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Table of Contents

Introduction

I. Frames

1. Three Canadian Film Policy Frameworks

Ira Wagman

2. Canadian Cinema and the Intellectual Milieu

Richard Cavell

3. On the Road: Canadian Cinema and the World

Joumane Chahine

4. Landscape as Cinematic Effect

Johanne Sloan

5. Movie Envy: Cinema in the White Cube (Montreal, 1995-2015)

Olivier Asselin

II. Cultures

6. (Re)Claiming Cultural Identity: The NFB's *Eskimo Legends* and Inuit Animation from Cape Dorset

Suzanne Buchan

7. Canadian Indigenous Cinema: From Alanis Obomsawin to the Wapikoni Mobile

Karine Bertrand

8. The Polarities and Hybridities of Arctic Cinemas

Scott MacKenzie and Anna Westerståhl Stenport

9. Diasporic Intimacy: Chinese-Canadian Documentary and the Poetics of Relation

Lily Cho

10. Canadian Cinema and its Borders

Graciela Martínez-Zalce

III. Cities/Places

11. Regional Scenes and Canadian Screens: Film in Atlantic Canada

Darrell Varga

12. A Poetics of Discretion

Marion Froger

13. The Emotional Geographies of Quebec Cinema

Daniel Laforest

14. Toronto on Screen

Ian Robinson

IV. Sensibilities

15. Quebec Cinema as Global Cinema

William Marshall

16. Stand Tall: Winnipeg Cinema and the Civic Imaginary

Andrew Burke

17. Still Here, Still Queer? Rethinking Queer Canadian Cinemas/Canadian Cinemas Queered

Thomas Waugh and Fulvia Massimi with Lisa Aalders

18. Political Modernism, Policy Environments and Digital Daring: The Changing Politics and Practice of Cine-Feminism in Quebec, 1967-2015

Brenda Longfellow

19. From Expanded to Intimate Cinemas in Canadian Experimental Film/Video

Monika Kin Gagnon

V. Forms and Genres

20. The Bloody Brood: Canadian Horror Cinema-Past and Present

Scott Preston

21. Popular Quebec Cinema and the Appeal of Folk Homogeneity

André Loiselle

22. The Musicality of Canadian Cinema

Michael Brendan Baker

23. The World Navigate: Interactive Documentaries in Canada

Jessica Mulvogue

24. The Gaming Turn

Bruno Lessard

PART II

Cultures

Abstract

In the 1970s, the Animation Department of the National Film Board (NFB) of Canada produced *Eskimo Legends*, a series of animated short films based on Inuit legends and handicrafts. Concurrently, the NFB's Wolf Koenig initiated an animation workshop in Cape Dorset that resulted in seventeen films by Inuit youths. The social and political contexts of Indigenous handicraft and art are essential for understanding the origins of the animated materials used in these films. Key historical, political, and cultural events and debates establish a context for exploring a set of linkages between economic and sociopolitical institutions that drove the development of Indigenous crafts and cooperatives. Considered alongside NFB documentaries and CBC news broadcasts from the 1960s and 1970s, this chapter demonstrates the relation between these developments and NFB animation studio filmmaking. The focus on Inuit animators' films compiled in *Animation from Cape Dorset* recontextualizes, contemporizes and reclaims their culture's arts, storytelling, and identity.

Keywords

Indigenous animation, National Film Board of Canada, NFB, Inuit, handicraft, intangible culture, Wolf Koenig, Animation from Cape Dorset, Eskimo Legends

Chapter 6

(Re)Claiming Cultural Identity

The NFB's *Eskimo Legends* and Inuit Animation from Cape Dorset

Suzanne Buchan

This chapter investigates two projects of the National Film Board of Canada (NFB) Animation Department's early engagement in Indigenous animation film production in the 1970s. One was a series of animation films on "Eskimo" legends that were participatory in nature, with Inuit collaborations on such films as *Owl and the Raven: An Eskimo Legend* (Co Hoedeman, 1973) and *The Owl Who Married a Goose: An Eskimo Legend* (Caroline Leaf, 1974).¹ Concurrently, in a project initiated by the NFB's Wolf Koenig in Cape Dorset (Kinngait), Baffin Island, Inuit residents were introduced to animation filmmaking, and a selection of films made were presented as a compilation of seventeen short works: *Animation from Cape Dorset* (various directors, 1973). As most nondigital animation filmmakers use artistic materials (drawing, paintings, and sculpture) in production of their films, understanding the contexts of aboriginal arts development of the period is crucial to this investigation. Considered alongside NFB documentaries and CBC news broadcasts from the 1960s and 1970s on Indigenous crafts and cooperative arts, I demonstrate a parallel, and relation, between these developments and animation filmmaking in the NFB animation studio. I then address the introduction of animation and noncrafts artistic media in the Cape Dorset project to examine the artistic and narrative qualities of these films. In their pedagogic and cultural purpose and contribution to identity building, I propose that the filmmakers put into practice cultural studies scholar Ella Shohat's call for the "retrieval and re-inscription of a

fragmented past [that] becomes a crucial contemporary site for forging a resistant collective identity” (Shohat 1992, 109).

After a brief review of key historical, political, and cultural events and debates relevant to Canada’s Indigenous populations and cultures, I first explore a set of linkages between economic and sociopolitical institutions and events as a framework for the development of craft and artistic media, the profilmic material base of animation filmmaking. Then, the focus is on contrasts between artistic traditions and contemporary media, natural habitat and built environments, intergenerational legends, and personal experiences that demonstrate how the young Inuit animators reinvented and reclaimed their culture’s arts, storytelling, and identity. This contribution aims to stimulate international awareness, curation, and distribution of the Cape Dorset animations as part of the important legacy of, and publications on, the NFB’s world-renowned animation department. Part of this aim, to paraphrase Shohat, is to situate Indigenous animation geographically, film-historically, and institutionally, while raising proposals (rather than Shohat’s “doubts”) about its political agency (Shohat 1992, 100). My intention is not to undermine the NFB’s historically significant support and (inter-)national promotion of culturally diverse animation arts. Rather, I examine and contextualize the films within elements of Canadian Indigenous culture and film politics at a specific point in time that informed the NFB and other Canadian media-institutional mandates.

