more than just flesh: the arts as resistance and sexual empowerment

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis addresses a long history of colonization and intergenerational traumas still existing today, and the ability that Indigenous performing arts have in addressing sexual health barriers that Northern youth are facing. In this year of Canada's 150th celebrations there have been several arts initiatives that are working to build confidence and leadership amongst Indigenous youth. As Inuit are facing some of the highest suicide rates in the world, overcrowded housing, lack of mental health resources, high costs of living, intermittent access to reliable internet, intergenerational traumas, food insecurity, and high levels of sexual assault, it is easy to feel hopeless. This thesis focuses on the ability that the arts have in making tangible differences, bringing Indigenous youth into conversations that work through historical colonial suppression, paving new narratives to pass on to future generations, looking at how the arts are being used as a way to inspire what Gerald Vizenor termed as survivance. Focusing predominantly on Qaggiavuut!, an Arctic cultural performing arts group which promotes performance while highlighting non-colonial forms of Inuit self-identity and wellness—with a particular focus on some of the key members of this group whose interest in sovereignty and wellness specifically focuses on Inuit sexual and emotional health, exploration, expression and education. The arts are integral in helping future generations of Indigenous peoples gain confidence and break cycles of intergenerational traumas, thriving through survivance.

Acknowledgments

I don't really know where to begin thanking my supervisor, Dr. Heather Igloliorte. There are so many things I have to say. After taking a class in the third year of my undergrad, she gave me the opportunity to work with her on some of her exciting projects, one of which being *SakKijâjuk: Inuit Fine Art and Craft from Nunatsiavut.* It is because of working with her that I saw how academic work can truly make change and benefit communities. She is the most inspirational, hard working, encouraging, devoted, lively, hilarious and enthusiastic person I have met. I would not have thought graduate school was a possibility for me without her support. Nakkumek Heather, a million times over.
In the early years of my undergraduate degree, I had a difficult time finding purpose or reason for being in school and couldn't seem to find interest until I took Dr. Anne Whitelaw's course on Canadian Art History. It was because of this class that I saw how important Indigenous voices are in the Canadian art discourse. Since then, I have engaged in learning about my own ancestry and identity as an Indigenous woman. Because of these two amazing, inspirational, powerful, driven women, I am where I am today, submitting a Master's thesis.
I am grateful to Qaggiavuut! and particularly Ellen Hamilton for taking the time to talk to me, inspiring myself and generations of Inuit through performance. Also to Britt Gallpen and my partner Bryan Winters for helping me with this paper and for more than I ever could have imagined. Thank you to Sarah Nesbitt, Jessica Joyce, Talia Carin and Estelle Wahieu for being constant pillars of support throughout the years. I also graciously thank my family Donna, Clare and Ali who have listened to my ideas, helped me edit my papers, given me space to laugh and dance and find joy in little things and so much more. To Galiano Island, your natural beauty and tranquility gives me life. And to all my relations, the ones here and the ones we have lost.

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> "The move to make 'Indian' women white was a blow to the knees…they were the reverse of the settler colonial woman…Part of dispossession and settler possession meant that coercive and modifying and sometimes killing power had to target their bodies. Because as with all bodies, these bodies were more than just flesh, these were sign systems and symbols that could effect and affect political life and choices that people were making around them. So they had to be killed, or at least subjected, what they were signaling or symbolizing was a direct threat to the political legitimacy of settlement."[1]

introduction

In 2014, in reaction to the actions of the ruling federal government, Chief Theresa Spence announced that she was going on a hunger strike. For six weeks she subsisted on only water, tea, and fish broth – a historical Indigenous survival diet - conducting her hunger strike from a tipi on Victoria Island, facing the parliament buildings in Ottawa. Spence's intent was to support the Idle No More movement and to challenge the Canadian government to engage in conversations about treaties and the unacceptable living conditions and resources in Northern communities, and particularly her community of Attawapiskat, which had declared a state of emergency due to housing crises three times in recent years. The reasons for her hunger strike were not taken seriously by the media, which instead commented, for example, that she did not appear to be losing weight, that she was fat, mocking her protest as a sham or, even more sexist, a "detox diet." Barbara Kay sniped in an editorial in the National Post on January 4, 2013, "Fish broth is a very low-calorie food, but it is highly nutritious, and I daresay a great deal healthier than the Chief's regular regime, which I am going to assume from her appearance includes a lot of carbohydrates." The force behind Spence's message was thus undermined by the media, which used her body to demonstrate that she was less deserving of respect, less powerful, less believable; her calls to action to better the lives of many Indigenous peoples were in turn ignored.

In her lecture, "The Chief's Two Bodies: Theresa Spence and the Gender of Settler Sovereignty," (2014) Kanien'kehá:kan anthropologist Audra Simpson said the above statement, reminding us that Indigenous bodies have always been sign systems of regeneration and life,

[1] Audra Simpson, "The Chief's Two Bodies: Theresa Spence and the Gender of Settler Sovereignty," (presentation, *Critical Race and Anticolonial Studies Conference*. University of Alberta: Edmonton. October 17, 2014.)

symbolizing power of voice, place and position within their communities; and yet because of this, Indigenous women's bodies have been particularly vulnerable to being subjected, dominated and devalued. This denigration has contributed to the painful legacy of intergenerational trauma in Indigenous communities throughout Canada. Simpson further discussed the ways in which 'Indian' women's once powerful voices have been disregarded and devalued in aspects of their own lives. Through colonial laws and regulations, 'Indian' women lost the right to own their land, lost governance power within their own Indigenous governmental systems, and lost the rights to self-representation and self-determination of their own bodies.[2]

Yet in the face of current and ongoing legacies of colonization, Indigenous women's voices are resurfacing and regaining power. Indigenous scholars, writers, artists and community activists are changing narratives and inspiring a resurgence of resilient Indigenous activism, often with Indigenous women and two-spirit peoples at the fore of these efforts. Following in the critical path cut by the Indigenous creative and intellectual community, and scholars such as Simpson who interrogate both internal and external impacts on the understanding of Indigenous women's bodies and sexuality, this thesis examines how the performing arts can contribute to Indigenous people's efforts to decolonize not only our political and social structures, but also Indigenous sexual health and well-being. This thesis predominantly examines the critical work of Qaggiavuut!, an Arctic cultural performing arts society which promotes performance while highlighting non-colonial forms of Inuit self-identity and wellness—with a particular focus on some of the key members of this group whose interest in sovereignty and wellness specifically addresses Inuit sexual and emotional health, exploration, expression and education. Broadly, Qaggiavuut! is a project that has the goal of promoting Arctic performing practices across the circumpolar world.[3] Through their Qaggiq program, in which youth engage with performance art through mentorships, they also give artists the tools they need to become teachers themselves by offering teacher training programs. Qaggiavuut! is making lasting impacts in communities. In the same vein, Qaggiavuut! employees and performers are creating engaging spaces through

[2] Simpson, "The Chief's Two Bodies", October 17, 2014. In this part of her presentation she is referencing the Indian Act that stated where any Indigenous woman that married a non-Indigenous man would lose their Indian status, yet a non-Indigenous woman marrying an Indigenous man could in fact gain Indian status. Using the term 'Indian' has historically been used as a derogatory term and in using this Simpson and myself are also referencing the language of the Indian act.

[3] Qaggiavuut!. "Qaggiavuut! Strengthening the Arctic Performing Arts." Website. http://www.qaggiavuut.ca/en/about, accessed October 15, 2016.

their rich variety of programming. I will also briefly examine the work of the advocacy and educational organization Fostering Open eXpression among Youth (or Arctic FOXY), which develops arts programs for youth in the North to talk about sexual health, and finally, organizations working to develop new conversations related to self-determination and self-representation, such as Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada. This thesis will articulate the ways in which projects such as Qaggiavuut! and FOXY are demonstrating the arts as a powerful tool for breaking down cultural and colonial barriers for generations of Inuit in the Arctic. It speaks to the complicated, delicate and intricate nature of the well-being of Indigenous youth living in Northern communities.

This preliminary examination of the role of the arts in contributing to cultural sovereignty and wellbeing is particularly timely and urgent given recent headlines regarding the shockingly high and disparate numbers of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIW) as well as the tragic and dramatic rates of Indigenous, and especially Inuit, suicide in Canada. While the number of Indigenous women who have been murdered or gone missing was stated by the RCMP to be 1,181 from 1980 to 2012, this number has been challenged because of the grotesque number of unreported and under-reported crimes; many individuals, groups and organizations have argued that the numbers should reflect something closer to 4,000 in the same period.[4] The rising suicide crisis similarly points to systemic issues we are working against. Suicide in Inuit Nunangat ranges from five to twenty-five times higher than the rest of Canada.[5] In a recent conversation, Qaggiavuut!'s Executive Director and cofounder, Ellen Hamilton told me about the importance that storytelling has in targeting some of these issues faced in Northern communities. Spaces for stories are arguably some of the most powerful spaces that Qaggiavuut! is striving to create. Hamilton stated,

> "It is the power of the performing arts, the power of the story in particular that makes connections between what people need to do to be successful…I realized that if you add the performing arts, whether it be music, theatre, storytelling, drum dancing, if you add those things to anything you'll be more successful. I still don't quite understand why, but I think it has something to do with a human need to tell stories to each other. It's about us communicating to each other. To tell their stories, to be

[4] Smith, Claudette Dumont. "NWAC Not Surprised by Numbers of Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women Reported in RCMP's National Operational Overview." *Native Women's Association of Canada*, May 16, 2014.
[5] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. *National Inuit Suicide Prevention Strategy*. 2016. www.itk.ca. These numbers will be broken out later in this thesis, each region across Inuit Nunangat ranges drastically, Nunatsiavut being the highest of all regions.

