if I would have planned a strict schedule, I knew that at that time of year, which was summertime, people tend to go out on the land at every available occasion, so it would have been very difficult to obtain a commitment. I would have arrived with several disappointments because such and such person had gone out even though he or she had promised to be with me at a certain time. Instead of committing people to appointments they would not be able to keep, I chose to make appointments with people who were already available, who were in the community. This meant having called the person in the morning and then being able to meet them in the afternoon, or meeting with them the next day. This worked well for me as, for example, I obtained a meeting with the president of the Education Committee in that way. Also, when I explained that it was for a master’s thesis, every person I spoke with was willing to be met. I also had the advantage of being known by all the people I contacted and this helped facilitate obtaining the conversations I did.

A community event prevented me from seeing one person I had wanted to, namely the founder of a third Church in Puvirnituq, and so I have no information about this third
Church except that it is small and run by Tamusi Tukalak, the eldest son of Lucassie Tukalak. Since I was in Puvirnituq during the summer, a time when several families camp out of the community on some of the islands on the Hudson Bay, I was not able to meet with him. On the next occasion that I went to Puvirnituq, which was in December 2009, he was ready and available to meet with me, but at the last minute he had to leave as part of a search team looking for a missing young man who had got lost in a blizzard outside of Puvirnituq. All of the people I approached for a conversation for my research project were open and willing to be met.

A similar thing happened regarding the mayor, whom I wanted to meet as well, but he had just left on vacation. However, I caught up with him a few months later but in a different community and was able to see him then. Sometimes people were involved with more than one committee or community affair, such as with Eliyassie Sallualuk who was a member of the municipal council and the minister of the Tusarnatulirivik Full Gospel Church. Also, during the course of my research I learned that Aipiliie Napartuk, formally of Kuujjuaraapik and living in Kuujjuaq as the Anglican minister, had been the Anglican minister in Puvirnituq in the 1980s and I decided to meet him because of his experience as a Church leader.

I did not put a criteria regarding age, in fact the meeting with individuals was really based on what organization or committee they were working for. Their ages ranged from the youngest who was 39 to the oldest who was 71 years old. I did not search out elders because I was not only looking for traditional knowledge but for community involvement, either in the local political arena or in the areas of church leadership or simply being involved in church activities.

Initially I had feared that people might assume I was interested in going to church because I was researching their beliefs and entering the churches to do part of my research. But this was far from what people were thinking, perhaps because they were glad to share their thoughts and opinions on the matter of their beliefs, but also
because I explained the reason for my wanting to meet with them for a research project, as part of becoming an anthropologist. They understood that if I was asking them questions, I was not there just out of personal curiosity but as a learning *apiqquaq*, which literally translates to “one who asks many questions”, that is, an anthropologist. Like one of the people I met said while we were sitting together at her kitchen table, and she had to answer the ringing telephone, she told the person at the other end, “Can we talk later because I’m being *apiqqutaq*?”, “I’m being asked a lot of questions!” And she said it in an amusing manner because she was sitting with me, a fellow Puvirniturmiut but at the same time I was “anthropologizing” her, in a manner of speaking!

Perhaps actively participating in church activities could have facilitated my research, as it did for Goulet who had done his research among the Dene Tha (Goulet 1998) in the Northwest, but I chose not to be seen as actively participating in the community experiences regarding church activities (except for being present once or twice at a Sunday service), firstly because I am not a churchgoer and secondly because people knew this and I might have had to fake it. Yet I am part of the community, I belong to one of the local families, most of the Puvirniturmiut knew me already, and I could go about daily activities as any other community member and speak in Inuktitut.

The fact that I speak in Inuktitut did facilitate my work. I conversed in Inuktitut, though all of my research previously was in English and French. Having worked as an interpreter from time to time I have seen how time-consuming the requirement of interpretation can be, and how necessary it is to make sure that interpretations are clearly understood so no misunderstandings should take place. When the conversations were done I translated them directly into English afterwards. I had no need of an interpreter.

The conversations were semi-structured, conducted as part of my exploratory research. This way of meeting people was useful in that it also aided in clarifying the terms that
I used in the preliminary research, such as what religious or cultural values are. For instance the word for Christian belief in Inuktitut is uppiniq, and it is a term that may not have been in use in the everyday past. There was not a term for the Inuit system of belief, Inuit cosmology, as such. But today Inuit use the term uppiniq to connote their belief in God. The conversations also helped to develop the link I wished to show between Inuit ideology and identity. (Schensul et al. 1997)

Bias
I was going about the community during part of the mundane everyday activities, and I was also an outsider because I do not live there and I do not take part in local affairs like the committees or councils. I thought I might easily forget my purpose as anthropologist and not keep an anthropological stance, since almost everyone knew me. I had known one of the people I met in my childhood for example. Someone in the community was surprised that I had seen this particular person, with the opinion that this person did not know much. This opinion goes to show how this personal bias might have got in the way of my own research, but to me, every person, and any person was eligible for a meeting related to my research. Explaining why I was there and the conversation we would have, all made it possible to keep a formal distance. This technique served in keeping the purpose of observation at a conscientious level, and keeping the doors open to different people. It is possible that the same people in a community get interviewed over and over by different researchers because they are the most knowledgeable, and by contrast there are those who feel not knowledgeable enough to be interviewed. But sometimes these are the people, those who participate in the everyday activities of the community who are the most interesting.

I have already mentioned belonging to the Inuit community of Puvirnituq, and certainly a positive aspect is that I speak the Inuit language and was able to converse with unilingual or bilingual Inuit. Where I thought that I may face a challenge was when taking part in an event, for example in a church where people might believe that I was participating in a church service, but in fact there seemed to be no expectations of people. I did not carry a notebook with me in the church and wrote a few notes of
my observations and of things said in the service later. I went to the religious leaders to ask permission for this type of participation. This was one way to ensure people that I was not trying to enter their church to become an adherent but to let them know that I am an observer. And it worked out well.

I do however carry some bias against certain of the religious aspects in a community. For example I have heard certain individuals in social contexts small or large, outside of a church service, suddenly exclaim “hallelujah!” or give thanks to God or speak on regional radio about the need for following God, etc. When I hear things like this I wonder why people speak like that within the public sphere, which I have always taken for granted as a “neutral” space. I maintained however, a positive silence on my own personal opinion about whatever beliefs people may or may not have, and maintaining this attitude allowed me to have a good rapport with people I met.

The research discussed in the conceptual framework above provided the starting point to achieve the objectives set out in this thesis. The conceptual framework provides a series of concepts such as those of religion, laicity, secularization, political and cultural theory necessary for probing the religious and political aspects of Puvirnituq. Without these the research project would not go very far. Part of my aim was not to make distinctions between traditional holistic society and that of a modern individualistic society but to explore how the links between the two, are expressed and thus also see how this relates to Inuit identity. The methodological approach elected for the research project allowed me to gather the data needed to achieve the objectives outlined, and to ensure that the concepts discussed above were in line with the concepts as understood by Inuit. I maintained this attitude for the rest of the project but most of all I wished for this research project to be a place where Inuit feel that it really expressed their view of the world.
CHAPTER 4. PUVIRNITUQ, IPPASAQ ULLUMILU, YESTERDAY AND TODAY

The Inuit in the fourteen communities of Nunavik have a current population of about 10,000. The history of Inuit settlements in Nunavik and elsewhere in the other Inuit regions of Canada has its beginning with the arrival of trading posts in the early 20th century, followed closely by the arrival of Christian missionaries. Puvirnituq is located on the northern side of the Puvirnituq River, a few kilometers distant from the Hudson Bay, Tasiujarjuaq. It was in 1921 not far south from Puvirnituq that the Révillon Frères of Paris first set up a trading post in a bay that Puvirniturmiut call Kangiqsuraq and that the traders called Puvirnituq Bay. Kangiqsuraq is several kilometers south of Puvirnituq. Their competitor the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) set up at the same spot in 1923. (Uittangaq 1991: 32) This followed a northward trend in the establishment of fur trading posts that had begun in the James Bay in the 17th century when the French and English had traded with the Cree. Northern Quebec was one of the last remaining destinations for fur traders when populations of fur-bearing animals had diminished greatly further south. After having absorbed the Révillon Frères in 1936, (Côté and Dufour 1983: 11) the Hudson Bay Company remained in Kangiqsuraq for a while and moved to Puvirnituq in 1952. This is considered the time that Puvirnituq became a permanent settlement as Inuit family bands from surrounding areas congregated to be near the HBC trading post. (Uittangaq 1991: 8)

Prior to this time several family bands lived in the surrounding areas, moving to different sites for the summer and winter seasons. Common camp sites inhabited by older Puvirniturmiut and their fathers and forefathers are known as Pujjunaq (Mansel Island), Qikirtaruq, also known as Smith Island near Akulivik, Qaqqakallalik, Uvilurtuuraarjuk, Saputiligaq, Isiursiuvik, Tursukattak, Kangirsuraq, Kuuvik, Uugarsivik near Inukjuak, Tursuujuaq also known as Lac Guillaume-Delisle, Patirtuqq also known as the Nastapoka River, Puvirnituq, and even Sanikiluaq, the Belcher Islands. A family still living outside of Puvirnituq, at Kuugaaluk, was the last to move permanently to Puvirnituq in 1962, and this was the family of Joe Talirurnilik.
(Uittangaq 1991: 58) The list above does not mention many other family camp spots, on offshore islands as well as in the inland, which Inuit called Nunavik (Great Land). Families typically moved in fall and in spring to their respective family camps but there were some who, due to physical disabilities, remained permanently in some sites. Such was the case with the grandfather, born in 1895, of one of those I interviewed. This individual, who was born in 1964 in Puvirnituq said, “I have heard that he remained here even while others from the camps moved to different spots in the seasons, he did not move from Puvirnituq...he did not move around a lot because he had a son who was unable to walk.” Puvirnituq was the permanent habitation of this family during the early 1900s but for several others it was a summer campsite because of the abundance of Arctic char, the beluga in springtime, geese and other birds as well as the little fruits of the tundra such as crowberry, blueberry, red berry and aqpik, cloudberry. Puvirnituq had been the familiar campsite of a few families for several generations, including Qupirrualuk’s mother Qiluqqi, whom he said was from Puvirnituq (Pelly 1998).
Many of the people living in Puvirnituq today are issued from a few ancestors. The ancestors of the next individual I met were Sallualualuk\textsuperscript{11} and his wife Uijaki who had fathered four children. One was Patsauraluk, a male, whose wife was Qupirrualuk – this couple fathered Qinnuajuak (1895 male), who now has over 130 descendants; Tulugaarjuk (1899 male), who has over 150 descendants and is the ancestor of one of the interviewees; and Sallualuluk (1904 male) who now has over 150 descendants in Puvirnituq and is the grandfather of the second interviewee. Altogether, this couple now has over 430 descendants living in Puvirnituq. The eldest of the four children of Sallualualuk was Surusilaq, a male, whose descendants number over 70 while the second eldest had a first wife, all of whose descendants live in Inukjuak today, and a second wife whose descendants number over 200 and are now spread between Puvirnituq and Akulivik. Patsauraluk was the third and was followed by Nappatuq (a male born 1901) whose descendants live mostly in Akulivik today. This is but one line of descendants.

Another large family descends from the family that arrived last to Puvirnituq, Amarualik and his wife Kitturiaq. They had one child, Talirumilik, who in turn had five children with his wife Aullaq; Putuguq and Samuili Amittuq and three others who died early. Together these two have over 300 descendants. Putuguq’s eldest son was Joe Talirumilik (born 1893) the famous carver of the “migration” voyage of an umiaq full of Inuit to the Arviliit (Ottawa Islands). Samuili Amittuq’s eldest was a woman named Maggie Paujungi Kanajuq and his eldest son was Davidialuk Alaasuaq Amittuq (born 1910) the subject of La parole changée en pierre: Vie et oeuvre de Davidialuk Alasuaq\textsuperscript{12}. There are several other ancestors of a few more families in Puvirnituq that I will not get into. We can see that over half of the current Puvirnituq population of 1600 is comprised of the descendants of Sallualuk and Amarualik. As shall now be

\textsuperscript{11} The ancestor of Sallualuk and his siblings is called Sallualualuk to signify the first Sallualuk. In anecdotes about him, this Sallualuk is often referred to as Sallualualuk, and not just Sallualuk, perhaps as a way of indicating how far back in time he was.

\textsuperscript{12} The lineage of Davidialuk Amittuq is described in this biographical work by Bernard Saladin d’Anglure 1981.
seen, the Inuit of Puvirnituq have taken active roles in the establishment of their community and of the Christian mission.

The Anglican Mission
The Anglican Church exerted a strong religious influence in the community. The Inuit of Puvirnituq were all Anglican well before 1952 even without the presence of an Anglican missionary, the influence having come from the teachings of Edmund James Peck who was known throughout Northern Quebec and Baffin as Uqammaq, he who speaks a lot, or eloquently. It is admitted that Nunavimmiut had all been baptized by the Anglican Church by the 1930s (Dorais 1997: 74). Peck himself came to Canada from England in 1876 and began his missionary work in Qilalugarsiauvik, Little Whale River, from 1878 to 1885, and then in Fort George from 1885 to 1893 before going to Baffin Island. (Davis 1987: 108) Peck had been sent by the Christian Missionary Society (CMS) to evangelize Inuit, and he traveled as a missionary like other of his contemporaries to remote, faraway places. He was once met by the young Inuppaq, who eventually became a well-known ajiguirtuji (minister) all along the Hudson coast of Nunavik.

The generation of Inuit born from the 1890s to the early 20th century thus had parents who had already converted to Christianity. Aisa Qupirrualuk, who was born in 1916, said he was baptized when he was three months old and that it was Mr. Walton who had baptized him. His sister Nellie Nungaq, who was born in 1926, recalled that as a child she heard of adults installing poles at opposite ends in their homes, and with a cord hung horizontally between the poles Inuit would hang with their hands on the cord and traverse from one pole to the other. This symbolized the act of crossing from the old way, shamanism, to the new way, Christianity. This ritual appeared to have been used in some parts of Nunavik whereas in North Baffin Inuit had taken to another ritual, siqqitiq, described by the Inuit of North Baffin, above. Some recollections of

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14 Nellie Alasuaq Nungaq, my great aunt, told this story to me in an interview on her life January 2009.
Inuit elders, retold through the oral histories of Inuit of Puvirnituq, were of their family treks to Kuujjuaraapik in order to reach the Church, attend prayer services and receive baptism in the early 20th century. In an interview on his oral history in 1998 (Pelly 1998) Qupirrualuk was asked:

Q. You mentioned yesterday that you were baptized three months after you were born and that your parents were already christianized. What contact did they have, that you know, with the church then?

A. Yes, they were going to church by the time they were adults. Before that time though, a missionary, Dr Peck came to be the first minister just south of Umiujaq at a whaling area. The Hudson Bay Company had a trading post there at first, then the missionaries came and based themselves there also. Dr Peck is the one who really began to pass awareness, to begin opening eyes. Mr. Walton (William G. Walton) is the one whom my parents would know. Dr. Peck had begun working in the area of Mailasikkut (Fort George), in Kuujjuaraapik, and then where the trading post was, south of Umiujaq. He really lived at Fort George, that’s where he first began his work. He was an Englishman. Mr. Walton is the minister who baptized me.

Q. Did your parents bring you down to Kuujjuaraapik to be baptized?
A. Yes, I also remember going there again a few years later, to go to Church in Kuujjuaraapik.

Peck learned to speak Inuktitut fluently and as part of his practice of evangelizing he trained Inuit as lay ministers, ajuqirtuijiit.

Davis, on speaking about the Church Missionary Society from England, (CMS), showed how important it was for the CMS to train “Native pastors” so that they may run a “self-supporting system”.