I preface this with a few provisos. While neither an art historian nor an anthropologist, I am sensitive to the challenges that arise in working within postcolonial and Indigenous/settler discourses fraught with many problematics, including categorization and the so-called Western/European view.² I undertake neither a history nor a genealogy of Indigenous animation. Rather, I want to offer some starting points toward a methodology around a set of narrative, stylistic, and thematic features, to approach this corpus of films that are part of a notably diverse, both historically and geographically, broad national corpus. While I concentrate on the contexts of animation made in the 1970s, this period is situated in ongoing

and comprehensive political, institutionally relevant discussions specific to Indigenous rights and culture. “Postcolonialism” is an inappropriate term for Canada, which is defined through settler colonialism: immigrants from initially mainly European countries arrived, flourished, remained, and increased to become the dominant population. Canada introduced a Multiculturalism Policy in 1971, and soon after comprehensive aboriginal land claims (1973) included recognition of land title, fishing and trapping rights, and financial compensation.³ Complex legal, institutional, and cultural developments followed. In 1982, Canada’s Constitution was patriated from Britain and an amendment recognized three aboriginal groups—Indians, Métis, and Inuit—as three distinct peoples with unique heritages, languages, cultural practices, and spiritual beliefs (Aboriginal Affairs). This was part of a troubled politics of recognition that includes a critique of historical originalism.⁴ In the same year, the Supreme Court of Canada “created a framework that would make colonial engagement the measure of Aboriginal peoples’ constitutional rights” (Borrows 2017, 120), effectively entrenching “the view that Aboriginal nations were past-tense peoples” (120). Key to this is that “if a practice developed after contact it cannot be protected as an Aboriginal right within Canada’s Constitution” (Borrows 2017, 130), which is distinct from Canada’s Constitution based in living tree jurisprudence. Borrows concludes, “the Supreme Court of Canada applies originalism for Aboriginal peoples and living tree jurisprudence for everyone else” (Borrows 2017, 126).

In recent years, incisive legal and political debates in Canada on Indigenous human rights, many of which were generated by the report of Canada’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) prepared between 2008 and 2015, are challenging the blatant and discriminatory differences between Canada’s colonial, settler-based Indigenous rights and the 2007 United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP).⁵ Also at stake are legal definitions of tangible and intangible culture,⁶ which are relevant to interpretation, and protection and ownership of Indigenous culture and artistic production.

Support for Indigenous cultures of moving image media was modest until the 1980s—the 1983 Northern Broadcasting Policy provided some production and distribution frameworks, such as the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (1981) and the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (1999), but Indigenous-led production initiatives were foundational for diversification and self-determination of projects and content.⁷ As it is not possible to detail these in the scope and focus of this chapter, Lorna Roth’s book on the history and developments of Inuit public broadcasting (2005) is valuable reading, as is a later article in which she both reviews and posits concise questions about Indigenous (inter)national media diversity, digitization, and the Web (2013). In the contexts of animation, digital culture, and film politics Jennifer Gauthier (2014) engages with the recent NFB-produced Vistas series (2009) of Indigenous films, and includes an analysis of developments since the establishment of the Indian Film Crew in 1968 as part of the NFB’s “Challenge for Change” program (2014, 467).

Artifact to Handicraft: Historical, Cultural, and Political

Contexts

Animators employ arts media and techniques such as painting, sculpture, drawing, and graphics (and increasingly, their digital equivalents) to create camera-ready profilmic artworks used in the production of animation film.⁸ The visual styles of the first set of films I examine draw heavily on Indigenous craft and art practice for their animated materials. The social and political contexts of Indigenous handicraft and art development are essential for understanding the origins of the animation art media used in the films I discuss and for how they influence the narratives and intended meanings. An important reference is Alfred Gell’s *Art and Agency*, where he frames an anthropological theory of art in which art is not simply

aesthetic or meaningful, or to be evaluated by the distanced observer, instead focusing on “the social context of art production, circulation, and reception” (1998, 3).

In what is known as the “contact-traditional” era, most of what was made by Canada’s Indigenous peoples in the North—categorized as “Eskimo” artifacts by art historians and anthropologists—included objects for survival, hunting, and everyday life as well as sculptures, talismans, and totems. Due in part to encroaching commercial interests, Indigenous populations were forced to abandon their traditional nomadic ways of living and hunting, and many experienced starvation. After these populations’ relocation to sedentary communities, the Canadian government and other organizations started economically driven craft-based initiatives as a method of income. In 1940, a leaflet titled “Suggestions for Eskimo Handicraft” was prepared for distribution to white women living in the Arctic: “it was hoped that these women would be willing to assist [the Inuit] in the creation of crafts such as baskets, sewn items, and carvings” (Crandall 2000, 44). In 1949, the Canadian Handicrafts Guild held the first exhibition and sale of Inuit sculptures acquired by their Arctic representative, James A. Houston, initiating an interest in “Eskimo” art that led to the development of Inuit cooperatives in the 1950s.⁹ The anthropologist Dorothy Jean Ray suggests Eskimo artifacts were “basically religious and ceremonial, although there seems to be no doubt that the manipulation of materials was an enjoyable creative activity in the making of objects we now call art” (1981, 21). Unlike crafts, these artifacts had and have an array of other purposes, and were and are used to maintain oral histories and legends. This pedagogy continues today, adapting increasingly to new media, materials, and dissemination. However, in the years between the 1940s and Ray’s 1981 observation on these objects as art, there was a government-supported push for impoverished Indigenous peoples, including Inuit, to make far more artifacts than they needed as well as new products not originating in these cultural artifacts—the “cultural property [that was] all that Indigenous peoples [had] left after

being displaced from their lands” (Napoleon 2009, 373). These handicrafts were made for sale to a tourist influx and market also initiated and encouraged by the government.

Between 1950 and 1975, in Nunavut’s Qikiqtaaluk Region (formerly known as the Baffin Region), multifamily hunting groups were sedentarized by the government into thirteen government/commercial communities, a period the Inuit describe as disruption or “Sangussaqtauliqitilluta,” signifying “the time when we started to be actively persuaded (or made to) detour (or switch modes)” (Goldring 2015, 514, parentheses in original). Goldring observes, “the transition from the ‘contact-traditional era to this more ‘centralized’ pattern put barriers between Inuit and the land on which they had always depended” (498). The concurrent commercially oriented development from cultural artifact, to nonpedagogic handicraft, to art in the region, is informatively presented in John Feeney’s 1963 Oscar-nominated NFB documentary short, *Eskimo Artist: Kenojuak*, shot in Cape Dorset. Marybelle Mitchell notes, “one of the things Inuit artists tell us is that they would not make art if they could not sell it, a message that non-Inuit resist, steeped as they are in the Western tradition of ‘art for art’s sake’” (2005, 90). This is confirmed in the visuals and narration of the documentary, that today have a somewhat patronizing air, and in printmaker Kenojuak Ashevak’s comment about the print stone carver Iola: “he’s a hunter, and . . . happy to cut [stone] blocks for the cooperative, but he is much happier to hunt, and the hunt is still the largest part of him.”¹⁰ While it is a lesser of two evils—the other is assimilation, discussed below—this is a form of incorporation, defined by John Harrison as “where a category of people maintains some cultural and social distinctiveness, but at the same time is part of a larger collectivity whose governance they are under” (1992, 17). The Inuit artists in Feeney’s film, representative of many others, are “incorporated without achieving either equality of conditions or opportunities, or without identifying with the larger collectivity to any significant extent” (17). This was to change in time, as the collectives became increasingly independent and new art media materials, including film, became more accessible.