> heard, to hear others and to dig deep within themselves to find what's important, that is generally at a very emotional level and arts are the best way to express your emotions. Through music, dance and drum you express things you can't even speak, let alone write. I think that our problem with youth suicide and despair is really connected to peoples' ability to communicate and have a sense of belonging to a community."[6]

How might fear, humour and sexuality be openly discussed with youth who shy away from the discussion? How might performance allow those who do not wish to talk to embody the fears they feel, becoming more confident and gaining the ability to laugh about their understood smallness in relation to a greater universe? How might the arts work to fight historical and contemporary social, physical, and emotional oppression that has led to an unprecedented number of Indigenous youth taking their own lives? In this thesis, I examine how Qaggiavuut! has worked with Inuit youth (ages 10 – 25) to come to understand sex and sexuality through the arts, in order to understand how this knowledge might enable self-confidence, self-reliance, and cultural sovereignty both within Inuit communities, and potentially the broader Indigenous community. I am particularly interested in their employment of the performing arts in bringing Indigenous youth into conversations that work through 'historical' colonial suppression, paving new narratives to pass on to future generations.[7] Qaggiavuut! centres love and resilience throughout its work, in a manner which counters the dispossession, degradation, and subjectification described by Simpson and currently evident throughout our communities as well as in our representations in the media.

I begin this thesis with an overview of the theory and practices of Indigenous thinkers and artists who critically engage with the issues that inform my research and will inform my analysis of the work being done in the Arctic by Inuit arts and non-profit organizations, before turning to examine those northern initiatives more closely. In the first section of this thesis, the arts as critical Indigenous self-expression, I discuss the foundational theory in which I ground this study, Gerald Vizenor's *survivance*,[8] and discuss its relevance to artistic practices. In the following

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[6] Ellen Hamilton,"The Life of Qaggiavuut!" Telephone interview by author, August 16, 2017.

[7] Kieran Oudshoom, "Sexual Health Workshops for Iqaluit Teens Use Storytelling, Mask Dancing," *CBC News Online*, October 24, 2016.

[8] Gerald Robert Vizenor, *Manifest Manners: Postindian Warriors of Survivance*, Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, (1994). For each new Inuktitut or other Indigenous term I introduce in this thesis I will first italicize the term in recognition that it is not currently a word in the English lexicon; however, after each first mention I have deliberately refrained from further italicization as I do not wish to 'other' concepts, which I wish to become more widely known

section on love and relationality, I expand this discussion to include the other Indigenous scholars whose work informs my thinking, approach and methodology. Following this, I frame my Inuit-specific research within the ontology and epistemology of *Inuit Qaujimajatugangit*, which includes Inuit history, knowledge, values and belief systems, and points not only to the past but to Inuit futures in self-determination and cultural sovereignty. Bridging Inuit and other Indigenous issues in this thesis is the broad locus of this study, and includes: Indigenous sexuality, the repression of sexuality, and the reclamation of sexuality through the arts and public educational initiatives. I then conclude this thesis by an examination of Qaggiavuut! and the efforts made by that organization, its members, and others to foster Inuit forms of self-expression, sexual health, and education in the Arctic.

the arts as critical Indigenous self-expression

The arts integrally give often-difficult conversations a new access point. As Anishinaabe/ Nehiyaw writer and scholar Lindsay Nixon has written,

> "Indigenous art is just now learning how to create a space for gender-variant and sexually diverse voices that were absent from the dominant discourse for the past several decades...Indeed, there are still institutional forces within Indigenous art that require the interventions of fierce Indigenous feminism. Indigenous art is now poised to surpass its former corrosive identity politics that rely on rigidity and uniformity, like a dam of water ready to burst."[9]

Indigenous women and gender nonconforming peoples are taking up critical and crucial space needed throughout these discussions. In the Summer 2017 issue of *Canadian Art,* Lindsay brought forward an important sentiment from Metis/Saulteaux/Polish artist Dayna Danger who responded to a non-Indigenous man who said *he did not see himself* in her work. Dayna made it clear that the work she is doing has no goal of appeasing white men saying, "This work is not for you."[10] This work is for us Indigenous women and gender nonconforming folks to resist and revolutionize, using our bodies and our art as tools to inspire generations that follow. The arts are bringing forward ways in which sexuality, confidence, well-being, leadership, fear, sadness,

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and circulated.

[9] Lindsay Nixon. "This Work Is Not for You." *Canadian Art*. June 5, 2017. This issue of Canadian Art came after several months of Lindsay's published online article "Making Space in Indigenous Art for Bull Dykes and Gender Weirdos." Through this she bluntly called out several voices of damaging/abusive men working in this field of Indigenous arts discourses or who have something to say about the personal lived experiences of others. I am proud to work alongside colleagues such as Lindsay, it is through these voices that we will see this water dam burst.

[10] Lindsay Nixon. "This Work Is Not for You." *Canadian Art*. June 5, 2017.

love, brilliance, and humour are being used as facets for Indigenous resistance through survivance.

Survivance is a framework which brings together the survival of Indigenous peoples over centuries of colonialism with their resistance against the persisting residue of colonial actions.[11] The term survivance was advanced by Anishinaabe writer and scholar Gerald Vizenor in his foundational text *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance (*1999*).* At the core of what survivance expresses is how Indigenous peoples have the powerful ability to use the strength of their cultures to resist and fight colonialism, racial dominance, and assimilation strategies, which is especially relevant in a year that surfaced varying levels of controversy for many Indigenous groups and individuals. 2017 is the year that marks 150 years since Canada's confederation. Although relations with Indigenous peoples have seemingly improved since then, Canadians are engaging in celebrations that negate the struggles Indigenous peoples are still facing today by promoting Canada as a country that is the most accepting of its diversity. Yet many Canadians are still unaware that residential schools existed.[12] In this same year we are seeing dwindling interest in the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and a stalled beginning to the National Inquiry on Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women and Girls. While Canadians are engaging in celebrations, Canada is seemingly turning a blind eye while Indigenous women are still going missing and the suicide rates of Indigenous kids - being one of the highest in the world - is still climbing. In 2007, the Aboriginal Healing Foundation identified that although the general suicide rate of Canada is lowering, the rate of suicide cases amongst Indigenous peoples is rising.[13] Through this colonial history, the female Indigenous body has been brutally sexualized, commodified, and denigrated as having less importance and authority than anyone else. Simpson forcefully called to attention a painful history that is still spiraling through our sociological relationship to the settler state, while we

[11] Gerald Robert Vizenor. *Manifest Manners: Postindian Warriors of Survivance*. Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, (1994) Where this term, survivance originally came from is Manifest Manners, I have also drawing from his contribution to Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang's book, Youth Resistance Research and Theories of Change, titled "Resistance in the Blood". In this essay he responds to his original 1994 publication stating that it was never meant to be defined, but is an ever changing and evolving term. My use of survivance is also not to be confused as a definition, but as the fermenting of an idea around power of resistance and the existence of Indigenous peoples through our cultural practices, whether that be based on traditional practices or personal definitions of Indigeneity.

[12] This is from personal experience of having to explain what residential schools were to colleagues on many occasions.

[13] Aboriginal Healing Foundation. *Suicide Among Aboriginal People in Canada*. Ottawa, ON. 2017.

remain positively anchored to this land/territory. But also importantly, she is targeting a tangled web of historical reverberations that do not exist alone; sexualization of Indigenous women is interwoven with social barriers that Indigenous peoples face. The work of Vizenor, Simpson and other Indigenous scholars referenced in this thesis together respond to the complexity of experiences wrought on Indigenous communities by the entangled histories and ongoing legacies of colonialism as well as the ongoing expressions of resilience and resurgence.

love and relationality – a framework for Indigenous research

> "It matters and it doesn't matter. It doesn't matter because it's not the kind of love that changes anything, except of course that it is love and so it changes everything, but just slightly and never forever. It requires a great deal of care, as all loves do, because we need to come out the other side of this love okay."[14]

Anishinaabe writer Leanne Betasamosake Simpson expresses fierce, honest, brutal sides to love. She shows the deepest, most uncomfortable parts of love and relationships, finding love within the lack thereof, in the dirty, real, sometimes un-reciprocal places that love can hide. The love that she presents pulls colonial traumas to the forefront of the pain behind it. In doing this, she points to the complicated nature of the relationships Indigenous peoples have to this land, to this country, to each other, to western power systems and structures, to colonization, to history, and to love itself. The decolonial forms of love she describes matter because it is what will help us deal with the persisting pain and discomfort in a colonial society.

