Abstract

My paper is a study of the sixty year history of the inukshuk's cultural appropriations from humanoid-rock-formation to Canadian-Nunavut-Olympics icon. It traces the inukshuk variant in Canadian visual culture from its Inuit source in southern Canada to its cultural appropriations in popular culture, state insignia and in the monuments and stone formations that thread the Canadian wilderness into an east to west tundra simulacra. It focuses on issues of cultural appropriation and Canadian identity representation, which are significant for current cultural property relations between nation-state, the Fourth World and the Olympics. Comparing the inter-relationship between the references to Canada's northern landscape in the Vancouver 2010 Olympics logo, known as *Ilanaaq*, and the Nunavut and Canadian flags' foregrounds the complexity of the cultural property debate. I posit that the visual pairing of the inukshuk and the maple leaf in the design of *Ilanaaq* demonstrates how the idea of Canada-as-North has evolved into a multicultural tundra simulacrum. This evolution has occurred in tandem with official recognition of Inuit voice in the formation of Nunavut. I come to the assertion that in the image of *Ilanaaq* the essentialist division between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians nevertheless persists in an idea of Canada as multicultural nation. Unless *Ilanaaq*'s likeness to the Nunavut flag provides an alternative reading for the Canadian-Olympics icon as re-appropriated symbol of Inuit self-representation, the VANOC logo is nothing more than a problematic form of Canadian identity representation.

Acknowledgements

Dr. Anna Hudson has been at the forefront of my Major Research Paper. I would like to thank her for her editorial discretion, scholarly guidance and personal encouragement. As my primary supervisor she has overseen the inukshuk project with patience, time and care. Her dedication to the project is all the more remarkable considering her sabbatical. I will miss our many conversations, which helped me gain a critical overview of my research. Thank you to Richard W. Hill as the second reader of my MRP who was willing to come on to the project late in the game. I am grateful that he has imparted his scholarly discretion on cultural appropriation in the second reading of my MRP. His astute comments and his encouragement to not shy away from my own political opinion contributed to the final drafting.

I would like to thank my family, friends and roommates for their love and support. Thank you to all those who made my inukshuk documentation road trip possible; to Christine Atkinson, Adele and Jillian Harris for sharing the journey, to my mother Sheila Dawson Knight and to my step-dad Gary Knight for the red rental car with its unlimited mileage and to the Harris' in Winnipeg and Marion and Manfred Pape on Saltspring Island for their hospitality. A special thanks to my curatorial Woodn't Bees partner, Molly Sigalet aka Rose Bee, whose wisdom in the art of the everyday has taken the shadows from the roughest times and transformed them into leopard print and pink. Thanks to David Knight who left an impression on me at a young age by opening the window to laughter in the public art museum. Thank you to all those who have sent me inukshuk images and references especially: Rose Bee, Jennifer Finlay and Eric Farache.

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Introduction

> If anything is clear from the inukshuk's recent rise in the public mind – on beer labels and in bank adds, as a monument of joy or grief, in the name of an Internet company and a polar bear at the Toronto Zoo – it is that no one really knows what an inukshuk is, except that it is Canadian.[1]

As Joseph Brean observes, the inukshuk is a popular culture symbol of "Canadianness". The inukshuk logo for the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics, named *Ilanaaq*—from the Inuktitut word for friend—currently stands out as the most contentious inukshuk amongst a plethora of variants that imitate the site-specific inukshuik[2] of Inuit homelands. When the colourful block-headed grinning humanoid (fig. 1) was unveiled in 2005, many Canadians shed the friendly façade associated with Brand-Canada's multicultural ethos. The Canadian press and several blog forums became the arenas for debates on national identity politics. For many respondents, *Ilanaaq*'s grin soon became more like a sizable question mark then a friendly smile. Given Canada's divisive Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal identities, the unresolved question of whether the appropriated inukshuk is an ethical image for Canada became paramount. The outpouring of public opinion over *Ilanaaq* re-invigorated the debate over Aboriginal cultural appropriation formulated during the 1990s. The earlier debate outlined how image

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[1] Joseph Brean, "Inukshuk replacing the maple leaf: Canada's new symbol leads us… somewhere," *National Post* 25 Apr. 2005: A1, ProQuest, Scott Library, York University, Toronto, Ontario, Web, 6 Dec. 2007.

[2] Inukshuk translates from Inuktitut as *in the capacity of Inuk.* Inuk is the singular of Inuit, which means person. The word inukshuk can be spelled a number of ways based on regional dialects. Examples of spelling variation in the singular include, inuksuk, inuksut, inukshut. Pluralized form of inukshuk takes an "i" in the stem: inukshuik, inukshuit, inuksuit and inukshuit.

borrowing, stereotypes and inequitable cultural relations for Aboriginal artists are interconnected.[3] The discussion of cultural appropriation was clearly tied to the concept that a racialized silencing of the *other*, at least in part, explains the hierarchical divisions in social status that affect those of Aboriginal identities in the arts.[4] *Ilanaaq*'s cultural appropriation aggravates the trauma of cultural loss that Aboriginal peoples have experienced. In the struggle for artistic and political agency, the infliction of this loss upon an Aboriginal *other* is seen to be the result of white supremacist assimilation policies. *Ilanaaq* can therefore be included amongst the tokenistic images of Aboriginal peoples that have real ramifications today, given the ongoing abuses to cultural rights to language, ceremony and human dignity. While *Ilanaaq* smirks, the memories of human dignity violations on reserves, residential schools and the High Arctic relocations remain strong. In response, contemporary Canadian artists of Aboriginal ancestry such as Brian Jungen, Rebecca Bellmore and Jeff Thomas have been especially politically engaged in subverting the pejorative identity coding. Meanwhile, the established graphic design tradition continues to support both the souvenir industry and West Coast Aboriginal tradition. This apparent contradiction parallels the VANOC 2010 exploitation of Inuit visual culture. Since the creation of Nunavut Inuit have become engaged in cultural re-appropriation, which appears to expand the limits of intellectual property protection of

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[3] For more on the cultural property debate see: Joanne Cardinal-Shubert, "In the Red," *Fuse Magazine* 8:1+2 (Fall 1989): 20-28, Print, and Kwane Dawes, "Re-Appropriating Cultural Appropriation," *Fuse Magazine* 17:5+6 (Summer 1993): 7-15, Print and Richard Fung, "Working Through Cultural Appropriation," *Fuse Magazine* 17:5+6 (Summer 1993): 16-24, Print and Jimmie Durham, "The Ground Has Been Covered," *A Certain Lack of Coherence: Writings on Art and Cultural Politics*, Ed. Jean Fisher (London: Kala Press, 1993) 136-142, Print.

[4] Ibid.

the inukshuk and the amauti[5] in relation to tangible and intangible cultural property rights. With *Ilanaaq,* however, the inukshuk has become a shared Canadian and Inuit cultural symbol. Crossing Canadian and Inuit identity representations, it confuses cultural property between Aboriginal traditional knowledge and the Western nation-state.

Today the inukshuk stands at the heart of a cultural property debate in Canada. By this I am referring specifically to the struggle of First Peoples to regain control over the representation of their identity within the legal system. This struggle, as exemplified by *Ilanaaq,* is complex because interwoven references—political and aesthetic—to the Nunavut and Canadian flags (figs. 2 and 3). The conflation of these visually paralleled references from the national flags in the VANOC logo (Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games), and its additional reference to multiculturalism (or the colourful immigrant) provides a profound forum for discussion of cultural rights over representation. I posit that the visual pairing of the inukshuk and the maple leaf in the design of *Ilanaaq* demonstrates how the idea of Canada-as-North[6] has evolved into Canada as a multicultural tundra simulacrum. This evolution has occurred in tandem with official recognition of Inuit voice with the formation of Nunavut. A still inequitable relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians nevertheless persists. Like the inukshuk on beer-adds and bank labels, *Ilanaaq* borrows from Inuit culture at the risk of re-instigating Aboriginal

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[5] For the Amauti case see Pauktuuti, *Final Report: Inuit Women's Traditional Knowledge Workshop on the Amauti and Intellectual Property Rights*, Rankin Inlet, Nunavut: Pauktuutit Inuit Women's Association, 2001.

[6]For more on true north strong and free as an idiom of Canadian national culture see Carl Berger, "The True North Strong and Free," *Canadian Culture: An Introductory Reader*, Ed. Elspeth Cameron (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press Inc., 1997) 83-103, Print.

stereotypes in the global sphere. The question is whether its likeness to the Nunavut flag provides an alternative reading for *Ilanaaq* as a re-appropriated symbol of Inuit self-representation, otherwise the VANOC logo is nothing but a problematic form of Canadian identity representation.

Even though VANOC has recently partnered up with Inuit groups in the spirit of diplomacy, the logo remains contentious. Will the image circulate Aboriginal self-representation on Nunavut's terms or will it reinforce the essentialist division of the Canadian *Self* and Aboriginal *Other*? I make the argument that the icon is significant to current cultural property relations between the Nation-State, the Fourth World and the Olympics. *Ilanaaq*'s national and global significance is discussed through my triple reading of the logo's Canadian-Olympics co-branding and VANOC's partnerships with Aboriginal groups. In the first reading the appropriated inukshuk problematically encompasses a form of Canadian racism under the guise of multiculturalism as a nationalistic icon, which reinforces cultural essentialism. In the second reading, *Ilanaaq* is a re-appropriated image that represents Inuit self-determination in Nunavut and therefore offers a positive spin on the otherwise offensive image. The third reading considers VANOC's partnership with Aboriginal groups on the West Coast and in Nunavut. According to the Vancouver Olympics rhetoric, *Ilanaaq* is meant to promote Aboriginal cultural sustainability by serving a commercial agenda for Canadian tourism. This third consideration puts Canada and Nunavut onto the map of burgeoning cultural relations between global organizations and the Fourth World.

How the inukshuk evolved into a national-Olympics icon is the first question that I consider in order to engage with the multiple readings of appropriation and

representation that *Ilanaaq* presents. Over the course of the last sixty years—from the end of the Second World War to the upcoming Winter Olympics—the Canadian "inukshuk" has spread from Inuit to non-Inuit popular culture in the shared space of the Canadian nation-state. My MRP traces the proliferation of the inukshuk from its Aboriginal cultural source in the work of Inuk artist Kiakshuk (1886-1966) and the Nunavut flag (1999-) to its presence in the cultural property debate surrounding the Vancouver 2010 Olympics logo. It synthesizes anthropological studies of the inukshuk in Inuit art, Arctic lands and the Canadian landscape with my own documentation from a Trans-Canada road trip in the summer of 2008. I have contextualized the connection between *Ilanaaq* and the southern Canadian strip of inukshuik found along the Trans-Canada highway by using the concept of the *quilting point* from the Lacanian political theorist, Slavov Zizek, in his semiotic theorization of ideology.[7] For Zizek the *quilting point* provides an anchor of ideological stability between otherwise free-floating signifiers. These privileged connections between signifiers determine the system of meaning that defines its symbols and images. In Canada the overarching and overlapping concepts of North and Wilderness and Aboriginality—as they are discussed in the art historical critique of the Group of Seven's iconic landscape paintings—may be understood to be the Zizekian free-floating signifiers of Canada' s identity politics. Once the maple leaf has found its way onto the flag, its presence there is no longer free-floating, but quilted into the offical national narrative. Tracing the inukshuk from the Arctic inukshuk rock formations to the Vancouver 2010 Olympics logo reveals that the appropriated inukshuk and the maple leaf

[7] For the quilting point in Zizek's notion of ideology see Slavoj Zizek, "How Did Marx Invent the Symptom?: Ideology" and "Che Vuoi?: Identity: The Ideological 'Quilt'" in *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London: Verso, 1989) Print, 21 and 31.

have evolved together as national icons in official insignia and in popular culture. Coincidentally, the inukshuk has been quilted into the maple leaf's position on the flag of Nunavut and symbolizes the Canadian wilderness as a tundra simulacrum in the image of Canada-as-North. The *I am Canadian* rant for the Molson's Canadian beer brand is a prime example of how the concepts of the North and Wilderness are fused into an evocation of "Canadianess" that distinguishes the nation-state from Britain and the United States. Notably, Canadian appropriation of Inuit culture dates back to Robert J. Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* (1922), to the "formation" of the Inuit art narrative during the 1950s and exists in the same stream of popular cultural signifiers as the Molson advertisements, Magnotta Brewery's *True* North beer label (1999), *Nannooksuk* (2005) monument and now the Vancouver 2010 Olympics logo. With the proliferation of inukshuk images it is not surprising that when *Ilanaaq* was chosen to represent Canada during the five-year lead up to the Vancouver Olympics co-branding, Heritage Canada was complicit in establishing the inukshuk as an ideological quilting point ostensibly for a representation of late 20th century multiculturalism.