A commercially driven concept of “art for art’s sake” was not simply pressed on the Inuit and other Indigenous peoples as an opportunity to earn money—it was confirmed by cultural propaganda produced by, among others, the NFB and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). One NFB film that took a self-affirming, naïve, and patriarchal attitude to knowing “what is best” for Indigenous children is *Off to School* (uncredited, 1958), an uncomfortably buoyant documentary about the Moose Factory Residential School in James Bay, one of around 130 now infamous residential schools in Canada at the time. In one scene, the narrator describes how the teacher encourages the children “to use that flair for decoration that many of the Indian [*sic*] students seem to have.” In other words, to assimilate. This “flair” is demonstrated in the 1971 film, *Christmas at Moose Factory* by Alanis Obomsawin, still described on the NFB film page as “a charming study of life at Christmas time in Moose Factory” that uses the residential school children’s drawings. The camera constructs the story through pans, cuts, and zooms of colored drawings of domestic life, school, churches, landscapes, and of “Christmas” stories (Santa, Christmas trees presents, angels, and the Nativity) that are narrated by children. It concludes with photographic portraits of the children. Gauthier describes it as “an early precursor to aboriginal animation . . . [and] while not technically animated, the camera moves over the drawings with loving attention, bringing them to life for the viewer. Obomsawin’s film calls attention to one of the most shameful aspects of Canada’s history in a moving and subtle way” (2014, 470).

Close to four decades later, Prime Minister Stephen Harper officially made a public apology for this traumatic treatment, acknowledging that “two primary objectives of the Residential Schools system were to remove and isolate children from the influence of their homes, families, traditions and cultures, and to assimilate them into the dominant culture” (2008).¹¹ Survivor reports presented to the TRC provided harrowing evidence of the schools’ programmatic isolation, cultural erasure, and their part in Indigenous genocide. This settler paternalism continued for decades with the aim to create and promote a commerce-based

income for Indigenous peoples after forced relocation and ensuing loss of natural habitat-based livelihoods. The observed “flair for decoration” became prescriptive for the production of marketable handicraft.

The 1960s was the start of a commercial essentialization of art made by the growing numbers of Inuit-owned cooperatives, marketers, and galleries. Feeney’s documentary was made the same year of the Ookpik phenomenon (which is relevant in the discussion below on NFB animation films), about which the CBC broadcasted a six-minute report, *The Art of Craft: Eyes on Ookpik*, during the television program *Inquiry*, on March 16, 1964. The speaker Frank Hamilton explains why the Canadian Department of Northern Affairs (DNA) sent a catalog of “Eskimo” art to the Department of Trade and Commerce (DTC)—they were looking for a symbol or mascot for Canada for a 1964 Trade fair in Philadelphia. An Ookpik (Inuktitut for snowy or Arctic owl) was chosen as the perfect Canadian icon. The documentary shows a photo of the figure on the front pages of major Canadian newspapers.¹² The fuzzy sealskin owl is hardly a traditional craft—it was created by a 64-year-old Inuit woman named Jeannie Snowball, a worker at the Fort Chimo (renamed Kuujjuaq in 1980) Eskimo Co-operative in northern Quebec. However, she does not appear in the program. As the original Ookpik had been sold, the DTC commissioned an Inuit woman (living in Ottawa) to recreate it. The tongue-in-cheek report, also evidently part of a marketing strategy, describes Ookpik’s “journey” to the fair, and Mitchell Sharp (minister for trade and commerce) explains how it became the mascot for selling Canadian products in general: “a very valuable instrument for trade promotion as such . . . Ookpik makes us [Canadians] look like, ooh, people who have an interest in amusing things, make us look, ah, more human.” This “amusement” fades as the DNA’s Harold Mitchell then tells a shocking anecdote of what he calls Jeannie’s “special affinity for owls” intercut with shots of a sealskin Ookpik in snow. As a young girl out on the trail with her family, “in very, very sad conditions because of lack of food,” she caught an owl and ate it, which, says a squirming Mitchell with his eyes

avoiding the camera, “probably, most likely saved her life. And since that time Jennie has been having a bit of an affair going with owls.” The next shot is of Caucasian women in a circle admiring Ookpik. Mitchell: “I don’t see how anyone could fail to love this ad. . . . uh . . . lovable . . . uh . . . little tyke.” His stammer appears to originate in the contradiction between the jocular sales ploy and his realization of the terror of Ookpik’s inhumane origins: a starving child eating an owl. This news report is one example of how media suppressed, sanitized, and repurposed the social, cultural, and political disaster of Indigenous resettlement.

As the cooperatives became established, “[b]y the 1970s, the making of art, especially stone sculpture, had become the largest single source of income for most adult Inuit” (Mitchell 2005, 90). A significant institutional collection of this earlier essentialization of “art” is the Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada’s Aboriginal Art Collection. Its holdings include over 4,000 works with cross-Canada regional representation of all major art media forms, such as basketry, beadwork, carvings, ceramics, drawings, paintings, sculpture, and textiles dating from the early 1960s to the present (Aboriginal Arts). It is notable that the words “artifact” or “handicraft” are no longer used in the current website page and the collection includes contemporary media such as photography, which takes me now to animation filmmaking.

Repurposing Handicraft: The NFB’s *Eskimo Legends*

Animation Project

Concurrent with the crafts development into organized, marketable art and its national and international promotion in the 1970s, various NFB initiatives were underway in the North that “provided the roots for an on-going debate about media arts as cultural products versus media use as stimulating processes of consciousness raising and community development” (Roth 2013, 367). One of these was for animation in Cape Dorset—I return to this project after a

discussion of another NFB project of the same period, a collaboration with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development that resulted in a series of in-house films, *Eskimo Legends*, that received wide acclaim, distribution, and acknowledgment. Cooperative craft and art described earlier were used as reference or inspiration for the profilmic artworks, and the films were participatory in nature with varied contributions from Inuit artists to the production process.