This was found to be fruitful for indeed Inuit ran a self-supporting system. Without the presence of CMS missionaries the Inuit lay ministers, the ajuqirtuijiit, succeeded

in converting their fellow Inuit. As it happened, Inuit in the area of Puvirnituq and to its south came to know some of their fellow Inuit as ajuqirtuijiit, and Inuppaq of Inukjuak became very well known. Qupirrualuk spoke of Inuppaq:

Now my grandfather Inuppaq, he used to live with us in our first little wooden house on the hill exactly where the Anglican Church is today. He was a very old man in 1962. When he was a young boy, he remembers when Qilalugarsiuvik, Little Whale River, had missionaries there. That was a very long time ago. Inuppaq, Jaani’s father from Inukjuak. Inuppaq was a very important ajuqirtuji for us, around this whole area. (Pelly 1998)

Inuppaq was a young boy when Peck was at Qilalugarsiuvik, Little Whale River, between 1878 and 1885. It is not told how he became an ajuqirtuji, a catechist, when he became one, but he was most likely trained by Peck and may have also have been chosen because of his family’s connection with Peck. The late Anglican Bishop of the Arctic Donald B. Marsh speaks of Peck’s itinerant work, of his visitations in the homes of Inuit. He would always go with an Inuit guide. (Marsh 1991: 9) Peck had stayed at Inuppaq’s parents’ home when he was at Qilalugarsiuvik and Inuppaq himself mentioned having followed Peck during his visits. (Balikci 1958) Other Inuit similarly became ajuqirtuijiit in the area. Normally the family camp leaders would be the designated ones to offer Sunday prayer services and reading of the Bible in their domicile. These would often be the eldest male of a group of siblings, and an eldest son would normally take on the former’s responsibilities when he died.

The family leaders living in the surrounding family camps along the Hudson coast were named by Eliyassie Sallualuk, one of my interviewees, as the ajuqirtuijiit of some of these family camps. Part of the interview with Eliyassie follows:

Eli: My family moved here in 1952. I had been away in Toronto at a hospital, and when I arrived back home we moved here because there were Qallunaat. I must have been the reason for our move. (as I had been ill) And I've been living here ever since. The Qallunaat also moved here in the summer of 52.

LK: The Hudson Bay Company? Was there a Church then?

Eli: Yes the Company, no there was no Church. Not at all.

LK: Back then, were you believers then in Jesus, Christians?
Eli: Yes, we were. We would hold prayers in peoples' homes just like when Inuit were living in family camps and held prayers in certain homes, we had done that too.

LK: Although there were no ajuqirtuijijit, ministers?

Eli: The ajuqirtuijijit were those who had probably been delegated by the missionaries. In our camp Qinnuajuaq was our ajuqirtuiji. In Puvirnituq when people had moved here there was Aisa Qupirrualuk, as well as the family camp (lay) ministers.

LK: Qinnuajuaq participated then?

Eli: Yes, he did too. There were Arpaliraq, Joe Talirurnilik, Amaamattuaq who were the (lay) ministers here; it was a group of them.

These were of Qupirrualuk's generation but Qupirrualuk mentions those of his father's generation. To a question of who lead prayers, he answered:

<Any one of the older people would. Tukalak, the grandfather of the Tukalaks here, who was Peta's and Aragutainnaq's father; and Novalingaq, the Nutaraaluk's grandfather; these two were at the same time, and my father was involved all the time.>

When came the time of the permanent settlement of Puvirnituq, some family leaders just became less involved in the goings on of the church. Perhaps for reasons such as that of the father of Taamusi Qumaq, Juusua Novalinga. Juusua Novalinga was born in the late 1800s, and was the adopted son of Qaunnaq, the father of my maternal grandmother Lydia Qirniulaq. Taamusi, who was born in 1914, had been adopted by his paternal grandparents, Qaunnaq and Taliittuq, and returned to his parents after these two had died of old age in 1919. Juusua Novalinga, his father, died early when Taamusi was about 13 years old and when he was just beginning to accompany him on his hunting expeditions. The following years were difficult times for he had not yet learned to hunt. Fortunately his older brother, Juanie POV Novalinga, who by then was able to go hunting with other men, was able enough to provide support. Juusua Novalinga had adopted Juanie POV Novalinga who was older than Taamusi. (Qumaq 2010) As such whatever knowledge and skills his father may have held were not passed down to him, including any ajuqirtuiji capacities, since as the family leader
Juusua would have held the prayers at their family camp. In any case, Taamusi’s autobiography does not touch on any responsibilities related to being an ajuqirtuq either of his father or of himself. His father had been a skilled hunter and a good provider for his family. As he grew up, Taamusi had to learn from other men and did so whenever he had an opportunity to follow other hunters. During these hard times, the Inuit principle of sharing and of looking out for each other enabled their family to survive. But to add to the already hard times due to the loss of their main provider, a period of lean times also came upon them.

During a couple of decades, the 1930s and 1940s, a period of famine crept upon the Inuit along the Hudson coast. My grandfather Qupirrualuk’s uncle through his mother Qiluqqi, Juani, died of hunger in 1940 while out searching for seal to bring home. He died at Kuugaaluk. The same thing happened with Taamusi’s uncle, his mother’s brother Qumaaluk, who died with his wife and child in 1936 in Inukjuak. (Qumaq 2010: 57) Both my grandparents and all the elders of Puvirnituk often spoke of this period of hunger, of Inuit famine, remembering the times they would go for days without food, the time they nearly died. They spoke of the disappearance of caribou and the seals not being available, and the years that fox were much less abundant. Taamusi speaks of the winter of 1933 as being one in which food was lacking, and very few fox furs were to be had that winter to trade with Revillon Frères or the Hudson Bay Company (HBC), though the price of fox fur was still high. Several winters were spent without very much food and many Inuit relied on trade goods during these times. During the same period Inuit experienced illnesses such as smallpox or measles, which proved to be fatal for those who contracted them due to their lack of immunity. If it was not smallpox then it was tuberculosis, which became acute in the 1950s and early 1960s. I would say that for Inuit these decades of famine and diseases were a Dark Period.

When the HBC trading post was in Puvirnituk, it was not difficult for Taamusi and Juani POV to participate in its activities. They had helped the trading post move from
Kangirsuruaq to Puvirnituq, thanks to Juani POV’s navigation knowledge. (Ibid.: 78)
Later, Taamusi would work for the HBC and would become the first mayor of Puvirnituq in 1962. Taamusi Qumaq remained mayor for six years and kept records in Inuktitut of new developments in Puvirnituq and of the growth of the community.

Taamusi’s leadership was probably influenced by that early experience when he and his older brother had to learn to rely on themselves very early. As an oldest adopted son of Qaunnaq, Juusua would have been the family camp leader, and Taamusi his natural heir. His older brother Juani was a successful hunter and became a well-known guide for the boats and ships coming in to Puvirnituq. Taamusi also later went on to work for the Hudson Bay Company and became an able provider for his young family. When the families congregated in Puvirnituq, their leaders vied for social power through the Anglican Church, which was the centre of power in the community. There was yet no formal political power. Taamusi noted in the year he became mayor in 1962 that there were two Inuit ajuqiqtuijik, ministers of the Church, Aisa Qupirrualuk and Juanasi Arpaliraq.

The first white Anglican missionary, Reverend Brian Burrows, also happened to arrive in Puvirnituq with his young family in 1962 and a permanent Anglican Church was established ten years after the HBC trading post came there. (Uittangaq 1991: 20) The family leaders, who previously had lived autonomously from each other, were now congregated in one community. Doubtless adjustments had to be made between families.

Aisa Qupirrualuk, who was my grandfather, but the one who raised me as well, was the eldest of four of his siblings whose names are Alasie Alasuaq, Paulusie Sivuaq, Nellie Nunngaq and Annie Amaamattuaq (these two youngest sisters carry their married names). This family’s history was tied closely to Puvirnituq, as their mother Qiluqqi, my sauniq,16 came from here. Each was involved in one way or another,

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16 When an Inuk is born, they are given a name of another person who is their sauniq, homonym. In Inuit fashion the child carries the kinship links of their homonym, so for instance the son of their homonym
either in sculpting, printmaking or handicrafts, with the development of the cooperative store. Qupirrualuk’s younger brother Sivuaq would later be involved in the Inuit Tunngavingat Nunamini as well. As for Qupirrualuk, he was interested in spiritual leadership and succeeded in showing his leadership skills for he later went on to become an ordained Anglican minister after going to a school in Kinngait, Cape Dorset, where the Anglican Church had set up a church school for Inuit. When he became ordained, we moved as a family to Kangirsuk in the Ungava where he was the Anglican minister for four years.

As time went by the Anglican Church continued to recruit more Inuit. Aipilie Napartuk was born on an island named Qikirtaluk south of Inukjuak in 1938 before the era of settlements and later lived in Kuujjuaraapik. In 1970 he was asked if he would train to become an Anglican minister at the Arthur Turner Training School (ATTS) in Pangnirtuq. This school was established in 1970 by the second Bishop of the Arctic Donald B. Marsh. (Marsh 1991: 231) An earlier school, where Qupirrualuk trained in 1964-65, had been in Kinngait and its teacher became the principal of the ATTS. Aipilie received encouragement from several members of the Anglican Church and so he trained at the ATTS from 1970 to 1972 and became an ordained minister. He was immediately put to work in Salluit in Nunavik and when Reverend Roger Briggs retired from his work in Puvirnituq in 1975, Aipilie replaced him.

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becomes their son. Qiluqqi was the mother of my grandfather, and she being my sauniq, I was his mother, and he my son, Irniq.
The Catholic Mission

A Catholic missionary arrived at Puvirnituq in 1956, Father André Steinmann. He had just previously been in Quaqaq and had learned to speak Inuksuituq fluently. His mission remained in Puvirnituq for many years until he retired in the 1970s. His Catholic mission did not have Inuit adherents as none had converted to Catholicism. He did, however, carry on activities that would become very important for Puvirnituqmiut. Partly through his guidance the Puvirnituq coop store was established by selling sculptures in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The creation of the coop store positively impacted on the development of the cooperative movement in Nunavik, the other communities built their own coop stores and the Federation of the Coops of Northern Quebec became an economic instrument entirely owned by Inuit. There is a strong sense of pride in the ownership of this successful enterprise among the Inuit of Puvirnituq, and this pride is shown in Tulugak and Murdoch’s 2007 *A New Way of Sharing* that tells the history of the Federation of Northern Coops in Quebec. Even though Umikallak, “Shortbeard”, as we knew Father Steinmann, was not successful in converting Inuit to Catholicism, he was busy giving a hand in developing the community. He had administered first aid and acted as dentist as well, for I recall hearing of individuals that had gone to see him to have their teeth removed and he,
somewhat roughly checking my teeth when I was about three years old. There were no nurses or dentists permanently stationed in Puvirnituq at that time. He had also built the Catholic Mission Hall in Puvirnituq, which became a center of community activities where westerns and animated films were shown and everyone got together for Christmas games and dance and courtship.

However his mission to convert Inuit to Catholicism was not so successful as there was not one family in Puvirnituq that moved to the Catholic Church. He recounts some of the earlier times he spent in Quaqtaq and then in Kangiqsujuaq where he first began working as a priest. There he recalled the story of a woman in the community who had come to church for mass and who told him about there being no God, that she did not believe. Later, as she became ill, he seemed proud to say how she had changed her mind and had become a Christian before she died. Whether she had spoken to the young priest only to test him, or whether that was what she really thought, is hard to tell. At that time, in the 1940s, Inuit were already Christianized. Up to today there is a functioning Catholic Church and a priest living in Kangiqsujuaq and it is the only community in Nunavik that has Catholic adherents.

**Pentecostalism**

The real second religious influence introduced itself to Puvirnituq in the early 1960s. An evangelical Pentecostal aviator missionary, Reverend John Spillenaar, first arrived sometime in 1963 having begun travelling to the James Bay area years earlier. He first began his ministry work in Kirkland Lake, Ontario, in 1937 and had become an airplane pilot in the 1950s so he could travel to the Canadian North to missionize Inuit. When he flew north in his small airplane he would stay overnight or longer in the communities. That year in 1963 he arrived in Puvirnituq for one day and was able

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17 He recounts several anecdotes of living in the Inuit communities in his autobiography *La Petite Barbe*, 1977.

to visit a couple of families in Puvirnituq with the help of Eliyassie Sallualuk who acted as his interpreter. This was only one year after the first white Anglican missionary had settled into Puvirnituq. Eliyassie Sallualuk was the assistant of Pat Furneaux, the Federal Government’s Northern Administrator of Puvirnituq, who had forced Eliyassie to interpret for the new arrival. Eliyassie had felt somewhat reluctant to do the job because others were calling Spillenaar the ajuqirtuijirlak, the bad ajuqirtuiji. Eliyassie recalls how he had been impressed with the ease with which this ajuqirtuijirlak was able to find passages in the Bible to guide the few Inuit he visited in Puvirnituq. Soon enough, he succeeded in converting a group of Inuit to Pentecostalism and by 1976 several Inuit were following his teachings. (Sallualuk 2008) As Pentecostalism began to take hold, the movement emerged in Puvirnituq like an explosion. It was with a do it or die kind of urgency that individuals started joining in the movement, or so it seemed for remaining members of the Anglican Church. Puvirnituqmiut were not an exception as they joined in the Pentecostal movement. The word was that those converting to Pentecostalism were qaangiutik – going overboard in their belief to the point of making a mistake.

The schism had an impact on the community. The rift between the two religious factions created arguments about who was right and who was wrong. Members of the same family became divided as the younger generations moved to Pentecostalism, and this was evident in my family as my grandfather Qupirrualuk, who was then a retired Anglican minister, watched his daughter become an active member of the Pentecostal movement. Inuit elders kept the Anglican Church as their base and they continued to be dedicated churchgoers. One day during this period of change and turmoil, Qupirrualuk came home to say he had an argument with members of the Pentecostal church. In the heat of discussions he had been told that his words came from the devil. He spoke to me of this and I sensed the incredulity in his voice since his daughter was part of that meeting. The impact of change was also felt very strongly by Aipilie Napartuk, who was Puvirnituq’s Anglican minister then.

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19 Pre-field interview with Eliyassie Sallualuk leader of the Full Gospel Church in Puvirnituq, January 11 2008.
It was at the height of Pentecostalism being introduced in the community that Aipilie Napartuk found himself drawn to the new Full Gospel Church, which was being built by the Pentecostal community. He had decided to exit from the Anglican Church in 1978. When I asked him what the reason was for exiting from the Anglican Church even though he was an Anglican minister, his answer was,

“Baptism, the baptism of children, that was absolutely the only thing. I had no other problems, or disagreement, and that was the only reason. Although my only reason was because of children being baptized, it was as if everything else about the Anglican Church became wrong as well.... The only reason I quit was because of the issue of baptism; my position was that they should be baptized in their adulthood. There are other Churches that baptize youth only when they have brought their lives to God, to Jesus.”

He was speaking not only of the Full Gospel Church, who does not baptize newborn children, but also of other Protestant Churches such as the Baptist Church. At that time he found himself reflecting profoundly upon his decision, questioning God and what he felt about the duty that God had given him, which was to aid his fellow Christians. Two years later, after his period of profound reflection, he decided to return to the Anglican Church when he realized his duty was to help his fellow Christians.

In the meantime, several members of the community became very involved in setting up the Tusarnatulirivik Full Gospel Church. There were the grandchildren of Tukalak, Qalingo and his sister Dora Sallualuk, wife of Eliyassie Sallualuk and my mother Annie Uqaituk as well as her husband Juaniapik Uqaituk. Dora died in the 1980s and Qalingo runs a business smoking fish so Eliyassie eventually took the helm. He trained for 7 years by taking a month each summer at a training school in Ontario where he earned recognition as a minister of the Pentecostal Church in 1995. As a licensed minister he can perform marriages and baptisms but their main activities consist of regular Bible studies and monthly fasting. The members of the
Tusarnatulirivik consist of an average of 20 individuals. During the summer 2009 when I attended a church service about 15 people were in attendance.

As we can see, since the early years of immersion into Christianity, Inuit have been actively involved in church activities, in evangelizing fellow Inuit and becoming members of Church clergy. Inuit chose to change their religion and in doing so they turned their back, perhaps not as completely as one may assume, on their old ways, beliefs and practices. The Missionary Society’s objective, to get Inuit involved in missionizing efforts succeeded and the Diocese of the Arctic continued these efforts under Bishop Marsh.

The missionizing objectives, however, resulted in creating a divide that became a source of tension between the two Churches and consequently, among community members. However, it did not mean that all members of the community chose strictly between one Church or the other. Almost half of the people I met for my research project claimed that they went to both churches, a couple of them claimed allegiance to the Anglican Church but were open and even attended the services at the Full Gospel Church. Two respondents claimed that they showed no allegiance to one or the other and accepted both as their Churches.