The most important intersection in the evolution of the culturally (re)-appropriated inukshuk came in 1999. Rising to prominence that year was the inukshuk of the Nunavut flag, which connected the Canadian-Arctic inukshuk with Inuit source communities as opposed to the southern romanticized concept of the North and its Aboriginal peoples. Through Inuit traditional knowledge (promoted by the government of Nunavut) as *Inuit Qaujimajatugangit*, or IQ for short,[8] there is a space created in the

[8] For more on the Inuit perspectives and the characteristics of Inuit traditional knowledge that comprise *Inuit Qaujimajatugangit* (IQ) see John Bennett and Susan Rowley eds, *Uqualurait* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004). For more on the application of IQ in the

discourse of Canadian nationalism for Inuit to claim cultural property rights over the inukshuk to influence Canadian cultural ideology. The space for reading the Vancouver Olympics logo as a culturally re-appropriated national icon indicates that the debate over whether the colourful humanoid is an appropriate Canadian icon is complex. My paper attempts to explain this complexity of *Ilanaaq*'s multiple readings as a national icon through a focused analyses of: public response to *Ilanaaq*; my survey of the Trans-Canada highway; the maple leaf and inukshuk's related history; and the logo's pairing with the Nunavut flag.

Nunavut Government see Jaypetee Arnakak, "What is Inuit Qaugimajatuqangit," turtletrack.org, *Canku Ota*, 13 Jan. 2001. Each department in the Nunavut government will typically have a section on how IQ applies in conjunction to annual reports.

Sect. 1 Public response to the unveiling of the Vancouver 2010 Olympics logo

In 2005 the Vancouver Olympics committee and the Canadian government co-branded *Ilanaaq* as a new Canadian icon. The unveiling elicited a public debate over the acceptability of the inukshuk as a representation of Canadian identity. Internet discussion forums, Youtube, national and regional newspapers and radio became arenas for the discussion of Canadian identity politics. Opinions clearly reveal regional, ethnic, racial and nationalist biases. Nationalist perspectives took issue with *Ilanaaq* as an inukshuk that appeared to replace the Canadian maple leaf. After all, the Canadian maple leaf is the established icon for Canadian identity with historical and contemporary significance for Central Canada. Several critics in the blog discussion board, *2010-dailyvancouver.com*,[9] observed that *Ilanaaq* bears no cultural connection to the West Coast Aboriginal design traditions and claim this communicates an odd message given that the 2010 Olympics will be held in Vancouver. For those on the West Coast, the inukshuk is felt to be

[9] For variety responses to the Vancouver Olympics and Ilanaaq see "What Do You Think of Ilanaaq, Vancouver 2010's New Winter Olympic Logo?," Weblog discussion board, *2010-dailyvancouver.com*, 24 Apr., 2005 – 18 Apr. 2006, Web, 2 Nov. 2008 <http://2010-dailyvancouver-com.bryght.net/ilanaaq/vancouver-winter-olympics-poll/2005/04/23/52>. For more entries see "Vancouver 2010 Olympic Logo – What do you think?," Weblog discussion board, *Futurelooks.com*, 23 Apr. 2005 – 30 Apr. 2005, Web, 2 Nov. 2008. See also "Vancouver 2010 Logo-the right image?," Weblog discussion board, Vancouver Ultimate League, *vul.bc.ca*, 24 Apr. 2005 - 27 Apr. 2005, Web, 3 May 2009. Response to the logo is included in the following discussion boards over Vancouver 2010 mascots: Ryan Rice, Heather Igloliorte, Tannis Nielsen and Jason Baerg, "Are the Olympic Mascots yet another form of the Vancouver Olympics ripping off Aboriginal Culture?," Web discussion board, Aboriginal Curatorial Collective, *Facebook*, 29 Nov. 2007, Web, 2 Nov. 2008 and "What do you think of Sumi What do you think of Sumi, Quatchi, and Miga? Weblog discussion board, CBC, *CBC.ca*, 27 Nov. 2007 – 16 Nov. 2008, Web, 3 May 2009.

unrepresentative. In an effort to consider West Coast Aboriginal perspectives, I draw a parallel to the earlier debate on cultural appropriation. The most compelling responses amongst the hundreds of respondents who took offense over the absence of the maple leaf and West Coast imagery and the presence of the inukshuk came from Inuit. Concerned with the cultural protection of the inukshuk, Inuit have engaged in Nunatsiaq News discussions on the issue of cultural appropriation that date as far back as 1999. The preliminary claim that outlines how the inukshuk is part of Inuit culture is significant for the possibility that *Ilanaaq* may serve Inuit as a re-appropriated cultural symbol. In general, however, responses from those who took issue with *Ilanaaq* beg the question: why was this particular design chosen? The straightforward explanation comes from Rivera Design Group, which won the competition for the design of the VANOC logo. While omitting to address cultural appropriation issues made present by the logo's obvious connection to the Nunavut flag, the group defended the logo by citing its legacy within Canada's existing image bank of icons and by arguing for its engagement of a multicultural ethos. [10] The resulting design ostensibly incorporated Central Canadian, West Coast, and Nunavut references into the map of Canada's multicultural landscape.

Within the context of the Olympics *Ilanaaq* replaces the maple leaf as the image of national identity. The Olympics CEO, John Furlong, stated that the image "heralded a new era in Canadian national symbolism; the rise of the inukshuk and the descent of the maple leaf."[11] The maple leaf, in fact, privileges Ontario and the Toronto Maple Leafs

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[10] Elena Rivera MacGregor as quoted by Terry Bell in "Trip to beach triggered wave of inspiration: [FINAL C Edition]," *The Province* [Vancouver, B.C.] 24 Apr. 2005: A4, ProQuest, Scott Library, York University, Toronto, Ontario, Web, 2 Nov. 2008.

[11] Brean.

hockey team in Canada's hockey-driven culture. In contrast, *Ilanaaq*'s personification of the friendly "hockey goalie"[12] (after all the figure does resemble a goalie at the net) suggests a national alternative that will, according to VANOC, speak to "the humanity of the country,"[13] given some Canadians may be uninterested in hockey and not Maple Leafs fans. The rise of the inukshuk has prompted a blogger under the pseudonym of "Tourist" to suggest that the "maple leaf/boat looking logo was much better and represented the spirit of Vancouver better."[14] Although the inukshuk has been part of Canadian branding on stamps and coins for over a six-year period,[15] it has been the maple leaf that has historically branded Canada in the Olympics. For some bloggers, the maple leaf still symbolizes the entire nation, thereby revealing that the new Canadian image has yet to be fully quilted into popular mainstream. "YVR in Lax" suggests that the "Maple Leaf or better yet that other 'leaf' that Rebagliati made so famous in the Olympic Winter Games in Nagano 1998…now that's Canada!"[16] "Chronicles of Idiocy" refers to the "good logo that we've been using when trying to win the games?"[17] Blogger "Inuk's" perspective adds that not all Aboriginal Canadians reject the idea of a national Canadian

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[12] Jane Armstrong, "The friend nobody likes," *Globe and Mail* 27 Apr. 2005: A1, ProQuest. Scott Library, York University, Toronto, Ontario, Web, 20 May. 2009.

[13] Brean.

[14] Tourist, "Vancouver 2010 Logo," Weblog Entry, *2010-dailyvancouver.com*, 21 Jan. 2006.

[15] Jeffrey Ruhl, "Inukshuk Rising: *Iconification* Brand Canada and Vancouver 2010," *Canadian Journal on Globalization* 1:1 (Jan. 2008): 25-31, *cjog.ca*, Web, 18 May 2009, 26.

[16] YVR in Lax, "The Olympic Committee Should," Weblog entry, *2010-dailyvancouver.com*, 5 May 2005.

[17] Chronicles of Idiocy, "Have you seen the new logo for the 2010 Olympic games yet?," Weblog Entry, *2010-dailyvancouver.com*, 29 Apr. 2005.

identity. “I only agree with one thing [… states Inuk] to have the Canadian Maple Leaf somewhere on the logo to represent the country.”[18] Certainly, if the maple leaf was chosen, cultural appropriation issues between Canada’s Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal identities would not have arisen. But the maple leaf is inevitably biased to Central Canada; this regional specificity no longer holds for the whole country. One wonders if a West Coast Aboriginal design should have been hailed as the new most compelling icon of Canada for the 2010 games.

Discussions over why an Aboriginal West Coast design was not used are outlined in the blog discussion board in *2010-dailyvancouver.com.*[19] Blogger, “Tony Fay”, succinctly summarizes the reaction of many Vancouver locals. “This says nothing about Vancouver, (Vancouver being no where near Inuit territory)[.] You would think that a province famous for its totem poles could have thought up something better than

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[18] Inuk, “Inukshuk Logo,” Weblog entry, *2010-dailyvancouver.com*, 4 May 2005.

[19] For variety responses to the Vancouver Olympics and Ilanaaq see “What Do You Think of Ilanaaq, Vancouver 2010's New Winter Olympic Logo?,” Weblog discussion board, *2010-dailyvancouver.com*, 24 Apr., 2005 – 18 Apr. 2006, Web, 2 Nov. 2008 <http://2010-dailyvancouver-com.bryght.net/ilanaaq/vancouver-winter-olympics-poll/2005/04/23/52>. For more entries see “Vancouver 2010 Olympic Logo – What do you think?,” Weblog discussion board, *Futurelooks.com*, 23 Apr. 2005 – 30 Apr. 2005, Web, 2 Nov. 2008. See also “Vancouver 2010 Logo-the right image?,” Weblog discussion board, Vancouver Ultimate League, *vul.bc.ca*, 24 Apr. 2005 - 27 Apr. 2005, Web, 3 May 2009. Response to the logo is included in the following discussion boards over Vancouver 2010 mascots: Ryan Rice, Heather Igloliorte, Tannis Nielsen and Jason Baerg, “Are the Olympic Mascots yet another form of the Vancouver Olympics ripping off Aboriginal Culture?,” Web discussion board, Aboriginal Curatorial Collective, *Facebook*, 29 Nov. 2007, Web, 2 Nov. 2008 and “What do you think of Sumi What do you think of Sumi, Quatchi, and Miga? Weblog discussion board, CBC, *CBC.ca*, 27 Nov. 2007 – 16 Nov. 2008, Web, 3 May 2009.

meaningless blobs of colour."[20] "YK" expands upon the point with, "I can't believe with all the magnificent [West Coast] [A]boriginal art available that there wasn't an entry that would reflect the culture of your province."[21] "We HAVE TO DO SOMETHING!" cries the "Wounded Patriot". "[S]howcase our wealth," B.C.'s "progressive! Powerful!" "Images like rainforest, ravens, orcas, mist, totems, crashing waves, west coast storm watching, the people, the islands, the deserts, the valleys, the mountains."[22] These blogger's declarations reveal how a regionalized version of the Canadian *self* on the West Coast favours a mix of landscape and Aboriginal references.