Co Hoedeman, who works in stop-motion of puppets and objects often constructed from natural materials, directed four of the series—three of them animated films. For *The Owl and the Lemming: An Eskimo Legend* (1971), he collaborated with Inuit artists listed in the film's credits: Germaine Arnaktauyok (puppet and set design); Eric Tagoona (Eskimo songs); and Patsy Kowtak, Susan Tagoona, and Thomas Kudloo as singers (suggested by "with"). In Hoedeman's *Owl and the Raven: An Eskimo Legend* (1973), puppet design is again by Arnaktauyok. In both of these films, the protagonists are made of sewn sealskin and bear strong resemblance to the "Ookpik" owl and other "Eskimo"-crafted souvenirs sold in Canadian gift shops of the time. In *Owl and the Raven*, the cooking utensils and objects of wood, skins, and bone are cute miniature renditions of original artifacts found in anthropological collections. Lit with bright lighting that casts pale shadows, the interior igloo setting is white and sterile and the animal puppets are anthropomorphized and endearing. The original narrative of this legend "speaks to the idea of cohabitation and conflict within the animal world. By portraying the animal world as a functional community in which animals of different species interact, this Inuit story reflects aspects of the natural world and of human nature" (Chappell and Gowdey-Backus, 2011). The film's narrative is devoid of these complex and subtle cultural and pedagogical intents of Inuit oral linguistic traditions.

Many NFB films and animations are available to watch online on the NFB/ONF websites, and unlike the films' complete credits there are many omissions of acknowledgment for Inuit contributors on the films' webpages, often the first or main point of reference for

contemporary audiences.¹³ One of many examples of this is Alooook Ipellie (1951–2007). The *Owl and the Raven* has a credit for then-twenty-year-old Ipellie for text—the film’s credits name him for set design and English text and voice (the French version is voiced by Yvon Thiboutôt). At the time, Ipellie was emerging as a socially and politically critical and prolific artist, writer of fiction, and journalist. He began publishing his cartoon strip *Ice Box* in the January 1974 issue of *Inuit Monthly*. He describes “the idea” for *Ice Box* as a “mixture of the two cultures [southern, euro-Canadian and northern, Inuit]” in which “you’ll see the setting is the Arctic, but the storyline itself is very often from the South” (Ipellie 1996, 159). None of this cultural critique is communicated in the *Eskimo Legends* films he worked on. Hoedeman’s third animation, *Lumaaq: An Eskimo Legend* (1975), narrated in Inuit, is promoted on the NFB’s “Unikkausivut: Sharing Our Stories” website section as “Inuit prints in action.” The jointed cut-out film’s end credits include the acknowledgment, “based on drawings by Davitialuk Amituk” (aka Davidialuk Aluasa Ammitu [1910–1976]). Although the film is highly derivative of the artist’s prints in terms of graphic style, frontal flat perspective, and an encircling of motifs, figures, and forms within an outer line of band, he is not named in the website credits.¹⁴

<COMP: INSERT FIGURE 6.1 A-D NEAR HERE>



Figure 1 a-d (horizontal top left to bottom right)

1a: Figures and objects resembling the 'Ookpik' and Inuit craft products. Screen grab from *Owl and the Raven: An Eskimo Legend*, Co Hoedeman, 1973

1b: Soapstone carving of a man carrying a giant from the film. Screen grab from *The Man and the Giant: An Eskimo Legend*, Co Hoedeman, 1975

1c: Performers re-enacting the shape and form of the soapstone carving. Screen grab from *The Man and the Giant: An Eskimo Legend*, Co Hoedeman, 1975

1d: An owl and a goose created by Leaf's delicate sand animation technique. Screen grab from *The Owl Who Married a Goose*, Caroline Leaf, 1984

Considered in the cultural and political climate outlined previously, without inferring any intentionality on the animation director's part, I suggest there was a continuing element of incorporation in these three films equivalent to incorporation in art and craft production of the time. The use of nontraditional crafts to visually narrate Inuit legends underpins and

perpetuates the instilled, commercially motivated notion of the period that these sculptures and objects hide deep links to Inuit tradition when most were anonymously produced to satisfy a Southern market. This is apparent in the mostly live-action short *The Man and the Giant: An Eskimo Legend* (1975) directed by Hoedeman. Enacted scenes are intercut with close-ups of soapstone “Eskimo” carvings to suggest that the carvings are representations of the legend’s experiences depicted in the film. The carvings play a significant role in the narrative and are polyvalent in their meanings, functioning as evidence of transmission of Inuit legend into artworks when we now know that these carvings were created for non-Indigenous buyers and collectors. The film’s credits list the artist and political and cultural activist Paulosie Sivvak (1930–1987) for the soapstone carvings. Again, there are no credits or acknowledgments for the sculptures’ maker on the film’s webpage. These few examples are indicative of a need for more consistent online acknowledgment and recognition for the unnamed collaborators on these and other films. As well, these films’ misappropriation and reification of craft with economic, not spiritual, values to represent Inuit legends are examples of commodity fetishism.

A fifth animated film in the series is Caroline Leaf’s sand animation, *The Owl Who Married a Goose* (1974), which differs from Hoedeman’s films in a number of ways. Following the same directive from the NFB for in-house artist animators, Leaf explains her film “also had to have Inuit content . . . [she collaborated with Agnes] . . . Nanogak, an artist from Holman Island in the Western Arctic whose prints . . . had areas of solid black and white” (Leaf, e-mail message to author, March 21, 2015). The throat singing and voices that she recorded herself on trips to Baffin Island are not translated into French or English, although some versions of the film have subtitles. Nanogak (1925–2001) began her artistic practice in the Holman (now Ulukhaqtuuq) Eskimo cooperative established in 1961 on Victoria Island in the Northwest Territories, the same period as Kenojuak Ashevak featured in Feeney’s 1963 documentary. Nanogak’s stonecut prints from the 1960s and 1970s are mostly

monochromatic, depicting stylized yet naturalistic scenes and events from Inuit life with forms and figures on otherwise empty “backgrounds” with little perspective. The flowing metamorphic style of Leaf’s sand animation and the light-filled, otherwise empty frame—suggesting a snow-filled landscape—that surrounds the figures made of sand allows Leaf to develop perspective, spatiality, and environments that are suggested in Nanogak’s static artworks. The figures are simple and recognizable in form as birds, and Leaf’s manipulation of the sand to varying thickness and resulting levels of transparency imbues a soft featheriness and lightness. The sand-formed goose, eggs, and goslings display correspondence with Nanogak’s “The Weasel and the Goose” (1967), and the more stylized and defined owl with “On the Watch” (1969). As with Hoedeman’s sealskin puppets and environments, the prints that Leaf’s film are based on were also created for commercial markets, yet the former are in the legacy of anonymous handicraft appropriation and the latter is part of a shift toward artistry and individual recognition. Inspired by Nanogak, and using her own specific sand animation technique, Leaf created a version of the legend that does not rely on commercial craft products. Credited in the film (not on the webpage) for “design,” Nanogak’s salable artworks have her stamp or name on them.