**Local and Regional Organizations**

The presence of various committees in Puvirnituq shows an active participation among Inuit in the life of the community. With a total population of about 1,600, local committees are burgeoning and many individuals participate in the boards of regional associations. There is a church committee, a school committee, a women’s auxiliary, the health and social services committee, a youth committee, a recreation committee, the coop store’s committee, the local Mikikkaatiit Hunting, Fishing and Trapping Association, the Canadian Rangers, the Junior Rangers committee, and the Northern Village of Puvirnituq’s municipal council, to name most but not all. Perhaps the only institution not being run by a committee is the Northern store. In this section, I will
mainly discuss the Education Committee and the Municipal Council, which demonstrate how local boards function in the community. Before doing so, let me introduce an important aspect of Puvirnituq, which makes it unique among Inuit communities.

One type of committee that exists in all of the other thirteen Nunavik communities, plus Chisasibi and Killiniq, and that Puvirnituq does not have, is a Landholding Corporation. Puvirniturmiut claim not to have ceded territory during the negotiations leading to the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA) in 1975 and therefore did not accept institutions stemming from the JBNQA at the time. Up to the present, Puvirniturmiut have refused to have territory around Puvirnituq be categorized as the other communities have. Each Northern Village is considered as falling under Category I lands, which are lands owned by the community. As such, these lands are managed by a local Landholding Corporation, which doles out taxes and oversees community infrastructure and handles local development projects. Category II lands are the lands usually not far from the Category I lands, where Inuit have rights to their traditional activities such as hunting, but where they do not have subsurface rights and do not own the land. However, were there to be any interest in development in Category II lands then Inuit of the community must be consulted because these are lands where they exercise their rights as per the JBNQA provisions regarding Category II lands. In Puvirnituq, land taxes and taxes associated with infrastructures are managed by the Northern Village of Puvirnituq. (Kenuajuak 2010)

The other interesting aspect was the creation of a movement that Puvirnituq had participated in. A regional organization that was crucial to the anti-JBNQA dissidence movement of Puvirniturmiut was the Inuit Tunngavingat Nunamin (ITN) created in the early 1970s, which was the voice of the Inuit of Puvirnituq, Ivujivik and Salluit. It was established to be the voice for Inuit self-government and was instrumental in voicing opposition to the 1975 James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. (ITN 1983) And even though it is not active today, the Inuit of Puvirnituq still consider
themselves as belonging to the ITN camp, as still holding on to the ideals of ITN, while all else that stemmed from the JBNQA came from the other camp. This was because Puvirnitumiuq rejected the extinguishment clause in the JBNQA section 2.1, which states:

_In consideration of the rights and benefits herein set forth in favour of the James Bay Crees and the Inuit of Québec, the James Bay Crees and the Inuit of Québec hereby cede, release, surrender and convey all their Native claims, rights, titles and interests, whatever they may be, in and to land in the Territory and in Québec, and Québec and Canada accept such surrender._

Though the idea of being part of ITN has been maintained over the decades, there have also been areas in which Puvirnitumiuq participate through the institutions set out in the JBNQA. When the Makivik Corporation, Kativik Regional Government, the Regional Health Board, and the Kativik School Board (KSB) were initially created, Puvirnituq did not participate in these bodies. The separation was evident in the field of education since the Puvirnituq school authorities chose to work with another university institution to develop their curriculum. Post-secondary students in Northern Quebec, who were under federal jurisdiction before the Agreement, began to be managed by KSB, but Puvirnituq did not embark right away. In any case, it has been within the last decade that Puvirnimutiut and KSB began to work more closely; Puvirnituq participates at the board level, a local Commissioner represents Puvirnimutiut, there is collaboration in curriculum development, and Puvirnimutiut participate in decision-making through the local Education Committee. It is in this context that the Education Committee of Puvirnituq works.

The Education Committee of Puvirnituq makes decisions based on the needs of the growing student population; such as it did for the acquisition of a new elementary level school. It worked for two years convincing the School Board of the need to build the new school, which was opened in 2009 providing additional room for the over 500 students. In addition the Committee also looks into the school bus needs,
garages for them, the hiring of teachers, the housing needs for teachers as well as the maintenance of infrastructure. As for curriculum development this is directly taken care of by the school board, who have the resources to do that.21

Basically the Inuit students in Nunavik follow the same curriculum as the rest of the students in Quebec except for a couple of important aspects. The first is that the language of instruction for young Inuit students is Inuktitut for the first three years of their schooling, which is then followed by second language learning, either English or French in fourth year. Then the standard curriculum is followed.

The second aspect has to do with religious instruction. When Quebec amended the Education Act to abolish religion courses and replace them with a program called ‘Ethics and Religious Culture’ in 2006, all School boards were asked to have their new programs in place by the start of the school year of 2008. A media release by the KSB stated that Inuit were exempt from this law because their right to religious education was protected. In fact, upon reading the JBNQA clause, 17.0.58, pertaining to religious education, it states:

> Every child will be entitled to receive moral and religious instruction in accordance with a program approved by a clergyman or priest serving the municipality and by the Protestant or by the Catholic Committee of the Superior Council of Education. Any child, upon request of his parents for reasons of conscience, shall be exempted from such moral or religious instruction.

In consultation with their Education Council, KSB decided to develop their own curriculum in conjunction with the Ministry of Education and Leisure. And since 2009, Inuit students follow an ‘Ethics and Religious Culture’ course.

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20 Puvirnituq School teachers and pedagogical counselors had already been working with the Université du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue.

21 Based on interview with Alasuaq Kenuajuaq, president of the Education Committee of Puvirnituq.
The Education Committee of Puvirnituq had discussions on religious instruction of their students over the years, showing that religious instruction remained pertinent for parents. What the Education Committee expressed to me was their disagreement with the teaching of the Theory of Evolution, specifically of their students being taught that they come from monkeys. This excerpt from an interview with the President of the Education shows the sentiment of most Puvirnituriut:

LK: What about the teaching of religion. For example, what have you done about the teaching of the beginning of the world.

AK: There are teachers of religion; we have Inuit teachers for that. And we have been told that these have run well. Like when things are running smoothly and continuing well and the teachings are good, related to religion, then, okay, we don’t really have a problem with it. But we have been told that some teachers, regular teachers, science teachers who teach the Theory of Evolution through science to secondary students, ahm, we have been told that they were teaching them the wrong way. Like, you come from monkeys, like that. But we did not find that right, taimallurtunik naammasasimajanginnata.

LK: When did that happen?

AK: Three or four years ago. We did not think it right if the teachings like that would be done. The teachers had to be told about our view.

LK: What decision did you make, did you discuss it in your meetings?

AK: Discussing it together? Yes, we discussed that the teachers should not teach that, because the students believed that they came from monkeys, like that. People were hearing that and were very unsatisfied about that so we had to act on it.

LK: Why did people find it wrong?

AK: To be told that we come from monkeys.

LK: What do you believe in?

AK: God’s words, that we were created by God. God created the world and the human being, we come from Adam and Eve, I mean he created Adam and Eve, and that Eve was created out of one of the ribs of Adam, and this is what God’s Words say. And that is what we believe in, that God made us into human beings.

The Education Committee is composed of seven individuals who are aged mostly above 40 years old and are parents. The contention was mainly the idea of the
children being taught that they came from monkeys, that humans descended from an ape-like form. There was no contention however with teaching natural sciences like biology or chemistry, these are part of the curriculum. Thus the primary level students are taught religion by Inuit teachers, that includes Creationism, what the Bible says about the creation of the world and of where Inuit come from. The education committee had to deal with lack of religious teachers in the community, but by 2008 they had someone to develop a teaching tool for religious instruction to primary level students, taught in Inuktitut.  

(Tukalak-Uittangaq 2009) Secondary students however follow the standard program of moral and religious culture.  

A second aspect of community affairs I examined in Puvirnituq was the Municipal Council. The way municipal councils operate today is different from the 1960s and 1970s. All municipal councils are incorporated into the Kativik Regional Government (KRG). The KRG is a publicly funded entity, created by the Kativik Act through legislation of the Quebec government. It ensures that all essential services such as the delivery of water with water trucks, waste management, transport, housing and policing are provided to all residents of the administrative region of Kativik. This region is defined to be above the 55th parallel and comprises all 14 Inuit communities officially called Northern Villages within the municipal system of KRG. Puvirnituq, with its dissident status was not incorporated into the municipal system until the early 1990s.  

When Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) was administering the North in the 1950s and early 1960s, the Northern Administrators sent by DIAND ensured the functioning of the schools and the nursing stations and also the infrastructure of the community. Inuit were purchasing their own wooden matchbox houses for 300 dollars and built them and heated them on their own. (Uittangaq 1991: 53) When the Northern Administrators came to the Inuit communities, social housing

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22 This person is a non-Inuk who came to Puvirnituq in 1981, first to learn Inuktitut and to teach the Bible while supported by the Northern Canada Evangelical Mission. She remains in Puvirnituq with a mission to teach the Bible and to evangelize.

23 Personal communication with Puvirnituq’s secondary school principal Maata Putugu.
was begun and then Inuit began to pay for the housing, which could then be heated with fuel oil provided through the social housing program.

Like the rest of the Nunavik communities, Puvirnituqit began to run community affairs locally with their newly formed Community Council in 1962, when Furneaux was the Northern Administrator there. Eliyassie Sallualuk was his interpreter. (Sallualuk 2009) A general meeting had been held with the encouragement of Furneaux to form a Council, and Taamusi Qumaq became the first mayor of Puvirnituq. (Qumaq 2010) At that time the population was 427. Members of the community councils discussed various issues of concern from things like movie night each week, people staying out late at night, gambling with cards, the making of homemade brew, the control of untied dogs to prevent Inuit and Qallunaat from being attacked, and about illegitimate children. (Uittangaq 1991: 53) Apparently, movie night was a source of tension between Father Steinmann, whose mission hall was the place where movies were viewed, and the community council, who disagreed with movies being viewed on Wednesday evenings, which were church nights for the Anglican Church. (Ibid.) The Northern Administrator was responsible for things like the construction of buildings, the administering of social benefits such as family allowances, the control of Inuit dogs around the village and the like. In the absence of social workers or designated people, the community council also later acted as mediator when social conflicts arose. By 1963, the political landscape changed shape in Puvirnituq with the Inuit gaining decision-making capacity for community affairs, and with Quebec assuming administrative responsibility in Nouveau Québec, with its realization of the potential of the North. The Direction générale du Nouveau-Québec (DGNQ) was formed and DGNQ representatives were sent to Nunavik communities. (Uittangaq 1991: 58) However, it was only after about ten years of federal-provincial negotiations that Northern Administrators were finally replaced by DGNQ administrators.25

24 Personal communication with mayor of Puvirnituq, Aisara Kenuajuq.
25 Personal communication with Louis-Jacques Dorais who recalls, in visits to Puvirnituq in 1968 and 1969, there were still two concurrent administrators (and 2 schools): DGNQ and DIAND.
After the JBNQA in 1975, the Community Council of Puvirnituq continued to function and serve its community. But officially Puvirnituq was being run by the regional councillors of KRG, which were acting as the municipal council for Puvirnituq. Eventually Puvirnituq had to incorporate its municipality under the Kativik Act in the early 1990s to regain complete control. As such, a Puvirnituq councillor from the municipal council participates as an executive member on the KRG council.26

Several Novalingas have been mayors of Puvirnituq over the years, beginning with the first of the Novalingas, Taamusi Qumaq. His younger brother Davidiapik Novalinga followed, but he died during his first mandate as mayor (Qumaq 2010) and later, sons of Juani eventually became mayor – in respective order, Allie, Paulusie and Muncy. At the time of the interview I did with Eliyassie Sallualuk in 2009 at Puvirnituq, 39 year old Muncy Novalinga was mayor. He was an adopted son of Juani POV Novalinga. Eliyassie Sallualuk for his part has been involved in the municipal council since 1975, when he was elected mayor for one term. It was not surprising that he became involved in political leadership, his uncle Qinnuajuaq had already been one of the Anglican church leaders, and his father Sallualuk, who was also the youngest of three siblings, may not have been able to assume leadership because of his blindness. Eliyassie’s leadership opportunities lay in local politics as they developed over time. He also became leader of the Full Gospel Church, to which his loyalty was very clear.

On the other hand most descendants of Qinnuajuaq were involved in the Anglican Church since he was the family leader at the time of the gathering of Inuit in Puvirnituq. Qinnuajuaq’s descendants continue to be involved in the Anglican Church, as is observed in the Sunday church services. This did not prevent them from entering local politics. Aisara Kenuajuak, eldest son of Qinnuajuaq, has held four mandates as

26 Communication with Aisara Kenuajuak, mayor of Puvirnituq 2010.
mayor, after first being elected as councillor in 1975, and then mayor in 1977. He was recently re-elected mayor at the end of 2009 for his fifth mandate. Other men from the Qumaaluk family and the Sivuaraapik family assumed leadership positions in the Council over the years, but spent less time compared to the above mandates.

The responsibilities of the municipal council today have become more complex as Puvirnituq has become bigger. It is one of the largest communities in Nunavik with its population of over 1600. The Council looks to infrastructure needs such as land planning and construction of roads, and everything related to providing water delivery, waste management and sewage. It oversees the municipal by-laws, which are made to ensure the security of the residents and the management of municipal services and taxes as well as election procedures. Council responsibilities mostly concern the everyday affairs that keep the municipal services operating smoothly. As such the community is managed without any serious issues except for what both Eliyassie and Muncy spoke about during my interviews with them.

Puvirnituq has had to deal with social problems such as violence related to alcohol. Several residents get arrested and put in the local jail because of drunkenness and many have their all terrain vehicles temporarily removed. The coop store has had to be closed on a couple of occasions because of people under the influence going into the store and causing disruption. Several deaths have occurred from drunken outrage and vehicle accidents have happened because of drunk driving. For Eliyassie, acting mayor and minister of the Tusarnatulirivik Church, the social problems were issued from isumainmaqiniq, freely doing what one wanted to do. Whether it was gossiping, breaking things, being violent, hurting others and arguing, all these negative things were happening because Inuit were isumainnaqik. They were no longer following God and did not believe in Him. He said: “Here in Puvirnituq, I spoke earlier of the sins and the wrongdoings happening here, all the surrounding of Puvirnituq that is

27 A set of photos at the municipal council in Puvirnituq displays photographs of all the mayors from Taamusi Qumaq on.
28 I observed this during my field trip.
going through the Spirit, all of it fell down completely. God’s support (that is Inuit believing in him) was removed because He cannot participate where everyone does just what they wish, where people "isumainnaqituinnaq". Because of his inability to participate while we are "isumainnaqitsuinnaq" we lost our supporter.”

God was no longer present. For Eliyassie, all humans are born into sin and must qaqialik, repent before God. If not, then they are said to be living in ajurnik, sin, and God cannot support them while they are in this state. “A person who is no longer in sin can hear God’s Words.” Ajurnik, which translates today as sin, means not acting properly.

The municipal council regularly makes announcements through the community radio to keep Puvirnituqmiut informed of the developments taking place in the community and any other news from the municipal council. They also use the community radio as the medium to reach out to the population about the social ills taking place, making them aware and to be part of the solution, to improve behaviours, to reduce the problems. I heard them speaking on the radio on one occasion in 2009. The Council, as explained by Eliyassie, asked the community members to work together and also told them that things would not get better by isumainnaqituinnaniq. (Sallualuk: 2009) His point of view is that the community had to abide by God’s Word; things would get better by following the rules.

On an occasion that brought him to Pangnutuq (Pangnirtung) that had to do with Tusarnatulirivik Full Gospel activities, Eliyassie spoke of how Pangnutuq had ulapiqsautik, peace. He observed that no police cars were active in the streets and he asked why this was so as he was accustomed to seeing the police regularly on the streets of Puvirnituq. Pangnuturmiut explained that they had been dealing with serious problems as well, but that when Fijian evangelical ministers arrived there in 2008, they had found a way to help their community pass through those difficulties. To explain the link between an Inuk community and a Fijian one, the link occurred through a particular evangelical movement. To begin with, the Fijian evangelicals had

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29 These events have been observed by the author.
30 Interview with Eliyassie Sallualuk in Puvirnituq, summer 2009.
begun their mission in their homeland with the founding of the **Healing the Land Ministry** by Reverend Vuniani Nakauyaca in 2003, a minister of the Covenant Evangelical Church in Fiji. He had attended a conference in 2003 where he felt that God clearly spoke to him through the New Testament verse from Chronicles II, Chapter 7, verse 14, which says: “If my people, who are called by my name, will humble themselves and pray and seek my faith and turn from their wicked ways, then will I hear from heaven and will forgive their sin and will heal their land.” The Reverend Nakauyaca felt inspired and compelled by this message from God and began to do outreach work, since he felt God was burdening him about land and people getting healed. By 2007 the **Healing the Land Ministry** had heard of Pangnituuq and wanted to do outreach work there and by November 2008 two Fijian evangelical outreach workers went there to conduct healing the land ceremonies.