The question of how to best identify with Canada is posed by the varied responses from Aboriginal perspectives on the Vancouver 2010 Olympics logo in the public press. Adding to this West Coast perspective is Edward John, Grand Chief of the First Nations Summit in B.C. As recorded by Nadine Fabine's survey of Canadian perspectives on the logo, John suggests that a representation of West Coast First Nations art would have been more appropriate.[23] First Nations groups who witnessed the unveiling of an Inuit-inspired logo were surprised and disappointed. Chief Stewart Philip, President of the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, states: "The first nations community at large is disappointed with the selection. The decision makers have decided not to reflect the [F]irst [N]ations and the

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[20] Tony Fay, "OMG," Weblog entry, *2010-dailyvancouver*, 30 Apr. 2005.

[21] YK, "Olympic Emblem," Weblog entry, *2010-dailyvancouver.com*, 27 Apr. 2005.

[22] Frustrated and Disappointed (The Wounded Patriot), "For %@#! Sake," Weblog entry, *2010-dailyvancouver.com*, 22 Jul. 2005.

[23] Nadine Fabbi, "The Inuit Inukshuk … and the 2010 Olympic Logo," *K-12studycanada.org*, Canadian Studies Center, University of Washington, Spring 2006, Web, 1 Nov. 2007.

Pacific region in the design of the logo."[24] In describing the cause for the disappointment John points out that inukshuik made by Inuit are specific to the north just as West Coast totem poles are specific to western Canada and not to the Arctic. Meanwhile, the Chief of the Squamish First Nation and VANOC board member, Gibby Jacob, defends the logo as a representation for all of Canada. He indicates that a First Nations perspective was accounted for because one of the judges was Dorothy Grant, a Haida artist and designer.[25]

Using an Aboriginal image that represents Inuit in Nunavut over First Nation's communities on the West Coast recalls Canada's identity as a northern nation. *Ilanaaq* represents the North through cultural appropriation of the inukshuk. First Nation's reactions on whether or how even to identify with Canada are therefore overlooked by the shift in the cultural property debate to an Inuit context. But, if a West Coast image had been chosen the image may have encouraged cultural activists to engage in a second phase of the debate around cultural appropriation in Canadian arts journals and magazines. In the earlier discussion, the power dynamic in the bureaucratic system of arts funding between whites and the *other*, that is to First Nation's people and also people colour was a central issue in 1990s. Kwame Dawes in the article *Re-Appropriating Cultural Appropriation* suggests that subverting the category of the *other* is made possible by redefining cultural appropriation as a process of promoting artistic practices in a wide variety of media so as to share stories of cultural strength over the shared

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[24] Stewart Philip via Jim Morris, "Native leaders criticize Olympic logo," *Globe and Mail* 26 Apr. 2005: A9, ProQuest. Scott Library, York University, Toronto, Ontario, Web, 20 May 2009.

[25] Morris.

experience of oppression.[26] In the Canadian Inuit context of the cultural property debate, the issue of whether an Aboriginal-inspired image can be read as subverting the oppressive cultural system of a hierarchical colonial *self* and coloured *other* in the official national narrative is put into question. In the context of Nunavut, the new territory founded in 1999, *Ilanaaq* propagates an image of Inuit self-determination.

The question of whether an Aboriginal-inspired image can be read as subverting essentialism depends upon how those who have been *othered* from various Aboriginal heritages – such as First Nations, Inuit and Metis in Canada—view themselves and the nature of the respective stereotypes imposed upon their identities. Since the inukshuk represents Inuit in Nunavut, at the same time is an indicator of Canada-as-North, the subversion of the image depends upon how Canadian-Inuit view Canada and Nunavut. The question of how Inuit view Canada becomes contentious given the logo's doubled reference to territory and nation-state.

The former commissioner for Nunavut, Peter Irniq, is an Inuit cultural activist and one of the strongest opponents of any non-Inuit use of the humanoid image for commercial gain. His activism focuses on preserving the traditional use and meaning of the inukshuk—in other words, its significance in the living technology of Inuit traditional knowledge, IQ. The term "inukshuk" literally translates as *in the capacity of an Inuk*, where Inuk is the singular for Inuit meaning person. Oral traditions, Inuktitut dialects and experiential knowledge of Inuit ancestral lands inform the various meanings attributed to inukshuik within Inuit culture. Irniq does not consider the southern Canadian inukshuk to be the inukshuk of Inuit culture. What is important here is Irniq's example: a source

[26] Dawes 15 and 17.

community can vocalize cultural rights to the inukshuk on the basis of Inuit traditional knowledge. According to the *Nunatsiaq* news article, "Defending the Inukshuk" [27] the VANOC flag and other southern Canadian humanoid inukshuik are in fact *inuunguaq.* This means they are not seen to operate—*in the capacity of an Inuk*—but are stereotypical imitations of an Inuk. The claim is supported by Kusugaq's Inuktitut dictionary where *Inunnguaq* is defined as a "representation of a person or human being, picture, sculpture, doll, mannequin, robot, android." [28] For Irniq, to transform an inukshuk into an *inuunguak* is an act of disrespect to Inuit culture. In response to the VANOC logo, Irniq recorded the video *What is an inukshuk*[29] and posted it on Youtube for national and international audiences, as well as Inuit art consumers. The video makes clear that the inukshuk belongs to Inuit. In an effort to subvert the exploitation of Inuit culture, Irniq defines the inukshuk in Inuit culture as lacking a head and legs and bearing no resemblance to *Ilanaaq* or to any other commercialized inukshuk form. He clarifies the Inuit cultural significance of the inukshuk as a lifeline for Inuit and symbol of guidance. They are land markers made for survival in their ability to signal good hunting and fishing places. They indicate that Inuit have been on the land for thousands of years. Irniq underscores how the cultural authority of Inuit is founded upon thousands of years of passing down knowledge. He insists on the propriety of the messages of the inukshuk in Inuit homelands.

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[27] Irniq, "Defending the inukshuk," *Nunatsiaq.com*, *Nunatsiaq News,* 20 Jan. 2006, Web, 5 Dec. 2007.

[28] Irniq.

[29]Irniq, "What is an Inukshuk," Online Video clip, *Youtube.com*, Mar. 2007, Web, 1 Dec. 2008.

The potential for the *inuunguak* to be a re-appropriated image for Nunavut must be explored for the protection of Inuit cultural property. The humanoid inukshuk, as it appears on both the Nunavut flag and the VANOC logo, originated in the north with Kiakshuk. Kiakshuk's humanoid inukshuk combines the inukshuk and *innunguak* forms. The humanoid inukshuik made in the Arctic by Kiakshuk[30] as a young man were markers of his life journey that became the subject for his print *Stone Images Mark the Western* (1960) and his later Lester B. Pearson airport installation in Toronto (figs 4 and 5). Kiakshuk's humanoid inukshuk and the non-standardized inukshuk described by Peter Irniq and pictured in Norman Hallendy's photo-documentation book titled *Inuksuit Silent Messengers of the Arctic* (fig. 6) are integrated within the Arctic landscape and Inuit traditional knowledge. According to local elders, the traditional or non-standardized (non-humanoid) inukshuk record Inuit experience from *Inuit sivulliit tamaanigiagnaliqtillugit* in the time of the earliest humans to the *Iqaumalugu taimagnanituqaluk* in the time of living memory of today's Inuit.[31] It is from this cultural system of land-based inukshuik that Irniq has underscored that the cultural authority of Inuit is founded upon thousands of years of passing down knowledge. Beyond the question of who can use *inuunguak* for commercial gain or cultural representation, cultural protection of source community forms is a question that remains for the intangible properties of Inuit rock formations. Both readings of the tangible inukshuk–as

[30] Roger Caillois, "The Stone Men of the Canadian Arctic," *Diogenes* 94 (Summer 1976): 78-93, Print.

[31] Norman Hallendy, *Inuksuik: Silent Messengers of the Arctic* (Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 2001) Print, 60-61.

culturally appropriated or currently re-appropriated–are a part of the Canadian cultural property debate in light of Aboriginal self-representation in relation to Nunavut.

The Vancouver 2010 Olympics logo is a form of cultural appropriation. During the height of the Vancouver Olympics logo controversy, Rivera Design Group defended the aesthetic value of the design as a Canadian-VANOC icon without acknowledging its relationship to the Inuit inukshuk. The defense on the basis of the logo's form and colour choice serves to represent Heritage Canada and the Vancouver Olympics.

> The green in the head represents coast-forest green, ocean blue stands for the coast and glacier blue for the mountains. The maple-leaf red is there, too, and so is alpine-glow yellow to represent sunrises and sunsets. Ilanaaq—which means friend—stands over the words, Vancouver 2010, and the five Olympic rings.[32]

The colouring is symbolic of Vancouver's landscape, the Olympics and the Canadian flag with its iconic maple leaf red. Moreover the human-inukshuk form was inspired by the Vancouver's *Inukshuk* landmark on English Bay, giving the Olympic logo—contrary to the opinion of several bloggers—a local reference point. *Ilanaaq* is in itself an appropriation of the English Bay *Inukshuk* designed by the Inuk artist, Alvin Kanak from Inujuak, for Expo 86 (fig. 7), which by the late 1990s branded Canada. For the designer Gonzalo Alatorre, an immigrant to Canada and Vancouver resident, the inukshuk has always been a welcoming symbol, especially the *Inukshuk* on English Bay. He and many others have learned to associate the inukshuk with Canadian values of tolerance, diversity and friendship promoted by the department of Immigration and Citizenship.[33] Alatorre explains in an interview that his idea was "to create an identity that was representative of his experience as an immigrant to Canada with a specific focus on the first few years as

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[32] MacGregor.

[33] Ruhl 27.

he was learning the culture and people."[34] Alatorre bases the logo's validity as a national icon upon the multicultural values that Canadian businesses and government have already transferred onto the inukshuk.

Canada's multicultural ethos incorporates immigrant identities into the Olympics icon of nationalistic identity representation. The Canadian landscape of *otherness* embraces Canadian immigrants as *people of colour* from Asia and Africa. In the past, as a result of racism, they are less Canadian than a white European regardless of how long the individual's family has lived in Canada. Through *Ilanaaq*'s reference to multiculturalism, Canada's immigration policy-making in the last decades is subsumed by the concept of Canada-as-North. The logo appropriates the Vancouver *Inukshuk* (1986), in favour of the latest concept of the North, that is to say a multicoloured northern variation of the Canadian landscape that is at once less white and more multicultural and Aboriginal. In some sense, Canada's dominantly white identity construction as the North is glossed over by *Ilanaaq*'s flare. Since the inukshuk in its humanoid form that has already been re-appropriated by Inuit on the Nunavut flag of 1999, the logo can be read as the latest re-appropriated image of a multicultural nation. The premise for the Inuit advantage of interpreting *Ilanaaq* as a re-appropriated image is based upon the subversive presence of the inukshuk on the Nunavut flag to the hidden racism in Canadian multiculturalism.