The *Eskimo Legends* films have regularly been screened internationally for over forty years. Writing about the NFB Inuit Film collection recently, Marc St Pierre suggests,

what is important about these films is that, for the first time in the history of the NFB, Inuit were directly contributing to the production process. They participated in developing the scripts, music, sound design, art direction and narration. The soundtracks were partially in Inuktitut. NFB animators handled making the films, but the contribution by Inuit was essential for interpreting the legends. (2012)

In a 2003 interview explaining her own creative process, Leaf tempers this enthusiasm in a sobering way:

I was never sure that I wasn't using the Inuit people. I knew that their stories were truth and history for them, and they didn't tamper with the storytelling or make personal changes. That is why the stories were remarkably the same across thousands of miles of the Arctic. And I had had to change the story, to personalize the animals, to make it mine in order to be able to tell it. (quoted in Vladermersky 2003).

While both Hoedeman and Leaf collaborated with Indigenous artists on their films and followed the Inuit tales, the artistic style—visual, narrative, and aural—of both filmmakers is distinct and unmistakable. The *Eskimo Legends* animation films are also clearly recognizable as presenting a particular NFB approach to cultural pedagogy with high production values and as works that are stylistically closely aligned to both artists' previous—and later—films.

The Cape Dorset Animation Project

During the same period as the *Eskimo Legends* project, and quickly after the government's 1971 Multiculturalism Policy was announced, the NFB organized a series of documentary and animation film workshops for the Inuit with support from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. Wolf Koenig, then executive producer of the NFB's Animation Department, had observed that television "did not adequately reflect native concerns" (Roth 1982, 104). Through interviews, Koenig made the following observations: Television had transformed the Inuit cultural base; English was eroding Inuktitut grammar and writing; interest in native culture was declining; consumerism was on the increase; and family ties and social interaction patterns were shifting (Roth 2005, 97–98).¹⁵ Aware of the strong artistic tradition on Cape Dorset, Koenig set up the Sikusilarmiut animation workshop in Cape Dorset in 1972, with film equipment and animator/producer John Taylor, to support the project (Roth 2013, 368). In 1973, a selection of seventeen shorts made by Inuit participants was compiled

and released as *Animation from Cape Dorset*, which received a Special Jury Award for Ingenuity at the 1974 Zagreb International Animation Festival (Reigel 1974, 23). Instead of collaboration on NFB projects, these films were made by the Inuit participants with minimal technical and production support. Rather than using crafts or commerce-oriented art for the films, the artistic media—drawings, paintings, photographs, and objects—were the artists' own creations, demonstrating a de-essentialization of cooperative-based craft and art through the individuals' use of new animated media.

Koenig was instrumental to these developments because he encouraged creative exploration couched in humanist ideals: “Koenig conveyed through example his beliefs that the [NFB] was an ethical company where human relations took precedence” (Evans 1991, 69). This is evident in a documentary made during the project for which Koenig was executive producer, *Sikusilarmiut* (Peter Rayment, 1975), which is currently not available on the NFB website.¹⁶ The twenty-nine-minute film includes long extracts or complete films of the seventeen animations on *Animation from Cape Dorset* as well as others that were not included.¹⁷ More importantly, it is a compelling record of the Cape Dorset animation project “where the Inuit animated their first films” (*Sikusilarmiut*). The documentary provides revelatory information about their makers as well as background and context for the nonpaternalistic, creative environment made available by the NFB in which these films were made. At the start of the documentary, the narrator comments that the Western Baffin Island Art Cooperative was Cape Dorset's largest employer at the time and describes the commercial art market. The film then foreshadows its main subject, the animation project, in which “the Inuit are experimenting with a new medium to express their feelings about their land and their life.” Later in the documentary, after detailing some of the filmmakers' artistic processes—which are far removed from crafts production—the camera records a woman weaving in the newest workshop at the art cooperative. The narrator informs us that “in the Inuit language, there are no words for art or craft” and that “the first soapstone block for printmaking was cut

in Cape Dorset only 18 years ago . . . the art cooperative now produces 3,000 prints each year . . . exported to art markets around the world” (*Sikusilarmiut*).¹⁸ The contradictions apparent here between image track and narrative echo Ashevak’s comment about the sculptor Iola in *Eskimo Artist: Kenojuk*, but here the observations are made explicit in the narration.

While a main aim of the project was to provide training opportunities for potential jobs as filmmakers, Roth notes that major drawbacks were a lack of a systematic and targeted recruitment system and the workshop “tended to recruit village ‘drifters’” (Roth 2013, 369).¹⁹ Unlike the development of Inuit art and handicraft co-ops in the 1960s onward, which guaranteed an income in a collective supportive environment, according to Roth the workshop petered out for two further reasons. First, “the [NFB] Animation Department approached film as a specialized and professional activity. Its interest in the Arctic was thus basically artistic” (369). In other words, the expectation was for the films to be produced with similar production values and artistic qualities as in the NFB studios. The second reason is that “because the workshops had not evolved from within a grassroots context, they operated without strong linkages to relevant community organizations and were perceived by the local population as an outside agency’s project that had been randomly located within their communities” (369). Perhaps indicative of the project’s isolation from the South is that when asked about the project, Leaf’s response was that she did not know about it and had never heard of the Cape Dorset animation compilation (Leaf 2015).

Ingenuity, Individualism, and Collaboration

Despite these concerns, the styles and narratives of the Cape Dorset animation films are artistically impressive and differ greatly from the Southern artists’ commissioned animations. Roth suggests the project’s films were devoid of political, social, or legal themes or topics (2005, 99). However, closer examination reveals precisely these issues and subject matter in some of the films. In the following I elucidate my proposal that the films are a more effective

aesthetic visual and aural expression of Inuit social and cultural experience, and of intangible culture, than the *Eskimo Legend* films produced in the NFB Animation Department. Made collectively by young Inuit filmmakers who may have had limited or no experience of their own attendance at a culturally destructive residential school—the School at Cape Dorset/Kinngait closed down in 1965 (TRC 2015, 358)—the validity and purpose of content in the Cape Dorset films was determined by the filmmakers themselves. Unlike the secondary “participation” of the NFB artists’ films, in Cape Dorset “the content and the design of a film is the decision of the individual filmmaker . . . technical advice is available from Southern animators, but the artists work at their own speed and are paid for the films they produce” (*Sikusilarmiut*). For the most part, the films are conceptualized as stories based mostly on authentic experiences and observations from the workshop participants’ own lives, and less so on “Southern” interpretations of traditional Inuit tales and legends. *Sikusilarmiut*’s narrator describes how one filmmaker was told Inuit legends when rock music came to Cape Dorset and suggests that “the films will pass on these stories to Northern communities whose rhythm has been changed by Southern technologies.”