When I began really thinking about my own Indigeneity, it allowed me to enter a new space of research that could mean something more than simply researching for the goal of a degree. It was through the words of Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Opaskwayak Cree scholar Shawn Wilson that I understood how research could be truly meaningful on both a personal level and for a larger community. Through his book *Research is Ceremony*, Wilson's stories describe the power imbalances that have existed in institutions and how those historical imbalances can and are now being challenged, through the work of Indigenous peoples to introduce distinct and different worldviews into institutional settings, transforming research at such institutions into a form of ceremonial practice. He shows that research can (and arguably,

[14] Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. "Seeing through the end of the world" in *This Accident of Being Lost: Songs and Stories*. Berkeley, CA: Astoria, (2017).

must) be a platform that brings people together.[15] Relational accountability is quite possibly one of the most important elements that Wilson put forward through this book; being accountable to the building and maintaining of relationships should be the most integral element of research. He shows the ability that research has of being a ceremonial process. *Research is Ceremony* is pulling from Indigenous beliefs and practices in order to benefit Indigenous communities and the individual voices within them. In the groundbreaking book *Decolonizing Methodologies,* Smith argues that Indigenous researchers are integral to the decolonization process. It is in this book that she works to explain the necessity of Indigenous researchers and activists who effectively integrate Indigenous knowledge alongside their communities, proving that this work has a place in Westernized intellectual environments. Speaking to this, Smith states:

> "Research exists within a system of power. What this means for indigenous researchers as well as indigenous activists and their communities is that indigenous work has to 'talk back to' or 'talk up to' power. There are no neutral spaces for the kind of work required to ensure that traditional indigenous knowledge flourishes; that it remains connected intimately to Indigenous people as a way of thinking, knowing and being; that it is sustained and actually grows over future generations."[16]

As Smith argues, in research, there are in fact, *no neutral spaces.* Accordingly, for research to be beneficial to Indigenous peoples it must be tied to their own interests and needs. In responding to the greatest challenges of our time, research on Indigenous culture, knowledge, and societal issues demands Simpson's decolonial *love* and Wilson's *relationality*–in other words, our respect for and accountability to Indigenous communities—in order to fortify and empower these communities. In 2012 Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang published a revolutionary article, 'Decolonization is not a Metaphor', in which they questioned what the current discourse on reconciliation really means and who these reconciliatory actions benefit. Reconciliation is not decolonization, as reconciliation appears to benefit settlers, but renders itself less meaningful to Indigenous peoples. In order for decolonization to become more than a metaphor we, Indigenous peoples, need to think about sovereignty differently. Tuck and Yang stated:

> "Reconciliation is about rescuing settler normalcy, about rescuing a settler future. Reconciliation is concerned with questions of *what will decolonization look like? What will happen after abolition? What will be the consequences of decolonization for the settler?* [...] decolonization is

[15] Shawn Wilson. *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*. Black Point, N.S.: Fernwood Pub., (2008). 8.
[16] Linda Tuhiwai Smith. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. 2nd ed. London; New York: Zed Books; Room 400. (2012). 226.

> not obliged to answer those questions - decolonization is not accountable to settlers, or settler futurity. Decolonization is accountable to Indigenous sovereignty and futurity."[17]

Indigenous academics are changing dialogues in settler educational institutions, rattling a colonial system. These voices are redefining what sovereignty might mean and what it might represent. In a workshop I attended given by Tuscarora scholar Jolene Rickard, she asked us, the small group of students and professors attending, what our relationships to sovereignty were. Relating to the work of Tuck and Yang, we discussed that sovereignty cannot be an abstraction and cannot be outside of personal experience; sovereignty *must* be an immersive practice.[18] We have come to a point where Indigenous voices need to be heard now more than ever and it is in this respect that I have dedicated efforts in this research to include predominantly Indigenous voices. Interactions of Indigenous bodies and minds through space, examine decolonial love as necessarily becoming a gesture for ensuring Indigenous survivance for the future. We come to understand decolonial love as urgent and integral for the future of Indigenous communities. Through community-based projects, love is being shared and used as a tool for empowerment. Qaggiavuut! is making this happen through their Qaggiq program where they use performance practices such as uaajeerneq, a traditional Greenlandic mask dancing practice, to get youth more comfortable with their inner selves.[19] Two-spirit Rhodes scholar and poet Billy-Ray Belcourt from Driftpile Cree Nation has shown how the unpredictability and chaos of love brings Indigenous people into a deeper appreciation of themselves, he states, "more complex and messier forms of love, ones that can, in their otherworldliness, sustain Native peoples' attachments to themselves."[20] In this sense, decolonial love engages with future pedagogies. To invest in love is to invest in a future. What we can find through love, is that it twists through all things. Love is, investing in something, some forms of love are quieter, some are louder and more obvious, but it is in these loves that Indigenous cultural survivance might have a chance to thrive.

Love's messiest forms have been seen over the past 100 years, as children were taken away

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[17] Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang. "Decolonization is not a Metaphor." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1, (2012), 35.
[18] Jolene Rickard. *Indigenous Future Imaginary*. Lecture. Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec, (February 2017).
[19] Laakkuluk Williamson Bathory. Film by Stacey Aglok. "Laakkuluk/Qanurli Profile/ 4:3." *Vimeo*.
[20] Karyn Recollet. "Gesturing Indigenous Futurities Through the Remix." *Dance Research Journal* 48, no. 1, (April, 2016), 96.

from their homes and put into residential schools, where they were subjected to both physical, sexual and mental abuse of extraordinary measures, the exotification of the 'Indian' was seen as a way of making us less human. Love's existence was hard to see in these places and has had a difficult time resurfacing. Further, with the creation of the Indian Act, the Indigenous woman was pushed to the margins of any form of acceptance.[21] If a woman were to marry a non-Indigenous man, she would lose her Indian status, while Indigenous men always retained their status regardless of who they married. In fact, according to the Indian Act non-Indigenous women marrying an Indigenous man could gain Indian status. In "Decolonization is not a Metaphor," Tuck and Yang describe this as the way settlers have continued colonial forms while remaining ignorant to the actual struggles that Indigenous peoples face so as to not have to deal with these problems, while simultaneously trying to *be* as 'Indian' as possible.[22] Gestures on the part of the Canadian Government explicitly worked to eliminate Indigenous peoples and although the times have ended where it was okay, if not encouraged, to murder an 'Indian', the socio-political wars remain stronger than ever. Domination of Indigenous women, the unimaginable occurrences of their physical and sexual assault, and the rate at which Indigenous females have been disappearing is a circle that is viciously prowling itself. The language of decolonization needs to change from metaphors that turn into realities.

From the broader ideas of decolonial love from Simpson and Belcourt and decolonizing research practices of Tuck, Yang, Smith, and Wilson that are speaking to broader Indigenous theories, I now aim to narrow my focus to Inuit knowledge, including Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (Inuit traditional knowledge) and *Aqausiit,* meaning the song each person sings to those they love. Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit and aqausiit run throughout each of the projects that follow this discussion. They are ways of life that are bringing people together in meaningful ways. Further to this, each of these theories seen in Qaggiavuut!'s mission and mandate are working towards a larger goal of promoting survivance. Development of artistic community-based projects within Indigenous communities are becoming crucial ways of bringing Indigenous youth into conversations on safer sexual relationships, fostering confidence and working against constructed socio-political barriers that have led youth in the Arctic to take their own lives at rates that unimaginably higher than the rest of Canada.

[21] Audra Simpson, "The Chief's Two Bodies: Theresa Spence and the Gender of Settler Sovereignty," 2014.
[22] Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is not a Metaphor," 2012.

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Inuit living knowledge

In Inuit families, children would learn by watching their parents' movements, listening to their words and then trying to mimic them. Passing on knowledge between generations is necessary for continuance of family practices. Igloliorte has explained that Inuit Qaujimajatugangit (IQ) is a form of living knowledge which respects relationships and the work should be to pass on these knowledges, which Inuit have always known to be true.[23] IQ has been defined in many different ways, but on a most basic level, IQ translates to Inuit traditional knowledge[24] and largely sums up the need for the transferences of knowledge. *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Social History, Politics and the Practice of Resistance* is an essay written by Inuk politician and elder Piita (Peter) Irniq and Frank Tester, where they outline the history of IQ, some of the implications of using wording such as 'traditional', and creating what they refer to as a "seamless" definition of IQ. The use of the term 'tradition' has some problematic implications; in many uses of the word there is the implication that 'traditions' are located in the past and do not enter into the contemporary realm. In *Clearing a Path* (2009), however, Sherry Farrell Racette explains how artistic practices can work through tradition while creating new methods and ideas, instead functioning like the living knowledge described by Irniq and Tester. Tradition and contemporariness can coexist in the arts and in fact, present what Farrell Racette calls "visual forms of survivance."[25] In this thesis I draw on this definition of tradition as the continuity of knowledge through change and adaptation. In working to create a seamless definition of Inuit traditional knowledge, Irniq and Tester state,

> "IQ by definition should be identified as a space, a context within which respectful dialogue, discussion, questioning, and listening can take place...IQ can be a spiritual and intellectual home, a safe place from which elders and youth alike can practice resistance through stories, art, music, research, writings, and very many forms of practice."[26]

IQ is powerful in its sharing of intergenerational knowledge, aiming to show the strength of Inuit culture, life and resistance. How we learn is a result from personal histories and cultural

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[23] Heather Igloliorte, "Theorizing Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Curating Arctic Art" (presentation, *Teachings: Theories and Methodologies for Indigenous Art History in North America*, Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec, November 12, 2016).

[24] Frank Tester and Peter Irniq, "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Social History, Politics and the Practice of Resistance," *Arctic*, Volume 61, (Number 5, 2008).