So when Eliyassie had spent time in Pangnituuq, and notice their ulapiqsautik he asked the Pangniturmiut for help and tells how it happened:

> When we asked the Pangniturmiut for help they said they could come but, they told us the Anglican Church and the Full Gospel Church and the Municipal Council would have to agree to work together and admit that there is a problem.

> And they made it here! 22 Inuit from Pangnituuq with 2 Fijians. When they arrived we asked what they were going to do and they replied that we would understand later. They explained that they would stay for 7 days, and that these 7 days had to be completed. For them, when the Pangniturmiut left Pangnituuq and came here, they removed their membership to the community of Pangnituuq in spirit. They became Puvirniturmiut (figuratively). They became fornicators, murderers, thieves, and angry people. And they said, "We Puvirniturmiut, we have sinned much against God", and they asked Him for forgiveness. This was an incredible happening for us (Eliyassie speaks with great emotion). An Inuk who is lost in sin would never do this. Rujjautinnamaulajujujugut, someone else had to do it for us. Something that we would never want to do, that is, take on another's sins, and there are still none who wish to do it here. But because many have understood this, we began to do this. We really have to do this, since we saw others doing it.

> So having taken down the walls that we hold for the Full Gospel Church and the walls of the Anglican Church, we are working very well together, and with the Municipal Council too. It is the only way that God can work with us. If we don't, we are isumainnaqijut. The many different churches are in this situation, sunauvva.

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31 http://htlmi.blogspot.com/2008/12/vision-continues-to-spread-up-north_08.html
Eliyassie continues the efforts to have the Fijians come to Puvirnituq again.

In an interview with Muncy Novalinga, who was mayor in 2009, the following winter, in 2010, Muncy had this to say:

> When I decided that I would run for mayor in 2007, I had as my basis Chronicles II, chapter 7, verse 14. Regarding the necessary peace in our community and that God can heal it. It was with this as my basis that I was mayor, that passage. It says something like, a community, when the believers of a community come before God, and they repent, God will hear and the community will be healed and God will forgive them of their sins. It goes something like that, I was able to remember it well before. That was my tunngavik, my foundation, while I was mayor. With it being my basis I would speak to the community and wanting it to get better from the problems of alcohol and drug abuse, violence and murder and different things. I think you have heard of these. Puvirnituq was going through great troubles. We had to face God, and we should every day but there were very difficult times with deaths happening on a regular basis, and suicides. We had to go before God with our desire to get better. And this was our foundation, (that passage in the Bible), in the community and in the municipal council; the municipal council was completely in agreement with our tunngavik, foundation.

The New Testament verse he referred to is the same one quoted by the Fijian reverend as being the verse that inspired him to do outreach work for the healing of people and land. The alcohol and drug problems were greatly preoccupying for the young mayor, which he believed were rooted in trauma experienced through cultural oppression and domination, such as the killing of Inuit dogs in the 1950s and 1960s, and the residential school system. (Novalinga 2010) He also believed that a healing process was begun when Prime Minister Harper presented an apology to residential school survivors on June 11, 2008. Muncy was optimistic that things would go better after that first step.  

As mayor in 2009, he worked in collaboration with other members of the community, such as the Anglican minister Jonah Allooloo, as well as Eliyassie who was at once the leader of the other Church and a fellow municipal councilor. When I asked him
whether the Council had ever made any decisions based on their faith, Muncy gave the example of Acts 19, verses 11 and 12, “as the basis for a visit to Inuit detainees held just outside Montreal and to the sick in Montreal.” (Ibid) The two verses say, “11. God did extraordinary miracles, through Paul. 12. Handkerchiefs and aprons that had touched him were taken to the sick, and their illnesses were cured and the evil spirits left them.” (The Holy Bible 1978, Acts 19, v11-12) On interview Muncy had said, “We had been invited by a person who works with the detainees in prison and at the same time we wanted to go and visit Matiusie at the hospital (in Montreal). We had agreed, so Eliyassie Sallualuk and myself agreed that we should go, and also take the opportunity to visit Matiusie while there. It had the basis of this, it is in Acts, that if we pray for someone, our basis was when we pray for someone that person will be healed, and we went to see Matiusie.” Matiusie, who was well known as the local humorist and entertainer, was terminally ill and in hospital in Montreal. The hope was to see him home again, healthy and sound.

The municipal council’s work is strictly related to assuring that the community services ran smoothly, that needed infrastructure was in place and maintained and security kept up. Yet some of their activities crossed the boundary between secular and faith-based as seen in the above examples mentioned by Muncy. These related to concerns of the troubling times that the community was experiencing, and here, Muncy and Eliyassie found a parallel with the Old Testament story of the forsaken city of Nineveh. (Sallualuk 2010) Jonah had been sent to warn the inhabitants of Nineveh to repent from their sins, and if they did not they would be punished and the city would be burned. When all the inhabitants of Nineveh repented, God was kind to them and spared them from their punishment. It is reminiscent of the Inuit way of ensuring that one follows the rules to make sure that any unforeseeable events may not occur.

I had interviewed Muncy Novalinga in a pre-field interview in 2008, and later in a full interview in winter 2010.
The committee members such as for the Puvirnituq Co-op, the Heath and Social services board that I interviewed admitted that their work did not bring them to faith-based decisions. They did however say that they believed their faith was helping them to make the best decisions they could make, guided by the will of God. All of the informants who were members of a local committee stated the importance of beginning and ending their meetings with prayer. Eliyassie and the other informants all had something similar to say. In an interview with one of my informants, a woman who was a member of the municipal council, I learned this:

LK: Here at the municipal council, what are the areas where the council has to make decisions?

EU: We have many responsibilities. There are many employees and with different responsibilities. There is the Mikikkaatit Hunter Support Program, and at this time there are houses in construction here and we have to find the right location for them. The airport strip was also to be extended so we had to make decisions about that too. We take care of everything related to the community.

LK: So you discuss these in your meetings, do you take your faith, your belief into account when you have to make a decision?

EU: All the time.

LK: How?

EU: When having the experience of listening to preachers and reading, one has the idea which direction life should go, according to what we hear and read; this faith, this "uppiniq", belief, is always teaching what life should be like. So one's belief coming from God's Word is the constant base.

In May 2010 I had the opportunity of participating in a training session on leadership with the participation of over 40 Inuit women, some of whom were elders. One elder in particular drew my attention to the fact of having missed the opening prayer and not ending each day with a closing prayer. We were having trouble with our interpretation equipment and some other technical problems, and these problems were being attributed to the fact that we were not doing what we were supposed to do, that was, to begin and end our meetings with prayer. I was not prone to remember this and several women had to remind me of the duty, and to also appease the elders and do what they wished. This event highlighted the importance for Inuit of taking one's duty seriously,
which likely has its origins in the prohibitions Inuit used to have in adhering to their rules and taboos. *Allitut*, following rules of conduct, or prohibitions, has remained important. Before Christianity prohibitions were practiced as means of social control and guiding social behaviour. God's day, Sunday, is recognized today as the day of *allitut*. Prohibitions that apply today are such things as not going hunting, not sewing, and not doing any unnecessary work and no exchange of money on *allitut*. Inuit learned to live with Sunday as the day of worship, reserved for going to church. Other rules have more traditional Inuit origins such as being forbidden to open up graves, which, in the old Inuit fashion, were on the ground covered with stones rather than underground, and could easily be opened up out of curiosity. If one should open or disturb a grave, a strong wind and bad weather would follow. \(^{33}\) If one happened to be travelling by water this meant not being able to move by boat. The idea of there being consequences if breaking a rule of conduct remains present. Likewise if one should not open a meeting with prayer, the meeting could be interrupted and decisions could be difficult to attain.

This president of the Coop Committee now for 15 years, Peter Ittukallak, expressed this clearly in this extract of my interview with him:

*PI:* Marialuk. (Absolutely) Yes. Everytime when we begin our meetings we always open our meetings with prayer. We never begin without a prayer, and our colleagues won't let us start without prayer first as they also believe "uppimimmata". We say let's pray first so that we do it properly "aulatsisiarniaratta", so that we will manage the coop properly.

*This is understood now by everyone, even qallunaat employees.*

*LK:* How about when you are discussing something you are trying to reach a decision for? If for example it is a difficult decision, or you can't reach a decision, do you refer to your "uppiniq"?

*PI:* Yes, since that is what we started with. So even if it is a difficult decision we continue in our work.

*LK:* Prayer is the only thing you use, that is to start your meeting?

\(^{33}\) This rule is commonly known throughout Nunavik where, in my generation, many of us were directed not to play around with graves that were often visible to us. I recall as children that we could see the bones of a deceased through the stones that were neatly piled over the grave.
PI: Then when we finish our meeting, we close our meeting with a prayer, either with thanks of prayer or with the "Atanittaa". (atanittaa prayer from the Anglican prayer book, shorter than "Our Father" prayer) And we have to do it. Always beginning and closing with prayer, and our work in between.

Ittukallak also mentioned a sense of duty when asked for a favour. Even if he did not feel capable enough he sensed the necessity of fulfilling a request. He had this to say about some of his beliefs:

PI: These are just my beliefs too. What I find good is we are told that we really have to forgive. When I have some thoughts towards someone, I just speak to them about my thoughts, because I believe that I will feel better when I get it off my chest (piituarpat isurrisilangagama).

I also feel an obligation when someone asks something of me, I don’t want to refuse a request. For example if someone asks me to say grace before a meal I can’t say, “Let someone else do it”, and I don’t want to do that.

LK: What would you feel if you refuse?

PI: I feel as if I make my Lord smaller. Like I would belittle God if I say no. So I try to do it even if I "naluk", don’t know how, because I know He will help. Because that is what I believe, that’s how I believe.

In some of the discussions of their committee Peter heard people refer, in passing, to a verse in the New Testament regarding theft. If stealing would be allowed the coop would not grow, so it was imperative that stealing not happen because the coop holds an important place for the “makippalianiq” (economic development) movement in Puvirnituq.

The individual beliefs play an important role in the functioning of the committees. Another member of the coop committee, Alasie Surusilaq, daughter of Taamusi Tulugaq, had this to say about her beliefs:

AS: I believe in what we have always heard. That if we’re not hungry, that we should not go out hunting on Sunday, if we’re not hungry. That Sunday is a rest day, it is allitut, and that is what I have always heard. I try to follow those since I’ve always heard them.
Believe in... the commandments. We make mistakes easily, so they are "you should not steal, you should not commit adultery...." I believe in those too. And, ahm, ever since we have been growing up we are taught, so I think those help.

I also think prayer is very important, especially when we do not feel at peace. When one uses prayer I have learned that it helps to feel better (to feel more at peace, saimmajuuminartumarialuk). That an Invisible One helps us. (nuitanngitumut - an invisible one) I believe we have a Helper. Even when one makes mistakes in life, the prayers get answered even if one doesn't receive the answer right away.

Alasie was already member of the coop committee since 18 years; she highlighted the importance of prayer but also of a couple of other points about the functioning of the coop store:

AS: The Co-op runs not on its own but by the cooperative effort of the Inuit. It is not the government running it but the Inuit. When we have to make an important decision we hold a community consultation through the community radio, because we won't make an important decision on our own.

However when it concerns daily responsibilities we take care of those. We also must take care of the annual budget; it is part of our responsibility. Our manager for many years was about to retire so we also had to find a replacement for him and then we were responsible to ensure that he was doing his job well, while he was on probation for six months. These are the types of things we do.

We have to approve those who request loans or borrow from the Co-op.

LK: I see. When you are in your meetings, do you refer to your religious beliefs during the times of your meetings?

AS: At every single meeting we begin with opening the meeting with a prayer and close it also with a prayer. We also postpone any meetings, so long as there is no urgency, when there has been a death in the community. It is out of respect to our fellow Inuit, "inuuqativut". We also, when we first become members of the committee, we are given prayer, to be blessed. Like when the term of an elected committee member has ended and goes for re-election. This fall for example there will be three positions open for election. Last year there were four; the seven members don't all get elected at the same time. So after being elected we go to the Church to receive blessing through prayer after the elections. We tell the minister that we would like to receive blessing at church.

LK: How about in your discussions, your meetings, do you use your uppiniq?

AS: What we do is pray for guidance so that we make the right decisions, that we receive proper guidance in our work. Then we deal with the Co-op issues without
talking about our beliefs, that's how we do it. And the prayer we received at the Church also confirms that we work with guidance, because we don't want to do whatever.

Alasie was clear on the point that the coop belongs to the community, and therefore it was through community consultations that the Co-op received guidance for its decisions. To do this, the Co-op committee holds its public consultations through the community radio, similar to what the municipal council does. Alasie also mentioned that when a death occurs in the community the committee suspends its activities out of respect for the family of the deceased. This is common to all the Inuit communities in Nunavik. The schools shut down for the day, the stores close, and any organized activities also get suspended. The close ties of the families and the community remain important when it comes time for a family to grieve.

For another individual, prayer was of utmost importance but was also very important in the personal sphere. This person was involved in the Women's Auxiliary of Puvirnituq as president. One of the responsibilities of the Women's Auxiliary is to visit elders in need of assistance, for cleaning their homes and preparing and bringing bannock or other food sometimes, doing voluntary work. Another of their responsibilities is to visit persons who having lost their physical autonomy become unable to attend church services, so members of the Women's Auxiliary visit to conduct prayers in their homes. This was one of the things that Lucy Kanayuk did in Puvirnituq. (Kanayuk 2009) When I asked Lucy about whether she turns to her uppiniq in her role as coordinator of the Hunter Support Program, this is what she had to say:

Lucy: If anyone who was out hunting didn't come back from the hunting expedition, perhaps for a reason of a broken engine or anything, I need to plan what needs to be done. I have to look for people who can make a search for that person. I haven't gone through any serious cases where someone might be totally lost.

LK: If that were the case, would you use your belief?

Lucy: Yes! I go to prayer right away. I was not like that before in one part of my life. It was only when I was experiencing something hard that I thought I should
pray. Nowadays, as soon as I wake up I must wake up with prayer and praise (nirtuiniq). Prayer is so useful. And will continue to be.

LK: And in your home, how do you use your belief, aside from when you first wake up, like during any part of the day, how do you apply your belief?

Lucy: Whenever anything might go wrong, in my home or when my children go through something, I now pray first at the time of difficulty. Ever since I experienced God's Spirit I started having to make prayer first.

LK: Prayer, tutsianiq, is this the main important thing that you apply in your belief?

Lucy: Yes, prayer is absolutely necessary.

When I begin my prayer I first think, I speak first to God's holiness, and ask for forgiveness for my wrongdoings, and thank Him. That's what I do. And usually a person becomes apparent in their behaviour so I pray for the forgiveness of that person as the person does not understand what he/she is doing, to support this person so as he/she does not give up.

For Lucy it was also important to ask to receive prayer.

Lucy: After I experienced this new life, this belief in God's word, I chose to live my life in prayer and listen to preaching. Then I came to have a desire to work on something if St. Mathew's parish would have need of someone anywhere, so I tried in different places. I've been involved with the Auxiliary now for two years, though I had never been involved before. I was a board member initially, and was elected to president one year ago. Presently I go with others to visit elders who have no autonomy and unable to go out and about, to go and pray. This is part of the work I do. When I experienced what I did, I came to have a desire to do things like that. It is a pleasure learning it.

LK: So praying, for you, and helping others pray, prayer, is important to you?

Lucy: Yes, very very much. Marialuk! I have been like this: there was a point in my life I wanted to be prayed for but was unable to ask. I found it too difficult to ask, "naluqquitisunga". I thought I could get better with one prayer. However, it is only after many and constant prayers that a person can stand up, "mikitagunnatillugu".

LK: Why did you want someone to pray for you?