In her examination of the Vistas series of pan-Canadian Indigenous animation commissioned for the 2010 Olympics on the “broad topic of ‘nationhood,’” Gauthier suggests the Cape Dorset films “are perhaps a precursor to the ‘Vistas’ series” (2014, 471), and although she states she will compare the series with the Cape Dorset films, this is done cursorily. However, Gauthier does offer a useful set of categories for the Vistas films—“ritual/ethnographic, avant-garde and narrative” (471)—that apply to those made close to forty years earlier, indicating perhaps a consistency and continuity of intent and purpose. In addition to these categories, the Cape Dorset films’ content and subject matter includes mythology, cultural politics, and social systems. As well, the artistic styles range from mimesis to graphic abstraction and use a wide variety of materials and experimentation with film techniques. I discuss a selection of films and some soundtracks as exemplary for others

sharing similar style and technique on the compilation. We will see the films are artworks in their own right, yet the *Sikusilarmiut* documentary and narration provides relevant contextualization, commentary, and insights, as well as some English subtitles that are not included on the compilation that assist non-Inuit speakers in understanding the director's intent and purpose.

The films were produced by John Taylor and Joanasie Salomonie and directed by five artists. Three sand animation films take advantage of the medium's fluidity—two by Salomonie Pootoogook. His *Tyma S Joe* has a dynamism of figures that makes remarkable use of the properties of sand animation, the technique used by Leaf in *The Owl Who Married a Goose* (released in 1974)—we can thus speculate whether the artists may have seen elements of Leaf's animation technique. Instead of soft, flowing forms and a clear narrative development, Pootoogook's figures are in constant, unsettling flux, metamorphosing in form between a mix of naturalism and shamanism. A goose becomes a many-armed creature, a seal transforms into a hunter, and a grimacing face appears and dissolves. *Juggling* presents a more naturalistic set of shapes juggling small round forms—a girl transforms into a seal that metamorphoses into a bird. Timmun Alariaq's *Dancers* plays with varied transparencies of sand and creates geometric patterns that swirl and encircle dancing forms. A segment of the film works with a flicker effect created by alternating black frames with the frames of sand animation.

<COMP: INSERT FIGURE 6.2A-D NEAR HERE>



Figure 2 a-d

2a: Shamanistic flowing form created using the sand animation technique in *Tyma S Joe*, Salomonie Pootoogook. Screen grab from *Animation from Cape Dorset*, various artists, 1973

2b: One of many perspectival and coloured variation of a man moving across water in a kayak. *The Birth of Kayak*, Timmun Alariaq. Screen grab from *Animation from Cape Dorset*, various artists, 1973

2c: Pencil drawing of metamorphosing human/animal form. *We Can't Stay in One Piece!!*, Mathew Joanasie. Screen grab from *Animation from Cape Dorset*, various artists, 1973

2d: Naturalistic painting and drawing style of geese in one of the film's loops. *Geese*, Salomonie Pootoogook. Screen grab from *Animation from Cape Dorset*, various artists, 1973

Painting and drawing is used on a number of films with different animation techniques. Two films stand out for the use of abstraction and spatial awareness. *The Birth of Kayak* is by Timmun Alariaq, whom Gauthier commends for an “astute sense of perspective and fabricated camera placement [that is] exceptional among these works” (2014, 471). The film is parenthesized with two abstract segments. The title sequence includes red sperm/tadpole and leech-like forms surrounding and merging with a green circle that turns into a face. Then, a series of variations on a simple movement, in pencil and colors, of a figure paddling in a

kayak—frontal, from above, from the side, and back—is enhanced with a “moving camera” and in and out “zoom” effects developed through the drawings. The calmness is contrasted by hallucinatory intermittent flicker effects created in two ways: one by adding black frames, and the other, ingenious rapid variations of color of water, figure, kayak, and paddle reflection in water. The film ends with a vibrating explosion-like mass of mostly green and red colors. One of the most experimental and abstract films—Mathew Joanasie’s unsettling *We Can’t Stay in One Piece!!*—visualizes its conceptual title. Isolated pencil-drawn figures and eerie faces and forms on empty backgrounds are “hit” by rockets or alternate with Op Art–like boldly colored jagged circular explosions followed by a series of often bizarre metamorphoses. The discordancy is mirrored by a dissonant soundtrack of explosions mixed with a film projector, babyish drawls, rattles, music, and singing.

The cut-out technique combines painting or drawing with object manipulation and saves time since the same pieces of artwork can be reused and manipulated. Seven films were made in this way with a range of graphic styles. *Geese* (Salomonie Pootoogook) works with short, varied loops of both solitary and groups of flying geese overlaid with a naturalistic static background of islands, water, and clouds. They appear to be animated using painted cels, but frame-by-frame viewing reveals that they are a small number of cut-outs of different stages of a flight cycle that are cleverly reused. The soundtrack, a simple piano phrase, uses the same rhythmic system of repetition and canon-like variation. *Legend of the Sappugrat River* (Mathew Joanasie) works with an English voice-over to narrate the legend, the colorful *Good Day for Hunting* (Pitaloosie) features a hunter spearing animals in water and on blood-smeared ice, and the brief *Inuttitut Christmas Games* (no director named, possibly Pitaloosie) is with multiple figures in traditional dress interacting and dancing in an igloo. Three are by Timmun Alariaq, each with stylistic variation: *The Loon* (detailed graphics and naturalism), *Attempted Adultery and Rejected Love* (with sand as ground for bird figures with

accelerated and slowed down voices of the birds), and *Wolf and Caribou* (figures on an empty white background).

<COMP: INSERT FIGURE 6.3A-D NEAR HERE>



Figure 3 a-d

3a: Hunter pulling a bloodied, speared walrus from an ice hole. *Good Day for Hunting*, Pitloosie. Screen grab from *Animation from Cape Dorset*, various artists, 1973

3b: Stop-motion assembled stones in the form of an inukshuk. *Inukshuk*, Salomonie (Joe) Pootoogook. Screen grab from *Animation from Cape Dorset*, various artists, 1973

3c: Combination of pixilation and double exposure of Timmun Alariaq as Magic Man, appearing to simultaneously sleep and watching himself sleep. *Magic Man*, Salomonie (Joe) Pootoogook. Screen grab from *Animation from Cape Dorset*, various artists, 1973

3d: Frame of version with English subtitles translating the voice track of *Old Photos*, P. Pitseolak, by J. (Joanasie) Salomonie. Screen grab from *Sikusilarmiut*, Peter Raymont, 1975

Two of the longer films, both directed by Salomonie (Joe) Pootoogook, use the pixilation technique that allows the animation of objects and living subjects in built or natural environments. *Inukshuk* starts with a pan of a landscape followed by various pixilated

sequences of rocks that move together to form and disassemble complex stacks and structures. An uninformed viewer may not realize that these formations are Inuksuk (also Inukshuk), a term for these structures that means to “act in the capacity of a human,” and that they are used by the Inuit for communication and survival and are integral to their culture. Depending on their shape and structure, they can indicate directions, danger, good hunting grounds, or quality of snow. The haunting *Magic Man* features Timmun Alariaq as a (pixilated) shaman flying and interacting with animistic, ghostly forms and rising from his sleeping self as a “Doppelganger” created through double exposures requiring complex temporal planning and choreography. Both films can be considered to demonstrate Gauthier’s “ritual/ethnographic” category. They enact a time-based visual experience of spiritual traditions and belief systems of legends and animistic, nonhuman entities that can be animated in the film that are otherwise intangible culture: metaphysical concepts communicated through language, music, performance, or cultural artifacts. In the documentary, this is directly followed by a sequence of scenes of Inuit in church. The narrator observes the contrast between the film’s spiritual content and contemporary Inuit life: “the shaman has been replaced by the Anglican ministers.”