[25] Carmen Robertson and Sherry Farrell Racette, *Clearing a Path: New Ways of Seeing Traditional Indigenous Art* (Regina, Sask.: University of Regina, Canadian Plains Research Center, 2009).

[26] Tester and Irniq, "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit," (2008), 58.

practices. IQ is working through this, bringing forward practices since time immemorial to the present, for next generations to carry on. In their essay, Irniq and Tester display that in search of a seamless definition of IQ, one must consider historical realities Inuit have faced and how this affects them today. What must also be acknowledged is that these complicated colonial histories have repressed some aspects of Inuit culture and influence how IQ can be defined for Inuit. This essay intricately details how IQ has evolved and continues to do so, it works through the historical and political implications that still exist today, but more so, how concepts such as IQ are being used as a tool to create stronger communities. Irniq and Tester share the deep history of how generations have been and continue to be affected by breaks in intergenerational communication. Youth today are speaking less to elders and as a result cultural teachings, languages, and values are being forgotten, leaving many youth to feel lost. Author of "The Dark Side of Sex" in the book *Me Sexy,* Marius Tungilik[27] openly spoke about his experiences in residential schools. He dealt with these traumas for the rest of his life, but selflessly devoted much of his life to supporting other residential school survivors dealing with their own traumas, pain, and addictions. In this essay he wrote about a history of trauma, but how Inuit families changed after the school system. He pointed out,

> "Before I was taken away from my parents to school at the age of five, my family discussed sexuality openly, as I recall. They talked about it both jokingly and seriously. They warned us about incest, sexual relations with animals, rape or sexual assault and sexual relations with close relatives. Sometimes, they clearly had fun joking about sex. After our experience with sex as children and because of the religious perimeters that the missionaries established, sex was hard to talk about or not discussed at all."[28]

The report *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: The Role of Indigenous Knowledge in Supporting Wellness in Inuit Communities in Nunavut* prepared by the National Collaboration Centre for Aboriginal Health, stated that, "Elders describe IQ as the wisdom gained from extensive experience that has been passed from generation to generation… Colonization caused a break in the

[27] In 2012, Marius suddenly passed away. He worked for the majority of his career as a public servant with the government and also spent much of his adult life exposing horrors of residential schools and helping other survivors cope with their own traumas.
[28] Marius P. Tungilik. "The Dark Side of Sex" in *Me Sexy*. Vancouver, BC: Douglas & McIntyre, 2008. 55.

transmission of IQ."[29] What is important is how Inuit traditional knowledges or IQ are being passed on and the ways in which we are seeing that happen. Moreover, what is being said in defining what IQ is and what it means for Inuit is that it can and will be used as a method of Inuit political resistance.

aqausiit

Working alongside IQ, aqausiit is an Inuktitut term meaning the song each person has for those they love. Aqausiit takes many forms. It embraces teasing, storytelling, singing, understanding and learning, dancing, and also silence. Williamson Bathory says that aqausiit's use of "teasing as a form of love is to highlight the essential ambiguity of life."[30] Aqausiit allows life to be ambiguous, it makes space for surprise and intrigue. Teaching that we should always be curious about what is yet to come and allow those around us to share in this curiosity. Aqausiit is a form of decolonial love, and as such differs from what we see in western culture; as an Inuit form, it is also different from First Nations and Métis practices. It is situated in Inuit togetherness and sharing of space, pulling hilarity through in situations of kindness and of learning. In my travels in the north, I have noticed how Inuit have the ability to show immense love and respect through silence. Williamson Bathory also emphasizes that the practice of aqausiit places individuals into that of humility and humbleness. And that the performance uaajeerneq is the embodiment of this necessary ambiguity of life that aqausiit embraces. Humility is a major element in ways of life for many Inuit. To tease, and as she describes, to make laugh, can be directly related to love, yet also keeps one grounded in respect for those around them and where they have come from. It is also explained that there can be moments of using aqausiit as a way to pass knowledges to children and that teasing, humour, and fear can be a way to do so. Teasing pulls threads from individuals and taunts them in a hilarious way, but teasing with those that are close, even when upset, shows love. As aqausiit is a song sung to those one loves, what I am suggesting in bringing forth the concept of aqausiit, is that through uaajeerneq mask dancing as a performing of aqausiit, that audiences are being given the gift of a love song. Furthermore, through Qaggiavuut!'s Qaggiq program, this love song is being sung to youth learning uaajeerneq and so that they can work to pass it on to others. Wearing a mask has allowed youth to accept and love the most bizarre components of who they are.

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[29] Shirley Tagalik. "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: The Role of Indigenous Knowledge in Supporting Wellness in Inuit Communities in Nunavut." *National Collaboration Centre for Aboriginal Health*. January 1, 2012.

[30] Williamson Bathory. "Aqausiit", (December 2011), 1-29.

SEX

The media coverage and political discussion around the hunger strike of Chief Theresa Spence exposed the relationship of the colonial state to the Indigenous body. The lack of respect given to her political voice points to a larger issue of imbalance seen in the settler-colonial relationship with Indigenous peoples that still exists today. Of the many things that colonialism has done to Indigenous peoples is the radical change of gendered relations through the implementation of Christianity. Coast Salish poet and author Lee Maracle describes that since colonization Indigenous women have had power taken from us that continues through the socio-political structures that have continued to work against us. In discussing the power Indigenous women had, Maracle states,

> "the earth was seen as a living entity, not as an object of conquest and exploitation...respect for the earth and respect for women were bound together, and organized women governors wielded the power to enforce this...The health and peace of a nation rested on the accepted authority and knowledge of its women and children."[31]

Yet time and time again, fascination with Indigenous peoples has led to the gross misrepresentation of the Indigenous body, especially the female Indigenous body, resulting in what has become the abuse and death of so many women. Religion has turned the body and sexuality into something that needs to be hidden. As Indigenous cultural practices were forced out of children through residential schools, all Indigenous bodies have been suppressed and has made it understood that sexuality is private and to openly express it should be an embarrassment.

Indigenous peoples have on one hand been a source of fascination, desire, and fetishism while also being subjected to being considered monsters, savage, and not human in the same way that colonizers/settlers are human.[32] Falling in line with expectations from religious settlers, the role of women was subjected to a position of the obedient to men, as the lesser being, whereas historically, women held roles at par with men.

Sexuality is thought of differently for each person. For Inuit living in small spaces, sex was a

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[31] Lee Maracle. *Memory Serves: Oratories.* Edited by Smaro Kamboureli. Edmonton, AB: NeWest Press, 2015.
[32] Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization is not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1, 2012.

common occurrence among everyone. Kleist tells the history behind 'turning lamps off' ceremonies. After eating a lavish meal that would have generally been of fermented foods, Inuit would turn off the lamp and grab the closest person next to them in the dark and they would have sex. The light would only be turned back on once everything became quiet and everyone had finished.[33] Can you imagine if something like this was in the news today? Someone would be arrested for sure, because ceremonies - especially ones of this kind - were discouraged and eventually banned for many Indigenous communities. Kleist also explained the role of genders and the relationship with sex that Inuit had and how it differs from today.

> "No gender had an inherited dominance in matters of sexuality – both could take the initiative, and both could enjoy themselves. Sex was not only considered a physical necessity equal to water and food, but it was also regarded as a tool to help one's emotional well-being. Sex was not just connected to our genitals or just an act of procreation; it was a necessity to our sanity."[34]

Christianity has forcefully come into play for Indigenous peoples, being sent through residential schools and other education methods since the closing of the last residential school in 1997, Indigenous ways of life have been suppressed. 1997 wasn't that long ago…For years now, Christianity has made a mark in many Indigenous communities and has turned sex into a grotesque and shameful act as seen by god. As sexuality held important roles for many Indigenous groups and communities, we are now seeing new conversations emerge whereby Indigenous folks are questioning the shame that was inserted and enforced onto their own sexuality. Important conversations are bringing resources to those who may not feel as though they can ask for them. In turn, what these conversations are doing for Indigenous individuals and communities is creating spaces that are seeing a reversal of this history of shame and reinserting confidence where it has been lost. The conversational, communal nature and ownership of Inuit sexuality is finally seeing a resurgence, thanks largely to the work being done by groups such as Qaggiavuut! and Arctic FOXY.

new conversations on sexuality: community initiatives and youth

Pauktuutit, Inuit Women of Canada, is an organization dedicated to supporting and advocating for all needs of Inuit women in Canada. One of the main problems they are targeting is the excessive number of occurrences of sexual abuse of Inuit women in the North. Through their

[33] Makka Kleist. "Pre-Christian Inuit Sexuality" in *Me Sexy*. Vancouver, BC: Douglas & McIntyre, 2008.
[34] Kleist, "Pre-Christian Inuit Sexuality"

initiatives, Pauktuutit has developed tangible methods of sharing knowledge on how to practice safer and more responsible sexual health and well-being. One of these initiatives was the *National Inuit Policy Forum on Sexual Health*, which was held in October of 2009. The forum was titled *Tukisiviit - Do you understand?* And it took place in Happy Valley - Goose Bay, Labrador.[35] There were several things that this forum highlighted, but one of the most important were the barriers created from lack of accessibility through language. It became clear that there was a major lack in proper terminology in all Inuktitut dialects across the Arctic, so members of Pauktuutit worked to develop a document that gives basic information on sexual health, reproductive parts of the body, and how sexually transmitted infections occur. All of this information was disseminated in a comprehensive document translated into the four major regional dialects.