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[34] Kris Krug, "Conversation with Vancouver 2010 Logo Designer, Gonzalo Alatorre," Online posting, 27 Apr. 2005, *2010.dailyvancouver.com*, Web, 2 Nov. 2008 <http://2010.dailyvancouver.com/blog/2005/04/27/interview-with-vancouver-2010-logo-designer-gonzalo-alatorre>.

Sect. 2 *Ilanaaq* Represents Canada's Tundra Simulacra

Ilanaaq's colouring codes a new multicoloultural symbolism that has evolved from the idea of Canada-as-North from its pre-Confederation roots. The concept of the North itself was built out of political rhetoric in the development of a white Canadian identity that was readily distinguishable from that of Canada's southern neighbour and Britain. Since Confederation, Canada has represented itself as a distinct power through representations of wilderness, northern and Aboriginal imagery. Canadian national imagery includes: wilderness, beavers, bears, moose, maple leaves, pine trees, mountains, lakes and uninhabited landscapes, totem poles and feathered head dresses. Particularily prevelant in Canadian national representation are the northern images associated with Inuit: Inuit sculpture, igloos, the owl known as ookpik, and humanoid inukshuik. In the lead-up to Canada's centennial year of 1967, the first humanoid inukshuk was designed by the Inuk artist, Kiakshuk. The humanoid inukshuk was at once thought to be the most compelling representation of the new Canadian *self*. Charles Gimpel, the British art connoisseur who popularized Inuit art in London after having made a trip to Cape Dorset stated in the *Beaver* that Kiakshuk's inukshuk with the raised arm was the best of Canadian art.[35] Inukshuk production has since flourished along the Trans-Canada highway, transforming the southern-Canadian landscape into a tundra simulacrum. The conceptualization of a Canadian *self* that appropriates the imagined northern Aboriginal *other* still serves to distinguish Canada from national iconic imagery in the United States and England. This conceptual space of the tundra simulacrum is also materialized by the

[35] Charles Gimpel, "A Collector's View," *The Beaver* (Autumn 1967): 72-25, Print, 73.

inukshuk monuments in Toronto, Ottawa, Winnipeg and Vancouver, which appear in public gardens, on beaches and along the Trans-Canadian highway. In this section I trace the appropriated inukshuk from the Vancouver hallmark that was used as the source of inspiration for *Ilanaaq* to the Inuit source of the humanoid variant in southern Canada. The Canadian nationalized northern *self* is made nowhere more evident then in Winnipeg's *Nanookshuk* (2005) monument. It alone reinvests stereotypical imagery of Inuit with the role of representing the Canadian landscape. The southern Canadian landscape may be viewed as a tundra simulacrum simultaneously with the rise of the inukshuk as a Canadian-Inuit symbol in Nunavut.

The culturally appropriated inukshuk is a distinctly colonial vision of Canadian identity. Canada-as-North is a concept of the wilderness that stems from the nation's status as a colony of the British Dominion. Canada was visualized as a wilderness in the image of the North rather than that of the idyllic pastoral imagery associated with England's identity. [36] The English Bay *Inukshuk* used as inspiration for the VANOC logo looks out at the empty landscape and back towards the city. It is a gateway image for settlement. In accordance with Matthew Johnston, who describes an English white landscape-based identity in opposition to a colourful urban immigrant identity,[37] I have found the English Bay inukshuk to equally serve a colonial agenda. It integrates the separation between the imagined purity of the white man's landscape in the appropriated

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[36] See Barbara Bender, *Stonehenge: Making Space*, Oxford: Berg, 1998, Print and Matthew Johnson, "The Politics of Landscape," *Ideas on Landscape*, Oxford: Blackwell publishing inc., 2007, and Leslie Dawn, "The Britishness of Canadian Art," *Beyond Wilderness: Group of Seven, Canadian Identity, Contemporary Art*, Eds. John O'Brian and Peter White. Montreal: McGill University Press, 2007, 193-201

[37] Johnston 166.

land of the Aboriginal into the everyday grit of the multicultural cityscape. The *Inukshuk* welcomes the passerby to enter the "empty" Canadian landscape as a *wildercentric* variation of Britain's picturesque post-card imagery. Located at the heart of Vancouver's touristy English Bay, it conflates the racialized and regionalized identities described in Johnston's discussion of the English landscape. In the Canadian imaginary, the insistence on landscape has long been grounded in the dream of creating one Canada, which drove the Group of Seven's post World-War-One rise to fame. The concept of an untouched wilderness in a northern landscape, after all, was what first set Canada apart as an independent nation of the British Empire, the Dominion of the English crown. The English Bay *Inukshuk* is a particularly powerful image of immigration experience into the Canadian landscape. *Ilanaaq* follows, as an appropriation of this Vancouver inukshuk, as an international representation of Canadian multiculturalism for the nation-state's new transnational global identity.

The icon remains true to the way Canada has defined itself as an independant power from its southern neighbour by the conceptual signifers of the North, Wilderness and Aboriginality. These signifiers found in Alvin Kanak's *Inukshuk* for Expo 86 create a distinctly Canadian answer to the *Statue of Liberty* in New York, the inukshuk is Canadian. According to John Ralston Saul, the Canadian creative imagination described as its "collective unconscious"[38] adopts the Aboriginal "other" into the Canadian "self" as a métis or mixed nation. He attributes the popularization of West Coast and Inuit art and the popularity of inukshuk stone assemblages along the Trans-Canadian highway to this absorption of *other* in the national imagination. The *Inukshuk* furthermore restablishes

[38] John Ralston Saul, *A Fair Country: Telling the Truths About Canada*, Toronto: Penguin, 2008, Print, 4.

Canada's sovereignty as *true* north *strong and free* over the Arctic. As a result, the Inuit-inspired inukshuk-humanoid carries Canadian signifiers of Canada's colonial, Aboriginal, and immigrant identities, while asserting national independence in the global context as a symbol of the Northern nation in North America.

For as long as the inukshuk has been charged with Canada's sovereignty claims, it has also signaled the internal political dynamic for Canadian-Inuit relations. The appearance of the humanoid inukshuk in Canada dates to *Three Inukshuit* (1963-4) located in Toronto at the Lester B. Pearson airport. Notably, any association of this public sculpture to an individual Inuk artist was lost by 1967 when the diagram for the "Inukshuk" entry in the *Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles* (fig. 8) appeared without due recognition to the artist Kiakshuk (1886-1966).[39] Kiakshuk's work was incorporated into the narrative of Canada-as-North; its significance to Inuit traditional knowledge was lost in the Canadian context when Kiakshuk's authorship was dropped. Similarly, the more traditional standardized Arctic inukshuk variant, replete with Inuit traditional knowledge (IQ), appears to be spreading and includes Peter Katorka and Peter Irniq's 2003 *Inukshuk* in 2003 for the Ottawa International Airport (fig. 9). Regardless, however, the inukshuk now welcomes visitors to Canada to become part of the multicultural mosaic of Canadian popular culture in the nation's landscape-based cultural narrative.

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[39]Walter Spencer Avis, Lexicographical Centre for Canadian English, "Inukshuks," *A Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles: Dictionary of Canadian English*, Michigan: W. J. Gage, 1967, Print. The "Inukshuks" excerpt and accompanying diagram from the 1968 version of the dictionary is found in William E. Taylor, "Of Soldiers and Inukshuks," *North* 3:15 (May-June 1968): 10-15, Print, 10.

The non-standardized inukshuk and humanoid *innunguak* have spread along the Trans-Canada highway linking the major inukshuk monuments in Vancouver, Toronto and Ottawa. They are "pop-ups" that thread the inukshuk image into what Saul idealistically describes as the "existential expression" of the Canadian imagination.[40] Collectively appropriated into the Canadian imagination, the inukshuk of Canada's tundra simulacrum has become an image of the nation's cultural property (CP). In the older nationalistic sense of the term, CP provides what John Henry Merryman has described as "the romantic attribution of national character to the cultural objects with the corollary that they belong in the national territory."[41] In this case, the inukshuk is multicultural, northern, Aboriginal and not American.

The ideological space of Canada's tundra simulacrum is unlike the Inuit-made inukshuik in the Arctic. In southern Canada inukshuk-types gain meaning in a landscape of souvenir shops interspersed with wilderness and northern signage and appropriated Aboriginal references designed to welcome visitors and Canadian travellers alike. Along the Trans-Canada highway the inukshuk is a form of eco-friendly sculptural graffiti made out of road-debris and bedrock that gives new meaning to the theme of Canadian Aboriginality, wilderness and northerness. Road signage contextualizes the Trans-Canada as journey that cuts through the wilderness and embraces the North. As a photo-documenter of the southern Canadian inukshuk phenomenon, I, like the bikers, cyclists and hitchhikers who have taken part in the nationwide balancing act of inukshuk

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[40] Saul 4.

[41] John Henry Merryman in the "The Retention of Cultural Property," *U.C. Davis Law Review* 3:21 (1987-1988): 477- 514, HeinOnline, Scott Library York University, Toronto Ontario, Web, 4 May 2008, 494.

building, have interacted within the ideological space of the romanticized journey (figs. 10 and 11).[42] My purpose for the journey, however, was to document the spread of inukshuk rather then to destroy the work of others or to build my own. These inukshuk variants that I documented are part of a Trans-Canada highway landscape of Tim Horton's hockey friendly coffee stations and Petro-Canada gas stations, which are marked by the maple leaf. South of the sub-Arctic, inukshuik can be found in numerous locations in which they exhibit various functions and meanings. They are humanoid cairns in Canada's preserved-wilderness national parks,[43] such as Banff National Park, where they have a practical purpose as safety markers above the tree line. The leisurely habit of piling stones as directional markers across public trails and beaches extends from the East Coast[44] to the West Coast, from the Trans-Canada highway, through Canadian Shield bedrock, prairies grain fields and British Columbia's mountain ranges and in private garden art across the country (figs. 12-15). With the coming of the Olympics in Vancouver, these inukshuik are now found spray painted in the colours of the Olympic in British Columbia. In Ontario, by contrast, the Canadian flag is on occasion spray-painted

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[42] For a survey of the theme of the North and its association to the wilderness see Sherrill E. Grace in *Canada and the Idea of North*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002, Print. For more on the colonial implications in the representation of Inuit with the theme of the North see Peter Geller, *Northern Exposures: Photographing and Filming the Canadian North, 1920-45*, Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2004, Print.

[43] For a discussion of non-Inuit inukshuk creation and destruction in national parks see "Of ego and inukshuks, " *The Globe and Mail* 18 Aug. 2007: A18, ProQuest, Scott Library, York University, Toronto, Ontario, Web, 5 Dec. 2007.

[44] For a study of typically non-Inuit production of inukshuik on East Coast in St. John's Newfoundland see Lynn McNeill, "Traces of Coming and Going: The Contemporary Creation of Inuksuit on the Avalon Peninsula," *Material History Review* 60 (2004): 48-57, Print.

onto inukshuk bedrock. From the east to the west coasts, the southern Canadian strip of inukshuik institute an iconography distinct from that of Inuit inukshuik. The difference is the presence of an Inuit voice and Inuit political and cultural sovereignty symbolized most cogently by the Nunavut flag.