Three of the least “animated” of the films work with photographic imagery of people and landscapes to express pointed sociopolitical, historical, and cultural concerns. *Old Photos, P. Pitseolak* by J. (Joanasie) Salomonie is a photo history of early black-and-white photographs by Peter Pitseolak, who began photographing his people’s way of life as a record in the 1930s. The images are organized to document the encroachment and subsumption of non-Inuit technologies, consumer goods, and lifestyles into everyday life. There are juxtaposed images of igloos and a church, domestic interiors, women, men, and families (some in Western clothing and uniforms), and the natural environment with boats and a plane. Narrated in Inuktitut on the compilation, the documentary includes a fragment with English subtitles that illuminate the filmmaker’s concerns: “these pictures were taken for our future generations

by Peter Pitseolak—we have put them together for you to see.” *New Photos by Iteee Pootoogook*, directed by Iteee Pootoogook, is a photo collage that works in a similar way as *Old Photos*. It functions through the temporal arrangement of the director’s own color photographs, mainly portraits, of mostly young people in his community. With a soundtrack of two men conversing in an Inuit language and intermittent, somber piano notes and chords, it expresses similar concern as Salamonie for the filmmakers’ contemporaries. Timmun Alariaq’s *Pictures* is also a sequential photo collage narrated in English by the director. A series of images introduce his village and surroundings, followed by a rapid flurry of portraits—again mainly of young people—then of landscapes and the village. The rest of the film documents a hunting trip with his brother and the film ends with a closeup of Alariaq’s hand with a minnow-size fish—the only one he caught—demonstrating humor “that has long been identified as a staple in Native cultural expression” (Gauthier 2014, 471). In the documentary, directly following this film about hunting, critical observations are made of how Inuit life has changed since resettlement and that the Hudson’s Bay Company store is now the source of most provisions—“1,200 cans of pop and 500 chocolate bars are consumed daily in Cape Dorset,” followed by a dentist pulling a child’s teeth.

<COMP: INSERT FIGURE 6.4A-D NEAR HERE>



4a: Timmun Alariaq recording the sound for his film *Dancers*. Screen grab from *Sikusilarmiut*, Peter Raymont, 1975

4b: Salomonie Pootoogook at work using utensils to create sounds for the soundtrack as he watches the projection of Timmun Alariaq's *Dancers*. Screen grab from *Sikusilarmiut*, Peter Raymont, 1975

4c: Artists working on film production materials in the Cape Dorset Animation workshop. Screen grab from *Sikusilarmiut*, Peter Raymont, 1975

4d: J. (Joanasie) Salomonie at the animating table during shooting of *Old Photos*, P. Pitseolak. Screen grab from *Sikusilarmiut*, Peter Raymont, 1975

The soundtracks on these films include an array of music, sound effects, voices, and singing. The NFB website attributes music to Aggeok and Peter Pitseolak, and in the film's credits they are named for "Songs," which is ambiguous as to who made the sometimes complex soundtracks for the films. The documentary solves this in part, with a sequence of Alariaq and Pootoogook recording a soundtrack while watching Alariaq's sand animation, *Dancers*, that he projects on a screen. Pootoogook creates percussive sounds with objects in the studio environment—a wooden ruler hits an empty film can or microphone stand for a

higher vibration and tone and the jangle of hard objects shaken in a tin—and adds to these vocal plosives, fricatives, and spoken word. The soundtrack is a reworked version of these sounds with added echo effect and repetitions.

Conclusion: A Future for Inuit Animation?

As time-based cultural products, the Cape Dorset animation films demonstrate a set of aesthetics that include conveying cultural values, inciting emotion, and demonstrating coherence, composition, and form. *Sikusilarmiut* documents that the youth who remained of the “village ‘drifters,’” who Roth mentions were attracted to the project, were young filmmakers with intense commitment and focused, collaborative creativity. An example is the prolific Alariaq, who made a dozen films including sound tracks during the project and then decided to go to a Vancouver art school for further training.²⁰ Indeed, many of these young people went on to become prominent Inuit artists with major gallery representation in the South and are collected in museums around the world: Pitaloosie, Pitseolak, Itee Pootoogook, Salomonie Joe Pootoogook, Sorosiluto Ashoona, and others. Through their animated artworks, The Cape Dorset animation films demonstrate what Beverly R. Singer describes as “cultural sovereignty . . . [a social movement] which involves trusting in the older ways and adapting them to our lives in the present” (2001, 2). This adaptation entails the workshop participants moving beyond working with commercially oriented handicrafts created for an art market and instead with media, sound, and subject matter of their own choosing and creation in order to produce their films that interpret and express personal and community experiences in a new artistic method. Supported by Koenig’s ethical approach, they collectively put into practice Gell’s emphasis on the processes of doing, of making art, or what he calls “the art nexus, the network of social relations in which art works are embedded, and in which they act upon their viewers; that is, on agency” (1998, 20). The Cape Dorset films are deeply embedded in social relations and demonstrate agency in the sense that there

is an intimate link between the artists and the communities they worked with on, and represented in, the project.