In Pauktuutit's 2014 report, there was a key element needing to be brought to attention: in the summary it was stated that throughout their research they found that "fear, stigma, and discrimination have acted as barriers to prevention, awareness, and education initiatives. Many Inuit do not talk openly about sexual health and regard the topic as an intimate issue."[36] Which is a drastic change from pre-colonial times as seen in the "turning the lamps off" ceremony. In the recently published strategic plan *Tavva: National Inuit Sexual Health Strategy*, Pauktuutit's goal was to involve Inuit in all the planning of activities that ensure their own healthy sexual activity. They point to their vision of what healthy Inuit sexuality means to them, which includes: positive body image, healthy relationships, knowledge, pleasure and intimacy, mental wellness, self-esteem, self-determination, clear communication, consensual sex, safe sex, intergenerational communication, and being lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer positive.[37] Pauktuutit also points to how interconnected each of the social determinants are that lead to/allow for healthy sexual relationships. In these determinants, they bring forward the same barriers that were outlined by ITK, also noting that we cannot separate determinants such as overcrowded housing, cost of living and food insecurity, intergenerational trauma, and access to services – to name a few – in looking to understand how to bring healthier sexual practices to Inuit and other northern communities. Furthermore, that in aiming to solve issues around sexual health that target building confidence, it also works in fighting against increasing

[35] Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, "Tukisiviit Summary Report," July 2012.
[36] Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, "Tukisiviit Summary Report," July 2012.
[37] Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, "Tavva: National Inuit Sexual Health Strategy," March 2017. 4.

risks of suicide.

It is important that such initiatives focus on the inclusion and education of youth. In the essay "Drumbeats to Drumbytes: Globalizing Networked Aboriginal Art", Ahasiw Maskegon-Iskwew's words work to focus attention on the need to integrate youth in cultural practices. He stressed the importance of Indigenous networks and how working with youth will begin to deconstruct Western institutional constructs that need to be decolonized. We need to give the next generation the chance to regain what generations before us lost due to assimilation, colonialism, and institutional westernization. Maskegon-Iskwew stated:

> "The crisis of cultural loss is increasing for Indigenous peoples. Indigenous youth must be supported in becoming artists and cultural producers to stem this tide. A significant and growing body of research also acknowledges that arts education for youth and their participation in, and awareness of the arts are significant contributors to the development of innovation, leadership, community engagement, critical thinking, self-discipline, self motivated learning, teamwork, and self-esteem."[38]

What he was stressing through his essay was that there are an overwhelming number of sites of oppression that Indigenous peoples navigate every day. Community networks are integral components to how survivance might be actualized. There is a generational disconnect that has been seen across many Indigenous communities, which has had major cultural implications as the passing down of practices and beliefs has been an indispensable component of many communities. In this essay, Maskegon-Iskwew brought up these ideas as well as the need for politically driven artistic practice to confront dominant notions.

Fostering Open eXpression among Youth (FOXY) is an organization based out of Yellowknife that has worked to develop programs for youth that use the arts as an entry point to more difficult conversations. Through workshops and other programs, FOXY creates space for the questions that youth might have that they might not necessarily feel comfortable asking within their own communities. According to their website, FOXY's mission is,

> "To use the arts to enhance the education, health, and well-being of Northern and Indigenous youth. FOXY's vision for the coming five years is

[38] Ahasiw Maskegon-Iskwew. "Drumbeats to Drumbytes: Globalizing Networked Aboriginal Art." In *Transference, Tradition, Technology: Native New Media Exploring Visual & Digital Culture*. 193. In discussing Ahasiw's work I use the past tense, Ahasiw passed away on September 26, 2006, he left a huge amount of artwork and writing that is still incredibly important today.

> to be trauma informed in content and practice…to provide quality sexual health education for youth of all genders, sexualities, and cultures in Northern rural and remote communities that is grounded in wholistic approaches, evidence-based practices, and reciprocal and experiential ways of learning across generations."[39]

Each year, Arctic FOXY hosts workshops and retreats for youth in the North, where they use the arts as a starting point to teaching about sexual health, safe practices and overall wellness. Having programs such as the Qaggiq program and Arctic FOXY are incredibly important to give youth different outlets to express feelings or questions they can't ask in their own communities. In explaining the importance of these workshops, Arctic FOXY's Executive Director Candice Lys explained that she began working on this project as part of her doctoral research after realizing the stark lack of access youth in the Arctic have to resources on sexual health and wellness. Each year, Lys holds retreats in the North West Territories for youth. The Arctic FOXY team invites mentors who lead workshops on various art forms and through these acts of creation, questions and conversations on sexuality and health are brought to the table. Experimenting and playing in the arts, for youth, is a platform that is making it easier to enter these conversations. This format has proven to be highly successful and comfortable for youth to begin thinking about these often-difficult topics.[40]

In a psychological research study led by a colleague of mine psychiatrist Eduardo Chachamovich, researchers compiled testimonials from those who have dealt with suicide in their own families, examining what might be the cause and what can be done. Families were often very appreciative that they had people to talk to from outside their tightly knit communities. Many of the families had not had the chance to talk about their feelings in the aftermath of the suicide of a family member. This suicide crisis in the north is leading communities to scramble to pull resources together. What has been noted is that there simply are not enough resources such as mental and physical health workers in the North.[41] As resources sit at an all time low for so many Arctic communities, organizations such as ITK and Pauktuutiit are bringing these resources to communities and giving strength from within.

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[39] Arctic FOXY, (Fostering Open eXpression among Youth). *FOXY*. https://arcticfoxy.com/about-us/

[40] Candice Lys, "Workshops with Arctic FOXY," telephone interview with author, August 23, 2017.

[41] Eduardo Chachamovich et al., "A psychological autopsy study of suicide among Inuit in Nunavut: methodological and ethical considerations, feasibility and acceptability," *International Journal of Circumpolar Health* 72 (March 26, 2013): 1-10, accessed July 10, 2016.

making space for stories

As Qaggiavuut! founder Ellen Hamilton stated, stories have a powerful ability to bring people together by adding another level of communication that might be easier to access for many. Storytelling is a practice that runs deep in my family. As it takes years to become a respected storyteller, I am humble in my attempts to practice this art form as it is new to me, especially in written form. I am not a storyteller in the same way that my aunt Rosemary Georgeson from the Penelakut nation of Galiano Island is, for example; nevertheless, I am going to introduce the latter half of my thesis with a story, about a series of performances I witnessed that changed the way I think about both Indigenous sexuality and performance art.

In October of 2016 I was given the opportunity to participate in the organization of an event during the first circumpolar all night festival *iNuit Blanche*, which presented Inuit art, performance, music, dance, installation, food and film across the city of St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador. For the duration of that night, I was working at a performance venue and among the many things that were presented that evening were three performances by Iqaluit based performers Vinnie Karetak and Laakkuluk Williamson Bathory, members of Qaggiavuut! who I had not previously met. Through talking to the two in the hours before they would perform, I was taught that Qaggiavuut! is a society, a community, a gathering of people coming together to support Arctic performing practices. In addition, I learned of Qaggiavuut!'s corresponding projects that use performance as a tool to engage Indigenous youth in conversations on topics of sexual, physical and emotional health through their initiative called Qaggiq.[42] Through the rehearsals I saw the ways in which Williamson Bathory and Karetak were working through their movements, using their bodies and words as an introduction to their own personal narratives.

Through her performance (fig. 1), Williamson Bathory introduced us to uaajeerneq, a Greenlandic mask dancing performance practice, that I later learned playfully and lustfully aims to provoke reactions to fear, humour and sexuality in the performers and audience alike.[43] Karetak's use of humour and sarcasm, on the other hand, brought a lightness that pointed to the often-comedic nature of Inuit cultural expression (fig. 2). I argue that each of these elements—

[42] Qaggiavuut!. "Qaggiavuut! Strengthening the Arctic Performing Arts." Website. 2017.

[43] Laakkuluk Williamson Bathory. "Aqausiit: Can You Hear How Much Love You Evoke In Me?!." *Native Studies Review*, 20, no. 2 (December 2011): 1-29.

fear, humour and sexuality—are integral to what I am outlining as a performing of survivance.

Williamson Bathory also often employs film as a platform for her performance practices. The first film that I saw of hers was playing in the background of her performance in St. John's. In the film, entitled *Kiinamit kiinamut (Face to Face)* (2016), she slowly applies the uaajeerneq painted mask, methodically preparing her skin by applying a layer of transparent grease, which is later covered with a thick coating of pigment, first black, then with her nails she traces lines; the top 'V' shape on her forehead created from pulling back black pigment is filled with a luscious red pigment, creating a red triangle pointing downwards on her face; and then, slowly, the film rewinds back through the movements (Fig. 3). In her description of *Kiinamit kiinamut* she writes,

> "This short soundless film is a study of uaajeerneq mask making. The question that arises for me in this film is "naak silavit qeqqaa?" Where is the centre of your intellect? This was a question my great aunt always asked of my mother as a child."[44]

For the closing of the festival and conference, Williamson Bathory again performed, this time with throat singer and Polaris Prize winner Tanya Tagaq at the Arts and Culture Centre in St. John's. As Tagaq created rhythm and sound through throat singing, Williamson Bathory climbed her way through the captivated audience, sometimes scaring them, sometimes causing laughter, all the while embodying a highly sexual being. This performance shook me. It made me question why we don't see these different Indigenous sexual expressions more often, or why they may be hidden.