Lucy: When I am living through great difficulty, through unhappy things. It would be the only thing that would come to my mind. But I learned that prayer should be just once, God wants to be praised everyday, wants to be prayed to. No matter in what type of situation we are in, to pray each day and praise Him each day. It was only when I was going through great difficulties that I would think of praying, and it isn't supposed to be like that. I was like that before.
While praying to God was important in one sense, receiving prayer was also important in another sense. Having someone pray for oneself or to receiving blessing through prayer was important to both Alasie and Lucy and at the same time there is a sense of duty to prayer. Elders of the community receive prayer and participate in prayer when they receive visits. And prayer was important for committees to begin and end their business but also as their basis of guidance to good decision-making. Muncy also utilized prayer in the same manner and went to church perhaps twice a month, but for him he placed a greater emphasis on the New Testament. As he said in his own words, “I pay less attention to the prayer and pay more attention to the Bible, God’s Word is my foundation.” (Novalinga 2010) Throughout the interview he was able to refer to different passages of the New Testament, and he dreamed of different passages or whole chapters, which had meaning or messages for him. Here he spoke of a couple of dreams he had:

I spoke earlier of having become a mayor and using the Bible passage as my tunngavik. Seven months had passed since the accidental passing of my son. And God came to me, He was not visible to me but He gave me words in my dream just before I woke up. Isaiah 60, and four bright lights, four stars, bright. The meaning was that anyone or everyone will be coming to you (to Muncy) for assistance, and your sons and your daughters will come asking for help. But that chapter that God gave me, I will be reading it to understand it.

LK: I see. Isaiah 60.

MN: Then I had another dream. I didn’t see the speaker but I heard a speaker, and the speaker made a lot of sense. Let me mention it. The speaker said, “When Jesus arrives to fetch the people in the world there will be many that will not go with Him and many will go with Him.” I received this message and I had to talk to the community about it. I mentioned what was told to me. What was said, “There will be many that Jesus will come and get. But many more will be left behind, even those in Puvirnituq.” That is what was told to me. And I was told, since I would not be here, since I would be among those to go with Jesus, and because I would not be able to speak to the people that I have to write to them on paper or to record this on audio or video so that they may hear and see and read. I had, to the best of my ability, passed a message that those who have been left behind must not use the number 666, because if they do, taima, ajurnamat34, they will go to the eternal fire. That was what I was told. I also received a verse that I had to search for in the

34 Taima, “finished” and Ajurnamat means “nothing further can be done”.
Bible. It wasn't given to me. That was what I was told in my dream, and having to search the verse I found Revelation 11 or 14, which one I'm not sure now, but from verse 9 to 13.

When I found the passage in the Bible I realized that the voice speaking to me was right. Ainhai, sulijuq\textsuperscript{35}. The passage was exactly what that voice was telling me. By using my faith I had to speak to the whole community while I was mayor. The religious faith was my foundation when I informed the community about the decisions made at the municipal council and before I spoke I would say a prayer first as the way I did it. And I prayed for the community.

As one can see, the role of faith within the community is significant. Prayer has its place among committee members and individuals of the community. However, it is apparent for the mayor, who felt great responsibility for the whole population and had a great concern for the social well being of everyone, that guidance from one's faith was central though not the main guiding force for the daily functioning of the municipal council. Everyday decision-making did not require the use of a particular belief and the municipal council functioned in a secular way, as admitted by the mayor as well.

Nowadays most people attend church services and the two churches function as places of worship, prayer, to participate in life celebrations as well as for funeral services. Mostly elders continue to attend the Anglican Church services regularly, which are on every Sunday morning and evening as well as Wednesday evening. There are also Sunday school services for children. At the Saint Mathew's Anglican Church of Puvirnituq, couples with newborn children will call the minister to request the baptism of their children. At the times that I have been in Puvirnituq, which is on average twice a year, I have heard the minister make an announcement on the community radio that there would be children's baptism ceremony at the church, on such a date, and if there would be anyone who wanted to have their children baptized, to call him.

\textsuperscript{35} "I realized it was true"
Another phase in the spiritual growth of a person comes during their adolescence when it comes time for them to receive Confirmation. Inuit youth from ages 12 to 14 receive training for 6 months, once a week, with the Anglican minister Jonas Allooloo as their teacher. Part of their training consists of learning their responsibilities as members of their church and reciting parts of the prayer book by memory, and usually in Inuktitut. When the time comes, Bishop Andrew Ataguttaluk arrives to Puvirnituq and performs the celebratory Confirmation, thereby confirming the youth as members of the Church of God.

Another type of celebration is performed in the Anglican Church, and that is the marriage ceremony. Usually an interested couple informs the minister of their intention to get married. Having been informed, the minister then mentions their names in the church, and announces their intention of becoming married for three consecutive Sundays during church services, and he then opens the opportunity for people to speak to him about whether they agree or disagree with the marriage. Jonas Allooloo said, regarding the announcements it was piusiummat, meaning because it is tradition, it has always been done like that. Then they take three weeks to practice their ceremony and to learn their vows, once a week until their special day arrives. By this time many people in the community had heard about the marriage.

36 Personal communication, Anglican minister of St. Mathew's Parish of Puvirnituq, Jonas Allooloo.
about to take place and on the day of the marriage the church is usually filled with people wanting to observe the marriage and participate in the celebration.

The Anglican Church also conducts funeral services. In this case the minister consults with the family of the deceased regarding a time for the burial and a church service is held on the day of the burial. Here, the ritual of grieving takes place especially for the family but also many members of the community, related or not, come to the service as well to pay respect to the deceased and the family. The funeral service is quite formal using prayer and sermon. A funeral was very much a community affair in the past, as I recall attending funeral services with practically everyone else from the community in the 1970s. The Inuit communities are still small enough that it is still like that today. It is also the case, as mentioned in the interviews, and seen from experience, that any social or political activities will be suspended and the stores closed for the day when a death has happened in the community.

Regular services of the Anglican Church include communion and prayers, which include prayers for blessings such as when committee members have been sworn in to their boards. Reverend Canon Jonas Allooloo mentioned that as minister he also makes hospital visits to offer prayer services to those who stay in hospital for a long term.

The services at the Tusarnatulirivik Full Gospel Church are similar in the sense of the way prayers are conducted and in the times that services are offered. But there are also several differences between the ways the two churches offer their services. When Tusarnatulirivik came to establish itself in the early 1970s, the main differences initially observed were the inclusion of music, having songs played along with musical instruments and encouraging individuals with musical talents to use them; and in the way individuals verbally expressed themselves during services. Words like Hallelujah! Or Amen! could be heard, and a lot of emotions were expressed too.

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37 Personal communication, Anglican minister of St. Mathew’s Parish of Puvirnituq, Jonas Allooloo.
38 Ibid
These surface differences were quite obvious compared to the conventional Anglican Church services, which were conducted solemnly and quietly then.

Another difference was in the way people are encouraged, at a certain point during a church service, to come forward and pray and ask for forgiveness. The minister makes an announcement during the service. This is based on the principle that every one must *qaqialik*, to be born again, as their Pastor Eliyassie Sallualuk explained. For those who repent, *qaqialik*, they leave behind their past life and begin a new life:

_Eli:_ When I accepted Jesus into my heart, when I allowed Him into my heart, my understanding completely changed. I had belonged to the world and went to Church as a member of the world. Without putting a lot of care into the Church, as long as I went. The real reason I went to Church was by doing what others did ever since I was growing up, without really taking care, because they went to Church I went to Church.

But when I accepted Jesus going to Church underwent a different meaning for me. I changed. And by following my understanding I exited the Anglican Church.

_LK:_ I see...you did not find the Anglican Church satisfactory anymore?

_Eli:_ Uhm, imaak⁹⁹, not out of dissatisfaction but due to my call. Having the Lord as my Lord. Back then I had no Lord, Jesus was not my Lord, nor was God, although I went to Church for service. But when I asked Jesus to come into my heart, my behaviour was changed and I wanted Jesus to be my Lord, and his calling for me was no longer to be at the same place but because there were believers of this belief. I didn't know of the existence of the Tusarnatulirivik Full Gospel Church then, but we exited from the Tutsiavik⁴⁰ (Anglican Church).

_LK:_ What does "uppiniq" (usually taken to mean belief in God) mean?

_Eli:_ Uppiniq, belie.... do you mean to have Jesus?

_LK:_ um, the belief we have within ourselves, usually we believe in something... in our language what does this mean?

_Eli:_ I understand. If we have not invited Jesus into our hearts, a person is really of the world. The "uvinik", the skin (the worldly body) longs for everything that is of the world, and that gives it happiness (or pleasure). It is its way. God created a perfect body but if the person has not decided on wanting Jesus as one's Saviour, the "uvinik" the skin (the worldly body) does just what it (isumaimaqik).

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⁹⁹ Imaak literally means “like this”, meaning to say, “let me explain”.
⁴⁰ Tutsiavik means place of prayer.
But, when this person has invited Jesus in, then God's Spirit goes in this person. A person who has never invited Jesus cannot have the Holy Spirit inside. This Holy Spirit "anirniq ijjunattuq" goes into all who ask for Jesus to enter their hearts. All those who do not invite Him, do not receive the Holy Spirit because Jesus does not ask to BE invited, even though He has a lot of power. He gives the choice. This is what is available, He says, and if you do this, this will happen. He informs people well. By following what he says, an inuk decides and makes a real choice so that his worldly body "uvininga silarrumiitut" when it becomes fatigued of following the worldly ways is changed without realizing that changes are forthcoming, when his/her sins are removed.

Sin means, an inuk (a person) who constantly carries sin like a weight on the back. Like carrying them heavily on the back, figuratively speaking, because they are in the heart. Carrying this sin all his life until he has Jesus, apologizing to Jesus for sinning toward him, and asking Him for forgiveness. Until he has done that, he carries the initial sins of Adam and Eve, and finding them very heavy. These are what are called the roots of sin, what the inuk does that is not right. When this sin is removed, the inuk completely changes. His behaviour toward Jesus, and having the Holy Spirit work on him, and being helped by the Helper.

In the same way, using as an example, I am a real Inuk. When I leave to Montreal for example, when I have left Inuit Nunangat, I would see many automobiles, roads, and many, many buildings. I would be totally lost, and helpers come to me. It's the only way. In the same way, although an Inuk here is not in the Qallunaat Nunangat, he is totally lost too if he is not guided by the Holy Spirit because he has always done whatever he wanted to do with no-one to tell him what is right, or that he has no tool to do better.

God's Word says, "Anyone who does not have God's Spirit does not belong to Him." This means anyone who does not have God's Spirit in him does not belong to Jesus. The person is alive and well, and in good health. But those who have changed they don't go around telling others, "eee, you are not good", they would never say that because inuit (people) are not able to change or get better right away, they can change right away by their own choice.

But it is said to be dangerous to not have Jesus in one's life. A person has only one life, and there will be a judgement. These follow one after the other.

I used to think and thought that I understood that all will be judged and are heading toward that judgement. When a person dies he will be judged for the wrongdoings, and that was what I understood will happen. But since I have looked at God's Word, the person who has received Jesus has been saved and his sins removed and will not go to that judgment. But will go to a different judgment. Imaittumut, to a place like this: all the good deeds and good things, all the work, everything that is of good, he will be judged for and be paid accordingly. For this person, who had received God, for his help in saving others, this person will also go to that judgment where there will be a seven-year celebration, they will be paid for their deeds.
With that being said, I used to be afraid of this and went to Church because of it, wanting to be saved because there is a great fire and that there is a great joy in heaven; I thought I would be saved simply because I went to Church regularly. But an inuk can never be saved simply because he is a churchgoer, it is absolutely only when he accepts Jesus in his heart. I know that some believe that because they belong to this Church or that, that they believe they will be saved. This is not true. This is the preaching of the inuk.

While the summer season was quiet, I attended one service at the Tusarnatulirivik Church during my 2009 field trip. There were more than 10, up to 15 people in attendance including my mother whom I had brought on a wheelchair. At this service I found myself listening to certain individuals who had stood to tell of their experience on their voyage to Pangnituuq. One of them was the wife of the Anglican minister, who spoke about a healing of the land experience just outside the community of Pangnituuq and how beneficial it was for the community. The healing the land ceremony happened at a spot where two young men had become lost years ago, and it was a spot where members of their family could pray, grieve, and bring closure to that long ago event. The two young men had never been found. The community had benefitted from this healing the land experience, as healing made way for people who had been touched by the loss of their loved ones, and where the land had taken on a feeling of being cursed, this negative feeling had been lifted and members of the community began to feel peace. This aspect of the service, of allowing individual members of the church to speak as witnesses, was particular to the Tusarnatulirivik.

At the same service there was a moment during prayers where individuals who wished were asked to come forward to receive prayer directly from the minister or one of his assistants with what looked like a special ability to touch. The individual who had come forward to receive prayer, stood before the assistant, and with both having closed their eyes they began to pray. The assistant touched the receiver of prayer and the latter suddenly keeled over, apparently losing conscience, as he required support while falling flat onto the floor. I was not sure of why the individual went forward to receive prayer, and I felt it imprudent if I would inquire with him later, it seemed like a very personal experience for him, like asking God for help. Up to then I had never
seen this type of prayer where an individual was touched and then fainted. There are also those who apparently have the ability to “speak in tongues”, that is to be able to speak in a language other than that understood by everyone else in the church. I did not observe this and heard of it from one of my interviewees. When someone speaks in tongues, it can happen in a prayer service as a message from God. And usually another person has the parallel ability to translate a foreign language being spoken, for the message to be understood by everyone. These types of abilities were unheard of in the Anglican Church in Puvirnitut in the early 1960s, and when they first came to general knowledge, they were nothing short of miraculous. Elisapie Tukaluk Uittangaq spoke about these special abilities:

EU: There are different kinds of gifts from God. I sing as part of the choir at the Full Gospel. And I don't want to just talk about myself saying what I am able to do, but I can mention that I participate in the choir. And I have also the gift for praying for anyone, no matter who they are, and I can feel that they are going through a difficult time, I am given the gift of praying for them.

And there are those who speak, “tusarrngatartuq”, it is called speaking in tongues in the Bible. It is a prayer by using another language that is not one's own. A language that comes from our fellow human beings “inuuqatikta”, there are different languages that get spoken. I am also given the gift of prayer in another language, speaking in tongues, in which language I don't know. I don't know what language I am speaking. But because I don't understand myself, there is also an interpreter who can allow me to understand what I am saying. And these are chosen, the ones who pray in tongues are given that as a gift.

And I also interpret for the minister. I find this comfortable to do for me too. Interpreting through the Holy Spirit is something I am able to do too.

LK: So when Eliyassie has been preaching you interpret for him?

EU: I interpret into Inuktitut what English preachers have been saying. (I see) I find it more difficult to interpret into English someone who is preaching in Inuktitut, I interpret better into Inuktitut.

So I know these are the things given to me, I find it uncomfortable to say that they are gifts to me, but I have been told what my gifts are.

LK: I brought my mother to the Full Gospel Church yesterday. I saw someone praying for people, does she have that as a gift?

EU: No, yes there are others with that gift too. It's different too. There are some who only just pray for people, so that individual has that and she is not the only one.
For example, we believe in the existence of Satan, evil spirits and in God, we are people. There are those who can recognize when an evil spirit is controlling a person, and there are not many with that ability. For example, there is someone in Tusarnatulirivik with that ability; she doesn't take part in the prayer itself but she can see what is controlling that person being prayed for. Then she goes to that person to take care of them.

The different gifts are like that, gifts from God. Fellow believers work by helping each other. They don't try to decide together what they should do, it is the Holy Spirit that directs them in what to do and they help each other like that.

There is also the ability to preach, to evangelize (bringing someone to be born again).

Basically the Tusarnatulirivik Full Gospel Church appeared interactive in the way people participated in prayers and in the way they spoke in front of the congregation as well as in the practice of their special gifts. And although their minister has the training to perform marriages and funerals, (Sallualuk 2009) services for these do not take place at the Tusarnatulirivik and happen only in the Anglican Church perhaps because of it being tradition. Newborn children are not baptized at the Tusarnatulirivik, as Elisapie said: "When a child is born I think especially of wanting this child to be given peace by God. There is no baptism of children at the Full Gospel. A person makes that choice when he is ready to make that choice so this is practiced, without going through this baptism in their childhood." (Tukalak-Uittangaq 2009) As recalled above, this was the salient point that had brought Reverend Aipilie Napartuk to quit the Anglican Church for a period. Yet after a period of internal debate he returned to serve his fellow Inuit in the church.

The two churches exist side by side, then, with some community members attending both while some remain strictly Anglican and others remain only as members of Tusarnatulirivik. On special occasions such as children's baptisms, confirmations, communion, marriages and funerals the Anglican Church is generally full. As mentioned above, the Tusarnatulirivik Full Gospel Church minister has the capability to perform marriages and funerals but does not offer them. The Tusarnatulirivik does weekly Bible studies however and forms musical and dance groups. There is a Gospel
music group in the community that performs during church services and festivals; and Syra Sallualuk, the minister Eliyassie Sallualuk’s wife, coordinates a young dancers’ group called the Lion of Judah Flag Dancers of Puvirnituq. These young dancers perform for example during the Puvirnituq Snow Festival and other special occasions.41

A distribution of community members between the two churches has occurred since the 1960s when everyone was attending the Anglican Church. Aisa Qupirrualuk and Peter Nauja Angiyou built the Anglican Church in Puvirnituq only in 1962 with the help of other members of the community. The Anglican missionary arrived in the fall of that year so the presence of the missionary was new, though Inuit catechists such as Aisa Qupirrualuk, Qinnuajuaq and Aqpaliraq were leading church services in Puvirnituq.