The Winnipeg inukshuk monument known as *Nanookshuk* recycles Inuit stereotypes into the Canadian multicultural pro-immigration mosaic. *Nanoookshuk* is a humanoid inukshuk that stands on two polar bears (fig. 16). Created by Charles Johnston for CancerCare Manitoba's Bears on Broadway project of 2005—one month after the VANOC logo unveiling—*Nanookshuk* reaffirms the national reach of the inukshuk as a popular and culturally appropriated signifier of Canada as a northern nation. This inukshuk gains meaning from its location on Manitoba's Legislative grounds. As a central monument to Winnipeg, *Nanookshuk*, like the monumental inukshuik in Toronto and Vancouver, marks a gateway. From its location on the Lege (as the Legislature is called locally) this inukshuk on bear-stilts speaks to the power of a southern-based government over a still romanticized vision of the North. *Nanookshuk* hovers in the shadows of Winnipeg's *Golden Boy*, a figure of youthful strength and promise who faces north towards the promise of agricultural and industrial prosperity. The *Golden Boy* is a radiant athlete caught in a graceful balancing act on the apex of the Lege's dome as he carries a northward torch (fig. 17). *Nanookshuk* affirms the colonialist narrative of a primordial land still embedded in the Canadian national landscape.

The name of the Winnipeg Inukshuk - *Nanookshuk* – contains an obvious reference to Robert J. Flaherty's documentary film, *Nanook of the North* (1922). As such *Nanookshuk* has a long pedigree in Canadian national culture, dating to the post-WWI

release of the so-called documentary.[45] Through the hunter protagonist, Nanook, the film romanticized Inuit as childlike people living in the violent reach of Nature.[46] Nanook is the igloo-building Inuk who lives up to the derogatory title of Eskimo or *eater of raw flesh* by devouring a whole fish with his bare hands. The "happy-go-lucky" stereotype set by the film is arguably re-inscribed by today's petrified inukshuk-polar bear. It reveals that Canadian social imaginary still draws from a persistently narrow idea of North. *Nanookshuk*, unlike *Ilanaaq*, clearly solidifies the romanticized stereotype of the northern Aboriginal *other* in the Canadian tundra simulacrum. The cultural divide between the romanticized North and the north, as an Inuit homeland, is arguably as wide now as it was over eighty years ago. But today there is at least the hope for an audibly empowered Aboriginal voice. The following describes how the imagined northern primordial *other* envisioned in Flaherty's film caused Inuit art to flourish in the 1950s into an art tradition that links the maple leaf and inukshuk for future representations of Canada.

[45] Robert J. Flaherty, Dir, *Nanook of the North*, Perf. Allakariallak, Nyla, Cunnayou, 1922, Film.

[46] Flaherty.

Sect. 3 Maple leaf and Inukshuk: A sixty-year history of co-related Canadian icons

The maple leaf and the inukshuk co-exist in the conceptualization of Canada-as-North and as Wilderness. They are related icons of the 1960s, hence the choice of maple leaf as the central form for the national flag designed in 1965 concurrently with the choice of the humanoid inukshuk monument designed in 1964 by Kiakshuk at Toronto's Lester B. Pearson airport for the Department of Transport's Canadian art commissions. In the following decades the inukshuk was propelled forward as a Canadian icon that paralleled the maple leaf by the mutual appearance of both forms; on beer labels and by the proliferation of simple stone inukshuik as urban monuments, suburban garden art, and Trans-Canada highway graffiti. The rapid development of an Inuit art market from the late 1950s alongside the popularization of the Group of Seven wilderness paintings in public and private collections solidified the pairing of the maple leaf and the inukshuk in Canadian popular culture. I make the case for an ideological link between Canada's white colonial identity based out of the core of Central Canada in the province of Ontario, which the Group of Seven represented and which the Canadian maple leaf synthesized. The maple leaf is a hallmark in Canadian cultural tourism, which includes a mainstream beer-drinking culture characterized by Molson's *I am Canadian* Molson rant. Intercepting the imagery of northern Ontario are images of Canada as the New North[47] envisioned in the development of Inuit art in the 1950s and typified by Magnotta

[47] For more on the New North see Anna Hudson "The Legend of Johnny Chinnok: A.Y. Jackson in the Canadian West and Northwest," *The Group of Seven in Western Canada* (Toronto: Key Porter Books in association with the Glenbow Museum, 2002) 113-134. Print.

Brewery's *True North* beer label. When considered in the historical context of Canadian museums and state insignia, the pairing of beer labels reveals how the whitened national image has evolved from the north of Ontario with the Group of Seven to the image of Canada as the New North of the Arctic. The integration of "Canadianess" and "northerness" in the branding of consumer products for a popular mainstream is significant because it is the *True North* beer label that first instigated Inuit cultural property claims against non-Inuit usage of the inukshuk. This will provide a sense of how the ascendancy of political voice with self-determination plays out in the arena of popular culture.

The red maple leaf, with its English colonial reference, still informs current popular concepts of "Canadianess".[48] In the year following Confederation in 1868 the design of the United Kingdom's Union flag was incorporated into the Red Ensign on Canada's former flags that represented a united Canada intimately connected to its British colonial heritage. It was only in 1965 that the red maple leaf was designed for a country that saw itself as North America's "true" North. On the Canadian national flag, a maple leaf is wedged into a whitewashed red-bordered landscape.[49] The centre of the Canadian flag contains the symbolic meaning of the patriotic song *A Maple Leaf Forever*, which is an ode to the British colony in Canada's fair domain written in 1867 in celebration of Confederation. A *maple leaf* that lives *forever* combines the signifiers of north, wilderness with the iconic imagery of the Group of Seven, preserving Canada's ever-current English colonial cultural heritage. In her essay, "Defining Canada," Reesa

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[48] Molson, *Canadian*, Beer label, *Molsoncanadian.com*, 2009. Web. 11 Nov. 2009.

[49] For images of the Union Jack on Canada's former flags see "Flag of Canada," *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*, 16 May 2009, Web, 29 May 2009.

Greenberg attributes the choice of the red maple leaf for the flag to the Group of Seven's "reduction of the single tree motif" as a symbol of Canada's past and future and of the individual Canadian.[50] She states, "In 'English' Canada, a single tree, silhouetted against the sky heroically withstanding the forces of nature, as imaged by the Group, came to symbolize the country, 'the true north strong and free.'"[51]

I am Canadian, the slogan of Molson Canadian beer was developed as a popular slogan from 1994 to 1998 and was later revived between 2000 and 2005. The slogan rejuvenates the Canadian nationalism associated with the Group of Seven. Writing on the Group of Seven, Scott Watson attributes the subtext of exclusionary nationalism inherent in this essentialist vision of Canadian identity to the political rhetoric of a young nation.[52] In particular the Group of Seven member, Lawren Harris, advocated English Canadian national unity by writing and painting for the benefit of like-minded citizens. Clearly expressing his bias, he proclaimed that Canadians are on "the fringe of the great North and its living whiteness, its loneliness and its replenishment, its resignations and release, its call and answer, its cleansing rhythms." [53] The true North's replenishing powers, which Harris had described as a "source of spiritual flow that will ever shed clarity on the growing American race,"[54] implies the purity of an anti-American white male

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[50] Reesa Greenberg, "Defining Canada," *Beyond Wilderness: Group of Seven, Canadian Identity, Contemporary Art*, Eds. John O'Brian and Peter White. Montreal: McGill University Press, 2007, 286-289, Print, 287.

[51] Greenberg 287.

[52] Scott Watson, "Race, Wilderness, Territory, and the Origins of Modern Canadian Landscape Painting," *Beyond Wilderness*, 277-82.

[53] Lawren Harris via Scott Watson, *Beyond Wilderness*, 277.

[54] Harris 277-87.

embodiment of nation. After years of circulation and re-circulation of Group of Seven imagery through exhibitions, reproduction programmes for schools and in tourist paraphernalia,[55] Harris' sentiments have flowed into Canadian beer and hockey culture of the 1990s and today. The distilled contents of Molson Canadian—the beverage of choice of today's everyday Canadian, the urbanized "Joe"—release those northern rhythms and fermented chauvinism that Harris unwittingly described.

I argue that Molson's *I am Canadian* rant[56] may no longer serve to unify the image of the Canadian population. In *The Rant*, Joe is a white male in the prime of youth who proclaims his nationality against the backdrop of a powerpoint image series consisting of a Canadian flag, maple leaves, an igloo souvenir, a dog sled, a lumberjack and a fur trader, whale blubber, a beaver, politically correct faces of multiculturalism, hockey and finally, a frosty Molson Canadian. "Joe" is coded as "white" so as to signify that he is unequivocally Canadian as opposed to a more recent immigrant or Aboriginal person. Garbed in plaid, he is rooted in the colonial employ of lumberjack or fur trader without actually having to *bushwack* into the wilderness. He decries, "I speak English and French and not American," the order in which he lists the languages and the language in which he makes his complaint gives away his primary identity as English. This suggests the exclusive, hierarchical, biculturalism of Anglophone and Francophone identity politics of language in Canada. A red woolen hat appears on the screen and he continues with "a toque is a hat," thereby anglicizing the *tuque* reference to Quebec identity away from its source with French Canadian fur traders. A maple leaf flag sewed

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[55] For the nation-wide circulation of the Group of Seven imagery see "Chapt. 5: Contest and Controversy: National Gallery of Canada," *Beyond Wilderness.* 172-216.

[56] Molson, *The Rant*, Online Video Clip, *Youtube.com*, 30 Nov. 2006, Web, 1 May, 2009.

to his backpack demonstrates his friendliness and visualizes the linguistic reference to his non-American identity. Finally he echoes Harris' sentiments of national superiority: Joe declares, "Canada is the Second Largest landmass! The first nation of hockey! And the best part of North America!" Given that Molson is now American-owned, the *Canadian* beer label reveals what Greenberg has described as the permeable border between Canada and the U.S.A. Admittedly, this example of popular culture reveals that the national flag with its two lateral bands of red have lost their hold on the maple leaf.[57] Moreover, the maple leaf is no longer a contender for national unity against the *fleur de lys* of Quebec and the inukshuk of Nunavut given the sovereign voices from province and territory. As Greenberg concludes, the maple leaf is not longer a stable Canadian signifier; this stitch point has come undone.

Inuit art replaced the iconic Group of Seven landscape imagery as a representation of the true North in the international context of Cold War political disputes over Arctic sovereignty.[58] Inuit art iconography and its narrative were developed in the 1950s by the Canadian artist and Cape Dorset government official, James Houston, through his collaboration with Cape Dorset community members such as Kiakshuk. He gave his community carving directives in *Eskimo Handicrafts*[59] an Inuktitut pamphlet published to promote hand-made and so-called authentic Inuit art, such as the totem pole and polar bear, to be made out of local materials (figs. 18 and 19). The totemic figure in Houston's instructional drawings are clearly derived from Aboriginal Northwest Coast art, but can

[57] Greenberg, *Beyond Wilderness*, 288.

[58] See Nelson Graburn, "Inuit Art and Canadian Nationalism: Why Eskimos? Why Canada?" *Inuit Art Quarterly* 11:3 (Fall 1986): 5-7, Print.

[59] James Houston, *Eskimo Handicrafts*, Ottawa: Canadian Handicrafts Guild and the Department of Resources and Development, 1951, Print.

be seen to prefigure the humanoid inukshuk prototype that is itself also derivative of Kiakshuk's airport inukshuik. The humanoid totem became a standardized form in Houston's widely circulated definition of contemporary Inuit art, one form amidst a menagerie of dancing bears, walruses, caribou, Arctic birds, sea goddesses and animal-human combinations thereof. Kiakshuk's inukshuk is an example of how the artistic agency of Cape Dorset community members in the 1950s formed the basis of the new iconography. Informed by the colonial narrative of "nativeness" that Houston used to market the objects in a wide array of Arctic journals,[60] Inuit art pictured a world seemingly untouched by urbanism and technology. Inuit art objects symbolically petrified a northern identity for Canada's self-presentation to other nations. Inuit art is the most popular state gift. Prompting the desire to collect all things exotically northern, the arctic forms appealed to a 20th century modernist aesthetic as well as its flip side, primitivism.