The following sections will consider how these artists bring forth fear, humour and sexuality through the performing arts, and how the platform that the arts allows for can confront harmful continuing of traumas caused by decade after decade from forced assimilation, relocation, dog slaughters, residential schools, foster care, and blatant racism. The oppressive history of sexuality is being used as a way in which power and self-assurance can be developed and fostered. We take sex, an often uncomfortable subject for most and fold it into the beginning of a conversation through an artistic expression that intertwines long-standing cultural practices. This is what the work that Qaggiavuut! and several others are providing through workshops,

[44] Laakkuluk Williamson Bathory, *Kiinamit kiinamut (Face to Face)*, Shot and edited by Jamie Griffiths. YouTube, November 03, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vGqyYtc-Aiw.

resources and events, and the work that I explore in this thesis, on the significant role that the arts can play in understanding, articulating, and healing from trauma; as well as in decolonizing, Indigenizing, and creating spaces for creative and cultural sovereignty.

challenges to Inuit communities today

Inuit Nunangat is comprised of the four regions: the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, Nunavut, Nunavik, and Nunatsiavut. As the national organization representing the rights of Inuit in Canada, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) has been working to develop strategies to fight the growing suicide crisis by acting as an advocate for the health and well-being of Inuit from the four regions as well as in the south. Much of this work is beginning to understand systemic issues being faced by Inuit, creating pathways that lead to real and progressive change, led by and for Inuit. According to a study done by ITK, the rates of suicide across the regions ranges from five to twenty-five times that of all of Canada.[45] In Canada, we often hear about how diverse and open this nation is, yet there is a shadow that looms over this place, a shadow that many do not acknowledge. But as many Indigenous scholars, artists, politicians and activists are pointing out, Canada is still very much a colonial state. As sexual abuse and suicide have consistently sat at some of the highest numbers of reported cases in the world. Inuit are facing systemic issues in the wake of colonialism, discussions about openness and diversity often ignore the experiences of Indigenous peoples.

There was an integral moment that jump-started this research. It was during a consultation trip in Labrador, in the fall of 2015. During this trip, Nunavut's premier Peter Taptuna declared that Nunavut was dealing with a suicide crisis. What became ultimately clear as I worked alongside Inuk art historian Dr. Heather Igloliorte in Nunatsiavut, was that this crisis was not solely limited to the Nunavut. It was also this same year as we were working through consultations that a young artist whom we had recently met, and hoped to interview later that week, died by suicide. Jacko Pijogge was a promising young sculptor based in Nain. Only a few months later, the remote northern First Nations community of Attawapiskat declared itself in a state of crisis on April 9th, 2016 after eleven young Indigenous community members attempted suicide.[46] The list goes on. Indigenous organizations are beginning to work together to address some of these

[45] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *National Inuit Suicide Prevention Strategy*, 2016. www.itk.ca

[46] Ben Spurr, "How the Attawapiskat Suicide Crisis Unfolded - Toronto Star." *The Star*, April 18, 2016. https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2016/04/18/how-the-attawapiskat-suicide-crisis-unfolded.html.

overwhelming issues, making changes, slowly, but lasting. Working at the Inuit Art Foundation has given me the opportunity to work alongside some of these Inuit organizations; at the Foundation we have been working with ITK to develop strategies to promote Inuit culture nationwide. After speaking with Natan Obed, ITK's president, it became clear how ITK believes that the arts can bring strength needed for Inuit communities economically, politically and emotionally. This past September as part of the event the *Walrus Talks Arctic*, Obed powerfully presented the issues that Inuit are facing that are influencing high rates of suicide,

> "There are approximately 60,000 Inuit who live in Canada, 80% of Inuit live in Inuit Nunangat, 20% now live in southern Canadian places. All of our communities, all Inuit in Canada are personally affected by suicide. It is a challenge that we need to overcome. The challenge of our time as Inuit is how we are going to address the high rates of suicide in our own communities with our people and how are we going to create a society that values and celebrates our children, our youth, and all of our people [...] We not too long ago were living on the land, living in closely knit family groups. Cultural continuity is essential in our ability to address suicide, that means that our culture and our perspective on the world needs to be given to our children, land skills, sewing skills, the connections between our youth and their parents and their grandparents. The respect and knowledge for the environment along with myths and stories and legends, all of that builds protective factors for all of our people and builds that pride and self-determination that we have for ourselves. We need to deal with trauma. 50% of women reported that they had been sexually abused. This is unacceptable and we need to do more. Ultimately, we need to build solutions that Inuit control. In this time of reconciliation, it is time to build a Canada for all of us, it will take time and it will take all of us."[47]

In ITK's National Inuit Suicide Prevention Strategy (NISPS), between 2009 and 2013 the total suicide rates per 100,000 people were:

- Canada: 11.3
- Inuvialuit: 60.4
- Nunavut: 116.7
- Nunavik: 113.5
- Nunatsiavut: 275.3[48]

What has become clear in doing this research is that there are several factors that need to be considered when talking about the many issues faced by so many Indigenous communities. One of the things I came to realize while doing preliminary research is that colonial structures

[47] Natan Obed, "The Challenge of Our Time," (Speech, *The Walrus Talks Arctic*, Canadian Museum of Nature, Ottawa, September 22, 2016).
[48] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *National Inuit Suicide Prevention Strategy*. 2016. www.itk.ca.

established since they first came to this land have surfaced in a myriad of ways within Indigenous communities and carry on into the present. This intergenerational trauma has seen a persistent avalanche of reverberations from traumatic pasts. ITK, other organizations and individual professionals have been working to identify risk factors that are leading causes of suicide. After realizing the status of this crisis, ITK created the NISPS as a way to begin creating solutions to understood problems and causes of suicide among Inuit. In the conclusion to the NISPS document it was stated that:

> "We have lost hundreds of people to suicide and each of these losses diminishes our society. In our young people, who we look to for the survival of our way of life, we have lost political leaders, hunters and educators; we have lost grandparents, mothers, fathers, and siblings, aunts and uncles; we have lost fierce advocates for our language and culture; doctors, nurses, lawyers, and all manner of potential role models for future generations of our people. Through the *NISPS*, we have the collective responsibility and opportunity to reduce this loss and transform our knowledge, experience and research on suicide into actions that transform this reality into one in which the rate of suicide among Inuit is equal to or below the rate for Canada as a whole."[49]

ITK has outlined what risk factors lead to suicide for Inuit and also what protects communities. Unsurprisingly, most risk factors come down to intergenerational traumas that are resulting from a long history of colonialism, while the protective factors seem to greatly rely on having access to resources, which many Northern communities have significantly less access to than the rest of Canada. Some of the ways communities are experiencing social stresses today include: overcrowded housing, food insecurity, far less available services that many in the south take for granted, violence in families and communities, isolation, lack of reliable internet, depression and immensely high numbers of witnessed or experienced sexual assault.[50] Some historical factors we can consider that are still playing an active role today: colonialism, residential schools, relocations that forced Inuit into settlements preventing them from living life on the land, the slaughtering of sled dogs between 1950 and 1970,[51] and preventing Inuit from having an impact

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[49] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *National Inuit Suicide Prevention Strategy*, 26.

[50] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *National Inuit Suicide Prevention Strategy*, 12.

[51] Qikiqtani Inuit Association. "Qikitqtani Truth Commission: Analysis of the RCMP Sled Dog Report." *Thematic Reports and Special Studies 1950 - 1975*. 2014. I had originally read the original report from RCMP, in which they very quickly pointed out that they actually did not slaughter sled dogs, but the sled dogs in fact died because Inuit were incapable of taking care of them. This report is a reaction to the initial report made by the RCMP that actually outlines the history of this traumatic event and calls to attention how police cannot and should not police police.

on the global economic market by monstering and demonizing Inuit who rely on the seal hunt.[52] These are among the many things contributing to the astronomical rates of school dropouts, sexual abuse, violence, substance addiction, and suicide and they often work in circles. Each trauma does not stand alone, it is a complex web that has woven itself into a knot with each strand so tightly spindled around the next, it is seemingly impossible to know where to start.

In speaking about how the arts can be used as a suicide prevention strategy Hamilton explained Qaggiavuut!'s role in using the performing arts as a way of inspiring engagement for youth,

> "[For youth, the arts are] a great portal, to get a sense of who they are. I think that music videos really started the idea that you have to be a celebrity to perform, but for us it's really that everyone can perform, everyone can sing, everyone can dance, everyone can tell a story, and certainly, everyone can participate. Young people can become disengaged, it's as if there is no more grounding them to who they are or what happened in the past. It seems to be a phenomenon in modern society including our Arctic and what we're doing is really anything that we can do to help people feel as though they do have their feet on the ground, that they're going to be okay, that adversity will happen, that they'll get through this."[53]

Within this tangled web, we are beginning to see how the arts and community groups such as Qaggiavuut! are working to slowly create these lasting and impactful changes, using art as voice where it may not have existed before.

Qaggiavuut!