41 These young performers performed during the Puvirnituq Snow Festival of 2009.
Today the Anglican Church is attended by all the Inuit elders, of which there are over 70 aged 60 years and over. These elders come from all of the original first inhabitants of the time when Puvirnituq was established as a settled community. Sallualualuk whose descendants include Surusilaaq then Qinnuajuaq, Tulugaarjuk and Sallualuk in a second generation; Alasuaq whose descendants include Qupirrualuk, Alasuaq, Sivuaq and Nunngaq; Qautsiaraaluk whose descendants include the various branches of the Tukalak and the Amaamattuaq families; Talirurnilik whose descendants include
Qumaaluk, Ittukallak, and Amittuq; Qaunnaq whose descendants are Novalinga, Angutiguluk and Qalingo families, and the families of Nutaraaluk, Kuannanaaq, Tullaugaq, Uqaittuq, Ivillaq, Eliyassialuk, Arsaapaaq, Amarualik, Angiyou, Uittangaq, Putuguq and Ivillaq. Most everyone attended the Anglican Church right from the start.

When the Pentecostal missionary came to Puvirnituq in the 1960s, it was a brand new religious movement. The Anglican Church was given a strong footing by the Inuit catechists and the arrival of the Qallunaaq missionary in 1962. The Pentecostal movement began its grasp with certain members of a couple of family branches. One convert included Eliyassie Sallualuk, who was the son of the blind man Sallualuk, son of Patsauraaluk as mentioned above. Sallualuk, son of Patsauraaluk, was the younger of two elder brothers Qinnuajuaq and Tulugaarjuk and often depended on them since he could not go hunting. Qinnuajuaq, the eldest of the three, was one of the spiritual leaders in Puvirnituq. This meant Tulugaarjuk and Sallualuk derived leadership through different strengths and perhaps mainly supported their older brother Qinnuajuaq.

The other family that became involved in the Pentecostal movement was from the Tukalak family. The ancestor of the Tukalak family was Qautsiaraaluk, who was the father of Kuunilusi Tukalak who was born in Puvirnituq and died in 1942. Kuunilusi Tukalak had married Lucy Irrumiaq and they had six children. According to Qupirrualuk above, it was this Tukalak who was leading prayers in the Inuit communities before Puvirnituq was settled. Tukalak and Irrumiaq’s eldest son was born after a sister, Alicie Irrumiaq, and he was Aisa Ajagutainnaq Tukalak who was followed by Piitaguluapik Tukalak, Josie Paujungi Tukalak, Lucassie Kuunilusie Tukalak, and Nellie Niviarsi. Even though he was the eldest, it seems Aisa Ajagutainnaq did not partake in spiritual leadership preferring instead to be a follower. Neither were his siblings involved in church leadership. It was the

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42 Sallualuk, Eliyassie, 2009 Interview.
43 Personal communication with his daughter Aida Tukalak, corroborated by an elder in Puvirnituq.
children of Lucassie Kuunilusie Tukalak who gave momentum to the Pentecostal movement in Puvirnituq, Dora Sallualuk (she was the wife of Eliyassie Sallualuk but died early) and her brother Qalingo Tukalak.\textsuperscript{44} Lucassie their father was the youngest of four brothers. One can see that their family probably did not exercise leadership for a couple of generations from Lucassie Tuakalak down to his children, so when the Pentecostal movement emerged, it may have provided them the opportunity to exercise their leadership skills.

Another person who was involved from the start of the movement was Annie (Qupirrualuk) Uqaittuq and her husband Juaniapik Uqaittuq.\textsuperscript{45} She was the only daughter of Aisa Qupirrualuk, though he also had two adopted sons; and he was an Anglican Minister. With the Anglican Church accepting only male leaders, I think the early Pentecostal movement provided her and Dora Sallualuk to take part in leadership as women. The exercise of leadership for Inuit women had become very rare since the transition to Christianity. At the time, only Inuit men were running the Community Council and similarly so in the Anglican Church leadership. Inuit leadership was based on a semi-traditional form of leadership during the early settlement period, as people presenting themselves for the Community Council or the Church leadership were typically Inuit men who were considered the best able to lead. The Pentecostal movement opened up an opportunity for women to be involved in spiritual leadership.

Many youth do not attend church services any longer, except for the special occasions such as children’s baptisms, confirmations, marriages and funerals. But typical Sunday Anglican Church services may have an average participation of 20 to 30 people, and the Tusarnatulirivik less so. It is quite possible that one or more families do not participate at all in church activities, preferring not to be involved. I heard one person during an unrelated trip to Puvirnituq mention that he wanted nothing to do

\textsuperscript{44} This knowledge comes from observation in the early 1980s when, as a teenager, I attended the Pentecostal church in Puvirnituq.

\textsuperscript{45} Annie Uqaittuq is my own mother.
with the churches, however I did not have the opportunity to speak with him about the subject and so I did not learn more than that.
CHAPTER 5. PUVRNITURMIUT INUIT IDENTITY AND PERCEPTIONS

Much of what the informants had to say about what they valued in Inuit identity referred to concrete aspects of Inuit culture, for example the Inuit language, Inuktitut, and food, survival and hunting skills as well as seamstress skills. Most informants cited in one way or another the Inuit value of sharing and of helping each other. According to them, Inuit would not have survived in the harsh environment in which they live if all this did not exist. Such values and markers of Inuit identity that Inuit claim as theirs do not seem to have changed over time.

Yet among the younger parents, such as one of the women I interviewed who was 45 years old, there was mention that her children seemed to be less concerned about their sauniq, who they were named after, and about who their sanajik was. A sanajik was traditionally one who cut the umbilical cord when one was born and was often the midwife. She accompanied the child during his childhood onto adulthood and encouraged the child at the milestones of his life. A young boy, the angusiaq, for example would bring his first catch to his sanajik, and a young girl, the arnaliaq would also bring her first catch to her sanajik. In Puvirnituq a sanajik gained an arnaliaq or angusiaq by bringing new clothing to the newborn and dressing the child with these new clothes and thus speaking to the child about all the great things he or she will be able to do when grown up. As such, she acquired a certain responsibility as a sanajik and kept an eye on the arnaliaq or angusiaq while she or he was growing up. Such markers of Inuit identity may be seen to be just on the verge of being less practiced, according to one of the people I interviewed. She shared her thoughts on the sanajik tradition:

AS: We in my generation have used those well. I have children now aged 21, 19 and 18 years. I have told them about things when I would have attended Church, not all the time but sometimes. They have heard of having arnaliaq or angusiaq, that they have some responsibilities toward them, and that they would have to act as witness when the child is being baptized. I have had one of my children say, "How
For me, I used to have to give to my sanajik whatever thing I was able to make or do for the first time.

LK: What did your sanajik do when you gave him/her your first thing?

AS: Nothing. Only saying a thank you. I gave what I learned how to do for the first time whether I had caught an animal, and I don’t recall whether I gave my first sewing project.

I haven’t heard of any children born nowadays who don’t have sanajik. There are even some who have two sanajiik, even though to me it is the norm to have just one. There is one sanajik I know of who has twin boys as angusiaq, it’s the first time I learned about that type of arrangement.

All the people I interviewed were able to mention who their sanajik was, and sometimes they even had two; as well as having a sauniq, a person they had been named after. As part of this group of people, when I was born, I got not just one, but two sanajiik. Both were of the same generation of my grandparents, and I recall how each time I saw them their faces would light up and they would shower me with affection. When I brought a little something that I had made they would praise me. One recollection is of my grandmother Lydia Qirmiulauk and I visiting one of my sanajiik Siasie and bringing her something I had made, it was important. My sanajiik died while I was still quite young, and the daughter of Siasie said to me that she could become my sanajik, in replacement of her mother and I have become her arnaliaq, even though several years had passed after the passing of her mother. Today she has become a link to a part of my sense of belonging to the Inuit community of Puvirnituq.

Peter Ittukallak, involved in the Co-op committee for many years, was one of the Inuit who discussed the things he found important about Inuit identity. After first mentioning the importance of Inuit food and language he continued:

PI: And making clothes, Inuit clothes. They are always the best. We work once in a while with Qallumaat in the winter and I find wearing Inuit clothes are always the

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46 Sanajik, singular; sanajiik, dual, and sanajiit, plural.
They are made by Inuit. The skins or fur from animals have to be well taken care of.

The Inuit from Igloolik, who were here for a film shooting, were very good at making clothing. Furs for clothing and taking really good care and not wasting them at all. I find this very valuable and don't want it to get lost at all! They are very comfortable, and lightweight. For example, now that Inuit are dog-sledding, the use of Inuit clothing is the most efficient [...] 

PI: I have discovered the wonderful aspect of dog-sledding too. It doesn't allow anyone time to sit still, you have to move around all the time. My own body felt much better. I had become big over time but in two weeks, I became more flexible and became at ease with my body since I participated at the Ivakkak dogsled race. I'll be participating again if my dogs are fine.

And the art of constructing a snowhouse, illulit. This must not be lost either. One sleeps well in a snowhouse. And one can have a shelter to enter into even if there is nothing around, so long as there is snow. [...] 

LK: What else?

PI: And knowledge of the land, for going out, "maqainimut". One must know about the weather too. I travelled recently with some young boys. I have a son who is nine years old, and he tries to remember the landscapes because he's always following me out on my hunting trips. Some kids who are older than him, it was the first time they come with us, they couldn't even look around, to make visual marks with their eyes. It is regrettable, "ugguartuungaluaq". I have to keep reminding them that we are moving on land that it is very important to know it, to keep their eyes open, to look! This type of knowledge must be lost, knowing where one is going and where one is coming from. Looking forward, and looking backward knowing that one will be heading back again. It is the most important.

It is also important to know about the different kinds of animals. Whether it is female, and whether it is okay to hunt for it. It is especially important for caribou, if they are pregnant. If one is very, very hungry (like in famine), it's okay, but we avoid killing those female caribou in April because it is carrying a future food. [...] 

LK: What about "uppiniq", having belief, is this attached to our Inuitness? Is it a way of showing our Inuitunnauniq?

PI: Some of them. There is a belief, and I really used to believe in them too, I don't believe it too much anymore. For example, a cord, a regular cord, is very important in the catch of animals, or in its use with dogs. We used to be told to not cut for example the intestine of the seal. (after cleaning out the intestines of seals, these are cooked and eaten and are some of the favourite parts to eat) We used to be told that, this was so that the cord we were using to catch the animal would not cut.

When I mentioned it to a minister, I was told in English, "It sounds like a superstition." So I had stopped believing in that, even though I always remember it.
Peter’s mention of seal intestines and their symbolic link to cords is evocative of Inuit customs of the olden times, especially in relation to observances and regulations surrounding meat or other animal parts. For instance Boas, in *The Central Eskimo* (Boas 1964: 203) mentions, “After the birth of her child the mother must observe a great number of regulations, referring particularly to food and work. She is not allowed for a whole year to eat raw meat or a part of any animal killed by being shot through the heart.” Likewise Rasmussen speaks of what Inuit women had to do after the birth of their child, like Boas above he says, “For a whole year after childbirth the woman may not eat raw meat, nor may she eat flesh of any animal wounded in the heart, stomach or foetus.” But he also added something related to intestines:

“On the first occasion of eating raw meat after childbirth the woman must, if her child be a boy, ariserpoq, i.e. a piece of intestine about 1.5 metres long, and a piece of liver, are placed in her cooking pot, taken out again quickly, so as to be hardly more than dipped in the boiling water, and the woman must then swallow the intestine whole, without cutting it, and immediately after eat the liver, which must likewise not be masticated, but swallowed rapidly (she must not cut either one or the other).” (Rasmussen 1976 (1929): 175)

Peter’s discussion above reflects the main thoughts that Inuit in his generation and older, born before and in the 1950s, hold about Inuit identity. For Peter when I asked him whether *uppiniq*, belief, was attached to our identity, to being an Inuk, he referred directly to the old Inuit beliefs, the rules with which Inuit had to conduct themselves as a way to guide their lives, to become good hunters and to have long lives. Two of them stood out in his memory, but were tinged with considering them as ‘superstitions’ because a minister had once told him so. As far as *uppiniq*, belief, was concerned some beliefs were specifically Inuit while believing in God seemed to be a necessary aspect of life. He was one of the people who attended both churches and in fact accepted the beliefs of both.
Muncy Novalinga, former mayor of Puvirnituq remains involved in regional politics as a member of the Kativik Regional Government Council. He also stated that in his eyes the two churches were equal, and chose not to side with one or the other no matter the disagreement the two institutions harboured with each other. He described Inuit identity in this way:

**MN:** In being Inuit, our food, niqituinnaq, the fact we eat raw meat. Caribou, seal, bearded seal, walrus, aged meat. Because eating is what gives us life, inuagutigigattigu. It follows us. And our language. I am proud of our being Inuit, inutuinnauniq, and eating our food and finding it tasteful, and we have our own language. Unfortunately, and without doing it on purpose we now speak kind of a mixed language, we include English in our speech. We think we are speaking Inuktitut sometimes. When I hear that sometimes I ask, "Are you speaking Inuktitut?" and the answer I get is, "Yes I am." (laughs) then I ask, "are you serious?" and they say, "yes."

Alai, so some say, "Like, uh, like", the speaker says, "two days ago avunngalajujunga, four days ago uh avunngalajujunga.." like that. So I ask, "Are you speaking Inuktitut?" and they say "Yes", and I ask again, "How?", and the answer comes, "Inuktitut." Four days ago, last week, last year. I hear that very much. And I really appreciate the work that the group of Zebedee Nungak is doing to bring back the use of Inuktitut, and keeping it alive. Me too, in homes people are mixing their speech, and I try to the best of my ability not to. I tell my children to speak in Inuktitut, my wife too, and even my friends. I try to speak without mixing Inuktitut with English.

When I think about it, we have spoken English now for some 50 or 100 years as an example, but we can lose our language if we don’t speak it properly.

**LK:** Other values that we have through being inutuinnaq?

**MN:** I value this very much: That Inuit would help others by sharing food with them so that they will survive. They survive, or when we are given, we survive. They shared among each other from the same plate, amiqqaqattuittuitsutik. I like this, this Inuit piusiq, the way Inuit do it. pajugainiq – bringing food to another, minarniq - bringing food to someone from farther away for the survival. I don’t want this to disappear, because that is how we have survived. And it means ilagiitsiaq, being good to one another in a community, taking care of one another. That is how I understand it.

Querying him about how Christianity may have impacted Inuit values, Inuit identity, he freely mentioned the impact on Inuit shamans, referring to their loss in Inuit society.
MN: Marik, very much. To my understanding, I'll say it in English, the way I observe it, a very long time ago, the Inuit piusiviniit, the old Inuit ways like in shamanism. We have all heard that there were good and bad shamans. There were those who were only trying to help their fellow Inuit, and those who were trying to kill, fearful shamans. Before God's Word was brought here by the Qallunaat who brought them, by the missionaries, I believe that the good shamans, I think I know that the good shamans were used by God. God, because God is already God. God is the God of the Israeli, and was introduced to us. As Jesus had died. We are Gentiles to the people of Israel, and I believe that even Gentiles will have God.

But before the preachings of Jesus, God, and the Holy Spirit were put into the heart of the Inuk, those who were living during the time of the shamans I believe were used by God and by evil. I believe it to be like that.

LK: This is what is the most impacted?

MN: Yes, having shamans. I think the way Inuit had shamans is different from the way other people of the world have shamans. I'm not saying we are the best, but the shamans of people of Africa (and other parts of the world) I don't know how they do it. But the desire to help inuuqatik, fellow Inuit, was why Inuit had shamans I would suppose. Wanting to say where caribou and other animals are for their survival, or helping those who were sick. Or be at war with the bad shaman.

(...)

LK: So you have mentioned that this is what has been most impacted in our Inuit values. Now if we would have continued having Inuit shamans today, how do you think we would be living today – would our Inuitness be less impacted?