The simplification of Inuit representation in the iconography of Inuit art of the 1950s is linked to the early 20th century international hit—*Nanook of the North* (1922). The appeal of gaining perceived access to Canada's imagined north through Inuit art objects subsequently spread from private collections into the public domain. The Museum of Man (now the Canadian Museum of Civilization), the Art Gallery of Ontario, the Winnipeg Art Gallery and the National Gallery of Canada all acquired substantial Inuit art collections by the 1990s. These museums began circulating national and international exhibitions of Inuit art during the 1960s at the same as the Group of Seven blockbuster hits were re-circulating. By 1970 the humanoid-inukshuk form stood as an

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[60] For an analysis on James Houston's writings see Kristin K. Potter, "James Houston, Armchair Tourism and Inuit Art," *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century*, W. Jackson Rushing III Ed., N.Y.: Routledge, 1999, 39-56 Print.

official beacon of Canadian Arctic sovereignty at the Osaka Universal Exposition. It appeared again sixteen years later (as previously discussed) at Vancouver's Expo 86. In the late 1990s, the humanoid inukshuk appeared in the "cultural landscape" of Historica Minutes, which are one-minute educational shorts of "exciting and important stories from Canada's past." [61] Set in the early contact period in 1931, the inukshuk clip propagates the idea of the inukshuk's joint Canadian-Inuit heritage to the Canadian public. "Now the people will know that we were here" is the message scripted for an Inuit family who build a monumental humanoid inukshuk in their journey with a wounded RCMP officer.[62] On the 47-cent stamp designed in 2000, the national flag literally casts a shadow onto the Canadian inukshuk landscape in which a lone inukshuk stands (fig. 20). According to Jefferey Ruhl, the 47-cent stamp anticipates the five-year state directed effort to strengthen national unity through a re-imaging of the inukshuk on the VANOC logo to strengthen what he describes as Brand Canada. The inukshuk is part of the brand discourse of nation states—that is the notion that logos are tied to the value system of contemporary national cultures, which are decoded by consumers who come to accept a shared cultural meaning in the national branding of consumer products.[63] The department of Heritage Canada has played a significant role in this evolution.[64] Ruhl proposes that "VANOC has appropriated from the state this new, iconic national symbol, [and

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[61] The Historical Foundation of World Wide Web Pages, *Historica.ca*, 2005, Web, 1 July. 2009.

[62] "Inukshuk," Online Video clip, The Historical Foundation of World Wide Web Pages, *Historica.ca*, 2005, Web, 1 July. 2009.

[63] Ruhl 26.

[64] Ruhl 27.

eventually] the state will reabsorb the stylized Olympic logo within its own brand."[65] Tourist shops across country along with symbols of the state apparatus found on coins and stamps, including the notable 54¢ *Ilanaaq* Stamp for 2009-2010, have mass-produced the inukshuk and maple leaf pairing, conflating both icons (fig. 21). When *Ilanaaq* is poised to launch the conceptual space of Canada as tundra, the cultural divide between the romanticized North and the north of an Inuit homeland may become globally visible. The question then is whether a re-appropriation will fully occur after the Vancouver 2010 Olympics.

[65] Ruhl 29.

Sect. 4 VANOC and the Nunavut flag

In 1999 the creation of Nunavut symbolized a new relationship between a colonial government and Inuit in Canada. The flip side of *Ilanaaq*'s problematic reading as a stereotypical image of "Eskimos" is its potential confirmation of Inuit self-determination with the success of Nunavut. The development of the inukshuk as Canada's most compelling national image has to be weighed with the growth of Inuit self-determination. As an image of self-determination, the fact that the VANOC logo appeared in tandem with the development of federal recognition of Inuit voice is significant, given the still inequitable state of relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians. The inukshuk on the Nunavut flag makes visible the divide between a romanticized North symbolized by Canada's appropriation of the inukshuk and the north of Inuit homelands in Nunavut symbolized by the flag's inukshuk. Whether the inukshuk icon now resonates for Inuit as a symbol of Aboriginal self-governance is a key consideration. In the following I make the connection between the rise of the Nunavut flag in 1999 to the unveiling of the Vancouver 2010 Olympics logo. The symbolism of the Nunavut flag as a correction of Canada's colonial relations in the Arctic will be discussed alongside the ability of the inukshuk to function subversively as a signal of self-governance based upon Inuit traditional knowledge. The presence of an Inuit voice at the political table affects current interpretation of the inukshuk as a form that has been appropriated in popular culture. I conclude that the subverted and stereotyped inukshuk readings are brought together in *Ilanaaq*, which is launched both in the global sphere of corporatism and Fourth World politics.

When *Ilanaaq* was launched in 2005 the inukshuk was already known as national icon from the Nunavut flag, which was designed six years prior. The central red inukshuk on this flag symbolizes Nunavut's geo-political relationship to Canada, with the inukshuk taking the place of the maple leaf. The territory's official website makes clear however that the leadership of Nunavut—meaning *Our Land* in Inuktitut—is Inuit. References to both Canada and to Inuit self-government constitute the flag's symbolism.

> The colours, blue and gold, symbolize the riches of the land, sea and sky. Red is in reference to Canada. The inuksuk symbolizes stone monuments, which guide people on the land and mark sacred and other special places.
>
> The star is the Niqirtsuituq, the North Star and the traditional guide for navigation. The North Star is also symbolic of the leadership of elders in the community. [66]

The inukshuk is the central form on the Nunavut flag that unifies a golden land of plentitude. The North Star and the cold blue of the Arctic sky symbolize the guiding forces of Inuit knowledge. The colour red is the maple leaf reference; it is also what one Nunavut resident has described as a "lady inuksuk in a red dress."[67] The inukshuk is a signifier of Inuit ancestral lands and traditional knowledge. Its humanoid or cruciform shape also refers to the prominence of Christianity in today's Nunavut. As a human figure that reaches out to humanity, the Nunavut inukshuk appeals to a predominantly Protestant and Catholic demographic in the Arctic, which various residents have picked

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[66] *About the Flag and Coat of Arms*, Government of Nunavut, *gov.nu.ca*, 2005, Web, 1 May 25 2009. Path: English; Facts About Nunavut, Symbols of Nunavut, About the Flag and Coat of Arms.

[67]Nelson Graburn, "Inuksuk: Icon of the Inuit of Nunavut." *Études/Inuit/Studies* 28:1 (2004): 68-82,10. Print.

up on as a connection to the Pelly Bay inukshuk-cross.[68] The significance of the Nunavut inukshuk contrasts with the secularized "chthonic, faceless, genderless, secular and silent"[69] multicoloured inukshuk. Unlike, grinning *Ilanaaq,* the Nunavut inukshuk can read doubly as a cross. Its hooked foot anchors the star symbol of Inuit traditional knowledge with ancestral lands in Nunavut. In fact, the inukshuk appears in northern lands in wide range of non-standardized rock formations with utilitarian and sacred functions, which are distinct from the popularized humanoid version in the south. The Nunavut flag makes the symbolic flexibility of the inukshuk apparent. It is also a cross-cultural signifier because it incorporates both Inuit and non-Inuit references—including the Canadian nation-state, Christian religion, current Inuit traditional knowledge, and ancestral sites that have been marked by inukshuik.

The significance of Inuit cultural property rights over the inukshuk and the potential for *Ilanaaq* to serve this agenda is worth contextualizing. In 1953, the Department of Northern Affairs established a colonial relationship with Inuit who were seen as dependents, not citizens. During the Cold War, Inuit were proposed as "logical human keystones in the foundation of northern research and development."[70] Public interest in Inuit only developed in the 1950s (as mentioned earlier) with the marketing of Inuit art. The Department of Northern Affairs came into existence to "exercise sovereignty all the way up to the north."[71] It sponsored Houston's Inuit art project and

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[68] Graburn 10.

[69] Ruhl 26.

[70] Richard Finnie, *Canada Moves North* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1948) Art of the Arctic Course Pack, ARTH 5990, York University Fall 2007, 15-26, Print, 24.

[71] *The High Arctic Relocation: a report on the 1953-55 relocation*, Ottawa: Royal

was responsible for the relocation of Inuit to the High Arctic as a Cold War strategy. The relocated Inuit were coerced and moved without full and informed consent. The Government believed "[t]heir civilization, because it is without hope of advancement, should be ruthlessly discouraged."[72] They provided inadequate southern housing for the High Arctic conditions and denied any requests from Inuit to return to their homelands. The RCMP "described the exiles as smiling, happy, contented Eskimos, under [their] benevolent tutelage."[73] Inuit were removed from familial community life to the inhospitable conditions of settlement housing in the High Arctic. These state relocations of Inuit as living markers of Canada's Arctic sovereignty create an unsettling sub-context for considering how the stone-humanoids exhibited at international expositions represented Canada. Nevertheless, in 1999 when the flag was first raised as a symbol of self-determination, the humanoid inukshuk / Inuk-as-living-marker signaled a more equitable balance of power for Canadian-Inuit.

The rise of the Nunavut inukshuk is a welcome promise of Inuit influence on Canadian culture. Nunavut's governance, which embraces *Inuit Qaujimajatugangit* (IQ),[74] promotes cultural values and perspectives associated with Inuit traditional

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Commission on Aboriginal People, 1994, 120.

[72] Quote indicating political rhetoric of the 1950s found in Canada, Dept. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, "2.2. To Improve the Lives of Aboriginal People: 11. Relocation of Aboriginal Communities, " *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People*, Web, 18 April 2008.

[73] Zebedee Nungat, "Exiles in the High Arctic," *The High Arctic Relocations: Introduction to the High Arctic*, 10-17 18, Government of Nunavut, Dept. of Education, *gov.nu.ca*, 2008, Web, April 2008, 15.

[74] For more on the Inuit perspectives and the characteristics of Inuit traditional knowledge

knowledge. These values are employed in a system of Aboriginal self-governance from the Department of Education to the Department of Economic Development and Transportation of the new territory. This system parallels the non-Inuit government structure, but is distinctly Aboriginal in form. However, few Canadians are familiar with IQ as the basis of an Inuit worldview. As a result, the inukshuk on the Nunavut flag may easily be de-contextualized and, therefore, misunderstood. In the same year that Nunavut was created, Ontario's Magnotta brewery launched the *True North* beer label (fig. 22). It was the first of two catalytic moments that confused the inukshuk's symbolic function on the Nunavut flag. The second was the design of *Ilanaaq* in 2005. The *True North* beer label contains two Inuit art motifs that of the polar bear and the inukshuk just like the 2005 *Nanookshuk* monument. The polar bear, the inukshuk and the maple leaf all rest on top of the stylized ice-coated True North lettering. The effect is familiar to mainstream beer-drinking culture with the Molson's *I am Canadian* example as previously discussed. In response to the *True* North beer label, students at the Jaanimmarik school in Kuujjuaq, Nunavik stated: "We disagree with an important Inuit symbol being associated with alcohol because the implied message is that the Inukshuk is a symbol for intoxication. This is reinforcing the stereotype that Inuit are alcoholics."[75] The beer label along with a plethora of inukshuk tourist trinkets, as Jane George of the *Nunatsiaq News* observed,

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that comprise *Inuit Qaujimajatugangit* (IQ) see John Bennett and Susan Rowley eds, *Uqualurait* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004). For more on the application of IQ in the Nunavut Government see Jaypetee Arnakak, "What is Inuit Qaugimajatuqangit," turtletrack.org, *Canku Ota*, 13 Jan. 2001. Each department in the Nunavut government will typically have a section on how IQ applies in conjunction to annual reports.