> "Qaggiavuut! formed out of the need for space and us saying that we need to be valued and to build skills. It was like throwing a rock up a hill. People had a hard time understanding why a performing arts centre would be so important in a place with so many social problems, with housing issues, with poverty. We were having a hard time convincing people that this was a good idea…We were working grant to grant with just little things and slowly it became clear from our meetings with artists was that they really wanted to work together with other artists. That's how they learned, that's how they got inspired, but they have to get together to

[52] Alethea Arnaquq-Baril. *Angry Inuk*. https://www.nfb.ca/film/angry_inuk/. 2016. The issues that surround the problems Inuit face fighting for their ability to hunt seals is a much bigger topic than I have given it space for here, actually, everything in this section needs way more space and importance than I have given it here. For the sake of space and keeping on point with this thesis, I am unable to go into further details on each of these incredibly intricate topics. I have put the seal hunt in historical factors because it has been a fight that has existed for many years and has historical ties that are linked to each of the other factors listed here.

[53] Ellen Hamilton. "The Life of Qaggiavuut!" Telephone interview by author. August 16, 2017.

> develop new skills. We realized that artists wanted training and development and this chance to get together. So, we developed the Qaggiq project that would identify who these artists were, start to culturally map them, finding out where they were living, what they did and ask them what they needed to get to the next level of their art. We wanted to give them some strengthening because they were doing this all by themselves. There is no institution, no performing arts centre, or performing arts programming. Along with that we came up with identifying the artists, give them training or skills they want or need, but we also try to strengthen them as teachers of performing arts in that community. We identify them and help them to get work to teach children about what they do."[54]

In our conversation, Hamilton told me about the seeds that started Qaggiavuut!. She began working in Iqaluit and Igloolik as a journalist and editor for Nunatsiaq News and after as an adult education teacher. What she came to realize throughout her work as a teacher was how when you add the arts to anything you do, you become more successful. Through the arts, individuals have a chance to have their stories heard. Through our conversation, we talked about how she has worked to develop Qaggiavuut! over the years, but also what has been accomplished since those early days and what is planned for the future. On the Qaggiavuut! website they define Qaggiq as "an extraordinarily large iglu made of snow and built by Inuit when they came together from outlying camps during times of plenty for celebration, feasts and performance."[55] Through the Qaggiq project they create workshops for youth, mainly in Iqaluit, to use performance as a tool to come together and discuss what are often difficult topics. The idea of these workshops is to create a space for youth where they can think about sexual activity, relationships, and overall health in a caring and open atmosphere. Furthermore, Qaggiavuut! is using the Qaggiq platform and creating space to give people the tools to become teachers themselves, passing along their own knowledge and skills to inspire future generations. At the same time, what the arts have the ability of doing is to bring forward feelings, expressions, and questions without having to speak about them directly.

On January 27, 2015 it was announced that Qaggiavuut! won the Arctic Inspiration prize for their Qaggiq program. The prize has enabled them to develop the program and bring in mentors to lead workshops where youth are being given a platform to use their voices through the arts and learn more about themselves in the process. These workshops have taken many forms.

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[54] Ellen Hamilton. "The Life of Qaggiavuut!" Telephone interview by author. August 16, 2017.

[55] "Qaggiavuut! Strengthening the Arctic Performing Arts." Home. *Qaggiavuut!* http://www.qaggiavuut.ca/.

The one I predominantly discuss here is when they were mentored by Williamson Bathory as she teaches youth uaajeerneq mask dancing. Youth have also been given the opportunity, for example, to work with Inuk musician Susan Aglukark, who taught a workshop on managing and developing artistic careers.[56] In these workshops youth and mentors are given the space to inspire each other, to learn from each other. What makes the workshops so successful are the people that are leading them and passing on their knowledge and ideas.

Members of the Qaggiavuut! society are publicly making a name for themselves. I recently had the opportunity to see *Kiviuq Returns: An Arctic Epic* in Toronto at the Harbour Front Centre. The play was performed almost entirely in Inuktitut, but even with very little knowledge of Inuktitut, the humour and narrative was clear. This Qaggiavuut! production is a playful and important moment for Inuit performing arts. Speaking to Hamilton before the show, we talked about how the play was being received in other city centres. She told me how, after each show, people came up to her amazed by the power and beauty of the story being told. Qaggiavuut! is based in Iqaluit, Nunavut, which happens to be the only Canadian province or territory that does not have a performing arts centre. This touring show is not only an integral moment for Inuit performers and Inuit culture, it is showing the necessity for Iqaluit to have a performing arts centre. By becoming a national voice, Qaggiavuut! is supporting other Inuit voices in the performing arts. This long-term project to get a performing arts centre in Nunavut is inspiring new generations of performers to continue telling these stories.

uaajeerneq

Williamson Bathory is a Qaggiavuut! employee who has worked to develop some highly successful workshops in the Qaggiq project. One example of the Qaggiq workshops is where Williamson Bathory has introduced youth to uaajeerneq mask dancing and through this, is able to discuss topics of sexual, physical, and emotional health. This was seen in a recent workshop series called *Timiga, Ikumajuq* (*My Body, My Light Within)* where the youth were taught uaajeerneq and while they began to engage in conversations about relationships and sexual health they would use the mask dance to embody their story. Williamson Bathory stated in a Qanurli video by the Inuit-owned film production company Qanukiaq Studios Inc.,

> "Uaajeerneq is both very traditional and very modern. It was kind of like a party favour, it would be someone just out of nowhere deciding to put black

[56] Ellen Hamilton. "The Life of Qaggiavuut!" Telephone interview by author. August 16, 2017.

> all over his face, distort his or her features and jump out and scare everybody. I always thought that it was very scary and very funny, it always attracted me. There's a lot of being mischievous. One of the things about wearing a mask is that for an odd reason, you feel more free to be you. When youth are doing these workshops with us, they turn into these joyful, goofy, strange little creatures and that is a part of who they are."[57]

What this performance is dealing with is the concepts of life's absurdity, our actual minor role in the world, and the ability to laugh about that. Uaajeerneq is a Greenlandic performance practice that paints intensity on the performer's face. In the essay, "Aqausitt: Can you hear how much love you evoke in me?!" from 2011, Williamson Bathory shows how uaajeerneq encompasses ideas of having no set beginnings while pursuing no set endings, leaving space for an unknown and miniscule existence within a vast universe, for the ambiguity of life, and embodying songs sung to those loved.[58]

Uaajeerneq has traditionally been used by Inuit for entertainment for adults and to teach youth how to respond to situations they might experience throughout their lives. Fear, humour, and sexuality are expressed through uaajeerneq. This dance would have been traditionally done in the winter while it was dark and with a painted face that is predominantly black with flares of red, the dancer would move through the group.[59] North Greenlandic actress Makka Kleist explains in "Pre-Christian Inuit Sexuality" an essay in *Me Sexy,* that uaajeerneq dance practice functions differently for adults and children. For adults, it would be explicitly sexual, often emphasizing both female and male body parts and acting in an outrageous unrestrained manner. For children, the idea was that they would learn how to react to fear as the dance can be quite terrifying at times. It was intended to be funny yet scary for children so that they would learn how to deal with emotional responses, especially when their survival depended on it.[60]

The majority of the mask dancer's face is covered in black, which is meant to explore "the limits of human experience in the unknowable immensity of the universe."[61] As Kleist explains, black brings through intensity of the deepest kind, while red reacts to it as a symbol of female sexuality. Next, the distended cheeks symbolize male sexuality and anatomy and add to facial

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[57] Laakkuluk Williamson Bathory. "Laakkuluk/Qanurli Profile/ 4:3." *Vimeo*. Accessed August 2, 2017.

[58] Williamson Bathory. "Aqausiit", (December 2011)

[59] Williamson Bathory. "Aqausiit", (December 2011)

[60] Makka Kleist. Taylor, Drew Hayden. *Me Sexy*. Vancouver, BC: Douglas & McIntyre, 2008.

[61] Williamson Bathory. "Aqausiit", (December 2011)

expressions that accentuate the performer's movements. The final addition to the performer is that they attach pieces to their body that over-emphasize genitals of the other gender; men will often have overly inflated breasts while women will often wear a large strap on. Williamson Bathory wears a large penis made of sealskin that she will sometimes hide under the long black dress top she wears. This dance embodies all sexualities through the movement of one body and as the performer suggestively weaves their way through the audience, they confront what some find as awkward, uncomfortable, and overly intimate moments. Forcing audiences to think about sexuality in bizarre ways that are unfamiliar and out of 'normal' contexts. The goal being to show the ambiguity of life and our minor role in the universe. While the goal of uaajeerneq was to instill fear in children so that they would learn how to deal with reacting to their fears, the act of going into the audience also brings another kind of fear and humility for adults who know that they might get singled out and humiliated amongst everyone there. While this humiliation is often one's own discomfort of being confronted with explicitly sexual gestures in a public space, the fear is through performer's enactment of transforming into a menacing and creepy being. What stands out for me is the use of humour in the performance, the overly accentuated body parts almost always lead to a comedic banter between the performer and audience members as the performer flails them around the room while making strange sounds and facial expressions. Uaajeerneq transforms spaces into that where people can be surprised and afraid, yet remain in wonder about their relationship to the world. [62]

By foregrounding the three elements of fear, humour and sexuality, uaajeerneq demonstrates that these feelings/actions can be mechanisms for us, Indigenous folks, to think about survivance within our own communities, Indigenous and other. As sexual, emotional and physical abuse are common throughout many Indigenous communities, arts practices such as uaajeerneq give space to possibly understanding how one might navigate such a situation or be able to avoid it completely. What we are seeing here is a way in which the arts are being used as a tool to positively affect the lives of Indigenous youth living in the north.

in performance

As mentioned previously, Williamson Bathory is both an independent professional artist, as well as a Qaggiq employee and Qaggiavuut! cofounder. Through her work she draws attention to

[62] Williamson Bathory. "Aqausiit", (December 2011), 10.