MN: If shamanism would have continued, and even if Christianity would have been introduced, you know God, Jesus, the Holy Spirit; I think even if that would have been introduced, I do not know, aatsuuk qanukiaq. Ah, perhaps it would be good in one way and not in other ways. People would just be practicing what they believe, without anyone preaching them naumullununit ajuqirtutautagatik. No one telling them that what they are doing is wrong, isumamitsutik, doing what they want from their own will. If there would be that situation, I don't know. It's hard to answer. Perhaps it would be good, or not good. immaqaa piijuq immaqaa piunngituk.

One can see the varying view of Muncy on the origin of shamanism. Recall that the Tusarnatulirivik minister believed that shamans came from evil. Muncy however expressed a more positive take on shamans, that they came from or were directed by God, but that Christianity removed them. Another way in which Muncy found that Inuit were impacted by the introduction of Christianity was the division caused by the creation of two different churches. He said:
MN: It has, very much. Isumainnaq simajuq. But, before Inuit understood about qaqialirnik, the need to turn from sin through asking for forgiveness from God, from Jesus. They prayed to the Holy Spirit, as Anglicans because that was the Church that arrived here. But when they started reading God’s Words, they have started to understand that they have to qaagialik, to saagiaq. When people started to saagiaq there were those who disagreed with this and it even lead to dissension. That was what happened, I remember, in 1975 when I was 4 or 5 or 6 years old. I recall people speaking in anger with one another, arguing, in Church.

LK: So for you Christianity has brought about pitsiaqatigiinginiq, disagreements with one another.

MN: Isumainnaq, very much. Pitsiaqatigiinginiirmik and leading to inuqaqatigiisitangiituk, leading to not caring for one another. Bringing up arguments, not liking that person, that is what it has brought about. The people who are born again say that the reason they chose to be born again (repent) is such and such; but those who don’t want to follow that path then disagree. I think the argument started with the Anglican members who stated that the born again types were making a mistake and saying that they were going overboard in the religion, qaangiutik. To me it’s their business. To try to control someone else, a person who understands something does so with their own understanding, and it should be respected. Tukisijuq tukisijarminik tukisimmat.

LK: Today Inuit are in Christianity, we are Christians. Are Inuit in a better situation (in a better world) today?

MN: To me, yes. An Inuk in sin, we are sometimes in sin, we live in sin, sometimes on purpose and sometimes without knowing ilaaniunngituk). And because these are sins we have to bring them before Jesus, to have him remove the sins. For me, I think that is what it is. And from what I have heard from Inuit talking, some speak about having gone to heaven and meeting Jesus, I believe what they are saying. They are not Qallunaat, they are not Amerindian, and they are not from elsewhere, they are Inuit inutuinnait, Eskimo. They say they have met Jesus, and I believe them. And for me it is evidence that God’s Word is true, sulimmata.

In his point of view about the divisions being created in the community Muncy stressed the importance of sharing and being kind and helpful to one another as Inuit values, and the division created tensions among the community members that eroded the Inuit values of being helpful to one another. And although the expulsion of shamans and erosion of Inuit values had occurred, Christianity also had its positive impact. Inuit realized that their living in sin could mean they could repent and be forgiven of their sin, and to Muncy this is an aspect of Inuit lives that is experienced by most Inuit.
Similarly, the Reverend Aipilie Napartuk spoke about positive impacts on Inuit society with the conversion to Christianity and the stopping of certain actions that Inuit used to do in the past.

AN: Yes, no wonder because I have been a minister for nearly 40 years now. Before Inuit knew about uppiniq I have had to think seriously about some issues. I have studied God’s Words for a long time now, and some of the ways of Inuit in the past do not coincide with God’s Word and some do coincide. And it was like that even though they didn’t know Jesus or God. And even when they know Jesus, they have been held by how they were before.

LK: What are the piniarniit, actions, that serve as obstacles to God’s Word and the piniarniit that God is searching for? Those piniarniit that do not coincide with God’s Word?

AN: Kasuutiqataunnginingit. Those actions that do not coincide with God’s Word. Back then when God’s Word was not known by Inuit, because they did not know that a human being had a tarniq, a soul. When they were angered, ninngaq, they had no attarusuk, they were rough, and the killing of someone was likely to happen. This piniarniq has been completely cut, something that Inuit used to do. Like anyone who could dominate another, saalaqagunnatuinnatuit, as they did not realize that humans had souls so they were apt to commit murders. Some. Especially those who were isumakittuq, who had little isuma, or short tempers and not wise, not all. Those who were using their minds more, who had intelligence, did not just resort to murder. But those who made less use of their isuma would more easily fall back on murder.

There were numerous actions, piniarniuqattasimajut, even like what men used to do, due to not knowing God; some would have more than one wife because they were well able to provide a living, depending on how well they did. And even certain men would have their wives taken from them in some cases, by other men, by other men who were more capable. If a man wanted another’s wife, and the husband was too sapiq, too afraid to fight back, they would simply take his wife, they would arsaaq him, remove something from him without his consent. Some men would do this if they were able to dominate the husband of the woman they wanted.

These things have been pretty well stopped, but it is clear today that they also have an effect on today’s life, but one cannot really know how that happened where this effect comes from, ngittujaartukut.

Taimaimmat, so even material belongings could be taken from their owner without their consent necessarily, Inuit used to do things like that. But as fellow Inuit, inuqatigiit, in living with one another in wisdom silatunikkut, it becomes evident when Inuit are living together in wisdom. If one does not know others, anything could happen so they have to be aware of each other. One may be against God’s
Word because of ignorance, qaujimanginmut, about the possibility of living a life different from one’s own.

Lk: There are more piniarniit you could mention?

An: Yes, I could speak more on it after collecting my thoughts about them, and say there is this, and there is that. I wouldn’t want to talk about them just for talking. There were ilisiirniit, angakkuuniit, placing hexes and being shamans, that existed because there was no knowledge that evil spirit existed. So the workings of spirit were used back then, such as hexing and being shamans, because they didn’t know what existed, sunatatqartumik. They would start doing something that others could not do, it seemed that was what they were like. And when we look at God’s Word, if life is like that, the animiq spirit that comes from God, and the one that comes from Satan the one that comes from being against God, Guutimik akitartunig, is completely available. Even if the Inuk does not know. It is just waiting for an opening. It doesn’t have pity for anyone if they do not know. It is only God who can have pity. He can say, I have to be careful because this person does not know, and He is the only who can. The evil spirit would never have that compassion.

Taimaimmat, these hexings, ilisiirniit, murders of fellow Inuit, and other debilitating acts towards others were the norm. That if they knew God they would not have.

Here Aipilie Napartuk spoke about some of the things that were part of Inuit society and that eventually disappeared, such as having multiple wives, murders, shamans, and hexing. Part of his explanation is that whether Inuit knew it or not, they were living in sin but one thing was certain, they had learned about this when God became known to them. He speaks also of things that remained in Inuit society, things that remained as when he said, “And even when they know Jesus, they have been held by how they were before.” Unfortunately he did not explain what Inuit could still be held by as we ran out of time. It is possible for example that he was referring to Inuit men who carry on relationships with women other than their wives, as does happen in the Inuit communities and even become common knowledge. Interesting to note was his mention of a positive impact, which was the end of Inuit murdering fellow Inuit when they were angered. So for Aipilie, Inuit history was divided between a then and a now, their life before Christianity and their life now with the knowledge of God. Aipilie spoke mainly about piniarniit, actions or things that Inuit did or do, and that sometimes there is still an influence from the past but all Inuit were Christians.
AN: Yes. All Inuit are in uppiniq, in belief, in Christianity. They are in uppiniq, but an Inuk so long as he is in Christianity, many think that this is satisfactory. God’s Words say that if we are in Christianity, we cannot just be Christian, to just be satisfied with that. We must put into practice, through concrete actions, our belief, uppinnivut atullarigialuvut. In the Bible, in James Chapter 2 verse 17 and 26 state that uppiniq, if one does not practice ones uppiniq even if one believes, ones uppiniq can be dead. Living as without spirit. Yes, all Inuit are believers, uppituit, but belief can be dead, it must be practiced. So the verses in James tell about this. We cannot just say that we are believers we should also practice it.

Aipilie articulated these thoughts very much in line with his experience and reflections in his life as a minister with much experience in the Anglican Church. In terms of practicing ones belief this also fell in line with what the Tusarnatulirivik minister had to say. Although some of the interviewees had much less experience than they, they could also express their idea about Inuit identity in a more personal way. Lucy for example said that the life of an Inuk was extremely valuable to her, and that it was important to understand one’s identity. The way she understood it, she was basing this statement out of her own life experience, which was sometimes fraught with difficulties but she also linked it to her belief. To this she added: "I haven't understood my own life. But if a person will want to be at ease in life, to search for oneself, who one is (kinaunirmik qinirluni), understanding one's identity. So, me, "uvanga", a person has to be able to say "uvanga", myself. So this has become my great challenge, it is for people to be able to start saying that about themselves." Though she agreed that Inuit language and food, for example, were important Inuit values, she mainly spoke to the individual as a central point of Inuit identity.

In general, however, the interviewees discussed Inuit identity by associating it in particular with language, very often with what one ate, and the way one could make Inuit clothes, survival in the harsh arctic climate and certain values such as kindness, sharing and assisting one another or when others were in need. Indeed everyone had a sauniq, homonym, as well, which was carried through in his or her identity as a member of the Inuit community. Each also had a sanajik, to which they could say they were proud and wished to carry this on as Inuit.
CONCLUSION

Puvirniturmiut have experienced over ten decades of new experiences, many of which have been welcome as they brought several important benefits to improving the Inuit lifestyle. Like the Inuit of Quaqtaq, the Inuit of Puvirnituq have witnessed tremendous change in the last decades, leading today a lifestyle where being Inuit entails the interaction of modernity and identity (Dorais 1997: 3). All the modern amenities that go with the current sedentary lifestyle are probably appreciated and have been appreciated by the elders of today who knew the semi-nomadic lifestyle of yesteryear. The arrival of trading posts and missionaries brought on welcomed change, shown by the Inuit willingness to move permanently near the posts and to participate in the missionizing efforts of the Anglican Church and church leadership. It was a period where Inuit were stepping out of a dark period, the 1930s and 1940s, and moved through a period of new developments from the 1950s on, with optimism for the future.

The gathering of several core families into one concentrated area created new social dynamics, which Inuit adjusted to through time. New competitions for spaces of social power occurred, creating tensions between families, but these tensions were mitigated through differing means. At the start, the head of each core family vied for spiritual leadership, which was the main form of leadership at the time. This form of leadership was based on what I will call here the Inuit model. When the missionaries’ work in evangelizing Inuit became to take on, their effort to get Inuit involved in spiritual leadership worked well because of this model, especially because Inuit were living in family bands then and relied on their leaders for important decisions. Every family camp had a leader, and there were many family camps in the 1870s, until everyone had settled into one community such as Puvirnituq. Then in the next instance, local political developments opened up several opportunities for those seeking leadership and not having an opportunity in spiritual leadership. This may have been the case for the Novalinga family in Puvirnituq when, in 1962, the first
community council was formed. However, another opportunity for spiritual leadership was opened up by the introduction of Pentecostalism in the community. There are a couple of main families associated with the Pentecostal Church in Puvirnituq, issued from families who had not participated in the Anglican Church leadership for one reason or another. An interesting development we also see is the inclusion of women in the Pentecostal movement’s leadership, which had not been a possibility within the Anglican Church previously. We also see a certain family tied to the Co-op, the descendants of Tulugaarjuk the younger brother of Qinnuajuaq. In local politics we see the involvement through many mandates of the Novalinga family, as well as Qinnuajuaq, though they are not the only families to be involved in the community or municipal council. The Novalingaq’s ancestor had died early and their leadership came to be realized as local politics unfolded. The Inuit Tunngavingat Nunamini also created further opportunity, for it too became a vehicle of leadership as an association who was founded in Puvirnituq in partnership with Inuit of Ivujivik.

These developments regarding the changes in leadership and the social dynamics are reminiscent of the changes that had also taken place in a small Inuit community in East Greenland studied in Leadership and Headship by Gert Nooter in 1976. Nooter showed how Inuit leadership was contextual and how an Inuit leader would be recognized as the Inuit leader depending on the context. For instance he mentioned a hunter, who during a fishing expedition had remained in the background and exerted no leadership, yet when ice had become dangerous he knew how to travel along the less dangerous parts of ice. His knowledge as a hunter became valuable as it was he who then lead the other fishermen in the field. Yet when they all arrived back to their community, Tinitiqilâq, his “leadership seemed to evaporate.”, and yet he was known as a great hunter. (Nooter 1976: 89) Nooter showed through examples such as hunters, dog control, leadership at the community level and at the family level, how leadership varies depending on the context. And while the ablest and best hunters were considered respected leaders during the olden times when Inuit had remained in family camps, and were still respected, settled living created community dynamics
requiring other forms of leadership. Nooter said, "But many of the situations that arise on the community level are not accessible to great hunters as leaders, and they cannot function in this role when the group wants to attain a common goal." (Nooter 1976: 94) In the study he made Nooter concluded that the traditional form of leadership was making way for other forms of leadership that were suited to community living and that in any case differed a bit from each other from community to community. (Nooter 1976: 111)

Puvirnituq were experiencing political developments in their own way as well. Puvirnituq expressed their political consciousness through their dissidence movement by the refusal of the JBNQA in the 1970s (ITN 1983). Some earlier consequences of that included creating their own curriculum and running their own school until they began working more closely with the KSB in the 1990s. The municipal council continued to be elected locally, though it was legally being run by Kativik Regional Government until Puvirnituq incorporated its Municipal Council as part of the KRG in the 1990s, thereby quasi-incorporating itself into the administrative system created by the JBNQA. Still however Puvirnituq continues to be the only community that declines having a landholding corporation, (LHC), a local entity that is created once category I lands are defined. Ivujivik, Puvirnituq's long-time partner in its dissidence held a referendum in 2008 and will soon have an LHC.

In my opinion and that of Muncy, their main reason for agreeing to an LHC was economic, because the LHCs receive funding for their operation and the hiring of personnel, as provided for in the JBNQA. So for Ivujivik, a community of 274, an LHC would provide much needed money and the creation of some badly needed jobs important for one of the smallest and northernmost communities of Nunavik. The concern for economic growth became more and more important. Being a larger community with a hospital base, a new airstrip with jet service direct from Montreal, the largest coop store in all of Nunavik employing only Inuit, a few more opportunities exist for Puvirnituq than for the population of Ivujivik, so it may be less concerned
with having an LHC for financial reasons. But the economy and development will continue to be of concern as Puvirniturmiut continue to search for economic opportunities.

The historical context described in chapter 4 shows that such new developments went hand in hand with developments within the Inuit belief system. As mentioned, the early community council dealt with “moral” issues such as when movie night could be held – Wednesdays being a church night, Inuit did not agree that there should be a cinematic evening on Wednesdays. Today, still, no activities are held on Wednesday evenings unless there would be an urgent matter to address. Another issue, that of what were called illegitimate children at the time, is today really a non-issue as the municipal council does not concern itself with such a question today. While it was a “moral” issue in the early 1960s and people were very concerned about it and Inuit have always been concerned about children born out of wedlock, it is more of an economic issue today. Many young women are bearing children and often become single parents. Along with economic concerns for the wellbeing of the community, however, the municipal council continues to be concerned with the problems of alcohol and violence and calls out regularly to community members to improve on their behaviour. This they do by reminding people of the need to do what is right, by not isumainnaqiniq, that is freely doing what their body wanted to do, and by repenting to God and to start being guided by God.

The education committee, which is composed of parents, continues to be concerned about the religious education of their children. The Kativik School Board, which follows curriculum standards set by the Ministry of Education in Quebec, supports the parents’ views regarding the religious education of their children. The right to religious education is protected by the JBNQA treaty, protected by the Constitution of Canada, and so Inuit continue to teach religion courses even while the Ministry of Education has changed the rules regarding religious education, having called on all the
school boards in Quebec to change their curriculum to non-obligatory religious courses and provide for moral and religious culture courses instead.