[75] Inuit students, "Enraged at beer company's use of Inukshuk" *Nunatsiaq.com, Nunatsiaq News*, 15 Oct. 1999, Web, 2 Feb. 2009.

beg the question: "Who can save the inukshuk, maybe Canada?"[76] The red Nunavut inukshuk speaks to both Inuit self-determination and the nation's need to self-represent as the *true* north *strong and free*.[77] Yet, enthusiasts for Canada-as-North are all too ready to forget the Nunavut inukshuk's presence in today's Arctic sovereignty and Inuit land claims politics.

The concluding proposition of this paper is that *Ilanaaq* ultimately serves the interest of Inuit in gaining authority over the image of Canada as a northern nation. Arctic sovereignty issues between the current Conservative government and the territory persist despite the fact that Nunavut, like Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK),[78] the national Inuit organization), defines Inuit identity as Canadian first, or rather, First Canadian. The territory blends traditional values with a Western government structure, and is governed in the spirit of an Aboriginal-non-Aboriginal collaboration. ITK president, Mary Simon, however, disparages: "Canada's mistreatment of the Inuit in using them as human flag poles to assert sovereignty."[79] "[T]he Government of Canada keeps Inuit dependent and in a state of financial and emotional despair despite promises made when NLCA

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[76] Jane George, "Who can protect the inukshuk? Maybe Canada?" *Nunatsiaq.com*, *Nunatsiaq News*, date not mentioned, Web, 2 Feb. 2009.

[77] For more on true north strong and free as an idiom of Canadian national culture see Carl Berger, "The True North Strong and Free," *Canadian Culture: An Introductory Reader*, Ed. Elspeth Cameron (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press Inc., 1997) 83-103, Print.

[78]Inuit Tapiriiit Kanatami (ITK) is an organization that represents the four Inuit regions in Canada (Nunatsiavut in Labrador, Nunavik in Quebec, Nunavut and Inuvialuit Settlement Region in the Northwest Territories. See *ITK.ca*, 2009, Inuit Tapiriiit Kanatami (ITK), Web, 2 May, 2009.

[79] Mary Simon, "Sovereignty from the North," *Walrus* Nov. 2007: 32-44, Print, 34.

[Nunavut Land Claims Agreement] was signed in 1993."[80] In her speech at the launch of the Olympics Aboriginal pavilion in 2009. Simon declared that "[w]e look forward to sharing the story of Inuit culture with a global audience as the people behind the Inukshuk."[81] ITK certainly re-appropriated the image of *Ilanaaq* to support their defense of the independence of Inuit within the market place and as a part of the Forth World Aboriginal politics.

Inuit commercial gain over *Ilanaaq*'s branding of the inukshuk is assured by a partnership between the Nunavut Development Corporation and the Vancouver Olympics committee. The partnership included a deal for 1,2000 Inuit carvers from 14 communities to produce anywhere between 6,000 – 40, 000 thousand Inukshuk carvings as Olympic merchandise to be sold during the games.[82] Levi Barnabas, a member of Legislative Assembly of North West Territories, described the deal as "the biggest arrangement ever signed that will help stimulate the economy in every community in Nunavut".[83] *Ilanaaq* has been launched as a brand – paired with Asian animé / West Coast Aboriginal hybrid mascots—on VANOC clothing and souvenirs and on the products of VANOC sponsors (including Coca-Cola), and on Canadian stamps. By all these means the humanoid inukshuk will circulate in the global market place. This brand image circulation will

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[80] Simon 34.

[81] Simon, "Launching of the Aboriginal Pavilion for the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics," Online Posting, 3 Feb. 2009, President's Blog, *itk.ca*, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Web, 3 Apr. 2009.

[82] John Thompson, "GN carves out an Olympian Soapstone Deal," *Nunatsiaq.com*, *Nunatsiaq News*, 14 Mar. 2008, Web, 3 Apr. 2009.

[83] Thompson.

expand the international market for Inuit art—especially for inukshuk carvings.[84] The result will surely be a global consumer appetite for Inuit culture**.**

Through the Olympics Committee's global promotion of the inukshuk, the dynamic between Aboriginal to non-Aboriginal relations is changing. Any threat of Aboriginal images used for corporate agendas being glossed over as reminders of the reality of these relations is removed by debate and by the critiques lobbied from both Inuit and non-Inuit contingencies. *VANOC Lied* and *Homes Not Games* are graffiti marks found on the foot of Expo 86 Inukshuk on English Bay (figs. 23 and 24). VANOC's 2010 stated goal of Aboriginal participation as "athletes, volunteers, employees, entrepreneurs, artists and performers, spectators or cultural ambassadors" is a step forward.[85] Aboriginal community members have been welcomed, in theory at least, as active participants, not only in the ceremonies and cultural programs, but, in the planning and hosting of the games themselves.[86] Yet the graffiti reveals the betrayal and suspicion felt by local Aboriginal groups. Of great concern is the issue of city gentrification that predominantly affects a demographic of Aboriginal peoples in Vancouver's low income housing on the

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[84] VANOC, Vancouver 2010 Inukshuk Sculpture, Advertisement, VANOC, *vancouver2010.com*, 2009, Web, 1 May 2009, Path: Authentic Aboriginal Products, Vancouver 2010 Inukshuk Sculpture.

[85] *Aboriginal Participation and Collaboration*, 2009, *vancouver2010.com*, VANOC: The Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games, Web, 1 May 2009, Path: Sustainability and Aboriginal Participation: Aboriginal Participation and Collaboration.

[86] For more on globalization and Aboriginal participation in the Olympics see Kevin Young and Kevin B. Wamsley, *Global Olympics: Historical and Sociological Studies of the Modern Games* (New York: Elsevier JAI, 2005).

downtown East Side.[87] The call for a city "clean-up" tied to the 2010 games meant that a good portion of the residents of the lower East Side were removed and left homeless. The mayor responded by launching a campaign to reduce this increased homelessness by 50%.[88] The whole situation casts doubt over the universality of the 2010 VANOC *Dream* of "creating everyday champions, everyday …for everyone to share in the Olympic and Paralympic journey, to find and step up to their own podium" [89] let alone the committee's vision for Aboriginal cultural sustainability. The 2009 *Olympics Poverty* protest parade responded with the slogans *End poverty* and *Its not a game*. The group created alternative VANOC logos - Itchy the Bedbug, Creepy the Cockroach and Chewy the Rat – to subvert the Olympics branding.[90] Inuit re-appropriation of *Ilanaaq* is tied to this outpouring of activism and will allow it to function as the most effective counterpoint to the nationalistic rhetoric of the Olympics. Canada's image as a multicultural tundra simulacrum in which Aboriginal cultures are respected may be "strengthened" through 2010 in the colourful inukshuk image as its meaning changes. A second *Olympics Poverty Parade* planned to coincide with the opening ceremonies will likely supercharge the debate surrounding *Ilanaaq* and the inukshuk.

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[87] Mark Hume, "Poverty Olympics spotlight Downtown Eastside," *Globe and Mail* 9 Feb. 2009: S1, ProQuest. Scott Library, York University, Toronto, Ontario, Web, 20 May. 2009.

[88] Helen Jefferson Lenskyj, *Olympic Industry resistance: Challenging Olympic Power and Propaganda* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2008) 58 and 69.

[89] *Dream*, 2009, *vancouver2010.com*, VANOC, Web, 1 May 2009.

[90] VANOC, Meet the Mascots, Advertisement, VANOC, *vancouver2010.com*, 2009, Web, 1 May 2009.

Conclusion

In 2010 *Ilanaaq* will stand "strong and free" in Vancouver as the image that represents British Columbia, the southern Canadian population, and Inuit ancestral lands in the Arctic. To date, public reception of the logo has revealed that any reading of Canada's new most compelling national symbol is inherently complex. *Ilanaaq's* multivalency perfectly reflects the multicultural vision of national unity imagined for the future of Canada, mixing Aboriginal, British and French, and immigrant identities. This multivalency reflects VANOC's partnership with First Nations and Inuit groups. It was, after all, Chief of the Squamish First Nation, Gibby Jacob on the VANOC board of directors who defended the logo. His defense was in part based upon the make-up of the judging panel. VANOC's partnership with Nunavut and ITK in the Aboriginal Pavilion contributes to the new context of *Ilanaaq*'s interpretation as a Canadian national icon reflecting the self-determination of Inuit, especially in Nunavut. By taking into consideration an Inuit perspective that supports *Ilanaaq*'s mass dissemination, the logo can be seen to destabilize Canada's colonizing narrative. Canada's colonial history is not erased as seen in *Ilanaaq*'s preservation of the red maple leaf reference, but rather expanded. A global audience promises to have been made critically aware of stereotypical representation of Inuit.

The VANOC logo destabilizes Canada's colonial narrative because of its comparability to the Nunavut flag. Interpretations of the logo as an image of Inuit self-determination and of Canadian essentialism co-exist in a conflated and conflicted idea of Canadian reality. *Ilanaaq* brings the divided reality of "Canadianess" to light for the

global Olympic audience. The strength of Inuit re-appropriation of the inukshuk and the degree of criticality of a global audience will constantly be challenged by the global market appetite for collecting non-Western miniatures in the form of Inuit art and inukshuk souvenir paraphernalia. Over the course of the Olympics, the VANOC logo and mascots will become a globalized cultural commodity that incite debate over the socio-political reality of Canada's Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal relations that will be made apparent in the second *Poverty Parade* planned for 2010. Inuit ascendancy in Canadian geo-politics, and the re-appropriation of the VANOC logo by ITK and the Nunavut Development corps has created an economy for Fourth World self-determination outside of the nation-state. The cultural property debate around the Vancouver 2010 Olympics logo as an icon of Canada, Nunavut and the Olympics marks the negotiation and re-negotiation of cultural rights relations between nation-states, the Fourth World and Global corporations that will continue in the current transnational climate.

The survey of the inukshuk in Canadian and Inuit visual culture and the description of the VANOC logo debate generate questions over cultural rights to the humanoid inukshuk form. In the future the inukshuk may continue to raise issues of Canadian identity representation, the protection of the tangible and intangible traditional knowledge, and the rights of Inuit in the mass production of Inuit art. At stake is a new power dynamic relating to community infrastructure and to land claims. And yet the new development of cultural, political and economic relations between Aboriginal groups and Global organization remains relatively untouched in scholarship.[91] In Canada the

[91] Rosemary Coombe, *Mapping Legal Geographies of Cultural Rights*, Institut für Völkerrecht und Europarecht, Geog-August-Universität, Göttingen, Germany, 18 June 2009, Public Lecture.

question for the future is whether *Ilanaaq* marks the realization of the Western agenda for Aboriginal cultural appropriation or Inuit ascendancy within the Fourth World. In either case, *Ilanaaq* sheds light on the truism that the representation of national identity is an increasingly complicated problem.