As with the filmmaking, the arts co-ops no longer have simply a commercial function. Marybelle Mitchell observes, “we are only now hearing from the northern artists about the many levels of meaning that making art has for them; it is a way to survive, to support one’s family, to express feelings, to document a way of life and cultural disruption, and to communicate to the outside world (most art is made for export)” (2005, 90, parentheses in original). The embrace of novel artistic materials, combined with the film technique of animation, enabled this generation of Inuit artists to move from autochthonous expression and its cultural appropriation in, for example, the NFB films made based on crafts, to engage in modernizing their history on their own terms with new media and through individual creativity and interpretation. Indeed, these films are visual expressions and personal, artistic interpretations of intangible cultural heritage that play a distinct role “in the constitution of [Indigenous peoples’] identities and their futures as distinct peoples” (Coombe and Turcotte 2012, 272), and these are “are politically articulated [in the UNESCO Constitution] as human rights issues, especially when they involve Indigenous peoples” (278). These films’ contemporary topics concentrate in the main on storytelling with human figures in social, environmental, and traditional situations, as well as pedagogical, heritage, cultural, and historical content based on previous storytellers but carried on with new methods. Roth reflects that Indigenous film workshops, including the one on Cape Dorset, resulted in a “dream of a much broader set of media” (2013, 316). A number of NFB and other animation initiatives followed, including the short-lived Nunavut Animation Lab in 2006 by the NFB and other institutions.²¹ However, commercialization and lack of funding continues. Gauthier observes, “the ‘Vistas’ series’ was primarily conceived as a marketing tool” (2014, 476) and in 2014, the NFB did not have “a dedicated programme for supporting Aboriginal filmmaking . . . the institution’s goal of becoming a world leader in delivery of digital media on

multiple platforms seems to have eclipsed its mission of supporting the audio-visual representation of diverse Canadians” (468).²² This echoes the ominous final comments in the *Sikusilarmiut* documentary forty years earlier: “perhaps the filmmakers at this workshop have a chance to record their feelings for their land and their life before it is too late.”

Good news is on the horizon. The funding situation has begun improving in recent years, including support targeted for preservation and access—the Inuit Film and Video Archives moved to the Nunavut Media Arts Centre in 2015. In June 2017, in response to the TRC the NFB announced a three-year plan for Indigenous filmmaking with a strategy of institutional transformation, spending in Indigenous-directed projects, and a dedicated area of the NFB website for its Indigenous film collection (Indigenous Action Plan). In the same year, the Toronto-based *ImagineNATIVE* film and media festival (established in 2000) announced a new multi-institution initiative supporting collaborative media practices with Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians—*On Screen Protocols & Pathways: A Media Production Guide to Working with Indigenous Canadian Communities, Cultures, Concepts & Stories*. The festival’s industry director Daniel Northway-Frank commented that the project “will identify past challenges and successes and work towards a protocols guide that ensures accurate, informed and authorized portrayals of Indigenous people on-screen” (ImagineNATIVE 2017). Projects like this sustain hope that national cultural remits of the NFB and other Canadian institutions can be retained and can continue to be responsive to, and collaborative in, their policies of multilingualism and multiculturalism so that future generations of Indigenous filmmakers, working in animation and otherwise, can continue to create their own (digital) expressions of their tangible and intangible cultures as these, too, relentlessly change over time.

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Notes

¹ When referring to Canadian Indigenous populations, I use "Eskimo" and "aboriginal" when the terms have been used in previous historical contexts, and otherwise use "Indigenous" or "Inuit."

² I grew up in a small northern lumber town in Western Canada built on lands of the Fort George Indian Band (now Lheidli T'enneh First Nation) at a time when Indigenous "art" was becoming a cultural, and profitable, currency. Our parents critically exposed to us how our classmates' and their families' dignity and ways of life were undermined by "reserves" they were forced to live on that often flooded and were without services.

³ For an overview of treaties, see <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100032291/1100100032292> <AU: Invalid URL - <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100032291/1100100032292>. Please check.>

(accessed February 17, 2016).

⁴ See [Borrows \(2017\)](#) for a precise critical analysis of this term.

⁵ See [Borrows \(2017\)](#) and [Coulthard \(2007\)](#) <AU: Reference 'Coulthard 2007' has not been provided in the Bibliography. Please check.>.

⁶ See [Coombe and Turcotte \(2012\)](#) and [Bell and Paterson \(2009\)](#).

⁷ See [Roth \(2013\)](#).

⁸ Depending on the animation technique used, a general rule of thumb is that a minimum of twelve varied artworks shot in single frame (two frames per artwork) are needed for the twenty-four frames per second of projected film.

- ⁹ The Vancouver Museum of Anthropology’s collection includes over 7,000 objects (<http://moa.ubc.ca> <AU: Invalid URL - http://moa.ubc.ca. Please check.>), and the online catalog currently has 2,074 digitized records with the keyword “Inuit” (<http://collection-online.moa.ubc.ca/> [accessed February 3, 2016]).
- ¹⁰ During this time, almost all qimmiit (sled dogs) were eliminated. For details on the Qikiqtani Truth Commission’s review of the traumatic impact of these killings on the Inuit, see [Goldring \(2015\)](#).
- ¹¹ At the 2009 G20 summit in Philadelphia, Harper made a further statement that outraged many: “We also have no history of colonialism.”
- ¹² See [Gauthier \(2014, 476–477\)](#) for a similar business marketing strategy that was implemented with the “Vistas” animation series made for the 2010 Olympics.
- ¹³ Like many Canadian institutions, the NFB offers French and English versions of websites. However, the NFB’s film pages do not always mirror content. For instance, for some films full credits are offered on the English page but not on the French one. I limit my investigation here to the English version.
- ¹⁴ In particular, Ammitu’s *Lumak* (1962), *Legend of Lumak* (1964), *Legend* (1964), and *Brother and Sister Going to Another Camp after Having Walked on Breaking Ice to Get a Seal* (1974). See <http://art.avataq.qc.ca/artists/gallery/davidaluk-alasua-ammitu> (accessed February 11, 2016).
- ¹⁵ Note 5 in Roth. “Personal interview [with Wolf Koenig] June 9, 1975” ([Roth 2005, 97](#)). Koenig was in Cape Dorset in 1972 to produce the documentary on Inuit artist Piteolak, *Pictures Out of My Life* (1973).
- ¹⁶ The film’s webpage has a text box, “Coming Soon”: <http://www.nfb.ca/film/sikusilarmiut/overlay/> (accessed July 14, 2017). At the time of writing, it was available on Youtube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OhGufbbopdw>.
- ¹⁷ Additional films with titles and director include *Ocean Creatures* by Sorosilutoo and *Man with Harpoon* by Solomonie Joe Pootoogook.

- ¹⁸ For an in-depth discussion of the paternalistic and capital-oriented creation of the Inuit art market, see [Mahood \(2010\)](#).
- ¹⁹ For an overview of political, institutional, broadcasting, and cultural policy around the Cape Dorset project and other related NFB initiatives, see [Roth \(2013, 267–271\)](#).
- ²⁰ Today, Alariaq runs Huit Tours in Cape Dorset and is “a traditional hunter, guide and animation filmmaker.”
- ²¹ The Lab was a joint initiative between the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation and the NFB of Canada in association with the Banff Centre, the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN), the National Screen Institute, Nunavut Film, and the Government of Nunavut. Due to space limitations, it is not possible to write about these later initiatives.
- ²² In her discussion of the “Vistas” digital animation series made for the [2010](#) Olympics, Gauthier also describes it as a “powerful example of hegemony in action” ([2014, 478](#)). She further observes misinterpretation of Indigenous culture in the Games’ misappropriation of symbols and mascots.