We see that political development has followed a path of secularization due to the gradual enlargement of Puvirnituq with its increasing population, but also its growing relationship with the outside world. Through secularization the separation between the church and the decision-making process of the local committees and councils has increased over time. However, the concerns about the social problems such as family violence, alcoholism and suicide, which have gone far beyond what the municipal council handled in the past, have become a challenge to address. The municipal council encourages the two main churches to work together and unite the community to address the social problems as one. In so doing they call upon community members’ will to do what is right. I hark back to the elders’ views on shamanism for example, of Aupilaarjuk’s statement of needing to learn all about the things that one was allowed and not allowed, a concept that becomes important in this context. Listeners to the community radio are beseeched to do what is right and not isumainnaqituinnaq. By isumainnaqituinnaq they are not following proper rules of conduct, and the community goes astray. Nevertheless, the process of secularization has been evidenced through time by the increase of responsibilities of the municipal council, the Co-op committee and the regional health board as well. Yet as Inuit are far from the western world this process of secularization remains partial and incomplete.

What became evident through time was that Inuit became more and more involved in the Church clergy by becoming ministers and members of the church committee, to the point that today there are very few Qallunaat missionaries. Puvirnituq has not had a Qallunaaq missionary since 1975 when Aupilie Napartuk became the Anglican Minister, and the Tusarnatulirikivik Full Gospel Church has always had Inuit ministers. So the period in which the village had Qallunaat missionaries was very short, for 13

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47 Qallunaq is singular for Qallunaat
years from 1962 to 1975. Puvirnituq had Inuit lay ministers before this period and only Inuit ordained ministers after this period as well. This shows how, while adjusting to a foreign institution such as the Christian Church, Puvirnituq Inuit became actively involved in spiritual leadership. They actively involved themselves in the establishment of their cooperative movement, and in the words of Qupirrualuk, who once explained how the coop was important for him because it was a means for Inuit to gain economic control, a way to avoid becoming dependent on others. As in Ortner's understanding, Inuit acted upon their agency. Within the newly constructed community, family leaders who once lived far from each other and who then began to live in one spot vied for positions of power, and at the same time were searching out those positions of power initially held by Qallunaat. In so doing, they gradually took control of those institutions that had made their way into their communities, such as the church and the municipal council and constructed them as Inuit institutions.

When the last ten plus decades of development in Puvirnituq are observed closely one sees Inuit incorporating modernity in the way they envisioned their identity. Many of the new developments, such as the creation of the Christian churches, the Co-op store, and political institutions were desirable in that they provided a progression toward modernity. When Inuit accepted Christian values, it rid them of certain things and bestowed them with others. But it did not necessarily rid Inuit of certain fundamental values such as the call to follow proper conduct and rules to guide one's life. Specific identity markers such as the Inuit naming system remained important even though its original intent may have changed, and the sanajik/arnaliaq or angusiaq system remains generally present in a young child's growing life.

Let the reader recall Knauf's examination of various authors on modernity that took into account the larger structures of economic, political, and social as well as cultural powers. In this view, capitalist economy and history helped to understand the incorporation of modernity and even some analyses showed how development discourse defined "developed" and "undeveloped" persons, that ideologies of
development influence “emergent dimensions of personhood”. This type of discourse can sometimes be heard in Puvirnituq, in the way Inuit see themselves in their Inuitness, sometimes self-criticism or the criticism of others can be heard about being inuqqik. Inuqqik implies being so Inuk that one hardly knows how to be modern with all that modernity entails. That is, being able to speak English, holding a job, or just plain doing things right. Sometimes a person, rightly or wrongly, can receive this criticism of being inuqqik. One can humourously deride oneself for being inuqqik, perhaps for licking one’s plate at the table or even just saying something silly or doing something perceived as inappropriate while going about in Qallunaat nunanganni, in the land of Qallunaat or even at home. Thus the Inuit idea about being Inuk can be perceived in light of modernity, being an enlightened or modern Inuk entails being able to do many things that a modern Inuk can.

Chapter 4 basically described the religious and political context from the time Puvirnituq had become established as a community to contemporary times. Genealogical research helped me understand who the settler families in Puvirnituq were. The chapter also described which of the families were most involved in local leadership, and it gives a good overview of the core families who attend the two different churches and which families were involved with the community council and the municipal councils. We also saw how each of the churches functioned, what their main values were and what the differences were between the two. The differences were a source of conflict for some adherents of the churches and especially at the beginning when Tusarnatulirivik was first established. Yet today local political leaders make efforts to unify the two churches in their work, especially when dealing with the social problems. Each minister of the churches is also given an equal amount of time during special occasions such as the opening of festivals in the community.

The interviewees tended to show that they believed in what their parents believed in, often speaking about the Word of God, God’s entreaty to do what was right and in the origins of mankind according to the Bible. Reasons were varied for why individuals
chose their church; some were because their parents had told them when they were young that it was better to stay with one church. Those who claimed adherence to the Anglican Church however, were quite versatile, and also went to the Tusarnatulirivik Church. Those who claimed adherence to the Tusarnatulirivik Church were less likely to be as versatile, though willing to work in solidarity with the Anglican Church while facing the social problems. Aipilie Napartuk, demonstrated the struggle he dealt with concerning his adherence to the Anglican Church and his attraction to Tusarnatulirivik, and his struggle was most apparent because he was an Anglican Minister. But there were also those who accepted both thereby avoiding taking part in any possible conflict between the churches. I found this interesting, as I had not expected anyone to say that they adhered to both churches. Both the former mayor of Puvirnituq as well as the president of the Co-op committee adhered to the two, and perhaps for them it was the best decision since they were community leaders and choosing one could necessarily lead to their being viewed as belonging to one camp and not the other, thereby creating potential conflict. We can see also however that belonging to a specific church did not prevent anyone from running in local politics as the Tusarnatulirivik leader did, he was a member of the municipal council. Other committee members, such as the Education Committee and Health Committee were also divided between the two churches. All adherents, whatever their allegiance, followed basic rules when conducting business for their committees such as beginning and ending their meetings with prayer. The one committee that really took religious values into account in their decision-making capacity was the Education Committee, concerned with the education of their children when it came to religious teaching and the Theory of Evolution. The municipal mayor himself felt guided by the Word of God, relying on verses he knew and using them as sources of guidance and inspiration during his time as mayor. However, this type of guidance was not directing decisions affecting the municipality but more his own actions. The Word of God guided his visit to the ill and detained Inuit in Montreal. This type of guidance came more naturally to municipal council member Eliyassie since he was also the minister of Tusarnatulirivik and he could quote different verses of the Bible at length.
When the question of Inuit values or cultural values arose, it was clear that being Inuit was tied to language, food, survival skills such as knowing the land and being able to build an illuq, and sewing Inuit clothes. All of the concrete things related to Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, Inuit traditional knowledge. Concerns were expressed about the erosion of these values, like the mixing of Inuktitut with English and youth who did not go out hunting often and were not accustomed to survival skills. One of the interviewees did express how some youth were unable to eat raw meat as most Inuit still do, and in the attitude of some youth toward having an arnaliaq or angusiaq, an attitude that showed some disdain toward the responsibility as a sanajik. However, for the most part the practice of having a sanajik was largely valued as showing one’s identity as an Inuk as well as having a sauniq. Everyone had a sanajik when they were born and they also became sanajik at some point in their lives.

For those I interviewed, the memory of the former Inuit belief system was no longer present, and it was difficult for most of them to say that any part of it might still exist and be applied today. Old Inuppaq’s description of tirigusuusiit and allirusiit, codes of conduct referred to in the introduction of this thesis, were unknown. One interviewee was able to refer to a couple of old Inuit beliefs related to men however, but almost qualified them as superstitions. And the main thing known about angakkuit was that there were good and bad ones. And again, one interviewee believed that good angakkuit, who worked to help their fellow Inuit, came from the good, that is from God. It was the way Inuit survived at that time. And for Eliyassie, the minister of Tusarnatulirivik, it did not matter whether they were good or bad, angakkuit originated from evil and therefore were not the workings of God. The reason was that in the past Inuit lived in sin and did not know it. Aipilie Napartuk for his part explained how some actions belonging in the past had been let go of by Inuit, taking murder as an example, but that there was a tendency for some old ways to still cling to today’s lifestyle. Today, with God’s presence, Inuit no longer live in darkness like they once did, their eyes were opened in the words of Qupirraluk, and they were aaqgitaujut,
corrected, in the words of Inuppaq. Such views uphold the Word of God, and a literal understanding of the Bible. The teaching of the Bible in the schools is an example of this view, where the students are taught the Creationist view of the origins of mankind. Even so, while the message that Inuit pass on is the message of Christianity, a belief in God and in Creationism and so on, Inuit cosmology is at play. Allirusiit has been explained as rules of conduct guiding one’s life and there are Inuit leaders asking Inuit to not just isumainnaqik, to improve the community problems, these are still part of Inuit thought today, an Inuit cosmology that remains at the heart of Inuit society.

When certain Inuit cultural values were impacted like the naming system was, a naming system continued to be practiced though probably as a variant from its original basis. Christian ideology may have impacted on the original practice, which was like a form of reincarnation (Saladin d'Anglure 1977), but Inuit continue to identify themselves as members of the whole Inuit community as they did in the past, so that a person’s Inuk identity seems to remain intact through the Inuit naming system. Another value, the underlying belief of following rules that stems from the past, seen through allirusiit and tirigususuisit, can be seen today through the need to follow duty. Going to church services and not doing anything forbidden on Sundays, allitut, became the norm, and was still very much based on the need to follow rules. The desire of the spiritual and political leaders of Puvirnituk for community members to follow not just their own isuma, which was of the world, but to follow God’s guidance, is another example. This need to follow rules to have allirusiit was probably one of the reasons that missionaries were successful in converting Inuit into Christianity after some effort, and by learning the language.

But one of the ways that Christianity impacted on Inuit identity was in the way it changed what Inuit believe in. Many elders, including my grandfather Qupirrualuk, have said how they were no longer allowed to tell their myths, legends and stories. Thus, several stories such as Inuit origin myths, the origin of the sun and the moon, were no longer being passed on to younger generations. Shamans and their tuurngait,
auxiliary spirits, became diabolical. Such beliefs, myths and legends were replaced with the Bible and the story of how the world came to be and about Jesus’ life, and so on. It is why Creationism has a hold on Inuit beliefs, and on what they wish their children to learn. When one looks at Inuit belief in creationism, this may be corresponding to the animistic view of the world. In the past, spirits existed and all beings had spirits. It was the shamans who helped the common Inuk to understand this spirit world. In speech, Inuit have rejected the former spirit world and replaced it with another type of spirit world, that of the Christian good and evil. Yet in the past Inuit shamans were known to be good or bad. The Inuit cosmology included this type of belief and this is carried to today, which is a system of belief based on animism.

One way that one of the interviewees described how Christianity impacted on Inuit identity was by saying how it had created division in the Inuit community, by citing the division that happened when two churches started competing. The strength of the community, its solidarity, was deeply impacted by the event of the introduction of another type of church. Whenever efforts were being made to bring the community together in order to make things better in the community, there was a call to have the two churches working together. The unity, or the solidarity of the community was felt to be important for the wellbeing of the community. The municipal council, by way of its mayor, asked for the two churches to be united. And the people of Pangnituq asked for the two churches to be united while they worked to bring peace in Puvirnituq. The idea of being together, being united, is salient.

In chapter one I discussed the concepts of individualism and holism and I now bring them in to this discussion. That earlier discussion on modern individualism showed Inuit society to be considered a traditional, holistic society compared to the western modern society. The call for solidarity when confronted with the social problems within the community seems to demonstrate this, as individuals were asked to not just isumainnaqik, follow their whims or just do what they wanted. By neglecting rules of conduct, Inuit were becoming disordered. Muncy’s observation about the community
having become divided is another factor. The onset of Christianity, the arrival of
different churches, set Inuit apart from each other, as they held on to differing values
thereby creating tension in the community. The belief system itself was no longer
taken for granted to be one of unifying values, just as shamanism was and just as the
Anglican Church became, the collectivity had become challenged. From what can be
seen, the holistic value Inuit held was easily able to continue or be carried on during
the initial transition to Christianity and became challenged over time, but this shows
that elements of past traditions are still present. The core values are still present
though they may not be visible and these core values are not easily transformed; for
they are part of the very foundation of being Inuk.

An interesting influence on the holistic values of Inuit society happened in the
introduction of Pentecostalism, something I referred to in chapter four. Pentecostalism
opened up possibilities for members of the community to partake in community
activities and especially leadership. The founding of the Tusarnatulirivik Full Gospel
Church was done enthusiastically by members of a couple of families that had not
been involved in spiritual leadership since the settlement of Puvirnituq and so the
Pentecostal movement opened up that opportunity for them. It also opened
opportunities for Inuit women. Earlier in the introduction there is a mention of women
in particular who had to deal with rules surrounding childbirth, menstruation, food and
particular tirigusuusiiit handed out to them by shamans. While Christianity gave them
some liberty from these rules, it did not provide them space for leadership
participation. The arrival of the Pentecostal Church however opened up the possibility
of Inuit women’s leadership, in which they eagerly became involved. In the early
days, it was not unheard of to have Inuit women shamans and leaders, though it was
limited. When a new era of Christianity began in the early 20th century however, it
shut the door on women. But now more and more Inuit women are even becoming
ordained ministers; not only have they become involved as church ministers but they
have become political leaders as well. It is well known that today, all of the three Inuit
institutions in Nunavik, the Kativik School Board, the Nunavik Regional Board of
Health and Social Services and the Kativik Regional Government are run by women. Inuit women’s involvement in leadership has become accepted almost as a norm in Inuit society today. This is not only due to the introduction of Pentecostalism in the Inuit communities but because of the acceptance of changing values, perhaps one can say, of modern and more individualistic values.

The political and religious dynamics of Puvirnituq show an ever-changing society adapting itself to a changing world. Changes definitely happened when they adopted Christianity. The outside world, through the workings of the Christian church and of political institutions, gradually imposed itself upon Inuit society, and Inuit may or may not take advantage. By taking part in the leadership of these institutions Inuit maintained their identity. As fellow Inuit they may beseech upon adherents of their churches and their political constituents to do what is right and follow the rules. Inuit are asked also to show solidarity in the face of social problems. Puvirnituq show pride in their Inuit identity by their speech and by the practice of traditional values such as sharing and the naming of their children, and by also ensuring that their children learn what they are supposed to learn. The belief system, Inuit cosmology, will continue to remain important, but I think it will be important to reflect upon the old traditional beliefs, the ones that no longer have the place they once had in Inuit society, or look like that they no longer have a place. When we look at the healers in the Pentecostal Church, it is reminiscent of shamans’ work in healing Inuit who were ill or who needed help. While Inuit speak about the evil origins of shamans it looks as though the discourse may be different from what is being practiced. Healers today seem to be acting as shamans acted for Inuit, as their healers. Perhaps one can look at the Pentecostal and evangelical movements as offering Inuit an alternative to express being an Inuk in the North as it opened up space for the Inuit perspective. Even though Inuit made adaptations that changed their lifestyle due to having adopted Christianity and the modern institutions, beyond these changes, the core values remain unchanged. In Christianity Inuit found new ideas that they adopted, ideas for which they had to
release certain aspects of their cosmology, but the fundamental values remain basically the same.

In this modern world of many things, speaking different languages, having a job, being hunters, feeding one’s family, eating country food, running a community, being part of a committee, being students, being elders, being youth, being Pentecostal or Anglican and many other things Inuit, Inuit remain proud of being Inuit today. They have taken part in many of the changes in their community and Puvirniturmiut have retained a pride in being Inuit and also in taking part in this modern, integrated world, but in their own way.
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Annex 1

*Guideline of core subjects*

1. Personal questions such as name, age, where born, who is your sauniq (who were you named after).
2. Who are your parents and grandparents, your siblings?
3. Where did you grow up, where did you spend your childhood.
4. Which sites did your family camp normally inhabit over the seasons?
5. Do you belong to a church, which one? Tell me why this is your choice.
6. Tell me about your beliefs. Tell me about the rules of conduct of your church, your maligait. (probing religious values)
7. How do you practice your beliefs? Give me examples of what you do in order to practice your beliefs.
8. What is your occupation? If you stay at home or have a job, do you participate in any committees, decision-making bodies?
9. What are your responsibilities in your occupation? What are the responsibilities of the committee you participate in?
10. Do you apply your beliefs in your field of work? At home? In the committee that you are a member of? Give me an example of how you apply your beliefs. (use of Bible, prayer, evangelizing, being gracious, helpful) If not, is there a particular reason why.
11. What are Inuit values? (probing religion, language, hunting, sewing, being respectful to other people, naming, sanajiqarniq)
12. How do you practice these?
13. Did these values change since Inuit have become Christian? How?
14. Are Inuit generally better now that they are Christian? How?
15. Do their Christian values have an impact on their quality of life? How?