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Illustrations

Figure 1

Figure 2

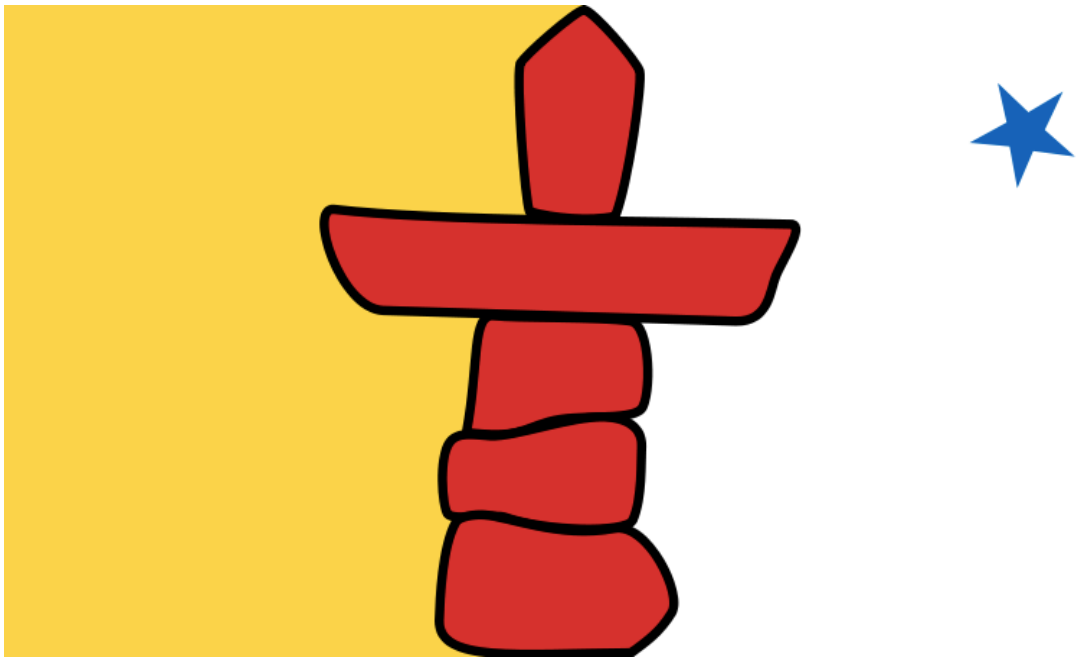

Figure 3

Figure 4

Figure 5

Figure 6

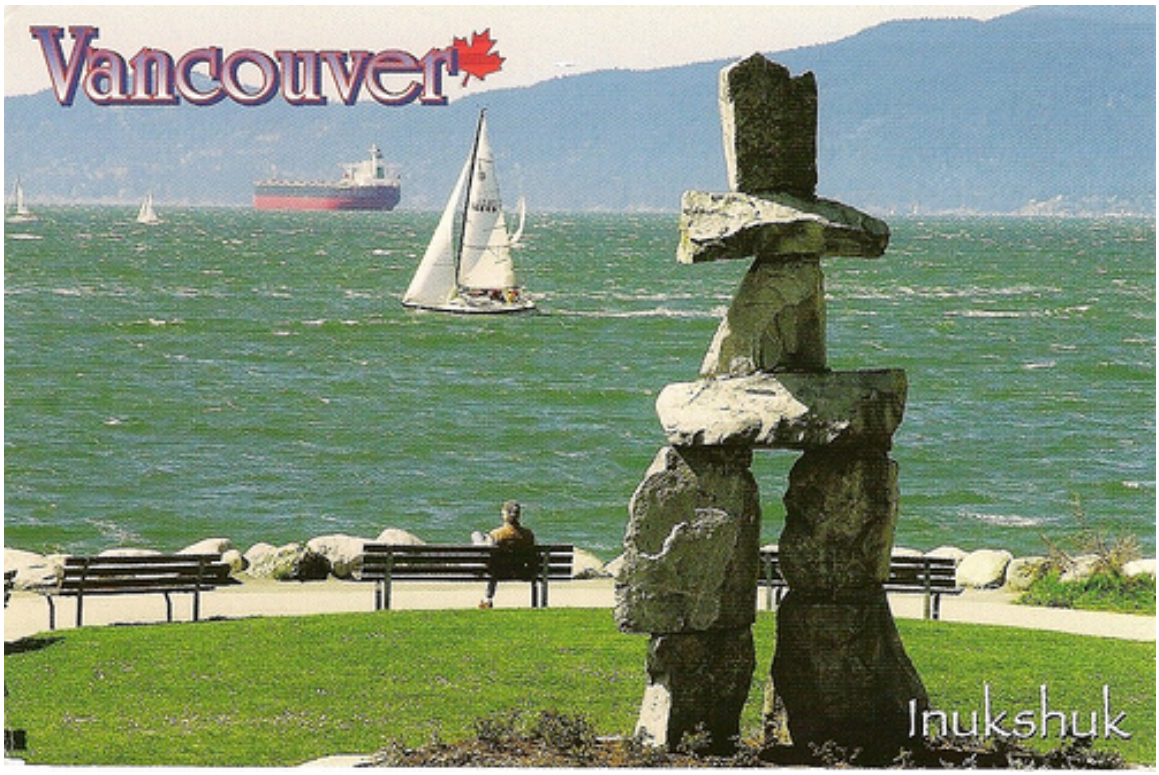

Figure 7

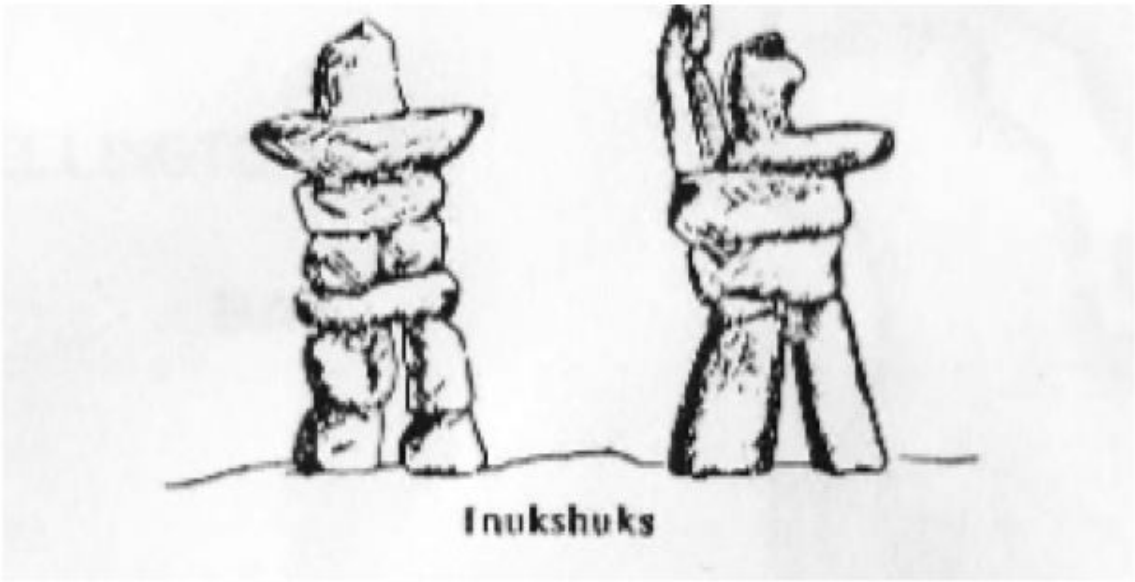

Figure 8

Figure 5

Figure 6

Figure 7

Figure 8

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Figure 10

Figure 11

Figure 12

Figure 13

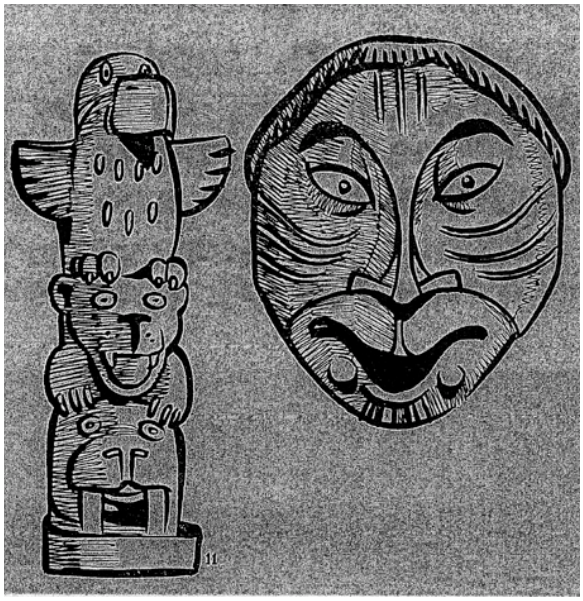

Figure 14

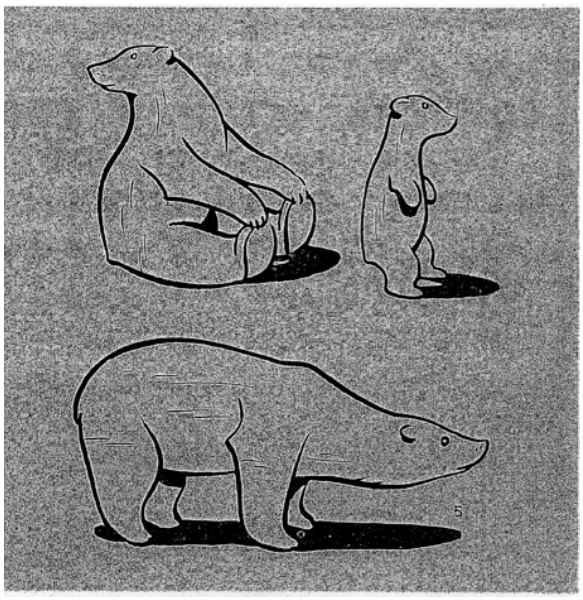

Figure 15

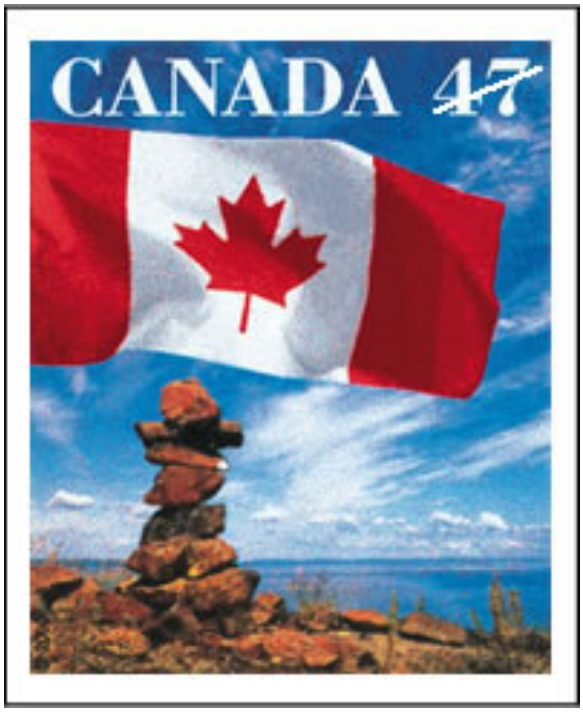

Figure 16

Figure 17

Figure 18


INUKSHUK
This ancient symbol of the Inuit culture is traditionally used as a landmark and navigational aid and also represents northern hospitality and friendship. Constructed of grey granite by Alvin Kanak of Rankin Inlet, this monument was commissioned by The Government of the Northwest Territories for its Pavilion at EXPO 86 and later given to the City of Vancouver. In 1987, the Inukshuk was moved to this site and sponsored as a gift to the City by Coast Hotels & Resorts through the Vancouver Legacies Program.
In 2006, Coast Hotels & Resorts continued its long-standing support within the community by generously funding the lighting of the Inukshuk making this welcoming symbol visible at night.
Vancouver Board of Parks & Recreation
Coast Hotels & Resorts
Northwest Territories Canada

Figure 19