Inuit ways of expression and knowledge, pulling away from stereotypes of bodies and especially that of the Indigenous woman's body. *Timiga Nunalu, Sikulu (My Body, the Land and the Ice)* (fig. 4), is a video created by Williamson Bathory;, in it, she brings the Indigenous body to the centre. Placing her naked body as part of the landscape, the video winds in and out of rocks, ice, snow, and skin. Viewers study her body closely, then at the end she turns towards the camera in uaajeerneq mask, ending the film. Her use of uaajeerneq breaks walls of preconceived notions of societal 'norms'. This video is from a performance commissioned as part of the #callresponse project started by Tara Hogue a Métis/French Canadian curator at the Grunt Gallery in Vancouver. This project aims to bring forward voices of resilience and power from Indigenous women. In her curatorial statement, Hogue outlines the call as being a way to,

> "Support the work of Indigenous North American women and artists through local art commissions that incite dialogue and catalyze action between individuals, communities, territories and institutions. To stand together across sovereign territories as accomplices in awakened solidarity with all our relations both human and non."[63]

As part of this project she has commissioned projects by Williamson Bathory, in addition to Christi Belcourt, Maria Hupfield, Ursula Johnson and Tania Willard, all of whose projects insist upon the centring of Indigenous women. *Timiga Nunalu, Sikulu*, is the call, what transpires after, is Tanya Tagaq's response in collaboration with Williamson Bathory (fig. 5). Uaajeerneq mask dancing challenges viewers with their preconceived notions of sexuality, bordering on lines of discomfort with fear that transpires into hilarity. Going into the audience, Williamson Bathory used the element of surprise to initially make participants uncomfortable, but what they later realize is their perceived notions of comforts that have been taken for granted, and are often through bleakly Westernized lenses. In speaking about this project and performance to CBC, she stated,

> "I felt like we were able to touch new places in our souls because it doesn't happen that often that you can have such like-minded people come together…I think it's so important for Canadians, especially Indigenous peoples, to understand that there are so many stories about our cultures, our languages and our histories. And the stories only become ours if we tell them ourselves and it's a powerful moment for everyone Indigenous and non-Indigenous."[64]

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[63] Tara Hogue, "Curatorial Statement," *#callresponse*, Grunt Gallery: Vancouver, BC. 2016.

[64] Sima Sahar Zerehi. "Tanya Tagaq teams up with Greenlandic mask dancer for 'incredibly intense' music video: Duo collaborates on new Tagaq song and multimedia piece for #CallResponse." On *CBC News*. Nov 06, 2016.

Indigenous sexuality is a means of anti-colonial resistance, strong women embracing their sexuality are taking back space and overcoming westernized ideals of individuality and selfishness. Colonialism had shaded sexuality as being shameful, it is now being challenged by making it unquestionably visible by artists such as Williamson Bathory.

conclusion

In undertaking this research, I was predominantly interested in understanding how the arts are being used as a way for Indigenous youth and young adults to come together, gaining confidence in their understandings of sex and sexuality. Furthermore, I was interested in how this knowledge and forms of expression might enable sovereignty, acceptance and confidence needed for future generations of Indigenous leaders. This summer, my colleague Chachamovich and I spoke again over a meal, about how through his profession as a psychiatrist he is seeing how integral the arts are becoming in opening conversations about mental health and wellbeing through individualized forms of expression. The issues faced by Inuit and Northern Indigenous folks is a complex web that won't be fixed overnight. Through this research I have come to understand just how intertwined sexual health, mental health, and physical health can be. That the arts are a vital entry point in talking about these difficult subjects that should not be disregarded. Further to this, through my conversation with Hamilton, it is increasingly clear how performance needs to be understood as a valuable and useful tool to not only inspire youth to learn, but also to give them confidence to ask questions about sexuality without necessarily having to do so verbally. Youth can express themselves through their movements as I watched Williamson Bathory and Karetak do before their performances in St. John's.

The ways in which I have come to understand Vizenor's undefined and ever changing concept of survivance, has been through both spoken and unspoken conversations with Indigenous scholars and scholarship. Through the theories and concepts from Wilson, Smith, Audra Simpson and Leanne Simpson, Williamson Bathory, Igloliorte, and Irniq, I have worked through my own understanding of theory as a way of making sense of the world and our lives in it and how theories and research are acts of Indigenous resistance and survival. Survivance for me is changing the field for Indigenous peoples and changing the discussion. The arts are making survivance visible by presenting Indigenous culture that is inspired by the past and speaking to an Indigenous future. In speaking to the undefinable nature of survivance, Vizenor states,

> "Survivance is unmistakably a form of resistance. It is in the blood. Survivance is resistance in the blood. You can find it everywhere. It confronts victimry, but survivance is not a theory. That's why I haven't made a model of it, a definition out of it. Survivance is a metaphor and the meaning must remain open and adaptable in any context."[65]

What Vizenor has also written is that true acts of survivance can be realized through the act of storytelling on an individual level. Discussing ideas of *an* Indigenous culture or the term Indigeneity should be avoided, unless specifically done from an individual or personal place, as doing so perpetuates a masking of the various ranges of what it means to be Indigenous and what that looks like.

So, what does survivance look like in the context of using performance as one of its tools? Survivance looks like individuals performing their personal stories, not someone else's story. Indigenous peoples should be defining our own ideas of what survivance means because our voices and our arts are importantly paving a strong future. This is exactly what Qaggiavuut! is doing through the Qaggiq program and their initiative to create Nunavut's first performing arts centre. In the Qaggiq program we are seeing Indigenous kids learning about themselves through the arts. Survivance is seen in the workshops and retreats from Arctic FOXY that brings forward new ways of learning for Indigenous youth, using the arts as the platform. Arctic FOXY is showing how resources can be redirected in a way that Indigenous youth can benefit from them: having workshops that allow youth to take hold of their sexuality and understand when it is okay to say no, what is a healthy and mutual relationship, and how we might begin to bring confidence to our future generations so that they can work around a history of trauma, breaking a vicious cycle.

It feels like a lifetime ago since beginning this thesis in September of 2015. It has been hard. Monitoring death. I am subscribed to an Indigenous newsletter called *Makook*, each Sunday they pull together stories from across news frequencies in order to highlight happenings within Indigenous communities across the country. Just about each Sunday since September 2015 there has been a different story about Indigenous peoples and suicide.

Let that sink in.

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[65]Gerald Vizenor. "Resistance in the Blood." In *Youth Resistance Research and Theories of Change*. Ed. Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang. New York, NY: Routledge, 2014.

Throughout the course of this research I have followed stories about death. It has made me feel hopeless in the best of times. Each suicide pact that has been made, each kid found hanging, overdosed, drowned, has worked its way in some form into this work. The fact that Nunatsiavut has the highest suicide rate in the country but is the least talked about, is here. Indigenous peoples have been oppressed in so many ways. I have struggled through writing this and talking about this because it hurts my heart. The oppression of sexuality is but one factor in this large and overwhelming story. In gaining confidence through one's sexuality we are seeing how Indigenous peoples are resisting colonial narratives, becoming stronger and more resilient. Community-based arts initiatives and research are strengthening communities, building confidence and cultural strength through practices that embrace love, life, culture, and ceremony. This thesis has undergone criticism on my own part, due to my hesitancy engaging with a community that is not my own, Inuit communities, since I am not Inuit (or that my family is aware of).[66] But as I have progressed in thinking through what this thesis could mean and who might benefit from its existence, I have realized that true community based research must come from *within* and we must always remain critical while doing this research. Because it is in the selflessness of love and working with a community that I believe the most important work lies. Through this work we are singing love songs of all kinds and slowly working through a traumatic history of colonialism. In the end, what we are doing as Indigenous folks, is creating our own individual paths of resistance to ensure survival and thrivance for our future generations.

Because love, like survivance cannot be defined.

[66] My family spreads over the entire west coast of Canada. My grandfather's family has always been situated around Galiano Island, BC the Penelakut nation, which is Coast Salish territory. While my grandmother is Dene from Aklavik, and although it has been speculated that somewhere in the past that our family had relations with Inuit, I am in no place to pull this into my identity as I am not sure of the accuracy of this information

Figure 1
Laakkuluk Williamson Bathory performing at *iNuit Blanche,* St. John's, NL. October 2016. Image by Chris Sampson.

Figure 2
Vinnie Karetak performing at *iNuit Blanche,* St. John's, NL. October 2016. Image by Chris Sampson.

Figure 3
Laakkuluk Williamson Bathory. Image still from *Kiinamit kiinamut (Face to Face)*. 2016.

Figure 4
Laakkuluk Williamson Bathory. Image still from *Timiga Nunalu, Sikulu (My Body, the Land and the Ice).* 2016.

Figure 5
Tanya Tagaq and Laakkuluk Williamson Bathory. Image still from *Retribution.* Six Shooter Records, 2016. Music video.

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